

Othring Through Absence, the Unmentionable “Ottoman Cyprus” 1571-1878: A Note
on the French and English Terminology Identifying l’ile de Chypre, the Island of
Cyprus and Recognised Muslim *de facto*, but not *de jure* Rule**

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Introduction

In respect to the view of the Muslim “Other” it seems worthwhile attending in some measure to the example presented of the European - French and English terminology applied to the island of Cyprus under Ottoman rule for three hundred years from 1571 to 1878. Did the terminology differ from that applied to describe the sovereignty exercised by the Abbasid Caliphs over Cyprus until 964? In 1854 Adolph Ludvig Køppen related: “*To the great regret of Constantine, “the infidel Hagareans” still occupied Cyprus in his day (950), but in 964, the brilliant Nicephorus Phocas finally recovered that gem of the eastern empire*”⁷. But the term *Hagarene/Hagarean Cyprus*, meaning, Muslim ruled Cyprus, remains elusive in published texts, while *Mohammedan Cyprus* does in fact occur if as late as 1876 in reference to Ottoman Cyprus, albeit published in a Protestant Episcopalian religious tract in Ohio⁸, and there is also an example in translation from the French that states: *The island of Cyprus, under the Turkish rule*⁹, of 1857. However, the terms, *Chypre musulman, Chypre ottoman, Chypre turc, Muslim/Mahometan/ Mussulman Cyprus, Turkish Cyprus, or, Ottoman Cyprus*, do not seem to occur with any frequency at all in published texts in the period 1573-1878. How, in the period from 1573-1878 did the French and English terminology that was applied to the Ottoman ruled island of Cyprus differ from that which was applied to Christian ruled Cyprus, and how did it differ from the terms employed in this same period by French and British writers to describe sovereignty exercised over Christian-European acquired territory?

In the period prior to the 12th of July 1878 onwards when the British exercised administrative responsibility over the island of Cyprus, as a result of the signing on June 4th 1878 of *The Convention of Defensive Alliance between Great Britain and Turkey* (abrogated on November 5th 1914 through annexation), in published 19th century texts, as was likewise

** Research Article

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⁷ Køppen, 1854: 256.

⁸ Anonymous, 1879: 19.

⁹ About, 1857: 191.

the case in those texts published from the 16th century onwards, one repeatedly finds in both English and French publications alike the geographical name-toponym: *Chypre*¹⁰, *L'isle de Cypre*¹¹, *Isle de Chypre*, and, *l'Île de Chypre*¹², *Cyprus*, and, *the island of Cyprus*¹³. It is most rare to find terms employed that themselves indicate that there was any Ottoman-Turkish-Muslim sovereignty exercised in the course of about three hundred years over the island of Cyprus in published texts in French or in English before the middle of the 19th century when the term *Turkish island* occurs in 1843, 1850, 1863, and then again in 1879, a year after the British administration of Cyprus began. Yet, while this is the case concerning the terminology applied to the period of Ottoman rule over Cyprus from 1573 to 1878, when recording Christian Catholic Lusignan lordship and then sovereignty exercised over the island from 1192 to 1489, and *de jure* over the Kingdom of Jerusalem and (Lesser) Armenia¹⁴, this fact of ruler ship-sovereignty is however, repeatedly indicated through the terms and the titles employed in published texts in French and English, such as: *Royaume de Cypre*, 1634¹⁵; *Histoire des Rois de Chypre de la Maison de Lusignan*, in 1732¹⁶, 1860¹⁷; *Chypre, grande Isle de la mer Méditerranée, avec titre de Roïaume*, in 1758¹⁸; *la maison de Lusignan de Chypre, le royaume de chypre*¹⁹; *the kingdom of Cyprus*²⁰, *Cyprus, of the House of Lusignan*²¹, *Cyprus*

¹⁰ Marques, 1758: 191.

¹¹ *L'isle de Cypre* is recorded as in *Asie, cest Isle est situee en l'Asie mineure*. in, *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre et des roys, princes...* Paris, 1580, Chpt. 2, p. 4. by Estienne de Lusignan de Cypre, Bishop of Limissol, Dominican, and author of *La Deffense des religieux* of 1581. *L'isle de Cypre* is also described, pages 59-70, in Pierre d'Avity's *Description Generale de L'Asie* of 1660.

¹² Gaudry, 1862; Paridant & Cammen, 1874.

¹³ Macgregor, 1850: 161-162; Cesnola, 1877: 38, "Through the courtesy of General Cesnola we are able to lay before our readers the following very interesting official report of the important discoveries he has recently made in **the Island of Cyprus**, the results of which have been secured to New York through the liberality of a number of her citizens." Likewise the legend on the map, page 38, reads, "Diagram of **the Island of Cyprus**."

¹⁴ Legitimacy of descent from the House of Lusignan to the House of Savoy and so to Victor Emanuel II King of Italy (b. 1869, d. 1947), who was the Bailiff Grand Cross of Honour and Devotion, 10 February 1891, of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, and whose titles of 74 years ago included, *Victor Emmanuel II, by the Grace of God and the Will of the Nation, King of Italy, King of Sardinia, Cyprus, Jerusalem, Armenia* (the Lesser, from 1393), *Duke of Savoy, Count of Maurienne, Marquis (of the Holy Roman Empire) in Italy*, etc. The King of Italy militarily advancing the borders of Christendom, or Benito Mussolini claiming to be rebuilding the Roman Empire, the consequences for Ottoman and Muslim ruled territory of course were the same: Asseb in 1869, Eritrea in 1870 and 1882, Ottoman Massawa in 1888, Ottoman Libya in 1911-12, Ottoman Rhodes, Kos, Patmos, Agathonisi, Astypalaia, Chalki, Kalymnos, Karpathos, Kasos, Leipsoi, Leros, Nisyros, Symi, Tilos, Kastellorizo, Alimia, Arkoi, Farmakonisi, Gyali, Kinaros, Levitha, Marathos, Nimos, Pserimos, Saria, Strongyli, Syrna and Telendos, (the so-called Dodecanese) in 1911, Somalia, Kismayo in 1925, then the former Ottoman territories of Albania in 1939, and then Kosovo, incorporated into the Italian-controlled Greater Albania.

¹⁵ d'Avity, 1634: 1209.

¹⁶ Anonymous, 1732.

¹⁷ Mure, 1860: 534.

¹⁸ Marques, 1758: 149.

¹⁹ Giannone, 1742 : 496; Jacques & Migne, 1852 : 187-235; Froissart, 1852: 295; Laferrière, 1853: 479-80, 489; Lacroix, 1853, passim; Mure, 1860: 515; Latrie, 1861, passim.

²⁰ Anonymous, 1862a: 24.

²¹ Milner, 1864: 632.

of the Lusignans²², Lusignan-Cyprus²³, Latin kingdom of Cyprus, in 1823,²⁴ 1832,²⁵ 1845,²⁶ 1851²⁷, 1857²⁸, 1860²⁹, 1876³⁰; Kingdom of Cyprus, 1658³¹, 1662³², 1685³³, 1698³⁴, 1687³⁵, 1704³⁶, 1809³⁷, 1854³⁸, 1857³⁹, 1858⁴⁰, etc. Likewise the term, *Cyprus subject to the Venetians* is frequently found: 1708⁴¹, 1751⁴², 1788⁴³. In 1700, *Les Vénitiens posséderent le Royaume de Chypre jusqu'en 1571*⁴⁴; *royaume de Chypre*, in 1831, *les Vénitiens possédaient,..*⁴⁵. While in: 1767, 1771, 1772 and 1785, *the ninth (Mamluke) Sultan, Melechnassar, subdued the island of Cyprus, and made it tributary to Egypt*⁴⁶. Also, *Cyprus became a Venetian dependency, tributary to the Sultan of Egypt*⁴⁷. And, regarding John II. of Cyprus, *submitting to hold his kingdom as a dependency of the Mamluke empire, paying a ransom of 200,000, and an annual tribute of 20,000 pieces of gold*⁴⁸. *This island was formerly subject to Egypt, and the Turks being now sovereigns of that Kingdom, Cyprus, as being an appenant to it, was indeed his right, with which he acquainted the Venetians, and required they should immediately resign Cyprus to him; ...*⁴⁹.

Likewise the term, *Cyprus subject to the Turk*, or, *subject to the grand signior*, or, *subject to Turkey*, or, *subject to the Turks*, or, *belonging to the Turks*, or, *under the Turks*, or,

²² Palgrave, 1864: 454.

²³ Replies, 1878: 330; Anonymous, 1879a: 328.

²⁴ Gibbon, 1823: 279.

²⁵ Commission, 1832: 727.

²⁶ Gibbon, 1845: 71.

²⁷ Anonymous, 1851: 55.

²⁸ Commission, 1857: 363.

²⁹ Jane & Wharton & Hopper, 1860: 70.

³⁰ Freeman, 1876: 82.

³¹ Commission, 1658: 1, 3, 9, 13, 25, 26, 28, 68, 71, 81, 91, 98, 196.

³² Sainte-Marthe, 1662: 42.

³³ Lassels, 1685: 228.

³⁴ Ferrar, 1698: 263.

³⁵ Graziani, 1687: 31, 45, "impossible to hide any longer the Grand Signior's real Design: the Chief Visier sent therefore for their Ambassador, to tell him, his Highness intended to take possession of the Kingdom of Cyprus, as having a just and ancient Right to that Crown:", 49, 53, 75.

³⁶ Boccalini, 1704: Letter XV, 25, 27.

³⁷ Monstrelet & Dacier, 1809.

³⁸ Køppen, 1854: 380.

³⁹ Lamartine, 1857: 104.

⁴⁰ Sotheby, 1858: 208, *Whereas the most Holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, Nicholas Vth, by Divine grace Pope, mercifully compassionating the afflictions of the Kingdom of Cyprus from those most treacherous enemies of the Cross of Christ, the Turks and the Saracens...*

⁴¹ Raleigh, 1708: 507, *We have made some mention of the Successions of the Kings of Cyprus, and now 'twill be proper to report how it became Subject to the Venetians.*

⁴² Salmon, 1751: 223, *This island was formerly subject to the Venetians...*

⁴³ Anonymous, 1788: 91.

⁴⁴ Neufville, 1700: 434.

⁴⁵ Quadri, 1831: 257.

⁴⁶ Salmon, 1771: 465.

⁴⁷ Stubbs, 1878: 51.

⁴⁸ Rose, 1848: 250.

⁴⁹ Idem. Salmon, 1751: 223.

*under the dominion of the Turks, or, under the Ottoman empire, are frequently found: 1701⁵⁰, 1709⁵¹, 1727⁵², 1732⁵³, 1737⁵⁴, 1738⁵⁵, 1745⁵⁶, 1751⁵⁷, 1754⁵⁸, 1760⁵⁹, 1760⁶⁰, 1760⁶¹, 1764⁶², 1766⁶³, 1767⁶⁴, 1787⁶⁵, 1791⁶⁶, 1792⁶⁷, 1794⁶⁸, 1794⁶⁹, 1798⁷⁰, 1799⁷¹, Subject to the grand signior, or, subject to the Turk, can be understood to indicate the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph, but subject to the Turks, or, under the Turks, may also indicate subject to Muslim Ottoman rule. One does not find recorded the expression *Cyprus became an Ottoman dependency, or, Cyprus, Ottoman territory*, in English publications concerning the events of 1571-1573; nor does there seem to be any publication from 1573 to 1879 in French or English that employs the terms, *Chypre ottoman, or, Ottoman Cyprus*.*

In the 16th to 18th century French terminology *Cypre/Cyprus* is most often located in *Asia/ Asie*, as in 1572, *Cypre Asiatique*, as likewise, *Candie est du tout en Asie*, (Crete, Rhodes & Cyprus *en Asie*)⁷²; or in, *la Turquie en Asie*, although it is not entirely clear at times if *Turquie* refers to Muslims – to the Turks, or to the Ottoman ruling dynasty. Examples include: *Description des Isles de Cypre, Rhodes, Lesbos, Chios, & autres, que les Turcs*

⁵⁰ Luyts, 1701: 12, *Tho' this Island be subject to the Turks, it is chiefly inhabited by Christian Greeks, ...*

⁵¹ Hill, 1709: 97, *and the fruitful Ilands of the Ægean Sea, with those of Candy, Rhodes and Cyprus acknowledging no lord but him (the Grand Turk, the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph).*

⁵² Salmon, 1727.

