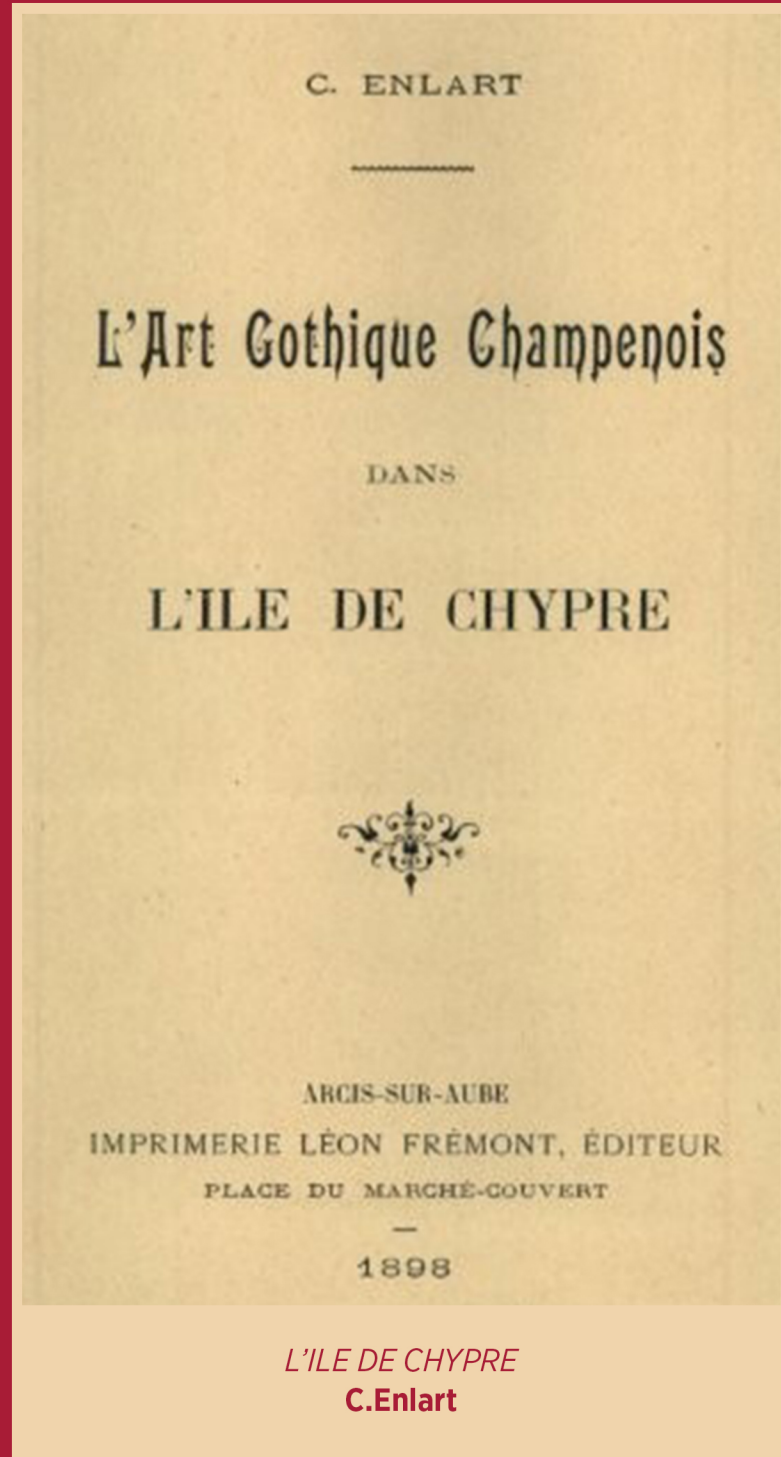


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● *Duyum Edebiyatı Bağlamın
Doç. Dr. Osman YILDIZ da
La Amante Liberal / The Liberal Lover'de
Kıbrıs"*

Doç. Dr. Osman YILDIZ

● *"Cyprus, in La Amante Liberal /
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on the French and English Terminology
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the Island of Cyprus and
Recognised Muslim de facto,
but not de jure Rule"*

Terrance Michael Patrick Duggan

● *"İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'dan Bir Alfabe:
Kıbrıs Türk Alfabesi (1934)"*

Furkan Uysal

KAİD

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***Duyum Edebiyatı Bağlamında *La Amante Liberal / The Liberal Lover*'de Kıbrıs**

Doç.Dr. Osman Yıldız*

Giriş

Edebî eserlerin tarihsel zemin üzerinden hareketle gerçekliğinin sorgulanması girişimi, tartışmalı bir konudur. Şüphesiz ki bir edebî eserden hareketle tarihsel bir olayı izaha kalkışmak ve onu tarihsel gerçek olarak kabul etmek doğru değildir. Ancak yaşanmış bir tarihî olay edebî bir esere yansıtılmışsa, yazarın tarihsel gerçekler üzerinde nasıl oynadığını da tespit etmek gerekir. Çünkü bir eser, kendine göre oluşturduğu imajlarla okuyucu kitlelerini etkilemesi mümkündür. Özellikle duyuma dayalı bilgi ile oluşturulan bu imaj, bir milletin tamamına yönelik ise, edebiyat araştırmacılarının bu konuyu irdelemesi kaçınılmaz olacaktır. Romanın başlangıç aşamasında karşımıza çıkan Cervantes'in eserleri de bu açıdan dikkat çekmektedir.

Bir İspanyol milliyetçisi olan Cervantes'in hikâyelerinde ve romanlarında Türklerle ilgili imaj oluşturmada büyük bir ustalık sergilediği açıktır. Nitekim Türk literatüründe Cervantes ile ilgili yapılan çalışmaların çoğu da bunu göstermektedir. Hüseyin Güngör Şahin'in *Cervantes'in Cezayir Zindanları Oyununda Türkler ve Cezayir* (2018: 33-61), Metin And'ın *Cervantes'in Oyunlarında Türkler ve İstanbul* (1995: 137-140), Emilio Sola Castano'dan Kübra Sarı'nın çevirdiği *İspanyol Edebiyatı Altın Çağı'nda Türk İmajı ve Duyum Edebiyatı* (2017: 397-411) gibi çalışmaların yanı sıra Remide Futacı'nın *Cervantes'in Eserlerinde Türkler* (2008: 1 - 135), Hektor Vielvo Diego'nun *İspanyol Kaynaklarında Osmanlı İmgesi* (2018: 1 - 182) gibi tezler bunlardan birkaçıdır.

Cervantes'le ilgili olarak yapılan bütün bu çalışmalarda, yazarın sürgünde yaşadığı Cezayir'in dışında herhangi bir Osmanlı toprağına gitmediği, yazdıklarının bir duyumdan ibaret olduğu belirtilmektedir. Nitekim yazarın Kıbrıs'ın Türkler tarafından fethi esnasında geçen hadiseleri konu alan *El Amante Liberal* adlı romanı da tamamen hayal gücüne ve duyumuna dayalıdır. Yazarın hayatına bakıldığında Kıbrıs'a hiç gitmediği görülür. Cervantes, hiç görmediği Kıbrıs'ı sadece bu eserinde işlemez. O, dünya edebiyatının klasikleri arasında yer alan *Don Quijote* adlı romanında da Kıbrıs'la ilgili bir sone yazmıştır:

*** Bu makale, hem Türkçe hem de İngilizce olarak yayımlanmıştır.

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Genç ve güzel kız yıkar

Derler Pyramus'u duymak için duvarı

Görmek için o dar, inanılmaz yarığı

Ayrılır Kıbrıs'tan aşk, yola çıkar... (Öznur vd. 2012: 186)

Cervantes'e göre, Kıbrıs'ın Türkler tarafından fethedilmesi Hristiyan dünyasının son kalesinin düşmesidir. "Aşkın Kıbrıs'tan ayrılması", bir yönüyle Katolik dünyasının bekâretine vurulan darbedir. Katolik inancına göre bir kadının bekâreti, kutsaldır. Nitekim bu kutsallık, *El Amante Lover*'de, son derece güzel bir İspanyol kızının her koşulda kendini koruma becerisini göstermesiyle verilmiştir. Hikâyenin sonunda Leonisa'nın bekâretini koruyarak ülkesine dönmesi, Kıbrıs'ın Türkler tarafından fethiyle kaybedilen bekâret hissinin telafisine yönelik bir girişim gibi durmaktadır.

Tarihsel Zemin'de Cervantes

1547'de doğan Cervantes, kendisini Osmanlı devletiyle İspanya'nın kanlı savaşlarının ortasında bulur. Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa'nın Cezayir'in kıyılarını alması, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Viyana kapılarına dayanması ve Macaristan'ın büyük bir kısmını kontrol altına alması, 16. yüzyılın ilk yarısında İspanyolların ilgisini çekmiştir. (Castano 2017: 400) Bu ilgi, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Akdeniz'de ve Avrupa'da ilerleyişine karşı geliştirilecek tedbirlerle ilgilidir. Özellikle Kıbrıs'ın fethi, Papa 5. Pius'un 1571'in baharında Haçlı Seferleri çağrısına neden olur. Bu çağrı üzerine Venedik, İspanya ve Malta arasında bir ittifak kurulur. 7 Ekim 1571'de İnebahtı (Lepanto) Deniz Savaşı başlar. Papa'nın çağrısıyla bu savaşa katılan Cervantes, kendisi açısından kötü bir sonuçla karşılaşır. Göğsünden ve kolundan yaralanan yazar, çolak kalarak savaşçı yönüne büyük bir darbe alır. O bu savaşa katılım gerekçesini *Don Quijote*'de şu cümlelerle ifade eder:

"Papa, V. Pius Hazretlerinin girişimiyle ortak düşmanımız Türklere karşı Venedik Cumhuriyeti ile İspanya'nın bir ittifak oluşturduklarını öğrendim. Türkler o zamanlar Venediklilere ait olan Kıbrıs'ı ele geçirmişti. Bu bizim için çok acı kayıptı... Bunu duyar duymaz içimde bu sefere katılmak için büyük bir arzu uyandı... Sonunda bu sefere bir talih sonucu elde ettiğim piyade yüzbaşı rütbesiyle katıldım..."(Önalp 1992: 300).

1575'de Türklere esir düşen Cervantes, 1580 yılına kadar Cezayir'de esaret hayatı yaşar. Yazarın birçok eserinde esarete yer vermesi yaşadığı bu yılların eserlerine yansımaları olarak karşımıza çıkar. Esir bulunduğu süre içerisinde birkaç kez kaçma teşebbüsünde bulur. Bu teşebbüslerinde başarılı olamayan yazar, ancak ödenen fidye ile esaretten kurtulmuştur. Cezayir'deki esaretinden döner dönmez yazdığı ilk tiyatro eseri *Trato de Argel*'de ebedi

düşman olarak gördüğü Türkler hakkında “*dinsiz, ebedî düşman, zalim, şehvet düşkünü...*” gibi ifadeler kullanır (Castano 2017: 416).

1453’de İstanbul’u fetheden Türklerle ilgili endişe Hristiyan dünyasının genelini sararken bu atmosfer içerisinde, millî ve dinî şuuru ayakta tutmak için Türklerle ilgili birçok olumsuz anlatılar, ortalığa saçılmıştır. Konuyla ilgili olarak Ottmar Hegyi, 1571’de Kıbrıs’ın fethedilmesinin Avrupa’yı derinden etkileyen bir düşman haline getirdiğini ve ister istemez bunun edebiyata yansıdığını, Cervantes’in de bu basılı eserlerden esinlendiğini ifade eder (Esquivel 1997: 81-84).

İlk kez 1540’da Pedro Mexia’nın *Silva de Varia Leccion (Çeşitli Dersler Derlemesi)* adı altında yayınlanan kitabı 16. yüzyılda Avrupa dillerinde 65; İspanyolcada 31 baskı yapmıştır. Türkler hakkında birçok bilginin ansiklopedik olarak verildiği bu kitap, dönemin entellektüel kesimi üzerinde etkili olmuştur. Dolayısıyla Cervantes ömrü boyunca ayak basmadığı İstanbul’u *La Gran Sultan* adlı eserinde yazabilmesi bu tarz eserlerin çoğalması sayesinde olurken yine hiç gitmediği Kıbrıs’ı esirlik hayatı yaşadığı Cezayir yıllarından sadece duyuma dayalı bilgiler ışığında yazdığını ifade etmek mümkündür. Yine de Migual Angel, Cervantes’in *Le Gran Sultan* adlı eseriyle ilgili olarak, “*ömründe ayak basmamış, sarayın patikalarından geçmemiş*” birinin yazdıklarını, “*birbiriyle uyuşmaz olarak bilinen iki kültür ve yaşam biçimi arasındaki farklılıkları aşılabilir ve hoş görülebilir bir yaklaşımla sunmasını*” başarılı bulmaktadır (İbarra 1994: 186).

El Amante Liberal – The Liberal Lover

El Amante Liberal, Cervantes’in İspanyolca olarak 1613 yılında basılan *Novelas Exemplares De Migvel De Saaedra* adlı kitabında yer almaktadır. Eser Nazlı Hülya Soydan tarafından *Örnek Alınacak Hikâyeler* başlığı altında tercüme edilmiştir. Toplam on bir hikayeden oluşan kitabın ikinci hikayesi olan *El Amante Liberal, Cömert Âşık* başlığı altında çevirilmiştir. *The Liberal Lover* ise, 1822’de iki cilt olarak İngilizceye tercüme edilen *The Exemplary Noveles* adlı kitapta yer almaktadır.¹ 12 kitaptan oluşan eserin ikinci cildinde altı

¹ 1822’de İngilizceye *The Exemplary Noveles* başlığı altında iki cilt olarak tercüme edilen kitabın kim tarafından tercüme edildiği bilgisi kitapta yer almamaktadır. II. Ciltde Gift Of Dr. Wilbur P. Morgan adı geçmektedir. Bu ad, muhtemelen Virjin Üniversitesi’ne kitaplarını bağışlayan şahsa aittir. I. ve 2. ciltde “London - printed for T. Cadel in the Strand” ibaresi vardır. Buradaki T(homas) Cadel’in genç Thomas Cadel olması gerekir. 18. Yüz yılda yaşlı Thomas Cadel (1742 – 1802) olarak bilinen kişi kitap satıcısıdır. Ölümünden sonra oğulları William Davies ve Thomas Cadel (1773 – 1836) kitap basma işini sürdürürler. Cervantes’in *The Exemplary Noveles* adlı kitabı 1882’de de İngilizceye çevrilmiştir. Walter Keating Kelly tarafından tercüme edilen kitap tek cilt olup *El Amante Liberal, The Generous Lover* olarak (pace 236-277) tercüme edilmiştir. W. K. Kelly; (dead 1867 Londra) is the author of books such as *Curiosities Of Indo-European Tradition and Folk-Lore. The Liberal Lover*’de yer alan *Madrıgal* şiiri *The Generous Lover*’de yer almamaktadır. Dolayısıyla 1822 tarihli baskı, farklı yazarlar tarafından tercüme edilmiştir.

hikâye yer almakta olup bunlardan ikincisi *The Liberal Lover*'dir. İkinci kitapta yer alan diğer kitaplar ise *The Gipsy Girl*, *The Spanish English Lady*, *The Two Maiden Lpdies*, *The Force of Bloge* adını taşır. Bu eser, Kıbrıs'ın şair, müzisyen ve ressamlarından olan, Oktay Öksüzoğlu tarafından İngilizceye çevrilmiştir.² Bu çalışmada, Nazlı Hülya Soydan'ın İspanyolcadan yaptığı tercümesi ile Öksüzoğlu'nun tercümesi karşılaştırılmış, aralarında bir kısım farklar olduğu görülmüştür.

El Amante Liberal ile *The Liberal Lover* arasında birkaç farklı nokta vardır. Bunlardan en önemlisi, *El Amante Liberal*'de görünüşte Müslüman olan Mahmut'un okuduğu "coplas"lardan³ birinin 1822'de İngilizceye tercüme edilen *The liberal Lover*'de bulunmamasıdır. Şiirin Türkçeye tercümesi şu şekildedir:

"Alçak bir tepenin ardından
Güneşin yüzünü gösterişi gibi
Bizi ansızın alıp götüren
Görünüşiyle boyun eğdiren
Bizi kendimizden geçiren
İçinde kurt olmayan
Değerli bir taş gibi
Bir yüzün var senin, Ayşe (Aja)
Muhammet'in sert mızrağı gibi
Bağrımı delip geçen" (Soydan 2010: 121).

Bu konuda dikkat çeken bir durum da bu şiirin yerine bu sefer *El Amante Lover*'de olmayan bir şiirin *The Liberal Lover*'de yer almasıdır. *Madrigal* başlığını taşıyan şiiri Oktay Öksüzoğlu tarafından Türkçeye şu şekilde tercüme edilmiştir:

"Madrigal
Afrikalı Güzel Hanıma
Morpheus uykuların Tanrısını hep kınar
Günün yönetimine hâkim olan gücü var;
Daha az kasvetlidir bir ihanet işlerken
Her saygı duruşunda ona dua edilen
Koskoca yer kürenin bakır çanları çalar.

² Oktay Öksüzoğlu, *The Liberal Lover*'i *Comert Aşık* olarak 2020'nin sonlarında tercüme etmiştir. Covit 19 pandemi nedeniyle basılamamıştır. Öksüzoğlu, 24 Aralık 1941'de Kıbrıs'ın Magusa'ya bağlı Vadili köyünde doğdu. Onun Kıbrıs'la ilgili kitaplarının yanı sıra birçok şiir kitabı bulunmaktadır. (Yıldız 2019: 491 – 499). *Aşk Adasından Şiirler* (2007) kitabı en çok dikkat çekenler arasındadır. Henüz basılmadığı hâlde tercümesinden istifademizi sağlayan Öksüzoğlu'na şükranlarımı arz ederim.

³ Coplas: Doğaçlama olarak aşk ve hiciv içeren dindarca söylenmiş şarkılar.

Büyüleyen gözlerden çevreyi aydınlatan
Karmakarışık ışık huzmeleridir akan,
Çeşitli zenginlikler harmanlayan ihtişam
Bulutun arkasına saklanırken ürperen
Koskocaman yıldızlar kervanından yansıyan
Karanlıkları yırtıp çadıra ışık saçan
Aydınlıklar korkuya yerini terk etmeden
Afrikalı güzelin büyüleyen gözünden
Ürperen karanlığa pırıl pırıl yansıyan
Işıkla bir çırpıda yeniden hayat bulan
Huzurun, mutluluğun şarkısıdır duyulan.
Afrikalı güzel kız, radyan pompalar gibi
Çadırda karanlığa darılan tüm beyleri
Büyülerken şairin güzel nutku tutulmuş!
Bir başka usta şair alkışlar arasında
Yarım kalan şiiri bal gibi tamamlamış.
Oysa rakip susunca öteki bayram yapar;
Az bulunan gerçek dost sürekli iylik yapar
Huzur veren bu düzen kıskançlığı kovarken.
Dostlukların zaferi düşmanları üzerken,
Barış, huzur, mutluluk dostluğu alkışlıyor” (Öksüzoğlu 2020).