⁵³ Anderson, 1732: 695, *Thus Cyprus became subject to the Turks.*

⁵⁴ Bailey, 1737, npn. s.v. "Cyprus," *The island of Cyprus is under the dominion of the Turks.*

⁵⁵ Robinson & Balard & Knapton, 1738: e.g., npn. s.v. "Baffo," *Baffo, Paphos, a City on the Island of Cyprus in Asia, once famous, now ruined, sub. to the Turks; npn. s.v., "Cyprus," Cyprus, an Island of Asia in the Mediterranean Sea, called by the Turks and Arabs, Kupros; ...It is since 1570 (sic.) sub. to the Turks; npn. s.v., "Tamasso," a Town of Asia in the Isle of Cyprus, towards Famagusta, famous for its Tin Mines; sub. to the Turks. etc.*

⁵⁶ Osborn, 1745: 839, *they became subject to the Turks.*

⁵⁷ Salmon, 1751: 223, *the Turks being now Sovereigns of that Kingdom, Cyprus.*

⁵⁸ Drummond, 1754: 136, *At present, the country of Cyprus is in the same situation with all other places subject to the sway of the grand signior: ...*

⁵⁹ Gregory, 1760: 52, *subject to the Turks.*

⁶⁰ Bailey, 1760: npn. s.v. "Cyprus," *The island of Cyprus is under the dominion of the Turks.*

⁶¹ Dyche & Pardon, 1760: npn. s.v. "Religion" *The island of Cyprus is under the dominion of the Turks.*

⁶² Pufendorf, 1764: 176, *the Island of Cyprus has been long subject to the Turks.*

⁶³ Fenning & Collyer, 1766: 301, *Of the Asiatic Islands subject to the Turks: Cyprus.*

⁶⁴ Knox, 1767: 42, *Cyprus, Candia, Rhodes, Patmos, and the cluster of small ones in the Archipelago, belonging to the Turks.*

⁶⁵ Anonymous, 1787: 21, *Archipelago Islands, viz. Candia, Cyprus, Lemnos, Mytelene, Rhodes...etc. subject to Turkey.*

⁶⁶ Commission, 1791: 80, *Q. Where is Cyprus? A. An island in the Mediteranean (sic.), its capital Nicosia, subject to Turkey.*

⁶⁷ Commission, 1792: 231, *But Selim II. taking it A.D. 1571, it has remained ever since under the Ottoman Empire.*

⁶⁸ Rivett, 1794: 17, *Cyprus, which contains Mount Olympus. Also Scio, Tendos, Lemnos, Santorin, etc. all of which are subject to the Turks, and form part of ancient and modern Greece.*

⁶⁹ Payne, 1794: 442, *Of the Asiatic Islands subject to the Turks: Cyprus.*

⁷⁰ Walker, 1798: npn. s.v. "Cyprus," *subject to the Turks.*

⁷¹ Bullen, 1799: 180, *Cyprus has been famous in all ages for the fertility of the soil, the excellence of it's climate, and the advantages of it's situation; it is subject to the dominion of the Turks.*

⁷² Comingeois, 1572 : 84.

possèdent en Asie, in 1626⁷³; *la Turquie en Asie, avec les Isles de Cypre, de Rhodes*, in 1683⁷⁴, and 1685⁷⁵; *Turquie En Asie, Isle de Cypre*, 1685⁷⁶; *Cypre dans l'Asie*, in 1717; *Nicosie, Ville d'Asie, Capitale de l'Isle de Cypre*, in 1755⁷⁷; *Turquie En Asie, l'Isle de Cypre*, in 1761⁷⁸; *Cypre, gr. île d'Asie*, occurs in 1771⁷⁹, and 1773⁸⁰; *Cypre, Isle & Royaume d'Asie*, in 1786⁸¹. From the mid-19th century to the end of the century in French terminology there is the clear association of the island of Cyprus with Turkey, most usually with Turkey in Asia, as expressed through the use of terms such as: *l'île de Chypre (Turquie d'Asie)*, 1846⁸², 1857⁸³, and 1873⁸⁴, *Chypre, l'île de l'Asie-Mineure*, in 1841⁸⁵; *l'île de Chypre, Turquie d'Asie*, 1856⁸⁶, and 1857⁸⁷; *Turquie.- Ile de Chypre*, 1859⁸⁸; *Turquie d'Europe, Chypre*⁸⁹; *île de Chypre (Turquie)*, 1865⁹⁰; *Asie, Île de Chypre* (like, *Asie, Île de Crète*), 1868⁹¹; *Turquie d'Asie. Chypre*, 1868⁹²; *Chypre en Asie, - Turquie d'Asie*, 1869⁹³; *Archipel de la Turquie d'Asie, Ile de Chypre*, 1872⁹⁴; *Asie, Turquie d'Asie.- Chypre*, 1878⁹⁵; and, finally, the term that itself clearly indicates Ottoman sovereignty, *Chypre ottomane*, in 1901⁹⁶. Although there

⁷³ Henrion, 1626: 856.

⁷⁴ Mallet, 1683: 4.

⁷⁵ Mallet, 1685: 133.

⁷⁶ Robbe, 1685: 40.

⁷⁷ Prétot, 1755: 103.

⁷⁸ Hübner, 1761: 9.

⁷⁹ Commission, 1771: 530.

⁸⁰ Goulin, 1773: 679, *Cypre, gr. île d'Asie, dans la mer médit.*

⁸¹ Roy, 1786: 161.

⁸² Commission, 1846: 838, N° 20,589.-*Lettres de Naturalisation accordées.*

⁸³ D'Quesneville, 1857: 241, 7^e *Enfin, le vin vert de Cotnar, les malvoises de Candie et de l'île de Chypre (Turquie).*

⁸⁴ Larousse, 1873: 1272, *Ktima, ville de l'île de Chypre (Turquie d'Asie).*

⁸⁵ Eyriès, 1841: 419.

⁸⁶ Cortambert, 1856: 245, "Description Physique de la Turquie d'Asie.- *Au S. de l'Asie Mineure se trouve la grande île de Chypre*".

⁸⁷ Bescherelle, 1857: 83, *Ainarsie, Ville de l'île de Chypre, Turquie d'Asie, à 16 kilm. N. N. E. De Baffa.*

⁸⁸ Commission, 1859: 560.

⁸⁹ Heuschling, 1860: 259, *Turquie d'Europe 11. Eyalet, Chypre.*

⁹⁰ Gras, 1865: XII, *Nouveau feu sur le cap de Gata, île de Chypre (Turquie). Nouveau feu sur le cap Kiti, île de Chypre (Turquie). Nouveau feu à Laruca (sic.), île de Chypre (Turquie).* This typo of *Laruca*, for *Larnaca* also occurs in, Commission, 1907: 313. Other typos include: *Lamoca*, *Lanarka*, and, the most common, *Larnoca*. While there are also the typonyms: *Larnica*, *Larneca*, *Larnaka*, *Larnec*, *Larnic*, *Larnoka*, etc. as also *Nicosia*, *Lefkosia*, *Nicotia*, *Nikosia*, etc.

⁹¹ D'Archiac, 1868: 725.

⁹² Bertrand, 1868: 277.

⁹³ Commission, 1869: N° 16. *Renseignemens Statistiques*, 11, *Dans la Turquie d'Asie, elle s'est conservée à Smyrne, à Damas et dans l'île de Chypre.*

⁹⁴ Commission, 1872: 95, 105.

⁹⁵ Commission, 1878a: 238.

⁹⁶ *Genèses*, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1901: 6; Anonymous, 1954: 105, *la Chypre ottomane*. Yerasimos, 1991: 70, *Le premier récit concernant Chypre ottomane est celui de Hans Ulrich Krafft qui arrive à Larnaka en 1573 en compagnie de Leonhart Rauwolf. Annales*, T. 62, 2007, 1318, *D'ici à là-bas, du français au turc ottoman, traduire la province révèle donc un sens commun que les mêmes schèmes sous-tendent. Cela justifie, a minima, que nous continuions à employer le terme «province» pour désigner Chypre ottomane.*

are exceptions to this practice published in 1851⁹⁷ and 1860, presumably due to the changing geographical-political terminology, where the island is located instead in European Turkey, *Europe, Ile de Chypre Turquie*⁹⁸; and, as noted above, in 1771 and 1773 Cyprus was described as a Greek island in Asia. But, most usually before the mid-19th century Cyprus was recorded as being geographically and in terms of navigation-trade, as being within *Turkey in Asia*, rather than in, *Turkey in Europe*, or, *Cyprus in Europe*. In French publications of the 19th century the use of terms such as: *Mousselimlik de Chypre*⁹⁹, *Le Eyalet de Chypre*¹⁰⁰, *sandjak de Chypre*¹⁰¹, *Mutessariflik de Chypre*¹⁰², indicating thereby Ottoman administration and sovereignty, are relatively infrequent; while the term that clearly indicates sovereignty, *Chypre ottomane*, as noted above, actually appears in print in French publications in the period after the island came under British administrative control, a term employed in French published texts from about the start of the 20th century onwards.

Likewise in earlier publications in English, the toponym and terms: *Cyprus, land of Cyprus, island of Cyprus*, are repeatedly found. Not to be found are the terms, *Ottomite Cyprus, Ottoman Cyprus, Osmanli Cyprus, Osmanlee Cyprus*, nor yet, the *Ottoman island of Cyprus*, nor, *the Ottoman land of Cyprus*, nor, *Turkish Cyprus*, meaning *Ottoman Cyprus*. Rather there is, *Turkish island* (in 1843, 1850, and 1863, see below); and, as in French publications, it is only rarely that through the Ottoman terminology employed that there is indication given that the island formed any part of Ottoman territory. This through the use of terms such as: *Mussuleem*, the governor of Cyprus, in 1813¹⁰³, *The mutselimlic of Kibris (Cyprus)*, in 1824¹⁰⁴, the phrase reprinted in 1825¹⁰⁵, 1827, 1830; *Mousselimlik of Cyprus*, in 1826¹⁰⁶, *the arrival of the Governor of Cyprus, (Mootselim)*¹⁰⁷, *Moutsillemlic of Cyprus*, in 1836¹⁰⁸, *Mutsellimlic of Cypus*, in 1845¹⁰⁹, *Mutsillemlik of Cyprus*, in 1850 and 1856¹¹⁰; in 1878, *The Governor of Cyprus, called a Mutassurif, resided in the island, at Leufcosia or*

⁹⁷ Ubcini, 1851: 46, in terms of administration Cyprus is placed within *Turquie d'Europe* among the 15 Eyalet, No. 15.

⁹⁸ Anonymous, 1860a: 43; Heuschling, 1860: 259.

⁹⁹ Malte-Brun, 1853: 456.

¹⁰⁰ Dezobry, 1861: 588, "L'île forme un eyalet de l'empire ottoman".

¹⁰¹ Commission, 1867a: 203; Commission, 1867b: 210; Commission, 1867c: 210.

¹⁰² Commission, 1875: 213.

¹⁰³ Clarke, 1813: 192.

¹⁰⁴ Conder, 1824: 8.

¹⁰⁵ Conder, 1825: 8.

¹⁰⁶ Malte-Brun, 1826: 97.

¹⁰⁷ Frankland, 1830: 320, 321, 323.

¹⁰⁸ Higgins, 1836: npn. s.v. *Turkey in Asia, Cyprus, Moutsillemlic of Cyprus*.

¹⁰⁹ Commission, 1845a: 279.

¹¹⁰ Commission, 1850: 381, 384.

Nicosia;¹¹¹ *sanjak of Cyprus*, in 1850¹¹²; *sandjak of Cyprus*, in 1870, 1877, 1878, 1886¹¹³; *Vilayet of Cyprus* 1877¹¹⁴; and, *pashalik of Cyprus*, in 1876¹¹⁵; but these terms indicating Ottoman sovereignty over the island are only infrequently encountered.

In English publications there are examples of the following geographical, and at times religious¹¹⁶, terms employed: *Cyprus in Asia*, in 1630¹¹⁷, 1771¹¹⁸; *Cyprus. Turkey in western Asia*, in 1701¹¹⁹; the island/isle of *Cyprus, Turkey in Asia*, 1700¹²⁰, 1719¹²¹, 1738¹²², 1741¹²³, and, 1762¹²⁴; *Cyprus in Asiatic Turkey*, in 1747¹²⁵, 1759¹²⁶, 1773¹²⁷, and, 1782¹²⁸;

¹¹¹ Lang & Late, 1878: 269.

¹¹² Chesney, 1850: 756; Baker, 1877: 535.

¹¹³ Anonymous, 1870: 197; Baker, 1877: 470; Commission, 1878b: 115; Commission, 1886: 624.

¹¹⁴ Baker, 1877: 536.

¹¹⁵ Anonymous, 1876a: 130.

¹¹⁶ It is unclear at times if given its several meanings the term *Turky*, refers to only the territory of the Ottoman Sultanate, or to, Turckdom-Islamdom, to Muslim rule, or to both. For example: Commission, 1753: npn. s.v. '*Turky*,' *Turky is a very extensive empire, comprehending some of the richest countries in Europe, Asia and Africa*. But, also as in the diary of William Hedges, entry for 26th December 1687, *He (the English consul at Tunis, Thomas Goodwyn) went with me to visit the King, who made us sitt downe by him, and entertained us with coffee, enquiring after the affaires of Turkey and Christendom*. That is, enquiring of the affairs of Islam and Christendom, Hedges, 1887: 239. As likewise, *to turn turk*, meaning to convert to Islam, and *Turky* can carry the sense of Islamic World rather than only the Ottoman realm, as in, Commission, 1782: 9, as of course one place cannot be subject to another place, called Turkey or Turkey, or of anywhere else, but, one was a subject or citizen of the respective, sultan, monarch, or republic, as idem. 9, *Malta (subject to) Knights of Malta, Sicily (subject to) King of the Two Sicilies*. As likewise, Commission, 1600. While *turky* was also the name of a precious stone, as in, Sandys, 1615, there is mention of, *diverse kinds of precious stones of inferior quality, (found on Cyprus) amongst which the emerald and the turky*.

¹¹⁷ William Camden writes concerning the Levant Company, of, *very gainfull trading at Constantinople, Angoria, Chio, Petrazzo, Alexandria, Egypt, Cyprus, and elsewhere in Asia*, Camden, 1630: 98.

¹¹⁸ Commission, 1751: npn. s.v. *Baffo, Paphos, a City in the Island of Cyprus in Asia, once famous, now ruined, sub. to the Turks*.; idem. s.v. *Cerina, a small City in the Isle of Cyprus in Asia, having a strong Fortress by the Sea-Side*.