İspanyolca ve İngilizce baskılar arasındaki diğer farklı noktalara gelince; *El Amante Liberal*'de görünüşte Müslüman olan Mahmut'un *The Liberal Lover*'de Muhammet olarak isimlendirilmesi ve romanın sonunda Richart'ın kız kardeşiyle evlenmesidir. Bu evlilik, İspanyolca metinde, daha farklıdır. Bu farklılık yeterince anlaşılmamış olmalı ki Mahmut ile Halime'nin evlendiğine hükmedilir. Hülya Nazlı Soydan; “*Reconciliáronse con la iglesia Mahamut y Halima, la cual, imposibilitada de cumplir el deseo de verse esposa de Ricardo, se contentó con serlo de Mahamut*” cümlesini “*Ricardo'nun karısı olma hayallerinin suya düşmüş olduğunu gören Halime Mahmut'un karısı olmakla yetindi*” şeklinde tercüme etmiştir (Soydan 2010: 145). Lucia Lopez Rubio, buradaki durumun bir evlilik değil, kilise ile olan bir uzlaşma olduğunu ifade eder. Katolik kilisesi yalnızca vaftiz edilmiş kişilerin evliliklerine onay vermektedir. Bu açıdan Halima'nın Kadı ile evliliği geçerli değildir ancak evliliğin gerçekleşebilmesi için durumun uygun şekle dönüştürülmesi gerekmektedir. Bu durumda

Halima ile Mahmut'un evlenebilmesi için bazı dinî hükümlerin yerine getirilmesi için uzlaşma sağlanmıştır (Rubio 2010: 168).

Duyuma Dayalı Eserin Tarihî Zemin Üzerinden Değerlendirilmesi

Yukarıda bahsedilen hususların dışında gerek İspanyolca baskılı *El Amante Liberal*'de gerekse İngilizce'ye tercüme edilmiş *The Liberal Lover*'de romanın konusu ve çatısı aynıdır. Her iki eserin ana konusu, Türkler tarafından tutsak edilen Leonisa'nın yine tutsak olan Richardo ve görünüşte Müslüman Mahmut tarafından kurtarılmasıdır. Geriye dönüşlü hatırlamaların dışında hadiselerin tamamı Lefkoşa'da geçmektedir. Olay, Lefkoşa'nın Türkler tarafından ele geçirilmesinin hemen akabinde gelişmektedir. Hasan Paşa, Ali Paşa, Lefkoşa Kadısı ve onun görünüşte Müslüman karısı Halima etrafında gelişen hadiseler, iç içe geçmiş birçok entrika ile Kadı'nın ve paşaların öldürülmesinden sonra İspanya'da son bulur.

27 Haziran 1570'de hiçbir direnişle karşılaşmadan Larnaka'ya çıkan Osmanlı ordusu, 23 Temmuz'da Kırşehir Sancak Beyi Ferhat Bey, Akşehir Sancak Bey'i Kasım Bey ve Karaman Beyler Beyi Hasan Paşa komutasında Lefkoşa'ya başlatığı yürüyüşünü bir hafta sonra 27 Temmuz'da tamamlar. Kaynaklar, surlarla çevrili olan Lefkoşa'nın da pek fazla direniş göstermeden teslim olduğunu belirtmektedir. Kıbrıs'ta Türklere yönelik asıl direniş Magosa'da olmuştur. 11 ay süren kuşatmanın sonunda 6 Ağustos 1571'de Magosa da Türk hâkimiyetine girer. Durum böyle olmakla birlikte hikâyenin girişinde Lefkoşa'nın savaştan arta kalan manzarası büyük bir direnişe sahne olmuş gibi gösterilir. Bu sahne, hikâyenin başkahramanı Richardo'nun (İngilizce metinde Richard) Lefkoşa'nın yıkık harabeleri arasında üzgün bir şekilde dolaşırken kendi kendine konuşmasıyla verilmiştir. İspanyolca metinde bu manzara; *“Ey yiğit ve talihsiz savunucularımızın kanları henüz kurumamış olan zavallı Lefkoşa'nın içler acısı harabeleri”* şeklinde yansıtılırken (Soydan 2010: 93). İngilizce metinde;

“terk edilmiş olmanın mutsuzluğa gark ettiği Lefkoşa şehrinin üzücü ve acınacak halleri ile zavallı durumdaki yerli halkın, gözü pek, kahraman ama şanssız direnişçilerinin kanlarına bulanmış; üzerleri kanla örtülmüş acı veren kalıntıları” (Öksüzoğlu 2020)

şeklindedir. Richardo'nun kendi kendine yaptığı konuşmaları duyan Mahmut (İngilizce metinde Muhammet) konuşmaya dahil olarak yaklaşık iki yıldır bu harabeler arasında dolaştığını ifade eder. Onun bu ifadesi, hikâyenin başlangıç zamanına dair ip ucu vermektedir. Buna göre hikâyenin başlangıç zamanı 1572 yılının ortalarına doğru olması gerekir ki bu durum tarihsel açıdan bazı tespitler yapmayı zorunlu kılmaktadır. Richardo, surların önündeki çadır hareketliliğini Mahmut'a sorduğunda, kurulan çadırların Lefkoşa'nın idaresi için yeni

atanan Hasan Paşa'ya ait olduğunu öğrenir. Oysa Hasan Paşa, 27 Temmuz 1570'de Lefkoşa'nın zaten yönetimini teslim almıştır. Romanın ilerleyen kısmında Ricardo, Lefkoşa'yı teslim alacak olan Hasan Paşa'nın kendisinin efendisi olduğunu söyler. Bu durum İspanyolca metinde "*Trablus Valisinin malı olmuştum ve kendisi Kıbrıs Valiliğine atandığında on beş gün içerisinde onunla Kıbrıs'a geldim*" şeklinde verilmektedir (Soydan 2010: 108). İngilizce baskısında ise Hasan Paşa, "*Tripoli Veziri*" olarak tanımlanır.

Richardo'nun Trablus ya da Tripoli Veziri Hasan Paşa dediği şahıs, Cervantes'in Cezayir'de tutsak olduğu dönemde Cezayir Beyler Beyi olan Venedikli Hasan Paşa'dır. Asıl adı Andrea Celeste'dir. 27 Haziran 1577'den 1582'nin sonuna kadar bu görevde bulunan Hasan Paşa, bir ara gemilerini alıp korsanlığa çıkmış, daha sonra Kaptan Paşalık için Osmanlı sarayından davet alınca 20 Eylül 1588'de İstanbul'a gitmiştir (Kılıç 2017: 428). Hasan Paşa'nın Beylerbeyi olduğu dönemde, Cervantes'in birkaç kez kaçma teşebbüsünde bulunduğu bilinmektedir. Ancak her kaçış teşebbüsünden sonra, Hasan Paşa tarafından affedilmiştir. Nitekim Cervantes, *Don Quijote* adlı romanında Hasan Paşa ile ilgili olarak kendisinden "*kötü bir muamele görmediğini, bir fiske dahi vurmadığını, en küçük söz dahi söylemediğini*" ifade etmektedir (Önalp 1992: 314). Dolayısıyla Richard'ın kendisini beraberinde Kıbrıs'a getirdiği efendisi Hasan Paşa'nın, Cervantes'in Cezayir anılarında kalan Venedikli Hasan Paşa olması muhtemeldir. Bu Hasan Paşa'nın Lefkoşa fethinde rol alan Karaman Beylerbeyi Hasan Paşa ile ilgisi yoktur.

Hikâyede Mahmut'un da durumu dikkat çekicidir. On altıncı asırda Venedik'te Osmanlı'nın hizmetinde bulunan birçok tercümanların arasında Mahmut Bey adında biri bulunmaktadır. Bu şahıs, Kıbrıs kuşatması başlangıcında hapse atılır ve ancak üç yıl süren tutukluluktan sonra Venedik'e geri dönebilir (Pedani 2021). Cervantes'in, Venedik'e geri dönen Mahmut Bey'den Osmanlı yönetim tarzı ve Kıbrıs konusunda bilgi alması da muhtemeldir. Romanda Kadı'nın kölesi olan Mahmut'un ağzından Lefkoşa yönetimine dair birçok bilginin aktarılabilmesi, bu sayede olmalıdır.

Ricardo, Lefkoşa surlarının önündeki düzlüğe kurulan dört çadırı merak ederek durumu arkadaşı Mahmut'a sorar. Mahmut'un verdiği cevaplar, Osmanlı yönetim tarzı ile ilgili ansiklopedik bilgilerden oluşmaktadır. Burada verilen bilgilere göre Türk idaresindeki herhangi bir ilin yönetimine yeni bir atama yapıldığında, eski yönetici o bölgeden ayrılıncaya kadar yeni atanan yetkili kişi şehre girememektedir. Bu esnada bir kısım belgelerin tamamlanması ve eski yöneticiye ait soruşturmaların sonuçlanması gerekmektedir. Soruşturma sona erdiğinde neticesi kapalı bir evraka konularak görevden alınan kişiye verilir

ve şahıs bu evrakla padişahın kapısına yani Büyük Türk Meclisi Divan'a gider (Soydan 2010: 95-96).

Ricardo'nun merak edip Mahmut'a sorduğu Lefkoşa önündeki bu dört çadır, aslında Lefkoşa'yı kuşatan dört komutanın birliklerini sevk ve idare ettiği çadırlardır. Bunlar Kanlı Dere (Pedias) cenahından başlamak üzere sırasıyla Derviş Paşa, Müezzinzade Ali Paşa, Muzaffer Paşa, Hasan Paşa'ya aittir (Map 1975: 20). Dolayısıyla Lefkoşa'nın fetih esnasında kurulan bu dört çadır, bir duyum olarak farklı bir şekilde romana konu olmuştur.

Mahmut'un ifadeleri arasında Osmanlıda yürütülen işlerin rüşvet ve para ile çözüldüğü dillendirilmektedir. Görevi teslim edecek şahıs, şayet suçlu bulunmuşsa bunu çeşitli kademelerdeki görevlilere rüşvet ve hediyeler vermek suretiyle çözeceği belirtilmektedir. İngilizce baskısında bu rüşvet ve hediye meselesine Osmanlı padişahları da dâhil edilerek metin biraz daha genişletilmiş ve daha yoğun bir kirlenmişlik örneği verilmek istenmiştir. 1822 yılına ait İngilizce baskısındaki bu değişiklikleri, dönemin İngiliz siyaseti paralelinde de değerlendirmek mümkündür.

Roman'da rüşvet konusunun bu şekilde gündeme getirilmesi, romanın kurgusuyla alakalıdır. Bu durum, Richardo'nun aşkı Leonisa'nın Osmanlı yönetim sistemi içerisinde nasıl bir rüşvete dönüştüğünün hazırlık aşaması konumundadır. Nitekim romanın ilerleyen kısmında Leonisa'yı gören Hasan Paşa'nın, Ali Paşa'nın ve Lefkoşa Kadısı'nın şehvet duygularıyla kendilerinden geçmesi ve genç kıza sahip olmak için aralarında korkunç bir rekabete girişmesi bu hazırlık safhasından sonra olur. Hepsinin, genç kızı kendi arzuları için elde etmeye çalışırken, birbirlerini engellemek için ortaya sürdükleri gerekçeleri, Padişah'a sunulacak güzel bir hediye olarak görmeleridir. Ali Paşa, erken davranıp tam kızı alacakken, Hasan Paşa atılır ve ben onu padişahımıza hediye edeceğim der. Ortalık kızıışmıştır. Hatta Ali Paşa, bir ara elini hançerine götürür. Bu esnada güzel kızı kaybetmenin acısıyla kıvranan Kadı'nın her ikisini de sakinleştirerek padişaha teslim edilmek üzere kızın kendisinde kalmasının daha uygun olacağını belirtmesi, meseleyi geçici süreliğine kapatır (Soydan 2010: 113).

Kadın ve şehvet konusu olduğunda Türklerin padişahı bile gözünün görmediği Cervantes'in romanlarında vurgulanan hususlar arasındadır. Yazar, Türk devlet adamlarının kadın konusundaki bu zafiyetini yine benzer şekilde *El Gallardo Espanol* adlı tiyatro eserinde de işlemiştir. Saray haremağalarından Rüstem, çok güzel bir İspanyol kadını Sultan III. Murat'tan saklamıştır. Padişah, hasta olduğu gerekçesiyle kadının kendisinden saklanmış olmasına inanmaz (Önalp 1992: 318).

Cervantes'e göre Osmanlı Devletinin görünüşteki gücü, asılsızdır. Ona göre İnebahtı Deniz Savaşından Türklerin yenik çıkması da bunun delilidir. Rüşvetle dönen bir sistemde padişaha bağlı olduğu düşünülen kişilerin, cinsel dürtüleri karşısında zaaflarına yenik düşmesi onların en zayıf taraflarından birini oluşturur. Güzel bir kadın karşısında, devletlerini ve padişahlarını satabilirler. Cervantes'in böylesi bir yaklaşımını sadece duyuma ve algıya dayalı bir anlatım olarak değerlendirmek doğru olmaz. Savaş meydanlarında Türklerle savaşıp, onların elinde esir kalmış birinin daha stratejik davranması tabiidir. Türklerin yayılımını büyük bir tehdit olarak gören ve bunu engellemek için kılıcını kullanan Cervantes, bir yazar olduğu kadar bir savaşçıdır. Gençlik yıllarında giriştiği bir düellodan dolayı sağ kolu kesilecekken ülkesini terk etmek zorunda kalan Cervantes, bu sefer sol kolunu, İnebahtı Deniz Savaşında atılan bir Türk mermisiyle çolak kalır. Bu kayıp, onun kılıç kullanmasını engellemiştir fakat Türklerle olan mücadelesini bitirmemiştir. O, bundan sonraki mücadelesini sağ eline aldığı kalemını bir kılıç gibi kullanarak sürdürür. Dolayısıyla Cervantes, Türklerin yenilmez olduğu fikrini Avrupalıların zihninden silmek, Hristiyan inancının Türk kültüründen ve inanışlarından daha üstün olduğunu göstermek gayreti içerisindedir. O, bunu yaparken, hadımağasından paşasına ve hatta padişahına kadar Türklerin ahlaken düşük olduğunu eserlerinde sık sık dillendirir.

Nitekim bu zaaflarından dolayı Türklerin yenilebilir bir düşman olduğu varsayımı *Le Amante Liberal*'de bir sonuç mesajı olarak verilmiştir. Lefkoşa Kadısı'nın karısı Halime'nin Ricardo'ya olan aşkı; Hasan Paşa'nın, Ali Paşa'nın ve Kadı'nın Leonisa'ya olan şehvetli ve tutkulu arzusu, onları kendileri için kurulan tuzakları farketmeyecekleri bir duruma sokmuştur. Leonisa'yı Padişaha götürmek gerekçesiyle denize açılan Lefkoşa Kadısı, karısı Halime'yi denize atarak Leonisa'yı kendine saklamayı planlamaktadır. Bu arada Ali Paşa ve Hasan Paşa denize açılmıştır. Aralarında çıkan çatışmada Lefkoşa Kadısı ve her iki paşa da ölür.

Cervantes, Türk adalet sistemine dair birçok mesajı Lefkoşa Kadısı üzerinden verir. Lefkoşa'nın Türkler tarafından fethedilmesiyle zenginliğin ortadan kalktığı, insanların sefil ve perişan olduğu, işlerin adaletle yürümediği, davaların bir çırpıda bitirildiği ve temyiz hakkının olmadığı, aile müessesinin Hristiyan ahlâkıyla mukayese edilemeyecek ölçüde ahlâksız olduğu, isimsiz bir Yahudi'nin elini kolunu sallayarak Kadı'nın çadırına girdiği ve burada bir İspanyol kızını süsleyerek sattığı gibi hususlar bunlardan birkaçıdır. Duyuma ve bir maksada dayalı olarak bir roman kurgusu içerisinde okuyucuya iletilen bütün bu bilgilerin tarih çerçevesinden gözden geçirilmesi, eserin bıraktığı etkiler açısından önemlidir.

Romanda görev devir teslim töreni için Kadı Efendi'nin çadırına girildiğinde orada bulunanların hep bir ağızdan “Çok yaşa, çok yaşa Sultan Süleyman” (Soydan 2010: 114) diye bağırması dikkat çekicidir. Oysa devrin padişahı, Sultan Süleyman olmayıp II. Selim'dir ki bu padişah aynı zamanda Kıbrıs'ın fethini gerçekleştiren kişidir. Kanuni Sultan Süleyman 7 Eylül 1566'da vefat etmiştir. Ünü, dünyayı sarmış olan bu padişahın romanda adının Kıbrıs'ın fethiyle birlikte anılması duyuma dayalı bilginin edebiyata yansımalarının bir delili durumundadır.

Romanın girişinde Mahmut, Kıbrıs'ın fethinden önce adanın huzur içerisinde bir yer olduğundan bahsetmektedir. Oysa roman kahramanın bu ifadeleri, bazı kaynaklarla ters düşer. Bunlardan en başta geleni II. Selim'in Kıbrıs'ın fethine karar vermesinin gerekçesi olarak adada yaşanan huzursuzlukları göstermesidir. II. Selim, din düşmanı fesatçı Venediklilerin bir süredir şirretliklerini arttırdıklarını, fırsat geçtikçe deniz yolu ile haca giden hacıları ve tüccarları öldürdüklerini, mallarını yağma ettiklerini, yapılan anlaşmalara uymayıp sadakat yolundan ayrıldıklarını, Kıbrıs'ı bir fesat kaynağı haline getirdiklerini ve bu yüzden Veziri Şah Mustafa Paşa'yı kuvvetlerin başına geçirerek Kıbrıs'ın fethine karar verdiğini ifade eder (İlaydın vd. 1957:236).

Bu durum diğer kaynaklarca da teyit edilmektedir. Arbel Benjamin, Venedikliler döneminin 1489 – 1571 yıllarını değerlendirirken Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan Yahudilerle ilgili birçok olumsuz yaşanmışlıkları örnek gösterir (Arbel 1979: 23-41). Michael Gordon, Arbel'in bu çalışmasını referans göstererek Venedikliler döneminde Lefkoşa'nın Yahudiler için düşmanca bir şehir olduğunu belirtirken Müslüman hacıların geçiş güzergâhında olan Kıbrıs'ın korsanlar tarafından bir üs haline getirildiğini belirtir.

Gordon, *El Amante Liberal*'de geçen isimsiz Yahudi ile ilgili değerlendirmelerde de bulunmuştur. Cervantes'in bir maksada dayalı olarak Kıbrıs'ın Türklerin eline geçmesinden sonra Yahudilerin gelişen konumuna işaret eden Cervantes'in Yahudileri aşağılamak maksadını taşıdığına dikkat çeker. Herkes tarafından arzu edilen Leonisa'nın “aç gözlü” (Soydan 2010: 113) isimsiz bir Yahudi'nin eline geçmesi ve bu Yahudinin elini kolunu sıralayarak birçok üst düzey Osmanlı'nın bulunduğu ikametgâha girmesi ve burada Leonisa'yı çok yüksek bir paraya satması gibi. Gordon, Yahudi tüccarın Leonisa'yı daha yüksek bir değerde satmak için, Bin Bir Gece Masallarını andırır şekilde giydirmesini eserin başarısı açısından sorgulamaktadır (Gordon 2013: 205-226).