¹¹⁹ Luyts, 1701: 4, 12.

¹²⁰ Morden, 1700: 344, *Isles appertaining to Asia in the Mediterranean, as Cyprus and Rhodes*, idem. 345, Map of, *Turky in Asia*; idem. 376-379, *Cyprus, of Turkey in Asia*.

¹²¹ Hatton, 1719: 222.

¹²² Robinson & Balard & Knapton, 1738: npn. s.v. '*Famagosta*,' *Fama Augusta, by the Fr. Famagouste, a very strong City in the Isle of Cyprus in Asia*.

¹²³ Commission, 1741: npn. s.v. '*Baffo*,' *Paphos, a city in the Island of Cyprus in Asia*; s.v. '*Famagosta*,' *Fama Augusta, by the Fr. Famagouste, a very strong City in the Isle of Cyprus in Asia*.

¹²⁴ Brookes, 1762: npn. s.v. '*Famagusta*,' *a town of Turkey in Asia, and in the Island of Cyprus, with a Greek bishop's see*.; npn. s.v. '*Nicosia*,' *a strong town of Asia, and capital of the island of Cyprus, where a Turkish bashaw resides*.

¹²⁵ Salmon, 1747: npn. s.v. '*Nicosia*,' *the cap. of the island of Cyprus, in Asiatic Turkey*; s.v. '*Famagusta*,' *a city of Asiatic Turkey*; s.v. '*Paphos*,' *once an elegant city in the island of Cyprus, in Asia; now the little town of Baffo at the W. end of the island, is all that remains of it; sub. to the Turks*; s.v. '*Salina*,' *a port town of Cyprus, in Asia*.

¹²⁶ Salmon, 1759: npn. s.v. '*Famagusta*,' *a city of Asiatic Turkey, sit. at the E. end of the island of Cyprus*; npn. s.v. '*Nicosia*,' *capital of the island of Cyprus, in Asiatic Turkey*; s.v. '*Salina*,' *olim Salamis, a port town of the island of Cyprus in Asia, sit. in the Levant*.

¹²⁷ Salmon, 1773: npn. s.v. '*Famagusta*,' *a town of Asiatic Turkey, sit. at the E. end of the island of Cyprus, almost opposite to Tripoli in Syria*; s.v. '*Nicosia*,' *capital of the island of Cyprus, in Asiatic Turkey*.

¹²⁸ Salmon, 1782: npn. s.v. '*Famagusta*,' *a town of Asiatic Turkey, sit. at the E. end of the island of Cyprus, almost opposite to Tripoli in Syria*; s.v. '*Nicosia*,' *the capital of the island of Cyprus, in Asiatic Turkey*.

Cyprus, Turkey in Asia - Asiatic Turkey, 1776¹²⁹; *Cyprus* (subject to) *Turkey*, in 1782¹³⁰; *Cyprus* in, *Turkey in Asia*, 1782¹³¹; the island of *Cyprus in Asiatic Turkey*, 1792¹³², 1813¹³³, 1819¹³⁴, 1850¹³⁵, 1850¹³⁶, 1851¹³⁷, 1853¹³⁸, 1856¹³⁹, 1863¹⁴⁰, 1868¹⁴¹, 1869¹⁴², 1871¹⁴³, 1876¹⁴⁴, 1877¹⁴⁵; *Island of Cyprus in Asia*, 1804¹⁴⁶, (USA)1907¹⁴⁷; *Cyprus, Turkey in Asia*, in (USA) 1806, 1808¹⁴⁸, 1809¹⁴⁹, 1820¹⁵⁰, 1826¹⁵¹, 1834¹⁵², 1836¹⁵³, 1850¹⁵⁴, 1850¹⁵⁵, 1850¹⁵⁶, 1857¹⁵⁷, 1874¹⁵⁸; *Cyprus in Asia*, in 1815¹⁵⁹, 1827¹⁶⁰, 1856¹⁶¹, 1890¹⁶², 1899¹⁶³, 1907¹⁶⁴; *Turkey in*

¹²⁹ Johnson, 1776: npn. s.v. ‘Famagusta,’ a town of Turkey in Asia, and in the island of Cyprus; s.v. ‘Nicosia,’ the capital of the island of Cyprus, in Asiatic Turkey; s.v. ‘Paphos,’ once an elegant city of Asia, on the island of Cyprus, of which now nothing remains but the little town of Baffo; s.v. ‘Salina,’ a port town of Cyprus, in Asia.

¹³⁰ Commission, 1782: 9.

¹³¹ Brookes, 1782: 1, *Famagusta, a town of Turkey in Asia, and in the island of Cyprus, with a Greek bishop’s see.; Cyprus, an island of Asia, in the Mediterranean sea, near the coast of Syria and Natolia.* idem., 26.

¹³² Salmon, 1782: npn. s.v. “Nicosia”.

¹³³ Davies, 1813: 154, in a section entitled: *Islands belonging to Asiatic Turkey, 154-155, Cyprus.*

¹³⁴ Good, 1819: npn. s.v. ‘Famagusta’ (the ancient Arsinoe), an episcopal town of the island of Cyprus, in *Asiatic Turkey.*

¹³⁵ Milner, 1850: 339, *The principal islands of Asiatic Turkey are Cyprus...Rhodes...*

¹³⁶ Bell, 1850: 252, *Asiatic Turkey, Cyprus.*

¹³⁷ Hughes, 1851: 318, *Cyprus, a famous isl. of Asiatic Turkey, in the Mediterranean.*

¹³⁸ Heale, 1853: 133.

¹³⁹ Hopwood, 1856: 153, *Among the principal islands of Asiatic Turkey are Cyprus, Rhodes, Samos, and Mitylene (the ancient Lesbos).*

¹⁴⁰ Ainsworth, 1863: 85, *Baffa, Paphos, a seaport - town on the coast of the isl. of Cyprus, Asiatic Turkey.*

¹⁴¹ Butler & Mair, 1868: 137, *The islands belonging to Asiatic Turkey are Cyprus, in the Mediterranean; and Rhodes, Scarpanto, Scio, Mitylene, Nicaria, Samos, and Patmos, in the Archipelago.*

¹⁴² Ripley & Dana, 1869: 352, *Nicosia, Leucosia, or Lefkosia, a town of Asiatic Turkey, capital of the island of Cyprus.*

¹⁴³ Commission, 1871a: 59, 60, 62, 63, *Asiatic Turkey (including the Isle of Cyprus).*

¹⁴⁴ Richardson, 1876: 211, *Cyprus (Turkish “Kubris”), the largest of the islands belonging to Asiatic Turkey.*

¹⁴⁵ Commission, 1877: 37, 40, 68, 71, *Asiatic Turkey (including the Isle of Cyprus).*

¹⁴⁶ Commission, 1804: npn. s.v. ‘Nicosia,’ the capital of the island of Cyprus in Asia.

¹⁴⁷ Anonymous, 1907: 550. *Asia, Cyprus*; idem. 596, 636.

¹⁴⁸ Guthrie & Knox 1806: 635, *Islands belonging to Turkey in Asia. 1. The greater part of the Grecian islands in the Archipelago are considered by geographers as situate in Europe; but those which are very near to the Asiatic coast, with the island of Cyprus in that part of the Mediterranean called the Levant, or Eastern sea, must be referred to Asia.*

¹⁴⁹ Brookes, 1809: 8, *Turkey in Asia; comprehending Natolia, Syria, the islands of Cyprus, Candia, etc.*

¹⁵⁰ Brookes, 1820: 11, *Turkey in Asia; comprehending Natolia, Syria, the islands of Cyprus, Candia, etc.*

¹⁵¹ Malte-Brun, 1826: 87.

¹⁵² Conder, 1834: 679.

¹⁵³ Higgins, 1836: npn. s.v. *Turkey in Asia, Cyprus.*

¹⁵⁴ Milner, 1850: xiv, *Turkey in Asia, Cyprus.*

¹⁵⁵ Stewart, 1850: 199, *Turkey in Asia, Cyprus.*

¹⁵⁶ Sterne, 1850: 115, *Asiatic Turkey: Islands.- Cyprus, Rhodes, Scio, Mytilene, Samos, Vicaria, Tenedos, Patmos, and Scarpanto.*

¹⁵⁷ Morse, 1857: 201.

¹⁵⁸ Blackie (Ed.), 1874: 1120.

¹⁵⁹ Guthrie & Knox, 1815: 10, *Islands Belonging To Turkey In Asia. The greater part of the Grecian islands in the Archipelago are considered by geographers as situate in Europe; but those which are very near to the Asiatic coast, with the island of Cyprus in that part of the Mediterranean called the Levant, or Eastern Sea, must be referred to as Asia.*

¹⁶⁰ Thomson, 1827: 87, *Cyprus, and some other islands mentioned above, belong rather to Asia, from their nearness to its shore.*

Asia - Cyprus, 1816¹⁶⁵, 1856¹⁶⁶, 1857¹⁶⁷, 1863¹⁶⁸, 1870¹⁶⁹, 1873¹⁷⁰, (USA) 1874¹⁷¹, 1878¹⁷², and, 1893¹⁷³; Cyprus *Turkish Island*, in 1843¹⁷⁴, 1850¹⁷⁵, and, 1863¹⁷⁶; Cyprus, *Turkey in Asia*, in 1845¹⁷⁷, 1855¹⁷⁸, 1856¹⁷⁹, 1860¹⁸⁰, 1862¹⁸¹, 1864¹⁸², 1872¹⁸³, 1877¹⁸⁴; Cyprus, in *Ottoman Asia*, 1849, 1851, 1852¹⁸⁵; 4. *That of the Jezayrs or Islands, comprising the coast of Thrace, and the Turkish Islands of the Archipelago with Cyprus*, (USA) 1849, 1851, 1852¹⁸⁶; II. *Region of Asia Minor...Anatolia, Karamania, Sivas, Trebisond; Islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, etc.* 1850, 1856¹⁸⁷; *In Asia, the kingdom (sic.) of Cyprus*¹⁸⁸; *Turkey, Cyprus*, 1858¹⁸⁹, and, 1865¹⁹⁰; *Cyprus Turkey*, 1863¹⁹¹, and, 1876¹⁹²; *Cyprus (Turkey)*, in 1864¹⁹³; *Cyprus Turkey*,

¹⁶¹ Goodrich, 1856: 383, *In the Mediterranean, Cyprus, and in the Archipelago, Rhodes, Samos, Mitylene, & c., belong to Asia.*

¹⁶² Bartholomew, 1890: 71, *The British Empire Malta, Europe. Cyprus, Asia.*

¹⁶³ Sanderson, 1899: 111, *British Possessions in Asia. Cyprus.*

¹⁶⁴ Hughes, 1907: v, 11, *British Possessions in Asia, Cyprus.*

¹⁶⁵ Ewing, 1816: 134, *Turkey in Asia; Islands... Cyprus.*

¹⁶⁶ Arrowsmith & Nicolay, 1856: 492.

¹⁶⁷ Hughes, 1857: 348, *The Islands that belong to Turkey in Asia comprise Cyprus, situated in the eastern part of the Mediterranean...*

¹⁶⁸ Ainsworth (Ed.), 1863: 1011.

¹⁶⁹ Hughes & Maunder, 1870: 56, *Cyprus, further to the eastward, is of still larger size: it belongs, however, to the Asiatic division of the globe.* Idem, 455.

¹⁷⁰ Catafago, 1873: 234.

¹⁷¹ Thomas & Baldwin (Eds.), 1874: 1968.

¹⁷² Commission, 1878c: ix, 175.

¹⁷³ Davidson, 1893: 337, 1812, *Turkey in Asia (Smyrna, Cyprus, Trebizonde), ... 1816, Turkey in Asia (Smyrna), Candia, Cyprus.*

¹⁷⁴ Commission, 1843: 159. Cyprus listed under 'Turkish Islands'.

¹⁷⁵ Macgregor, 1850: *Contents, XV. Turkish Islands. – Cyprus*, 159.

¹⁷⁶ Ainsworth (Ed.), 1863: 444, *Cyprus (Turkish Kibris), a Turkish isl., the most eastern of the Mediterranean, lying at nearly equal distances from the shores of Syria and Asia Minor.*

¹⁷⁷ Commission, 1845b: e.g. Index to the Modern Maps: *Cyprus, isl. Mediterranean, Turkey in Asia. 7; Limosal, Port, Cyprus, Turkey in Asia. 12.*

¹⁷⁸ Commission, 1855:13, place names on Cyprus are listed in the Index to the Modern Maps, all are described as such, e.g. *Baffa, Port, Cyprus, Turkey in Asia, 25.*

¹⁷⁹ Commission, 1856:13, place names on Cyprus are listed in the Index, all are described as such, e.g. *Cyprus, island, Mediterranean, Asia, 19; Baffa, Port, Cyprus, Turkey in Asia, 7, etc.*

¹⁸⁰ Commission, 1860: 380, *Asia Minor or Anadolia contains 12 eyalets, ... Gerair, or the Islands of the Ottoman archipelago in Asia.*

¹⁸¹ Bryce, 1862: marked on atlas.

¹⁸² Commission, 1864: e.g. 325, *Ktinia; Cyprus, Turkey in Asia.*

¹⁸³ Hiley, 1872: 242, 2. *Turkey in Asia, which comprises Asia Minor or Anatolia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Syria, Mesopotamia, the Hedjaz or West Part of Arabia, and Cyprus.*

¹⁸⁴ MacColl, 1877: 5-6, *Turkey in Europe, Vilayets 10, No. 9. Djizair (the Isles), comprising all the islands of the Ottoman Archipelago from Samothracia to Rhodes, except Samos and Candia.* Idem, 9, Cyprus is listed with *Turkey in Asia* in terms of population.