Romanda Leonisa'nın bakir vücuduna uzanan ellerden biri de Yahudi tüccarına aittir. Lefkoşa Kadısı da tıpkı Yahudi tüccar gibi isimsizdir. Bu isimsiz Yahudi'nin yanı sıra yine isimsiz olan Kadı'nın çadırında yeni atanan Hasan Paşa'nın ve eski yönetici Ali Paşa'nın bir

arada bulunması, bir ittifakın ortaklığı gibi sunulmuştur. Hepsinin işlediği bu büyük günahta Yahudi tüccara düşen pay, Kıbrıs'ın sembolü olan Leonisa'nın bekâretini ele geçiremeyince Osmanlıya pazarlamasıdır. Cervantes'in isimsiz bir Yahudi üzerinden verdiği mesajı, Michael Gordon'un Arbel'den alıntı yaparak makalesine aldığı şu bilgide aramak gerekir: *“Venedik'teki yaygın kanaatten biri de II. Selim'in danışmanlarından olan Yahudi Don Joseph Nassi'nin kışkırtmaları sonucu Kıbrıs fethedilmiştir.”* (Gordon 2013: 208 ve Arbel 1979'dan)

Hikâyede Lefkoşa Kadısı'na da bir isim verilmediğini belirttik. Bu durumun bir maksada matuf olmasının yanı sıra duyuma dayalı bir anlatıda gerçek ismin bilinmemesinden kaynaklandığını düşünmekteyiz. Oysa Kıbrıs'ta ilk görev yapan müftünün ya da kadının adı bilinmekte olup Lefkoşa'da ikâmet eden Ekmelettin Efendi'dir (Salihoğlu 1969: 17). Ayrıca hikâyeye kahramanı Mahmut'un, efendisi Kadı'dan bahsederken onun görevlerini ve yetkilerini Piskoposla eş tutması da (Soydan 2010: 95) bir yakıştırmadan ibarettir. Romanın ilerleyen kısmında Kadı'nın görevleri anlatılırken, bir ilin en yetkili şahsının kadı olduğu ve onun kararlarının sorgulanmadığı, Osmanlı hukuk sisteminde temyiz işleminin olmadığı ifade edilmektedir:

“Bazı Türkler gibi Hristiyan Rumlar da adalet istemek için içeri girmişlerdi. Hepsi de o kadar önemsiz şeylerden yakınıyorlardı ki Kadı bunların çoğunu şikâyet edilen tarafa bildirmeden, ricasız ve yanıtsız bir şekilde halletti. Evlilikle ilgili olanlar hariç, hepsi herhangi bir yasaya gerek duymadan deneyimli kimselerin adaletiyle ayaküstü çarçabuk halledilebilecek meselelerdi. Bu barbarlar arasında, Kadı, bütün meselelerde yetkili hâkimdi ve kararları başka bir mahkemece temyiz edilmeksizin her şeyi hızla özetler ve hemen hüküm verirdi” (Soydan 2010: 111).

Kadı'nın görevlerine ve mahkeme ediş usulüne dair burada ifade edilen bütün bu hususların hatalı olduğunu, 1571 yılına ait *Kıbrıs Şeriyeye Sicilleri* ile ilgili çalışmada görmekteyiz. Titiz bir çalışmanın sonucu olarak ortaya çıkartılan bu eserde, daha Kıbrıs'ın fethinin ilk yıllarından itibaren adada cereyan eden bütün hadiselerin kayıt altına alındığı görülmektedir. Henüz birinci cildi tamamlanan 1435 sayfalık eserde, olay yeri incelemesinin yapıldığı, çapraz sorgu sisteminin kullanıldığı, din ve ırk ayırımı yapılmadan davaların süratle çözüme ulaştırıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Eseri hazırlayan şahısların ifadeleri de bu istikamettedir: Osmanlı devlet yöneticileri, Kıbrıs'a gelişinin ilk yıllarından itibaren hukuk sistemini tesis etmiş ve icrasına başlamıştır. Şeri mahkemelerin hâkimi durumunda olan kadı, örfi kanunların ve hükümlerin uygulanmasında başlıca sorumlu kişilerdir. Kadılar aynı zamanda lüzumlu evrakları düzenlemekle mesuldürler. Kadı'nın verdiği kararlar, nihai karar

olmayıp Divan-ı Hümayuna gönderilmek suretiyle teyiz edilebilmektedir. Evlenme, boşanma, miras gibi birçok anlaşmazlıklar süratle karara bağlanmaktadır (Tamçelik vd. 2019: 5-8). Dolayısıyla, *El Amante Liberal* hikâyesinin kahramanlarından Mahmut'un Osmanlı mahkemelerinde temyiz olmadığına dair ifadesi, konuşması arasında geçen “barbarlar” ifadesini desteklemek için üretilmiş maksatlı bir ifadedir. Bu hususta Emilio Sola Castano'nun Cervantes'in *La Grand Sultana* adlı eseri için belirttiği “Osmanlı Sarayındaki sahnelerle ilgili doğruluk ve güvenirlilik açısından en zirve noktaya ulaştığı varsayılrsa da, aslında bunların kaynağı tamamen duyum edebiyatına dayanır yani Cezayir’de tutsakken dinlediği hikâyelere...” (Castano 2017: 406) değerlendirmesi *La Amante Liberal* adlı eser için de geçerlidir. Ancak Cervantes'in Türklerle ilgili olarak, hayâsız, edepsiz, kadın ve para düşkünü, barbar, zalim gibi yakıştırmalarını sadece duyum olarak ele almamız eksik bir değerlendirme olacaktır. Yazar, bu yakıştırmalarında şuurlu bir yol izlemiştir. 16. asırda Avrupa’da ve Akdeniz’de genişlemeye başlayan Türk tehdidine karşı Hristiyan dünyasını diri tutmaya çalışan bilinçli girişimdir. Yazarın bu girişimini, yapay olarak oluşturulmak istenen Türk imajına katkı sağlamak çabası olarak değerlendirilebiliriz. *La Amante Liberal*’de Türkler açısından bir tek olumlu tablo, kendi hayatlarını hiçe sayarak batan gemiden kurtardıkları Leonisa’nın iffetine dokunmamalarıdır: Leonisa iffetinin kurtuluş öyküsünü “*adada kaldığımız sekiz gün boyunca Türkler bana kardeşleri ve hatta kardeşten de yakındı*” diyerek açıklar (Soydan 2010: 128).

Sonuç

Cervantes’in *La Amante Liberal* adlı eseri, 16. asırda Avrupa’da ve Akdeniz’de genişlemeye başlayan Türk tehdidine karşı Hristiyan dünyasını diri tutma arzusuna yönelik bilinçli bir teşebbüsün ürünüdür. Kıbrıs’ın Türkler tarafından fethedilmesi, Katolik dünyasında bir namus meselesine dönüşmüştür. Bu husus, yazarın eserinde dolaylı olarak verilmiştir. Leonisa adlı son derece güzel bir İspanyol kızının esirlik süresince bekâretini koruyarak ülkesine dönmesi bu namus meselesinin telafisine yöneliktir. Genç kız, esareti boyunca birer şehvet düşkünü olarak gösterilen Lefkoşa Kadısı’ndan paşasına, Yahudi kadın tüccarından askerine kadar hepsinin elinden iffetini korumasını bilmiştir. Ancak Cervantes’in Türklerle ilgili olarak, hayâsız, edepsiz, kadın ve para düşkünü, barbar, zalim gibi yakıştırmaları sadece duyuma dayalı bilgilerden oluşmaktadır. Biz bu durumu, dönemin tarihi kaynaklarını incelediğimizde görmekteyiz. Cervantes’in *La Amante Liberal*’de Lefkoşa idaresine dair yazdıkları 1571 yılına ait *Kıbrıs Şeriyeye Sicilleri*’nde verilen bilgilerle örtüşmemektedir. Ayrıca, fethi gerçekleştiren şahıslarla ilgili olarak da yanlış bilgiler

verilmektedir. Bunlardan en dikkat çeken, Kıbrıs'ın Kanuni Sultan Süleyman tarafından fethedildiğini göstermesidir. Dolayısıyla yazar, eserlerinde Türklerle ilgili olumsuz imaj oluşturma gayretini *La Amante Liberal*'de de ortaya koymuştur. O, bu eserini Cezayir'de esir bulunduğu süre içerisinde Kıbrıs'ın fethine dair işittikleri üzerinden bir maksada yönelik olarak kurgulamıştır. Bu kurguyu, romanın başlangıç aşamasında duyum edebiyatının önemli bir eseri olarak değerlendirmek mümkündür.

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*****Cyprus, in *La Amante Liberal* / *The Liberal Lover* in the Context of Rumour
Literature****

Doç.Dr. Osman Yıldız*

Introduction

The attempt to question the connection of the literary works with realities, starting from historical background, is a controversial issue. Moving from a literary work, to attempt to explain a historical event accepting it as a reality, cannot be regarded a healthy approach. However, when a historical event is reflected in a literary work, it is necessary to reveal how its author played on those historical facts. The images created by authors in their works, naturally affect their readers. Especially, if an image concerning a whole nation is established through rumours, the evaluation of that subject becomes inevitable for literary researchers. Cervantes, being a Spanish nationalist, skilfully created his own Turkish image, in his stories and novels. This behaviour of Cervantes, has been studied in many Turkish literary works. Hüseyin Güngör Şahin's book *Cervantes'in Cezayir Zindanları Oyununda Türkler ve Cezayir* (2018: 33-61), Metin And's book *Cervantes'in Oyunlarında Türkler ve İstanbul* (1995: 137-140) and Kübra Sarı's book *İspanyol Edebiyatı Altın Çağı'nda Türk İmajı ve Duyum Edebiyatı* (2017: 397-411) which is translated from Emilio Sola Castano, as well as the thesis by Remide Futacı *Cervantes'in Eserlerinde Türkler* (2008: 1 - 135) and Hektor Vielvo Diego's thesis *İspanyol Kaynaklarında Osmanlı İmgesi* (2018: 1 - 182) are some examples on the subject. In all these studies, it is stated that Cervantes did not visit any other part of the Ottoman land, apart from Algeria, where he spent five long years in prison, a prisoner of war. Therefore it is natural that, his views and evaluations about the Turks are based on imagination and rumours. As a matter of fact, his novel *El Amante Liberal*, which covers events that took place during the Turkish conquest of Cyprus, are mainly based on his imaginations and rumours. If the life of Cervantes is examined, it can be seen that, he had never been to Cyprus. This is not the only book written by Cervantes on Cyprus. In his novel

*** This article has been published in both Turkish and English.

** Research Article

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Don Quijote, which is among the world classics in literature, Cervantes wrote the following sonnet mentioning Cyprus:

“Sonnet

The fair maiden the cruel wall does break

That had been cleft by Pyramus’ manly heart.

Straightway from his Cyprian home does Cupid start

To see the prodigious rift that love did make” (Cervantes 2021: 18).