¹⁸⁵ Fisher, 1849: 460.

¹⁸⁶ Fisher, 1849: 399.

¹⁸⁷ Commission, 1850: 380.

¹⁸⁸ Lamartine, 1857: 104, *Turkey in Asia: Anatolia, comprising the whole peninsular of Asia Minor, Caramania, the kingdom of Cyprus, Syria, Mesopotamia, Georgia...*

¹⁸⁹ Commission, 1858a:193, *Turkey, Cyprus, superintending Consulate, Rhodes, A. Palma.*

¹⁹⁰ Hertslet, 1865: 22, *P. Wilkinson, Cyprus, Turkey.*

¹⁹¹ Knight, 1863: 650, 2094, *O. S. Grasset, Larnoca (sic.), Cyprus, Turkey. An improved double McCarty gin or machinery used for cleaning cotton from its seeds.* Anonymus, 1863: 16, 2094, *Claude Sosthene Grasset,*

(USA) in 1869¹⁹⁴; *Asiatic Turkey (including Cyprus)*, in 1894¹⁹⁵. Cyprus was also at times attached to Syria, as for example, (Place) *Cyprus*, (Continent) *Asia*, (Country) *Syria*, in 1835¹⁹⁶; *Cyprus, Syria*, 1869¹⁹⁷.

While Cyprus in Europe also occurs, increasingly from 1850 onwards: *Cyprus, Turkey in Europe*, 1782¹⁹⁸; *Turkey in Europe, Cyprus*, in 1801¹⁹⁹, 1822²⁰⁰, 1850²⁰¹; 1879²⁰², 1880²⁰³, 1884²⁰⁴, 1891²⁰⁵, 1908²⁰⁶, *Cyprus, (Djézâir-i-bahr-i Sefid, vilâiet de Djézâir) Ottoman Archipelago, Turkey in Europe*, 1852²⁰⁷, 1856²⁰⁸, 1862²⁰⁹, 1865²¹⁰, 1866²¹¹, 1866²¹², 1867²¹³, 1867-1868²¹⁴, (USA) 1871²¹⁵, 1872²¹⁶; *Cyprus in Europe* 1879²¹⁷, 1880²¹⁸, 1882²¹⁹,

Larnoca (sic.), *Cyprus, Turkey*, “An improved double MacCarty gin or machinery used for cleansing cotton from its seeds”.

¹⁹² Commission, 1876: 1656, *Lar'nica, town on the southern shore of the island of Cyprus, Turkey, in a fertile but very unhealthy plain*.

¹⁹³ Commission, 1864: 190.

¹⁹⁴ Banard (Ed.), 1869: 84, *Cyprus, Turkey, L. P. Di Cesnola Consul*.

¹⁹⁵ Commission, 1894: 181.

¹⁹⁶ Hartley, 1835: 282, (Place) *Cyprus*, (Continent) *Asia*, (Country) *Syria*.

¹⁹⁷ Buchan, 1869: 604.

¹⁹⁸ Commission, 1782: 54, Cyprus placed within Turkey in Europe.

¹⁹⁹ Morse, 1801: 473, Chapter heading, *Turkey in Europe, Cyprus lies in the Levant sea, about thirty miles distant from the coasts of Syria and Palestine*.

²⁰⁰ Bourn, 1822: 926.

²⁰¹ Makmouz Effendi, 1850: 494.

²⁰² Commission, 1879a: Contents, (Map No.) 33. *Turkey in Europe, Cyprus, etc. (1878)*.

²⁰³ Commission, 1880: Contents, (Map No.) XXXIII.

²⁰⁴ Commission, 1884: 10.

²⁰⁵ Sonnenschein, 1891: 342.

²⁰⁶ Whitaker, 1908: 328, *The Imperial Dominions beyond the Seas include :- Europe. -The Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus*.

²⁰⁷ Ubcini, 1852: 42, *Turkey in Europe, Eyalets or Chief Provinces, 14. Djizair, Kybrys (Cyprus) 15. Kryt (Crete)*.

²⁰⁸ Ubcini, 1852: 15, 42, *Turkey in Europe, Eyalets or Chief Provinces, 14. Djizair, Kybrys (Cyprus) 15. Cryt (Crete)*.

²⁰⁹ Farley, 1862: 5, *Turkey in Europe, Eyalet 14. The Eyalet of Djizâir, of which the principal are Rhodes, Cyprus, Cos, Tenedos, Lemnos, Mitylene, Scio, and Patmos*.

²¹⁰ Martin, 1865: 503, *Turkey in Europe, Eyalet 13. The Eyalet of Djizâir, or The Islands, comprises all the isles of the Ottoman Archipelago, of which the principal are Rhodes, Cyprus, Cos, Tenedos, Lemnos, Mitylene, Scio, and Patmos*.

²¹¹ Farley, 1866: 41-42, *Turkey in Europe comprises Thrace, Thessaly, Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, Roumelia, Servia, Roumania, and the Ottoman Archipelago*.

²¹² M'Culloch, 1866: 355.

²¹³ Martin, 1867: 502, *Turkey in Europe, Eyalet 13. The Eyalet of Djizâir, or The Islands, comprises all the isles of the Ottoman Archipelago, of which the principal are Rhodes, Cyprus, Cos, Tenedos, Lemnos, Mitylene, Scio, and Patmos*.

²¹⁴ Commission, 1867-1868: 172, *Turkey in Europe Eyalets, 14, No. 13, Djizair, Or the Islands, comprises all the islands of the Ottoman Archipelago, of which the principal are Rhodes, Cyprus, Cos, Tendos, Lemnos, Mitylene, Scio, and Patmos*.

²¹⁵ Commission, 1871b: 1035, *Turkey in Europe, The eyalet of Djizâir, or The Islands, comprise all the isles of the Ottoman Archipelago, of which the principal are Rhodes, Cyprus, Cos, Tendos, Lemnos, Mitylene, Scio, and Patmos*.

²¹⁶ Farley, 1872: 224, *Turkey in Europe comprises Thrace, Thessaly, Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, Roumelia, Servia, Roumania, and the Ottoman Archipelago*.

²¹⁷ Fonblanque, 1879: 86, *Colonial Possessions, In Europe:- Cyprus, Gibraltar, Heligoland, Malta*.

²¹⁸ Fonblanque, 1880: 90, *Colonial Possessions, In Europe:- Cyprus, Gibraltar, Heligoland, Malta*.

1886²²⁰, 1899²²¹. While in publications in English, the term that clearly indicates there was Ottoman sovereignty over the island, *Ottoman Cyprus*, appears in 1879²²².

A question was raised in 1879 in *Punch, Or, The London Charivari*, with the exercise of British administrative control over the island from July 1878: *Is Cyprus Turkey?* (i.e., is the territory of Cyprus, British, or, Ottoman?) *That is the difficulty. What is Cyprus exactly? Not English territory; the Sultan's rule not having been extinguished there. Not Turkish territory exactly; the English exercising all the authority of a Government therein. In short, Cyprus is a place of arms - and anomalies*²²³. However, from the English terminology employed to describe Cyprus, before and after 1879, Cyprus moved from being a long recognised, but un-named as such, *Ottoman Cyprus*, and usually recorded as *Cyprus*, being a part of *Turkey in Asia*, meaning Ottoman territory in Asia, and, in British diplomatic terms, at times recognised as within the orbit of (Ottoman) Syria, to then become, after 1878, an increasingly recognised part of *European Turkey*, expressing a European claim of association - a vocation provided through the terminology, a consequence supported in part through the British administration of the island. However, the process of moving the island of Cyprus into *Turkey in Europe* and then *Europe*, began before 1878, with some recorded instances in 1782, 1801, 1822, and 1850, as noted above, and by 1850, with the removal by some of the entire *Eyalet of Djizäir*, the Ottoman Archipelago, of which the principal islands were: Rhodes, Cyprus, Cos, Tenedos, Lemnos, Mitylene, Scio, and Patmos, from *Turkey in Asia*, into *Turkey in Europe*, led in the mid-19th century in part by French writers, such as Jean Henri Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie, ou, Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc. de l'Empire ottoman*, that appeared in successive issues of the *Moniteur Universel* in 1850 and was published in two volumes in Paris, 1853-4, Vol. I., 21, Cyprus is recorded as *Dans la Turquie d'Europe, Iles*. A work translated as *Letters on Turkey* by Lady Elizabeth Easthope²²⁴ and published by John Murray in 1856 in two volumes. However, there was no consensus on this matter of 'political geography,' as noted

²¹⁹ Martin, 1882: 275, *British Colonial Possessions, In Europe:- Cyprus, Gibraltar, Heligoland, Malta*.

²²⁰ Fairfield & Anderson, 1886: 18, *Europe - Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus*.

²²¹ Commission, 1899: 32, *Europe - Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus*.

²²² Anonymous, 1888a: 395. Likewise, *Cyprus belonging to the Ottoman Crown and State*, Clause IV. *That the Sublime Porte may freely sell and lease lands and other property in Cyprus belonging to the Ottoman Crown and State (Arazii Miriyé vé Emlaki Houmayoun) the produce of which does not form part of the revenue of the island referred to in Article III.*

²²³ Anonymous, 1879b: 50.

²²⁴ Wife of Sir John Easthope 1784-1865, Whig party, owner of the Morning Chronicle newspaper from 1834-1847, that published articles sourced from Palmerston. Easthope was an advocate of a war policy in connection with the Syrian affairs that ended with the attack on Mehmet Ali's forces at Acre on the 3rd of November, 1840 and their expulsion from Syria. Made Baronet in 1841. He was a close friend of the French Prime Minister 1847-48, Francois Guizot from 1840, when Guizot was French ambassador to London.

above, as late as 1872 and later, Cyprus was recorded by some as being within *Turkey in Asia*, by others, as being a part of *Turkey in Europe*, and then, from the end of the 19th c., Cyprus is at times recorded as within *Europe*, as in 1888²²⁵, 1894²²⁶, 1895²²⁷; but still by some, as within *Asia*, 1890²²⁸.

In British publications after obtaining administrative responsibility over Cyprus through the Cyprus Convention of the 4th of June, 1878, while Ottoman sovereignty remained over the island until the British annexation of November 5th 1914 - from 1878 onwards the term *Ottoman Cyprus* appears and occurs relatively frequently, in 1879²²⁹, 1888²³⁰, and, 1891²³¹. As also from 1879 there occurs the term, *British Cyprus*²³², again in 1888²³³, and 1899²³⁴, although sovereignty remained legally in Ottoman hands, as was noted in *Whitaker's Almanak* of 1889, *Cyprus still forms part of the Ottoman Empire*²³⁵, until November 1914²³⁶; while the term, *Turkish island* meaning Muslim-Ottoman ruled island was employed referring to Ottoman Cyprus in 1843, 1850, and, 1863, and then by William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) in his vituperative political Perth speech of his Midlothian campaign of 1879²³⁷; which followed upon the credence he gave to exaggerated *coffee house babble*²³⁸ which he published unconfirmed in his tract entitled, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* of 1876, *Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible way, namely by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, they shall I hope clear out from*

²²⁵ Lucas, 1888: 30, *European Dependencies of Great Britain, Cyprus*. Idem. 12, *European Dependencies of Great Britain, Malta*.

²²⁶ Commission, 1894a: 258, *Estimate of supply of wheat 1891-1893, Cyprus within the total for Europe*.

²²⁷ Commission, 1895: 100.

²²⁸ Bartholomew, 1890: 71, *The British Empire, Cyprus, Asia*.

²²⁹ Dixon, 1879; Dixon, 1888: 123, "the occupation of Ottoman Cyprus by England" "Cyprus under British Rule".

²³⁰ Anonymous, 1888b: 395, *the consideration money for the occupation of Ottoman Cyprus by England to the Ottoman Porte*. Anonymous, 1891: 394-402.

²³¹ Anonymous, 1891: 394-402; Vol. CLXXIII, April, 1891: 464, *And if we have not regenerated, we have at least improved Ottoman Cyprus, as the following particulars will show*.

²³² Dixon, 1879; *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist, Quarterly*, Vol. 20., July, 1879, 61, review of Dixon 1879.

²³³ Anonymous, 1888a: 130, "Nine times" is certainly the most unmanageable of the multiplication table; and the smallest money transaction or account in British Cyprus necessitates a long calculation-pencil and paper being usually called into play before both parties are satisfied".

²³⁴ Commission, 1899b: 1899, marked on the map of *Colonies*, as, *British Cyprus*.

²³⁵ Whitaker, 1889: 433. Thereby reminding of Clause VI. of the Annex to the Convention, *That if Russia restores to Turkey Kars, and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the last war, the island of Cyprus will be evacuated by England, and the Convention of the 4th of June 1878, will be at an end*.

²³⁶ Earlier the recipe for a beverage called, *British Cyprus Wine*, was published in the U.S.A., but has nothing to do with sovereignty over the island of Cyprus, Commission, 1854: 154.

²³⁷ Gladstone, 1879: 174, Cyprus is described as a "Turkish Island".

²³⁸ Lord Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli), in his reply to Gladstone's charges which were based upon American missionaries' stories obtained from Bulgarian students at Robert College, İstanbul, McMeekin, 2015: 2, and footnote.

the province they have desolated and profaned”²³⁹. *Profaned*, that can be read in the sense that the Turks, meaning Muslims, were not Christians and their presence profaned Christian Europe.