According to Cervantes, the conquest of Cyprus by Turks meant the fall of the last castle of the Christian world. The drifting away of love from Cyprus, is perceived as a blow exercised on the virginity of the Catholic world. The women’s virginity is a sacred value in the Catholic world. That’s why, in *El Amante Lover* this sacred value has been successfully preserved by the young beautiful slave girl, Leonise, who went through serious dangers in her adventurous slavery life. Despite enormous threats, Leonise succeeded to return her home country as a virgin girl. Leonise’s success in her struggle to defend her virginity, is evaluated as a positive result for Christianity, compensating the loss of the island of Cyprus.

Miguel De Cervantes On The Historical Background

Miguel de Cervantes, who was born in Madrid in 1547, became a soldier in 1570 and found himself in the middle of the bloody Ottoman-Spanish wars as a captain. The annexation of Algerian shores by Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha, the control of a large parts of Hungary by Suleiman the Magnificent and his approach to the doors of Vienna in the first half of the XVIth century, caused serious concern in Spain (Castano 2017: 400). This serious concern soon created the need for severe measures to be taken against the Ottomans, both in Europe and the Mediterranean Sea. Upon the conquest of the island of Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire, the Pope Pious Vth called for a crusade against this Empire in the spring of 1571. An alliance was soon formed, among Venice, Spain and Malta and on 7th October 1571 the Lepanto naval battle took place between the crusaders and the Turks. Cervantes, who was among the crusaders in this battle, received two wounds in his chest and one on his left arm. Cervantes mentions this event in his novel *Don Quijote*:

“I was informed that, upon the suggestion of Pope Pius V, an alliance was established among Venice and Spain (and Malta) against our common enemy, the Turks, who had taken the famous island of Cyprus, which belonged to Venetians, a loss deplorable and disastrous. Soon

after I learned this, I felt a strong desire for taking part in this sacred campaign. I was lucky to perform this duty as a captain” (Önalp 1992: 300).

Cervantes who had become a prisoner of war to the Turks in 1575, had to stay in a prison in Algeria until 1580. This is why, we come across stories about prison lives in many books written by Cervantes. During his imprisonment, the writer attempted to escape from his prison for several times, but all in vain. However, after paying the necessary ransom he managed to become a free man. Soon after returning home from Algeria, he wrote his first theatrical work *Trato de Argel*, in which he used ugly expressions such as “irreligious, eternal enemy, cruel, lustful” against the Turks (Castano 2017: 416).

When the Turks occupied İstanbul in 1453, a great anxiety aroused in the Christian world. In that atmosphere of anxiety, they tried to strengthen their religious and national consciousness, with various false and exaggerated news about the Turks.

Ottmar Hegyi commenting on this issue says that, the conquest of Cyprus by Turks in 1571, seriously affected Europe, which regarded Turkey as their enemy. Ottmar Hegyi goes on to say that, this enmity of Europeans against the Turks was eventually also seen in the European literature, including Cervantes’s literary works (Esquivel 1997: 81-84).

Pedro Mexia’s book *Silva de Varia Leccion* which was first published in 1540, has produced 65 editions in the European languages and 31 editions in Spanish, in the XVIth century.

A lot of information about the Turks appear in encyclopedias. Therefore, Cervantes managed to write a book, *La Gran Sultan* on İstanbul, which he did not see in his life. Again, Cervantes wrote another book related to the island of Cyprus, where he had never been, but probably heard its name and listened to rumours about this lovely island, during his long imprisonment years in Algeria.

Commenting on Cervantes’s book *Le Gran Sultan*, Miguel Angel said that, for a writer who did not set foot on İstanbul in his life, this book was quite successful. Referring to the optimism expressed by Cervantes in *Le Gran Sultan*, concerning the existence of hope for positive developments between the Turkish and European cultures, Miguel Angel warmly praised him. In his *Le Gran Sultan*, Cervantes said the following: “*The two different cultures and two different ways of life, known to be incompatible with each other, can overcome their differences*” (Ibarra 1994: 186).

El Amante Liberal - The Liberal Lover

El Amante Liberal was first published in Spanish in 1613. It was translated into Turkish by Nazlı Hülya Soydan, under the heading *Örnek Alınacak Hikâyeler, El Amante*

Liberal, Cömert Aşık (2010). *The Liberal Lover* takes place in *The Exemplary Novels* which was published in 1822 as two volumes.⁴ Each of these volumes consists six books.

The second book in the second volume is *The Liberal Lover*. The other books in volume two are: *The Gipsy Girl*, *The Spanish English Lady*, *The Two Maiden Ladies* and *The Force Of Blöge*. *The Liberal Lover*, has also been translated into Turkish by Oktay Öksüzoğlu, a writer, poet, artist and a musician of Cyprus.⁵

In this study, the book of Nazlı Hülya Soydan which is translated from Spanish and Oktay Öksüzoğlu's translation from English, have been compared and the existence of a number of differences among them, established. What's more, some differences between the original *El Amante Liberal* and *The Liberal Lover* have also been traced during this study. The most striking difference among them is that, one of the coplases⁶ recided by the so called Muslim Mahamut, in *El Amante Liberal*, does not exist in *The Liberal Lover*, which was translated into English in 1822.

The original text of this poem (Spanish) is as follows:

“Como cuando el sol asoma
por una montaña baja
y de súbito nos toma,
y con su vista nos doma
nuestra vista y la relaja;
como la piedra balaja,
que no consiente carcoma,
tal es el tu rostro, Aja,
dura lanza de Mahoma,

⁴ Translated into English in 1822 under the heading *The Exemplary Noveles* as two volumes. The name of the translator is missing in the first volume. In Volume II there is a name: Gift Gift of Dr. Wilbur P. Morgan. This name probably belongs to the person who donated his books to the Virginia University, in both volumes London-printed for T. Cadel in the Strand expression exist. Most probably T. Cadel represents the young Thomas Cadel. The old Thomas Cadel (1742–1802) is known to be a famous bookseller. After his death his sons Davies and Thomas Cadel (1773–1836) continued their work as book printers. Cervantes's book *The Exemplary Noveles* was also translated into English in 1882. This book was translated by Walter Keating Kelly under the title *El Amante Liberal, The Generous Lover*. W. K. Kelly; (dead 1867 London) is the author of books such as *Curiosities of Indo-European Tradition and Folk-Lore*. The poem Madrigal which takes place in *The Liberal Lover* is missing in *The Generous Lover*. The 1822 English version has been translated by different persons.

⁵ Oktay Öksüzoğlu, has translated, *The Liberal Lover* into Turkish as *Cömert Aşık* in December 2020. Because of the Covid 19 pandemic, the book has not yet been printed. Öksüzoğlu was born on 24th December 1941, in the Vadili village of the Famagusta district of Cyprus. Apart from his books on Cyprus, Öksüzoğlu has also published many poetry books. The most popular of them is *Aşk Adasından Şiirler (Poems From the Island of Love)* (2007), Ankara. (Yıldız 2019: 491 – 499). I would like to thank Öksüzoğlu, for his kindness in allowing me to benefit from his book *Cömert Aşık*, which is yet to be printed.

⁶ Coplas: The singing consists of coplas, improvised verses of satire, love, or piety.

que las mis entrañas raja” (Cervantes 1613: 53r).

Another striking difference between these two books is that, a poem which appears in *The Liberal Lover* does not exist in *El Amante Lover*. The English version of the poem is given below:

Madrigal

On the beautiful African Lady.

Morpheus, and sleep's dull God, betray

Less gloom than Sol, who rules the day,

Since his grand orb, to which each homage pays,

Has, with your beauteous face, commixed his rays

Tho' various splendours richly blending,

In radiant pomps, are round him sending,

Behind a cloud he hides his gorgeous train.

'This well. -No rival late he had to dread,

But now, your features such bright lustre shed,

That, were he wise, -he'd not appear again (Cervantes 1822: 224)

Other differences between the Spanish and English versions are, on the so-called Muslim character's name and on his marriage. In *El Amante Liberal* the so-called Muslim character is called Mahamut; but in *The Liberal Lover* his name is given as Mohamed. Mohamed got married with Richard's sister at the final part of the novel. In the Spanish version, this marriage is different. Since this difference has not been sufficiently understood, most of the literary evaluations on the issue say that Mahamut got married with Halima.

Nazlı Hülya Soydan has translated the sentence: “Reconciliáronse con la iglesia Mahamut v Halima, la cual, imposibilitada de cumplir el deseo de verse esposa de Ricardo, se contentó con serlo de Mahamut” into Turkish as the following: “Ricardo'nun karısı olma hayallerinin suya düşmüş olduğunu gören Halime Mahamut'un karısı olmakla yetindi” (Seeing the fact that her dreams about becoming Ricardo's wife will not come true; she contended to be Mahamut's wife) (Soydan 2010: 145).

Lucia Lopez Rubio explains this, by saying that the event was not a marriage but a compromise agreement with the Church. The Catholic Church could only allow marriages of the baptized persons. According to this principle, Halima's marriage with the Kadı of Nicosia, had no validity. But yet, the required formalities could be realized, in order to give way to this marriage. The compromise agreement with the Church, lifted the obstacles, in front of Halima's marriage with Mahamut (Rubio 2010: 168).

The evaluation of the book based on rumour on historical background

Apart from the above mentioned differences, the main topics and roofs of both, *El Amante Liberal* and *The Liberal Lover* happen to be the same. The main subject of both novels is based on a rescue operation, jointly planned and conducted by Richard and Mohamed for Leonise, who was a slave in the hands of Turks, in Cyprus. Richard is a Christian slave in Cyprus, and Mohamed is a so-called Muslim. Apart from flashbacks, the events in the novels, completely take place in Nicosia, soon after the occupation of Nicosia by the Turks. The events which develop into intrigues around Hassan Pasha, Ali Pasha, the Kadı of Nicosia as well as his wife Halima, are concluded in Spain, after the deaths of the Kadı of Nicosia and the two Pashas, Hassan and Ali.