‘The Greek island of Cyprus’

In some 18th century publications in French the term *Cypre, gr. île d’Asie* occurs, as in 1771 and 1773²⁴⁰; and in English, perhaps stranger still, is the use of term, *The Greek island of Cyprus*, which appears for example in 1836, 1837, 1872, 1878, 1881 and 1896. This is strange, not only due to the fact that Greece became an independent kingdom in 1832 and Ottoman Cyprus was never a part of the Kingdom of Greece. But also because rule over Cyprus from 1191 had been taken from the possession of the imperial claimant, Isaac Doukas Komnenos (Ysako le tyraunt) by the English monarch and Duke of Normandy, Richard I. who gained lordship over Cyprus and sold it to the Order of the Temple, who returned it to the English monarch, from whom it then came into the hands of Guy/Gui de Lusignan for 100,000 besants, and was ruled by his descendants, and then by the Venetian Republic, and then by the Ottoman Sultan, over the course of the previous six hundred and ninety-eight years, and, Ottoman sovereignty remained over the island at the time these works in English recording *the Greek island of Cyprus* were published. Examples of this term occur in a translation and commentary published first in Dublin in 1836²⁴¹, and then in London in 1837, of portions of *Les voyages et observations du sieur de la Boullaye Le Gouz ...* Paris, 1653, there is a passage of commentary on this text concerning the use of the quern where this term appears: “*That it was in general use over Europe, Asia, and Africa, has been satisfactorily proved by various ancient and modern travellers; but, in particular by Dr. Clarke*”²⁴². *When he visited the Greek island of Cyprus, he saw, in the house of his guide’s father, a quern, which he thus describes: - I observed upon the ground the sort of stones used in grinding corn, called querns in Scotland,...*”²⁴³. The term *the Greek island of Cyprus*, was used again in

²³⁹ Gladstone, 1876: 31.

²⁴⁰ Gladstone, 1876: fn. 45, 46.

²⁴¹ Hardy, 1836: 295.

²⁴² Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke, did not himself employ the term, ‘*the Greek island of Cyprus.*’ His passage concerning querns is at, Clarke, 1813: 188-189, in the village of Attiën, Cyprus, “*I observed upon the ground the sort of stones used for grinding corn, called Querns in Scotland, common also in Lapland, and in all parts of Palestine. These are the primitive mills of the world; and they are still found in all corn countries, where rude and ancient customs have not been liable to those changes introduced by refinement. The employment of grinding with these mills is confined solely to females; and the practice illustrates the observation of our Saviour, alluding to this custom in his prediction concerning the day of Judgement: “Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken the other left”.*

²⁴³ Croker, 1837: 127.

1872, employed accurately in reference to the 12th century²⁴⁴ when Cyprus formed a part of the New Roman Empire (Byzantium). But also inaccurately in a public announcement concerning cable telegraph charges, also published in 1872, that described, as *Greek Islands*, the Ottoman islands of Crete, Cyprus, Mytilene, Rhodes, Samos, and Scio²⁴⁵. This same terminological assertion was then made in *The Oriental Church Magazine* in 1878, *What business had England in the Greek island of Cyprus, unless to occupy it for the time being in trust, and then transfer it to the Hellenic Kingdom with the advent of peace?*²⁴⁶. While in, *The Historical Geography of Europe*, of 1881, by the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford from 1884, Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-1892)²⁴⁷, is the statement, *The Greek island of Cyprus has passed to English rule*²⁴⁸, writing as though the island of Cyprus had been ruled by Greeks for the previous half a millennia and more, and had just come into English hands, thereby excising six hundred and ninety-eight years of non-Greek rule over Cyprus including three hundred years of Ottoman rule. This phrase was then repeated in *The Spectator* review of this book of the same year²⁴⁹. Yet a decade later the same Edward Augustus Freeman would write, *“But we can hardly claim Cyprus as geographically part of Europe; it is rather an Asiatic land which has been more than once won for Europe”*²⁵⁰. This term occurs again in 1896 in the Dublin, *New Ireland Review*, *“Why has England ever since the Berlin Conference in 1878, that is during seventeen long years, steadily maintained the unreformed dominion of the Turks over their Christian Provinces, and, in fact, gone shares in that dominion by accepting from the Turk the Greek island of Cyprus, and by keeping it under English garrisons and English tax gatherers instead of allowing Cyprus to join itself to the Greek nation?”*²⁵¹.

Earlier, John Rivett, Master of the Academy at Wymondham, Norfolk, in his, *An Introduction to Geography, Astronomy, and the use of the globes...* of 1794, had stated, *In the Archipelago and Levant Seas, are Candia, where stands Mount Ida, now no better than a*

²⁴⁴ Busk, 1854: 184, *“He equipped a fleet, put to sea, and without any sort of warning attacked the Greek island of Cyprus, then committed to the government of a nephew of Manuel’s”*.

²⁴⁵ Orton, 1872: 117, *“Messages are forwarded via Falmouth. London to Greek Islands: Crete: Canea, Retimo \$6.62; Cyprus \$6.00; Mytilene, Rhodes, Samos, Scio \$5.75. London to Turkey in Asia Seaports: Marmorice, Latakia, Scalanova \$5.38. Half rate for every additional ten words, or fraction of ten words.*

²⁴⁶ Anonymous, 1879c: 270.

²⁴⁷ Gladstonian Liberal in politics, of published strong opinions against: Jews, Chinese, people of colour, Turks and Catholic Irish; tutor of Arthur Evans, who married his daughter, both Freeman and Evans the excavator of Knossos on Crete, were activists against Ottoman rule in the 1870’s uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

²⁴⁸ Freeman, 1881: 449.

²⁴⁹ Anonymous, 1881: 639.

²⁵⁰ Freeman, 1891: 233, and writes, *In Cyprus, the Greek, the European of any kind, is an invader, a benefactor perhaps, but still an invader.*

²⁵¹ Crosbie, 1896: 239.

barren rock. Negroponte, where the Turkish Gallies lie. Samos, the birth place of Pythagoras. Patmos, where St. John wrote the Revelations. Paros, noted for the beauty and whiteness of its marble. Rhodes, famous for having contained the brass colossus, one of the seven wonders of the world. Cyprus, which contains Mount Olympus. Also Scio, Tendos, Lemnos, Santorin, etc. all of which are subject to the Turks, and form part of ancient and modern Greece²⁵². In other words, Cyprus was *subject to the Turks* (Ottoman rule) but also, and, at the same time, extraordinarily forms a part of ancient and modern Greece. Quite how Ottoman Cyprus in 1794 can be understood at the same time as forming part of Modern Greece, decades before there was any Kingdom of Greece, seems a decidedly odd notion, except in the Philhellene imagination, rather like saying Alexandria due to its founder, and Babylon where Alexander the Great died were *subject to the Turks and form a part of both ancient and of modern Greece*. Or that Sicily, due to the death of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse, was *subject to the Kingdom of Naples, and forms a part of ancient and of modern Greece*.

It is noteworthy that the terms, *Cypre*, *gr. île d'Asie*, and, *île grecque de Chypre*, do not seem to appear with any frequency in French publications of the 19th century.

The Cartography of (Ottoman) Cyprus

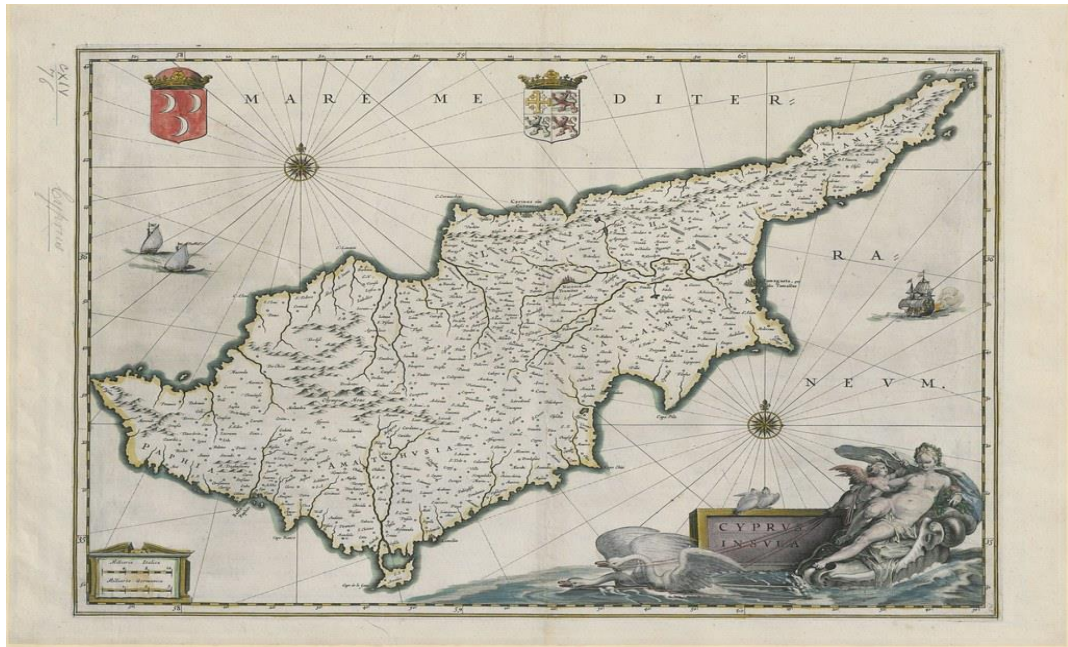


Fig. 1. Joan Blaeu's 17th century map of Cyprus entitled, *Cyprus Insula*, with its armorials (hand coloured, varying from print to print) that indicated both Ottoman and Lusignan sovereignty over the island. Even though Lusignan sovereignty over Cyprus ended

²⁵² Rivett, 1794: 17.

in 1489, the Dukes of Savoy were the Catholic claimants (from 1485-1946) to the throne of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and to the Kingdoms of Cyprus and (Lesser) Armenia²⁵³. A plan was made under Louis-Louys XIV. (1643-1715) by Bernardin Gigault de Bellefonds (1630-1699) the Marshal of France from 1668, for taking Ottoman Cyprus in the interests of the French and Charles Emmanuel II. Duke of Savoy (1638-1675), in 1670-1671²⁵⁴, a century after the Ottoman conquest, but events conspired to prevent the plan from being put into operation.

The almost complete absence from British and French publications for more than three hundred years of a term indicating where sovereignty over the island of Cyprus actually resided, such as: *Ottomite Cyprus*²⁵⁵, *Ottoman Cyprus*, or, perhaps less accurately, Turkish Cyprus indicating possession of Cyprus²⁵⁶, *Chypre ottomane*, *Chypre turc*, before the establishment of British administrative control over the island, does not of course indicate any British or French unawareness of the reality of Ottoman sovereignty over Cyprus from 1573 onwards, or of the danger presented by *the general enemy Ottoman*²⁵⁷. The numerous published accounts of the Ottoman conquest of the Venetian ruled island in 1571, the siege of Famagusta and the subsequent flaying alive of Marco Antonio Bragadin, the Venetian viceroy in Famagusta, (due to the murder of Muslim pilgrim prisoners)²⁵⁸, formed a longstanding and well known set-piece of European history.

In the European cartography of the Eastern Mediterranean over the centuries Cyprus was clearly indicated as forming a part of Ottoman/Turkish territory²⁵⁹, although the Ottoman

²⁵³ A claim to rule Cyprus that led to a 30 year break in 17th c. diplomatic relations between Venice and Savoy, Stubbs, 1878: 51. This claim was not forgotten in the 19th century, see for example its mention in Anonymous, 1867: 64.

²⁵⁴ Hill, 1952: 60-61. The 1604 Ahidnâme granted France protection of the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and the “monks” dwelling there, (Schmidt, 1999: 381.). In 1673 Charles-Marie-Francois Olier Marquis d’Angervillers et de Nointel, the French Ambassador to Sultan Mehmed IV (r.1648-1687) and his party visited Cyprus on his tour, which was unauthorised to travel beyond Smyrna/İzmir, to Jerusalem where there resulted a confrontation with the Orthodox, and in consequence the French role of protector of the Holy Places was removed by the Ottoman divan and was only regained in 1690.

²⁵⁵ William Shakespeare at times uses Turk as a synonym for Ottomite, *Othello*, the Moor of Venice, Act. 1, scene 2, lines 19-22: *When we consider The imporantcy of Cyprus to the Turk, and let ourselves again but understand That as it more concerns the Turk than Rhodes*, lines 33-34: *The Ottomites..., Steering with due course towards the isle of Rhodes*.

²⁵⁶ As in, Knight, 1854: 664. Turks meaning either Ottomans or Muslims.

²⁵⁷ William Shakespeare: *Othello*, the Moor of Venice, Act 1 Scene 3, line, 49. *Against the general enemy Ottoman*.

²⁵⁸ Due to the deaths of 40 to 50 Muslim pilgrim prisoners, who had been promised safe passage, Gazioğlu, 1990: 61-66; Russell, 2021: 108-109.