The Ottoman Army took full control of the Larnaca town, without meeting any resistance, on 27th June 1570. On 23rd July, the Ottoman Army began its advance towards Nicosia, under the command of Ferhat Bey, Kasım Bey and Hassan Pasha. Following a week's effort, on 27th July they reached Nicosia. Reliable sources say that Nicosia was surrendered to the Turkish Army, without much resistance. The main resistance against the Turks was staged in Famagusta. The town defended itself for eleven months; but had to surrender on 6th August 1571. However, in the beginning of this novel, Nicosia is reflected as a town with "Sad and deplorable ruins of domestic habitations, stained and covered with blood". The main hero of the novel, a Christian slave Richard is "earnestly gazing at the prostrate walls of Nicosia" and talking to himself, complaining from his life. This effort of the writer, aims at showing Nicosia as a town, in which a big battle took place. The Spanish text is reflecting this scene in the following sentence:

"On lamentables ruinas de la desdichada Nicosia, apenas enjutas de la sangre de vuestros valerosos y mal afortunados defensores (The deplorable ruins of poor Nicosia on which the blood of our valiant but unlucky defenders is not dry yet" (Cervantes 1613: 53r).

In *The Liberal Lover* this scene is reflected as below:

"Sad and deplorable ruins of the unhappy and abandoned city of Nicosia! Sad and lamentable ruins of domestic habitations, stained with blood of brave, but unfortunate defenders" (Cervantes 1822: 163).

When Mohamed heard Richard speaking to himself, he approached him. After introducing himself Mohamed said that he had been among the ruins of Nicosia during the last two years. According to this statement of Mohamed, the beginning of the story in the

novel, was towards the middle of the year 1572. This situation makes it inevitable to evaluate the events in the novel, according to historical background.

When Richard asked Mohamed the reason for the increasing movements in front of the newly erected tents in front of the Nicosia walls, Mohamed told him that, the tents belonged to Hassan Pasha who was appointed by the Sultan as the new ruler of the island of Cyprus. But, the historical fact is that, Hassan Pasha had already taken his office as the ruler of Cyprus on 27th July 1570. In the latter part of the novel, Richard would say that Hassan Pasha, who will take up the rule of Cyprus, happened to be his master. This fact is reflected in the Spanish version of the novel by the following sentence: “I became the property of Tripoli’s governor Hassan Pasha. And when he was appointed to Cyprus as the island’s governor, I came to Cyprus with him in fifteen days” (Soydan 2010: 108).

In the English version, the status of Hassan Pasha is stated to be the Vizier of Tripoli. The person referred to by Richard, as the Vizier of Tripoli named Hassan Pasha, is in fact Hassan Pasha from Venice, who was the Beylerbeyi (Governor) of Algeria, during the imprisonment of Cervantes there. His real name is Andrea Celeste. Hassan Pasha’s rule had lasted for five years, between 27th June 1577 and December 1582. He had also become a pirate for some time, before going to İstanbul as the Captain Pasha on 20th September 1588 (Kılıç 2017: 428).

During Hassan Pasha’s rule as the Beylerbeyi of Algeria, Cervantes attempted to escape from the prison for several times and each time he was forgiven by Hassan Pasha. In *Don Quijote*, Cervantes mentions the name of Hassan Pasha by saying: “I did not receive any punishment from Hassan Pasha at all. He didn’t give me even a flick and I didn’t hear a bad word from him” (Önalp 1992: 314).

In the light of these words of Cervantes, we can say that Hassan Pasha, with whom Richard had come to Cyprus, is originally from Venice. We should not mixed him with Hassan Pasha, the Beylerbeyi of Karaman, who took part in the conquest of Nicosia as one of the Commanders of the Ottoman Army.

Meanwhile, the position of Mohamed who was Richard’s friend from his childhood, is also remarkable. Among the merchants who served the Ottomans in Venice in the XVIth century, there was a figure named Mahmut Bey. He is known to be imprisoned during the initial stages of the Ottoman Army’s movemet in Cyprus, but managed to return Venice, when released after three years of imprisonment (Pedani 2021).

It is a possibility that, Cervantes received the details of the Ottoman Rule, as well as information about the prevailing conditions in Cyprus from Mahamut, who had returned to

Venice from Cyprus. Also it is striking to see in this novel, that Mohamed, a slave of the Kadı, giving detailed information about the ruling system being applied in Nicosia during those days. Also, the information given to Richard by Mohamed, about the four tents erected on the plains in front of the Nicosia walls, are valuable encyclopedic information about the Ottoman ruling systems. According this information given by Mohamed, the new ruler of any province of the Ottoman Empire, had to wait his predecessor to leave the area, before entering into the city. Meanwhile, the completion of certain documents, as well as the ending of all investigations about the old governor, had to be realized before the new ruler could enter the city. When the investigations about the former ruler is completed, a report would be presented to him, which he had to present to his Sultan, who represented the Grand Ottoman Assembly (Soydan 2010: 95-96).

The four official tents erected in front of Nicosia walls, were used as administration centres, from where commanders ruled their military units around the city of Nicosia. These tents were called Dervish Pasha, Müezzinzade Ali Pasha, Muzaffer Pasha and Hassan Pasha (Map 1975: 20). They had been erected during the conquest of Nicosia. In this novel, they are mentioned according to the rumours, instead of real observations.

Among the information given by Mohamed, there are allegations saying that, in the Ottoman ruling system, affairs and problems can be settled through bribery. Mohamed also alleged that, in case the old ruler is found guilty, he could solve his problem, by giving presents or bribes to the people, occupying high positions in the state administration.

In the English version of the novel, the allegations of bribery are enlarged to cover the Pashas and Ottoman Sultans as well. Thus the Ottoman Empire's credibility was directly put on target by the author. When studied together with the political developments in England in 1822, it will be clearly seen that the anti-Ottoman additions to the English version of this novel in that very year, were in parallel. The inclusion of the subject of bribery to the novel, is in full line with its purpose, aiming at discrediting the Ottoman Empire and the Turks.

The aim to turn Richard's love Leonise, into a bribery agent within the Ottoman ruling system, was only the initial stage of the plan. The next stage was going to be a strange, shameful competition between Hassan Pasha, Ali Pasha and the Kadı of Nicosia. All of these important personalities of the Ottoman Empire, were shown as weak characters, foolishly fighting with one another for owning a young, beautiful Christian slave girl. While struggling to own this beautiful girl, they were even attempting to kill each other.

In the struggle to own the beautiful slave girl, Ali Pasha was the first to accept to pay the demanded ransom by the Jewish merchant. Therefore he was almost successful in owning

the girl. When Hassan Pasha intervened, saying that he will give the beautiful slave girl to his great Sultan as a present, the atmosphere became very dangerous. There was a moment when both Pashas reached to their swords, but the Kadı of Nicosia managed to calm down the intemperate spirits of the two pashas. He asked them to agree to accept the girl to be under his control, adding that he would personally organise everything necessary and undertake to meet all of the expenses for taking the young slave girl to İstanbul, in order to present her to his highness the great Sultan (Soydan 2010: 113).

The lustfulness of Turks and their great weaknesses about women, is repeated in various novels of Cervantes. *El Gallardo Espanol* is a theatrical work written by the author, aiming at reflecting the weaknesses of the Turkish statesmen about women. This play is about a beautiful Spanish lady taken to Sultan's harem in İstanbul, but kept away from the Ottoman Sultan Murat III, by the harem's eunuch. When Sultan Murat learns this unacceptable situation, Rustem Bey tries hard to defend himself by saying that the reason for keeping this beautiful lady away from the great Sultan was her dangerous illness (Önalp 1992: 318).

According to Cervantes, the Ottoman Empire's power, was not as great as it seemed to be. He based this argument on the result of Lepanto naval battle, where the Ottomans had lost to Christians. Cervantes also tried to support his argument, by saying that in the administrative system of Ottomans, the powerful authorities around the Sultan, reflect weak characters, especially towards women. According to Cervantes, the high ranking Turkish administrators could easily prefer the beautiful women to their Sultan.

This anti-Turkish behaviour of Cervantes does not merely depend on plain rumours, but also on his personal enmity towards the Turks. One can understand the reasons behind Cervantes's anti-Turkish stand, in the light of his personal relations with the Turks. Cervantes who had taken part in the Lepanto naval battle against the Turks, had been badly wounded from his chest and left arm. What's more, Cervantes had to spend five long years in an Algerian prison, as a prisoner of war of the Ottomans. Lastly, the conquest of Cyprus by the Turks, had also caused unrest and increased the anti-Turkish feelings among the Christians. They decided to organise a powerful military pact to foil the Ottoman Empire's domination of the Mediterranean Sea.

During a duel in his youth, Cervantes had been badly wounded from his right arm. When he got wounded from his left hand, while fighting against the Turk in the Lepanto Naval battle, he decided to use his pen instead his sword, to harm the Turks. During that period, Europeans were believing that it was impossible to defeat the Turks through wars. Cervantes endeavoured through his pen, to remove this belief from the brains of Europeans.

He also tried hard to assure his European readers that their religious beliefs and cultural values, were far more superior than those of the Turks. Cervantes often reflected in his novels and plays, that starting from the Turkish man on the street, moving up to the Turkish pashas and even the Sultans, the characters of Turks were weak. Cervantes concluded his anti-Turkish message about the Turks in his novel *Le Amante Liberal* by saying that the Turks were not an invincible enemy.

In *Le Amante Liberal* Cervantes sets a scenario about Kadı's wife Halime's strong desire to have Richard as his lover, while the Kadı, Hassan Pasha and Ali Pasha fell in love with the same slave girl Leonise and selfishly tried to own her at all costs. Meanwhile, the two slaves, namely Mohamed and Richard, prepared and implemented plans to save Leonise from slavery in the hands of Turks. They aimed at taking Leonise to her own country. Neither the Kadı of Nicosia, nor the two Pashas were aware of the plans of the two slaves, because they were in deep love with Leonise and fought each other for owning this beautiful slave girl. The Kadı of Nicosia pretended as if he would take Leonise to İstanbul on board of a ship. He told the two Pashas that, he will present this beautiful slave girl to the grand Sultan as a gift from the Pashas and himself. But in reality, Kadı was planning to throw his wife Halima into the sea, instead of Leonise, during the voyage and spread the death news of Leonise. By this information reaching the two Pashas and the great Sultan, Kadı believed that he could have Leonise as his wife. Meanwhile, the two Pashas separately moved their ships from Cyprus aiming at catching the Kadı's ship. Both of them had the same purpose: Destroying Kadı and owning Leonise. Eventually, Kadı and the two Pashas had lost their lives in their struggle for Leonise.