²⁵⁹ For example, marked as: Cyprus, *Turcici Imperii Imago* by Jodocus Hondius I, c. 1606 and 1633; *Beglerbeglic de L’Isle de Cypre*, on Hubert Jaillot’s 1696 map entitled, *Estats Del’Empire du Grand Seigneur Des Turcs en Europe, en Asie, et en Afrique, divise en tous ses Beglerbeglicz, ou Gouvernements*; in 1701, the title of the map reads: *A description of Turkey in Asia, Natolia, and the Islands situated over against it*, drawn by Herman Moll, the island is named *Cyprus*, Luyts 1701: 3; in 1740, Nicolaes Visscher, Amsterdam, *Imperium*

ruled island is not explicitly named as such; but just named, as *Ciprus* on the Antwerp, c. 1592 map entitled *Turcici Imperii Descriptio*; likewise, *Cyprus* on John Speed's 1626 London map entitled, *The Turkish Empire*; as also on Nicolaes-Frederick de Wit's 1690 map entitled, *Turcicum imperium*, as on Johann Baptist Homann's map entitled, *Imperium Turcicum In Europa, Asia, Et Africa Regiones* of c. 1720-40, that records *Cyprus* within the Turkish Empire (Ottoman Sultanate). On Matthaus Seutter's c.1730 map, *Magni Turcarum Dominatoris Imperium per Europam, Asiam Et Africam, se extendens Regiones tam proprias, quan tributarias et clientelares ut et omnes Beglerbegatus*, the island is named, *Cyprus Ins./ Insulae Cypri*. Well into the 19th century in European cartography Cyprus was depicted in maps that were entitled *Turkey in Asia*²⁶⁰, while Cyprus was not usually depicted on maps entitled *Turkey in Europe*. This because since antiquity the western coast of Asia Minor (of modern Turkey) and its adjacent islands – were regarded as where Asia, the Orient, the East, began, and the island of Cyprus is about 600 km. to the East of the western coastline of Asia Minor and therefore was regarded geographically as being a part of Asia, a part of the Orient.

Although in his 1578 *Cosmographia* Sebastian Münster on his Cyprus map records Cyprus as a kingdom, *Von der Insel und Königreich Cypern*, this was exceptional, not only because Cyprus had not been a kingdom since it came into the possession in 1489 of The Most Supreme Republic, Venice, eighty-nine years earlier, and because the island had by 1578 been an Ottoman possession for five years; but because the titles of individual maps of the island from 1571 to 1878 typically record just the name *Cyprus* or *Island of Cyprus-Isl. Cyprus*, not naming it as a kingdom, nor recording the name of its ruler-sovereign: as in, *Cypri Insulae Nova Descript*, by Abraham Ortelius, Antwerp, 1573; as on Mercator's 1606 map entitled *Cyprus Ins.*, while the legend simply reads *Chypre* on Jean Boisseau's 1659 Paris map of the island, without any indication on the map as to sovereignty; as likewise on the map entitled, *De L'Asie, Isles de Cypre, Cypre*, by Allain Manesson Mallet of 1683; as on

Turcicum in Europa, Asia et Africa; in 1760, *Cypre*, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, Paris, *Troisieme partie de la carte d'Europe, contenant le midi de la Russie, la Pologne, et la Hongrie, la Turquie y compris celle d'Asie presque'entier*; in 1794, *Cyprus*, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, London, *A new map of Turkey in Asia by Monsr. D'Anville, first geographer to the most Christian King with several additions*; in 1794, *Cyprus I.*, on Robert Wilkinson, London, *Map of Turkey in Asia*; in 1830, *Cyprus*, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (Great Britain), London, entitled, *Turkey containing the provinces in Asia Minor*.

²⁶⁰ The following examples of French and British maps that include Cyprus in *Turquie Asiatique/Turky in Asia/Turkey in Asia*: Herman Moll, *Turkey in Asia; or Asia Minor &.*, 1736; Emanuel Bowen, *Turky in Asia, Arabia &.*, 1747; Rigobert Bonne, *Turquie d'Asie*, 1791; Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, *Turkey in Asia*, 1794; Louis Brion de La Tour, *Perse, Turquie Asiatique, et Arabie*, 1786; John Carey, *Turkey in Asia*, 1801; William Darton, *Turkey in Asia*, 1811; John Pinkerton, *Turkey in Asia*, 1813; John Thompson, *Turkey in Asia*, 1817; William Home Lizars, *Turkey in Asia*, 1818; Daniel Lizars, *Turkey in Asia*, 1831; John Arrowsmith, *Turkey in Asia*, 1832; Alexandre Emile Lapie, *Turquie d'Asie, Perse, Afghanistan, Arabie*, 1831; Sidney Hall, *Turkey in Asia*, 1837; Auguste-Henri Dufour, *Turquie d'Asie*, 1863; James Wyld, *Map of Turkey in Asia*, 1864.

Guillaume de l'isle's *Carte de la Grece* of 1683-1761 the island is simply named *Isle De Chypre*; as on a 1687 map, entitled *Cypri Insula*²⁶¹; as on Richard Pococke's map of 1745, the title simply reads, *A Map of Cyprus*²⁶²; and on Alexander Drummond's map of 1754, *Island of Cyprus*.

However, on Joan Blaeu's *Cyprus Insula*, of 1635 and in later editions and versions²⁶³, through the two armorials depicted above the island on the map (**Fig. 1.**), both the Ottoman and Lusignan arms, a dual-divided sovereignty over the island is indicated²⁶⁴. This, although Lusignan sovereignty over Cyprus was lost 176 years earlier, in 1489 when *the Venetian State was honoured and augmented with the kingdom of Cyprus*²⁶⁵, and, through the Venetian-Ottoman peace of March 7th 1573, sovereignty over Cyprus passed from the Republic of Venice to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II., while the Christian Catholic Lusignan claim to legitimate rule over the island remained *de jure* through the House of Savoy. A further version of this by Matthaeus Merian the Elder, with the same armorial positions, entitled *Cyprus Insula*, appeared in *Archontologia Cosmica*, Frankfurt, 1649²⁶⁶; while Olfert Dapper's 1703, Amsterdam engraving reverses the position of armorials²⁶⁷; and Gerard Valk and Petrus Schenk's version of *Cyprus Insula* of c. 1707, returns the Ottoman arms to sinister, the Lusignan arms to dexter²⁶⁸. Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's 1696 map entitled *A Camantis Insula hogaidi Cipro Posseduta dalla Republica Veneta sin'all'Anno 1571* from his *Isolario*, likewise carries the arms of the Lusignans above the scale lower right together with a shield charged with the device of the Order of the Sword, founded by Peter I in 1347, consisting of a sword upright and the motto *Pour Lealte Maintenir, Maintain Loyalty*, on a scroll, while no other indication of sovereignty over Cyprus is indicated on this map.

At the start of the 19th century on Captain Francis Beaufort's map entitled: *South Coast of Asia Minor commonly called Karamania*, in his book entitled: *Karamania: Or, A brief description of the south coast of Asia-Minor*²⁶⁹, published in London in 1817, there is the

²⁶¹ Graziani, 1687: frontispiece. The republished map was Italian, probably Venetian.

²⁶² Pococke, 1745, un-numbered map between p. 210 and 211.

²⁶³ A version is published in, Willem Janszoon and Joan Blaeu's, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Novus Atlas*, Amsterdam, 1635, again in 1647, <https://24glo.com/img/cyprus/map10.jpg> in 1665, and it was copied by Joannes Janssonius in 1637.

²⁶⁴ Although, https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Coat_of_arms_of_Cyprus gives this armorial to the *Eyalet of Cyprus*, it is to be understood as the cartographers' representation of the Ottoman arms, matched by those of the Lusignan arms to the right. It does not represent the arms of the Eyalet/island of Cyprus, but those of the island's sovereign.

²⁶⁵ Fougasses, 1612: 529.

²⁶⁶ <https://24glo.com/img/cyprus/map11.jpg>.

²⁶⁷ <https://24glo.com/img/cyprus/map15.jpg>.

²⁶⁸ <https://24glo.com/img/cyprus/map17.jpg>.

²⁶⁹ Beaufort, 1817.

outline of the eastern part of the island, which is recorded on the map as, *Part of Cyprus*, and, as was the case with the vast majority of earlier maps there is no indication of Ottoman sovereignty. There is no record of current Ottoman or Turkish sovereignty recorded in the title nor in the legends on this map, although the names of the regions in antiquity: Caria, Lycia, Cilicia Trachea, Cilicia Campestris, are recorded, together with some names of *sanjaks*; while the title of both this map and the book, *Karamania*, is the 19th century continuation of the quite deliberate European misnaming of Ottoman territory in favour of their former opponents, the Karamanids, a terminological practice frequently recorded in European texts and maps concerning the territories of the Ottoman state in Asia Minor from the 15th century onwards. There is of course simply no evidence to show Karamanid 14th - 15th century territory ever stretched as far west as the Teke Peninsular and Macri-Fethiye, yet this region is included within this so-called coast of *Karamania*, and is frequently recorded as extending as far west as Bodrum (Menteşe-Muğla). Although in Edward Lear's poem, *The Courtship of the Yonghy-Bonghy-Bo*, published in 1877, there is mention of the *Coast of Coromandel*, it exists, on the south-eastern coastal region of the Indian subcontinent and was named as such from the start of the 16th century onwards; yet strangely, for the course of half a millennia *Karamania* was recorded in European published books and marked on maps and charts as extending along the southern coastline of Anatolia-Anatolie, Asia-Minor-Asie Mineure, Turkia, even though a state-province of *Karamania* encompassing the southern coastline of Anatolia never existed, outside of the carefully chosen terminology applied by the Christian European to the Ottoman Other's territory. The Ottoman *Eyālet-i Karaman - Karaman Eyaleti - Karaman Beylerbeyliği*, founded in the mid-15th century was to the North of the Taurus Mountains with its administrative centre at Konya and *livas* of: Larenda/Karaman, Akşehir, Akserai, Niğde, Kirşehir, Beyşehir, and Kayseri. Further, it is perhaps worthy of some note that the word *Ottoman* occurs only once in Captain Beaufort's book²⁷⁰, in a reference made to the Ottoman court; and the word *Turkish* occurs five times²⁷¹, only twice in respect to sovereignty-dominion-government, yet this entire volume of two-hundred and ninety-nine pages concerns Ottoman territory and was written by a British admiralty hydrographer whose work was in part, charting maritime borders. Neither Cyprus, nor Rhodes, nor the Southern coastline of Anatolia are recorded explicitly as either *Ottoman* or *Turkish* territory in this book, yet England had had diplomatic relations with the Ottoman state since Ambassador

²⁷⁰ Beaufort 1817: 113.

²⁷¹ Beaufort 1817: 50, in reference to the so-called Turkish character; idem. p. 80, Turkish spelling; idem. p. 96, *the Turkish Government is always gratified by complaints of its servants*; idem. p.124, Turkish language; idem. p. 125, *The exportation of corn is prohibited throughout the Turkish dominions*.

William Harborne in 1582–8. This is therefore somewhat like a French admiralty hydrographer in 1817 publishing a book and chart that marked the entire southern coastline of England, the Isles of Scilly and the Isle of Wight, as not being any part of Great Britain. On James Wyld's London, 1838, *Map of the Ottoman Dominions in Asia: with the adjacent frontiers of the Russian and Persian Empires*, Cyprus is named together with the statement, *N.B. The Island of Cyprus is considered as a part of the Province of Itshili (İçel)*; while on the published *Carte de L'Ile de Chypre*, of 1876, by Rémy Hausermann (1843-1933)²⁷², the words, *Chypre ottomane*, *Chypre turc*, do not occur, only *L'Ile de Chypre*.

'Othering' Through Absence

This terminological lacuna, that could be described as "othering through absence," perhaps becomes more visible through any comparison made with the published toponyms employed for other periods in the history of Cyprus, e.g., *Royaume de Cypre*, 1634²⁷³; *Histoire des Rois de Chypre de la Maison de Lusignan*, in 1732²⁷⁴, 1860²⁷⁵; *la maison de Lusignan de Chypre*, in 1742, 1852, 1853, 1853, 1860, and, 1861; *le royaume de chypre*²⁷⁶, in 1864; *Cyprus, of the House of Lusignan*²⁷⁷, and also in 1864, *Cyprus of the Lusignans*²⁷⁸, in 1878 and in 1880, *Lusignan-Cyprus*²⁷⁹; *Latin kingdom of Cyprus* in 1823²⁸⁰, 1832²⁸¹, 1845²⁸², 1851²⁸³, 1857²⁸⁴, 1860²⁸⁵, 1876²⁸⁶; *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 1658²⁸⁷, 1662²⁸⁸, 1685²⁸⁹, 1698²⁹⁰, 1687²⁹¹, 1704²⁹², 1809²⁹³, 1854²⁹⁴, 1857²⁹⁵, 1858²⁹⁶; in 1865, *Roman Cyprus*²⁹⁷; in 1869,

²⁷² Capitaine, 1878, map between 240-241.

²⁷³ d'Avity, 1634: 1209.

²⁷⁴ Anonymous, 1732.

²⁷⁵ La-Mure, 1860: 534.

²⁷⁶ Giannone, 1742: 496; Jacques & Migne, 1852: 187-235; Froissart, 1852 : 295; Laferrrière, 1853: 479-480, 489; Lacroix, 1853, passim; de La-Mure 1860: 515; Mas Latrè, 1861: passim.

²⁷⁷ Milner, 1864: 632.

²⁷⁸ Palgrave, 1864: 454.

²⁷⁹ Woodward, 1878: 330; Anonymous, 1879a: 328.

²⁸⁰ Gibbon, 1823: 279.

²⁸¹ Commission, 1832: 727.

²⁸² Gibbon, 1845: 71.

²⁸³ Commission, 1851a: 55.

²⁸⁴ Commission, 1857: 363.

²⁸⁵ Wharton & Hopper, 1860: 70.

²⁸⁶ Freeman, 1876: 82.

²⁸⁷ Commission, 1658: 1, 3, 9, 13, 25, 26, 28, 68, 71, 81, 91, 98, 196.

²⁸⁸ Sainte-Marthe, 1662: 42.

²⁸⁹ Lassels, 1685: 228.

²⁹⁰ Ferrar, 1698: 263.

²⁹¹ Graziani, 1687: 31, 45, "impossible to hide any longer the Grand Signior's real Design: the Chief Visier sent therefore for their Ambassador, to tell him, his Highness intended to take possession of the Kingdom of Cyprus, as having a just and ancient Right to that Crown:", 49, 53, 75.

²⁹² Bocalini, 1704: 25; 27.

²⁹³ Monstrelet & Dacier, 1809.

*chypre phénicienne*²⁹⁸; and yet, although the term, *Turkish island*, meaning the Muslim-Ottoman ruled island of Cyprus was employed in 1843, 1850, and, 1863, there was no use of the term *Ottoman Cyprus* until 1879 and *Chypre ottoman*, *Chypre turc*, appears decades later.

This lacuna in terminological expression regarding the actual ruler, of sovereignty over Cyprus becomes still more clearly expressed when it is compared with the French and British terminology that was repeatedly employed for other places, where the name of the sovereign nation is expressed together with the name of the place over which sovereignty was exercised. These for example include: *Spanish India*, 1714²⁹⁹, 1877³⁰⁰; *French India*, 1760³⁰¹, 1812³⁰², 1830³⁰³, 1836³⁰⁴, 1841³⁰⁵, 1850³⁰⁶; *British India*, 1744; 1812, 1813, 1817, etc.³⁰⁷; *Mogul/Mogol/Moghul India*, 1827³⁰⁸, 1878³⁰⁹; *empire of the Mogul in India*, 1787³¹⁰; *French Guiana*, in 1787³¹¹, 1788³¹², 1833³¹³, 1854³¹⁴; *Dutch Guiana* in 1787³¹⁵, 1833³¹⁶; *French West Indies*, in 1802³¹⁷; *Dutch East Indies*, in 1802³¹⁸, 1833³¹⁹, 1851³²⁰; *Danish India*, 1842³²¹; *British Malta*, in 1848³²², 1853³²³, 1861³²⁴; *the British island of Malta*, in 1873³²⁵; *British*

²⁹⁴ Köppen, 1854: 380.

²⁹⁵ Lamartine, 1857: 104.

²⁹⁶ Sotheby, 1858: 208, *Whereas the most Holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, Nicholas Vth, by Divine grace Pope, mercifully compassionating the afflictions of the Kingdom of Cyprus from those most treacherous enemies of the Cross of Christ, the Turks and the Saracens...*

²⁹⁷ Lloyd, 1865: 292, “*Paul And Barnabus In Roman Cyprus*”.

²⁹⁸ Anonymous, 1869: 187.

²⁹⁹ Anonymous, 1714: 100, *The French shall never get into the Possession of The Spanish India*.

³⁰⁰ Rose, 1877: 171, *It claims the merit of having sent the first patriarch to Spanish India*.

³⁰¹ Anonymous, 1789: 64, Pondicherry: *The strongest hopes are conceived that this capital of the French India power and commerce will shortly be brought into our possession*.

³⁰² Clarke, 1812: 72, *He was afterwards governor of the Isle of France and French India*.

³⁰³ Anonymous, 1830: 80.

³⁰⁴ Lieber, 1836: 559.

³⁰⁵ Commission, 1841: 272.

³⁰⁶ Macgregor, 1850: 133.

³⁰⁷ Commission, 1744: 1, 19, 20, 35, 37; Commission, 1812: 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 20, 21; Commission, 1813: 16, 26; Mill, 1817.

³⁰⁸ Tytler, 1827: 522.

³⁰⁹ Keene, 1878: 115, *Mughul India*.

³¹⁰ Stackhouse, 1787: 375.

³¹¹ Guthrie, 1785: 867.

³¹² Raynal, 1788: 409.

³¹³ Commission, 1835: 37.

³¹⁴ Commission, 1854a: 171.

³¹⁵ Guthrie, 1785: 864.

³¹⁶ Commission, 1835: 36.

³¹⁷ Commission, 1802: 618.

³¹⁸ Commission, 1802: 618.

³¹⁹ Commission, 1835: 34.

³²⁰ Commission, 1851b: 342, “Conditions of the Loan of 2,500,000 guilders (£208,333) for encouraging Free Cultivation in the Dutch East Indies”.

³²¹ Commission, 1841: 272.

³²² Commission, 1848: 504, “*British Malta and Gibraltar...*”.

³²³ Commission, 1853: 12, “*What is the geographical position of British Malta, and what reasons are there for supposing it to be the Melita mentioned in the New Testament?*”.

Gibraltar, in 1848³²⁶; *Between Spanish Algeciras and English Gibraltar* in 1856³²⁷; *British Canada* in 1848³²⁸; *British Honduras* in 1800³²⁹, 1850³³⁰, 1854³³¹, and, 1868³³²; *Spanish Honduras*, in 1868³³³; *British Guiana*, in 1833³³⁴, and 1854³³⁵; *Italian Sardinia* in 1860³³⁶; *Norman Sicily* in 1854³³⁷, and 1876³³⁸. And yet until 1879, only *Cyprus*, or at times, *island of Cyprus*, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, and, *Turkish island*, but not, *Ottoman Cyprus*.

There is however mention of *Ottoman Egypt*, in 1863³³⁹, 1893³⁴⁰, and 1897³⁴¹, and, repeatedly, *Turkish Egypt*, in 1838³⁴², 1840³⁴³, 1863³⁴⁴, 1874³⁴⁵, and in 1894³⁴⁶. One could think that in cases of Ottoman sovereignty in French and English published texts, the use of the identifier of sovereignty, together with the name of the country, was only employed after that country had been in fact lost to effective Ottoman rule, although legal sovereignty remained, as in the case of Cyprus, where the published term *Ottoman Cyprus* occurs from 1878 onwards. This also appears to be the case for Ottoman Egypt, a *de facto* British

³²⁴ Turner, 1861: 104, “and this day, we stand in British Malta, far away!”.

³²⁵ Commission, 1873: 1141, “by the creation of numerous lines of steamers running between the British island of Malta and the Turkish capital, and the establishment of three other lines plying between that island and Tripoli, that trade has received a new impetus”.

³²⁶ Commission, 1848: 504, “British Malta and Gibraltar...”.

³²⁷ Stuart-Wortley, 1856: 301. Likewise, Hughes, 1907: v. 9, *British Possessions in Europe, Malta*.

³²⁸ Hall, 1847-1848: 298.

³²⁹ Gardner, 1800: 161.

³³⁰ Macgregor, 1850: 1221.

³³¹ Commission, 1854a: 171.

³³² Swett, 1868: 114.

³³³ Swett 1868: 114.

³³⁴ Commission, 1835: 36.

³³⁵ Commission, 1854a: 171.

³³⁶ Commission, 1860b: 548; 199-203, 303-314; Bidwell, 1861: 314, “From the metropolis of Italian Sardinia, Baron Plana has anticipated”.

³³⁷ Busk, 1854: 412, n. 141, “or species of culture being carried from Norman Sicily to Moslem Spain”.

³³⁸ Anonymous, 1876b: 1876, “And it was in Norman Sicily that the first words of Italian poetry were uttered, that Italian literature began”.

³³⁹ Written by Lady Elizabeth Emilia Bithynia Hornby (1826-1866), wife of Sir Edmund Grimani Hornby (1825-1896), a Jewish-Italian British judge, sent in 1855 to Constantinople as commissioner of the Turkish Loan lent by Britain to Turkey in the Crimean War, and who established and was Chief Judge of the British Supreme Consular Court at Constantinople from 1857-1865, knighted 1862. Mrs. Edmund Hornby, *Constantinople During the Crimean War, with illustrations in chromo-lithography*, Richard Bentley, London, 1863, 364, “The principal uprising, however, has been in Ottoman Egypt”.

³⁴⁰ In the *Journal officiel de la République française* of 1893, Ottoman Egypt repeatedly occurs in respect to the *Ottoman Egypt tribute loan*, 10, 12, 27, 5418, 5434, 5465, 5490, 5499, 5506, 5522, 5534, 5546, 5596, 5614, 5658, 5674, 5698, 5718, 5746, 5748, 5806, 5822, 5846, 5866, 5906, 5918, 5933, 5949, 5966, 6014, 6110, 6146, 6206, 6258, 6274.

³⁴¹ Weethee, 1897: 364, quoting Hornby, 1863: 364.

³⁴² Commission, 1848: 226, *Turkish - Egypt, and Nubia*.

³⁴³ Commission, 1840: 316, *Turkey and the Turkish Egypt*.

³⁴⁴ Wilson, 1863: 346, “Recommended that a collection be taken up for our Missions in Turkish Egypt, Damascus, in Syria, and India”.

³⁴⁵ Schweinfurth, 1874: iii, “and it was perhaps owing to Buonaparte that Turkish Egypt advanced so far to the South”.

³⁴⁶ Simcox, 1894: 1140.

protectorate from 1882, as although Ottoman sovereignty over Egypt remained a legal if theoretical fact, as likewise for Cyprus, until the proclamation of the British Protectorate over Egypt on the 18th of December 1914, Kavalalı Muhammad Ali Pasha (1769-1849), acknowledged by the Porte as *vali*-governor of Ottoman Egypt from 1805, and *de facto* ruler of Egypt, declared himself Khedive³⁴⁷ of Egypt, and Ismā'il Pasha, his grandson (r. 1863-1879) had his assumed title of Khedive recognised by the Porte on May 14th 1867³⁴⁸. *De facto*, in terms of ruler-ship Muhammad Ali Pasha's dynasty ruled Egypt and the term *Ottoman Egypt*, was published in 1863, the year Ismā'il Pasha's rule began and the term *Turkish Egypt* appears in 1836 during the reign of Kavalalı Muhammad Ali Pasha. It also seems to be the case in respect to published mention of *l'Empire du Mogol, Mogul/ Mogol/ Moghul India*, as in 1787, 1827 and 1878, the term was employed when the effective administration of Moghul territory no longer remained in Muslim Moghul hands, but was in the hands of the East India Company and then from 1858 the British Crown.

Some Conclusions

Firstly, from the above it can be noted that the terminological change in both French and English texts in respect to the geographical location of *Djezâir-i-bahr-i Sefid*, the Ottoman islands of the Archipelago including Cyprus, that is, the move from being usually recognised in published texts as being a part of *Asia, Western Asia, Asia Minor, Ottoman Asia, Turkey in Asia*, to becoming quite often recorded as a part of Europe, *Turkey in Europe*, preceded by decades the actual loss of these territories to European powers, and in these cases at least, this terminological change could be understood as historical marker indicative of their future loss.

Secondly, both the French and the British in the 19th century moved the geography of continents, or rather perceptions of their borders for readers, through re-classification. In the case of Cyprus the island was moved out of *Asia/Western Asia/Turkey in Asia* or *Ottoman Asia*, and into *Turkey in Europe*, becoming geographically recognised as a part of Europe, while remaining in the same location. This was earlier the case for Malta, in Africa, as mentioned by Scylax in the 6th-5th c. B.C. as belonging to Africa, while Malta is described by Ptolemy as an African island in the African Sea, south of Sicily, *Melita Africana (Malta)*;

³⁴⁷ Understood to mean sovereign, e.g. Hornby 1863, 364, *Khedive (sovereign)*.

³⁴⁸ As in the note presented in Dec. 1840 to the four Powers regarding the agreement of 27 Nov. between Mehmet Ali and Commodore Napier, *Mehmet Ali to be hereditary Pasha of Egypt*.

even under the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem³⁴⁹ (*Melita, hodie Malta, Africae proximior*, Abraham Gölnitz, 1649), until after the arrival of the British, when the island of Malta moved, while remaining in the same location, to become geographically recognised as a part of Europe. Further, the longstanding European division, not only French and British, often expressed in both the literature and in the cartography of the territory of the Ottoman sultanate usually divided it into two parts, so-called *Turkey in Europe* and so-called *Turkey in Asia*, terminologically separating Ottoman *Turkey in Europe* from Ottoman *Turkey in Asia*, but also separating these from the less frequently mentioned *Turkey in Africa*, Ottoman Egypt and Ottoman North and East African territory, and locating Cyprus with few exceptions within *Turkey in Asia*, until the mid-19th century when the published terminology indicated Cyprus was either in *Turkey in Asia* or in *Turkey in Europe*, and then under British administration, Cyprus became often recorded as British colonial territory in Europe, or as a part of Europe.

Thirdly, it is evident that the practice of naming a place with indication of its sovereign ruler, such as, *Lusignan Cyprus*, or, *the Kingdom of Cyprus*, carries different implications from just recording the geographical toponyms *Chypre*, and, *l'Île de Chypre*, *Cyprus* and *the Island of Cyprus*, the matter of 'othering through absence.' For more than three hundred years prior to 1878 the name of the sovereign over the island Cyprus seems not to have been directly attached to the name of the island of Cyprus in either French or English publications - not even after March 30th 1856, when, with the Treaty of Paris following the end of the Crimean War, the Ottoman state became through treaty a member of the Concert of Europe - the terminology employed in French and English publications after 1856 remained unchanged, *Chypre*, and, *l'Île de Chypre - Cyprus*, as also, *the island of Cyprus*, a stateless island, an island without a sovereign, there was no recognition through the terminology employed in texts published in English and French of *Ottoman Cyprus/Chypre ottoman*, thereby continuing the centuries old practice of not naming the *de facto* Ottoman sovereignty over the island. It was noted in 1862, *With all their great personal qualities, they are ethnically and nationally weak. They cannot give a regular form to their government; they are still encamped rather than settled in Europe; they have never been able to assimilate conquered provinces, even when they converted them to their own religion. Hence the rights of the Turks have always been rather defended as mechanically necessary to the balance of*

³⁴⁹ Likewise Quintinus records concerning the vernacular architecture on Malta in the 1530's that, "Apart from the city (Birgu) and some houses in the suburbs, one would take all the rest for African huts". D'Autun, 1980: 30-31.

*power than as defensible by law; as necessary, but not as legitimate*³⁵⁰, that is, *de facto* rather than *de jure*; as was likewise expressed in 1897, *The great Powers have, more than once, categorically refused to concede to the Turks, quâ Turks, equal rights with other independent nations*³⁵¹.

Through laying claim to a territory and naming it, from Newfoundland to Nova Scotia, Nieuw Holland to New Zealand, the Belgian Congo, to British India, the almost inevitable implication of this terminology, with the exception of Antarctica, is that the territory claimed in fact belonged to, was in the possession of someone else, either a previous claimant or native populations, it was not *terra nullius*. So why was it that terminologically, for more than 300 years under Ottoman rule, the name of the strategic island of Cyprus in both French and English publications did not carry indication that it belonged to any sovereign or republic, no *Chypre ottoman*, or, *Chypre turc*, nor yet, *Osmanite*, *Osmanlee*, *Osmanlı*³⁵², or *Ottoman Cyprus*, nor, *Turkish Cyprus*, not even termed a *Turkish Island* until the mid-19th century; and, why was this likewise the case for Ottoman Rhodes from 1522 onwards and Ottoman Crete from 1669³⁵³, etc.? Was it that in the minds of the French and British and other Europeans the Ottoman dynasty being Muslim, by definition as such, lacked legitimacy to rule, was just ruling *de facto*; while the Christian Lusignans of Jerusalem and Cyprus and (Lesser) Armenia, a bloodline subsequently represented from 1482 onwards through the House of Savoy, were the legitimate *de jure* rulers of Cyprus³⁵⁴, as was stated through the armorials depicted on Joan Blaeu's map of 1635 (Fig. 1), entitled, *Cyprus Insula*, and the related examples into the 18th century, through depicting the armoury of both the *de jure* and the *de facto* rulers of Ottoman Cyprus.

³⁵⁰ Anonymous, 1862a: 596.

³⁵¹ Anonymous, 1897a: 523.

³⁵² Not Osmanlı Cyprus, yet one reads, The Osmanlı took Cyprus in 1571, and Candia in 1669, Commission, 1870: 554.

³⁵³ The term, (*Turkish*) *Crete*, appears once in half a millennia of British documents, the word *Turkish* in brackets, meaning both Ottoman and Muslim ruled, in the section *Reglement Organique*, 10th January, 1868, Commission, 1879b: 1248.

³⁵⁴ Legitimacy of descent to Victor Emanuel II King of Italy (b. 1869, d. 1947), of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (op. cit. fn. 7), with the King of Italy militarily advancing the borders of Christendom, or Benito Mussolini claiming to be rebuilding the Roman Empire, the consequences for Ottoman and Muslim ruled territory were the same, Asseb in 1869, Eritrea in 1870 and 1882, Ottoman Massawa in 1888, Ottoman Libya in 1911-12, Ottoman Rhodes, Kos, Patmos, Agathonisi, Astypalaia, Chalki, Kalymnos, Karpathos, Kasos, Leipsoi, Leros, Nisyros, Symi, Tilos, Kastellorizo, Alimia, Arkoi, Farmakonisi, Gyalı, Kinaros, Levitha, Marathos, Nimos, Pserimos, Saria, Strongyli, Syrna and Telendos, (the so-called Dodecanese) in 1911, Somalia, Kismayo in 1925, then the former Ottoman territories of Albania in 1939, and then Kossovo, incorporated into Italian-controlled Greater Albania; and there was the Italian bombing of Cyprus, firstly on the 22nd September 1940 when Italian aircraft attacked the mining facilities at Xeros on the north coast, and then of Nicosia, repeatedly in May, June and July of 1941.

It seems perhaps that to record in print in the period from 1573 to 1877 the term *Ottoman Cyprus*, or *Turkish Cyprus*, would mean the public admittance-acceptance of the legitimacy of Ottoman (that is of Muslim-Turk, of infidel) rule over Cyprus, as likewise over Ottoman Crete, Ottoman Rhodes, as elsewhere, and this acceptance was not in fact the case, regardless of all the mid-19th century protestations as to the maintenance of the *territorial integrity of (the) Ottoman Empire*³⁵⁵. It seems the legitimacy of Ottoman rule over Cyprus from 1571 onwards could not be accepted by Christian Europeans, the Ottoman conquest was regarded as an act of usurpation, of wrongful seizure, as was explicitly recorded in 1662, *this Kingdom hath been usurped by the Turks*,³⁵⁶ legitimacy of ruler-ship being, from the Christian European perspective, a Christian European prerogative.

To rephrase Thomas Carlyle's racist and/or religious expression in a published letter on the so-called *Eastern Question* to the Hon. Charles Wentworth George Howard (1814-1879), Member of Parliament for Cumberland East of the 11th November 1876, *Cyprus belonged to the unmentionable Turk/Ottoman/Muslim*.³⁵⁷ For 307 years the island of Cyprus remained in English texts with its sovereignty un-named, unmentioned as *Ottoman Cyprus*, and for about 327 years sovereignty unmentioned, un-named in French texts as *Chypre ottomane* - reason, Enlightenment rationalism, a European scientific approach?

Well, perhaps not. Maybe an ingrained and *particulariste* - particularist religious-legal logic to the terminology employed in print over more than three hundred years by Christian Europeans in numerous texts and in cartography describing the Ottoman Muslim ruled Cyprus as simply *Chypre*, and, *l'Île de Chypre - Cyprus*, and, *the Island of Cyprus*, with

³⁵⁵ For the terms *Territorial integrity of Ottoman Empire/Integrity of Ottoman Empire*, see: Commission, 1879, in respect to 1844, 1474, *Integrity etc. of Ottoman Empire*; 1844, 802, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1854, 861, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1854, 410, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1854, 698, *Territorial integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1855, 698, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1855, 699, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1855, 1278, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1855, 417, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1855, 1479, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1855, 709, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*; 1855, 411, *Integrity of Ottoman Empire*.

³⁵⁶ Sainte-Marthe, 1662: 42.

³⁵⁷ As employed for example by the Earl of Dunraven in the Monday 25 February 1878 debate in the House of Lords, *Russia And The Porte -The Treaties Of 1856 And 1871- Resolution*, "He did not say she had used her best endeavours; but he thought that under no other state of things would matters be much mended. He rather fancied that when they had driven out this single devil-"the unmentionable Turk"- seven other devils worse than he would enter in and take possession, and that the last state of that country would be worse than the first". *Hansard*, Vol. 238, Col. 282, at, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/lords/1878-02-25/debates/f7da8081-3fb9-4c62-b633-351a145e6ccd/RussiaAndThePorte%E2%80%94TheTreatiesOf1856And1871%E2%80%94Resolution> As later employed by Dyer, 1891: 278, "Those familiar with the incapacity for administration possessed and prized by the unspeakable Turk will not wonder that the calculations of 1878 were all wrong."; "But in spite of this rebuff (Battle of Lepanto 1571) the unmentionable Turk pressed forward still, and before Procacci's second edition appeared Cyprus had, by process of fire and sword, and by murderous treachery, been torn violently away from the European empire of Venice, just at a time when the chance of some measure of justice for her immemorably downtrodden natives was at last arriving." idem pp. 331-332. The expression crossed the Atlantic, *The "unmentionable Turk" is the way a young Carson lady spoke when alluding to the Moslems*. Anonymous, 1897: 3.

the exception of the Ottoman armorials depicted on 17th and 18th century maps that indicate Ottoman *de facto*, but, Lusignan *de jure*, rule. The European terminology employed forming a longstanding element in the war waged by Christian Europeans against the Infidel - against *de facto* Muslim Ottoman rule, where Ottoman sovereignty over Cyprus, *Ottoman Cyprus - Chypre ottoman*, was not to be acknowledged in print until after in fact it ceased to be exercised in 1878.

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Othering Through Absence, the Unmentionable “Ottoman Cyprus” 1571-1878: A Note on the French and English Terminology Identifying l’île de Chypre, the Island of Cyprus and Recognised Muslim *de facto*, but not *de jure* Rule**

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Abstract

This article enquires into why one repeatedly finds in French and English publications in the period from the 17th century to the end of Ottoman administration on Cyprus in 1878, terms such as: *Royaume de Cypre*, *Lusignan Cyprus*, *royaume de Chypre*, *les Vénitiens possédaient*, *Venetian Cyprus*, and, *Island of Cyprus*, *l’île de Chypre*, but not: *Chypre musulman*, *Chypre ottoman*, *Chypre turc*, *Ottoman Cyprus*, *Muslim/ Mahometan/ Mussulman Cyprus*, or, *Turkish Cyprus*. *Mohammedan Cyprus* appears at least once, in 1876, and Cyprus is described as a *Turkish Island* at least three times in the 19th century. Yet, Spanish India, French India, British India, Dutch Guiana, French Guiana, British Malta, etc. were recorded during this period. The terminology employed by these European powers over this period of three centuries in respect to Ottoman Cyprus indicates there was *de facto* but there was not *de jure* recognition of Ottoman sovereignty over the island of Cyprus, even after the Treaty of Paris in 1856, and even while the island was moved by some geographers from Asia into Europe.

Keywords: Island of Cyprus, Ottoman Cyprus, terminology, legitimacy

** Research Article

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Yokluk ile Ötekileřtirme; Lafı Edilemeyen “Osmanlı Kıbrıs’ı” 1571-1878: Kıbrıs Adasını Tanımlayan Fransız ve İngiliz Terminolojisi ile Tanınan Müslüman Fiiliyat ve Tanınmayan Meşru İdare ile İlgili Bir Not**

Terrance Michael Patrick Duggan*

Öz

Bu makale, 17. Yüzyıl ile 1878 yılında Kıbrıs’taki Osmanlı idaresinin sona ermesi arasındaki dönemde Fransızca ve İngilizce yayınlarda tekrar tekrar Kıbrıs ülkesi, Lüzinyan Kıbrıs, Venediklilerin Kıbrıs’ın sahibi olması, Venedikli Kıbrıs, Kıbrıs Adası ve Kıbrıs gibi terimlere yer verilirken, Müslüman Kıbrıs, Osmanlı Kıbrıs ve Türk Kıbrıs gibi terimlere pek yer verilmediğini sorgulayacaktır. Müslüman Kıbrıs (Mohammedan Cyprus) ifadesi, 1876 yılında en az bir kere kullanılmaktadır ve 19. Yüzyılda Kıbrıs en az üç kere bir Türk Adası olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Ancak, aynı dönemde, İspanyol Hindistan, Fransız Hindistan, İngiliz Hindistan, Hollandalı Guyana, Fransız Guyana, İngiliz Malta vs. terimleri kayıtlarda bulunmaktadır. Osmanlı Kıbrıs’ı ile ilgili olarak üç yüz yıllık bu dönem boyunca bu Avrupa güçleri tarafından kullanılan terminoloji, 1856 Paris Antlaşması sonrasında bile ve hatta adanın bazı coğrafyacılara tarafından Asya’dan Avrupa’ya taşınması sonrasında bile, Kıbrıs adası üzerindeki Osmanlı hükümdarlığının bir fiiliyat olarak tanındığını, ancak meşru ya da yasal görülmediğini işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs Adası, Osmanlı Kıbrıs, terminoloji, meşruiyet

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**Отчуждение через Отсутствие; Не подлежащий упоминанию «Османский Кипр»
1571–1878: Примечание о французской и английской терминологии
идентифицирующей остров Кипр и признании мусульманским де-факто, но не
признании его как де-юре****

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Аннотация

В этой статье будет исследован вопрос о том, почему во французских и английских публикациях в период с 17 века до конца османского правления на Кипре в 1878 году, во французских и английских публикациях неоднократно использовались такие термины как: страна Кипр, Лузиньянов Кипр, венецианцы, владеющие Кипром, венецианский Кипр, остров Кипр и Кипр, в то время такие термины как: Османский Кипр и Турецкий Кипр практически не использовались. Термин Мусульманский Кипр в 1876 году упоминался по крайней мере один раз, а в XIX веке Кипр описывается как турецкий остров по крайней мере трижды. Однако, в этот же период, в источниках употребляются такие термины как Испанская Индия, Французская Индия, Британская Индия, Голландская Гвиана, Французская Гвиана, Британская Мальта и т.д. Терминология, использовавшаяся этими европейскими державами в течение этого трехвекового периода в отношении Османского Кипра, указывает на то, что признание османского суверенитета над островом Кипр рассматривалась как де-факто, и не воспринималось как де-юре, даже после Парижского договора 1856 года, и даже после того как остров был перенесен некоторыми географами из Азии в Европу.

Ключевые слова: остров Кипр, Османский Кипр, терминология, легитимность.

** Исследовательская работа

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