Cervantes preferred to give many messages about the Turkish justice system, through the Kadı of Nicosia. He tried to convince his readers that the rich and beautiful island of Cyprus was turned into a poor place after the Turkish conquest. The rich people of Cyprus became unhappy because of injustice, immortality and bad administration caused by the Ottoman rulers.

The uncontrolled entrance of a Jewish merchant into the tent of the Kadı of Nicosia, with the intention of selling a Spanish slave girl, is an imaginary story created by Cervantes, aiming to create an understanding that there was no real security around the Ottoman official buildings. He also tried to misinform his readers about the Ottoman ruling system. These anti-Turkish allegations by Cervantes, were based on rumours. Therefore it is an important need, to study and evaluate these unfounded anti-Turkish allegations, within the framework of historical realities.

In this novel, it is stated that those people who were present at the handing over ceremony of the two pashas, were shouting “Long live! Long live! Sultan Suleiman!” (Soydan 2010: 114). This story presented in the novel, cannot be a historical reality; because the Ottoman Sultan who annexed Cyprus to his Empire was not Sultan Suleiman; but Sultan Selim II. In fact, Sultan Suleiman who is also known as Suleiman the Magnificent, died on 7th September 1566, five years before the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans. Therefore, relating this famous Ottoman Sultan in Cervantes’s novel, with the conquest of Cyprus, is a good example for the rumour literature.

In the introduction of the novel, Mohamed says that, the island of Cyprus was in peace before taken by the Turks. This statement given by the novel’s hero, contradicts with the scientific realities. The main reason which forced Sultan Selim II to decide to annex Cyprus to his Empire, was the prevailing unrest and illegal movements in the island and the pirate activities around it. Venitians were attacking and murdering, not only the Ottoman merchants but also the Muslims, who were on their way to pilgrimage in the Mediterranean. Venitians who ruled Cyprus for many years, often violated the agreements signed with the Ottoman Empire and killed the Muslim pilgrims and merchants and plundered their goods. Therefore, Sultan Selim II appointed Shah Mustafa Pasha as the Commander of the Ottoman Army and ordered him to annex the island of Cyprus to his Empire (İlaydın vd. 1957: 236).

Another source says that, Arbel Benjamin gave many examples showing the bad treatment and injustices against the Jewish people living in Cyprus, during the Venitian rule (Arbel 1979: 23-41).

Michael Gordon, referring to this information given by Arbel, pointed out that, during the Venitian rule in Cyprus, Nicosia had become a place of enmity against the Jewish people. Arbel added that the island of Cyprus had also been turned into a base for pirates, who were active on the sea route of the Muslim pilgrims.

While making evaluations about the activity of a Jewish merchant, in Cervantes’ *El Amante Liberal*, Michael Gordon, pointed out that, this showed the normalization and improvement of the Jewish people’s living standarts during the Turkish rule in Cyprus. The falling of Leonise into the hands of a “greedy” (Soydan 2010: 113) Jewish merchant, the merchant’s entering into the tent where high level Ottoman figures were present, without being searched and his success in selling Leonise at a big sum of money, the Jewish merchant’s success in dressing Leonise as a beauty reflecting the atmosphere of the one thousand and one nights, have all been questioned by Michael Gordon (2013: 205-226).

In the novel, one of the hands trying to reach Leonise belongs to a Jewish merchant, whose name is not given. Just like the Jewish merchant, the Kadı of Nicosia is nameless. The presence in the tent of the Kadı of Nicosia, the old and new rulers of Cyprus, alongside the nameless Jewish merchant, is introduced to be a partnership of an alliance. The portion that befalls on the Jewish merchant from this common sin, is his decision to sell Leonise to Ottomans, after failing to get her virginity, which symbolizes the island of Cyprus. The message given by Cervantes through this Jewish merchant, can be found in Michael Gordon's article, in which there are quotations from Arbel: "According to one of the widespread beliefs in Venice, Ottomans received Cyprus from them upon the advice and provocations of Don Joseph Nassi, who was one of the advisers to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II. (Gordon 2013: 208 Arbel 1979'dan)

We must point up to the fact that, Cervantes's novel is referring to the Kadı of Nicosia with no name; whereas the name of the first Kadı appointed to Nicosia after the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans is known to be Ekmelettin Efendi, who also served as a mufti (Salihoğlu 1969: 17). Meanwhile, in this novel, while talking about his master the Kadı's authority, Mohamed evaluates Kadı's duty and authority to be equivalent to that of a Bishop (Soydan 2010: 95). In the latter part of the novel, while the duties and authority of the Kadı is explained, it is stated that the Kadı is the most authoritative official of the State whose decisions are not questioned, and it is also explained that in the Ottoman ruling system there is no appeal to an upper court:

"Like the Turks, some Christian Greeks presented themselves to the court; but their accusations were of so little consequence, that the Kadı instantly dismissed them. It is a custom among the Turks that all the rivals that all the trials, except those which relate to marriage, shall be immediately and summarily decided, and the Kadı is the sole judge, in all these cases, which relate to marriage, shall be immediately and summarily decided without being subject to appeal" (Soydan 2010: 111).

When studied within the framework of the 1571 *Şerriye Sicil Records* (Official Court Records of Cyprus), the expressions in Cervantes's novel, about the duties and authority of the Kadı as well as the court procedures, one can see that they are almost completely wrong. The first volume of this book, which is 1435 pages, has been published. It contains legal events and developments that took place in the island, starting from the conquest of Cyprus. This book reflects the fact that as from the first days of the Ottoman rule in Cyprus, a legal system has been formed and actively implemented. The Kadı, who is a symbol of justice, represents the legal authority and is responsible to prepare the reports and necessary

documents about cases and verdicts. The decision given by Kadı can be appealed to the Divan-ı Hümayun (The Islamic High Court). The cases about marriage, divorce and heritage were quickly decided (Tamçelik vd. 2019: 5-8). Therefore, the statement of Mohamed in *El Amante Liberal* saying that the Kadı's decision is final and there is no opportunity for appeal in the Ottoman legal system, is totally wrong. Obviously, this statement of the novel's hero Mohamed, aims at supporting the word "barbarians" that was included in his speech. Emilio Sola Castano's views expressed for *La Grand Sultana* of Cervantes, which say that in this book the author has reached the peak with his reliability and accuracy on his comments concerning the Ottoman palaces. Castano concludes his criticism about the author by underlining the fact that the authors success in this respect completely depend on the rumour literature, recalling that Cervantes had listened to many stories about İstanbul, during his imprisonment in Algeria (Castano 2017: 406). This evaluation about *La Gran Sultana* is also valid for *La Amante Liberal*.

It will be an incomplete argument to say that Cervantes's anti-Turkish behaviour as reflected in his novels are merely based on rumour literature. In fact the author has been quite consistent in his anti-Turkish stand. Before anything else, he endeavoured hard, to keep the Christian morals high against the effective strengthening of the Turks in the XVIth century. This move of Cervantes can be evaluated to be an attempt to create an anti-Turkish climate in Europe, rather than to affect the perception of the West concerning the Turks. The only positive picture about the Turks in *La Amante Liberal* is their humanly behaviour towards Leonise, whom they rescued from a sinking ship without thinking their own lives, and without touching her chastity. Towards the end of the novel, Leonise summarises the surviving story of her chastity with these words: "Throughout those eight days which I spent on the island with the Turks, they all treated me, like their sisters; and sometimes even closer than that" (Soydan 2010: 128).

Conclusion

La Amante Liberal was written by Cervantes consciously, aiming at keeping the Christian world united and strong, against the Turkish threat that started to expand throughout Europe and the Mediterranean in the XVIth century. The conquest of Cyprus by the Turks, had been regarded to be a matter of honour by the Catholic world. This fact is reflected indirectly in this work of Cervantes. The success of the beautiful Spanish slave girl Leonise, to return her homeland without losing her virginity, suffices to show the writer's sensibility on this issue. This lovely young Spanish girl, successfully defended her honour and chastity

during her slavery, against the kadi and commanders of Nicosia, as well as the soldiers and the Jewish female trader who were shown by the author as lecherous characters. It must be pointed out that Cervantes's attributions to the Turks, with ugly words such as "shameless, dirty, womaniser and fond of money" are based on rumours and are not realistic. When we study the historical sources we can see the facts. Cervantes's allegations about the Turkish rulers of Nicosia as written in *La Amante Liberal*, do not overlap with those of the Cyprus Sharia Records of 1571. In addition to these malicious false information about the Turks, Cervantes also gave untrue information about the commanders of the Turkish forces who realised the conquest of Cyprus. The most remarkable of these false information in the book shows Suleiman the Magnificent to be the conquerer of Cyprus. *La Amante Liberal* suffices to reflect Cervantes's efforts to create negative image about the Turks through rumour literature. Cervantes had planned this book with a view to discredit the Turks, while he was a slave in Algeria, where he heard rumours on the conquest of Cyprus by the Turks. Therefore, it is possible to evaluate this novel to be one of the important example for rumour literature.

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*****Duyum Edebiyatı Bağlamında *La Amante Liberal / The Liberal Lover*'de Kıbrıs****

Doç.Dr. Osman Yıldız*

Öz

16. asırda Akdeniz'deki hâkimiyet mücadelesinde, İspanya ile Osmanlı devleti karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Kıbrıs, İspanya için bir namus meselesidir. Türklerin 1571'de Kıbrıs'ı fethetmesi, Hristiyan dünyasında büyük bir hayal kırıklığı yaratmıştır. Bu hayal kırıklığının en belirgin izlerinden biri de Cervantes'in 1613'de Madrid'de basılan *Novelas Ejemplares* adlı kitabında yer alan *El Amante Liberal* adlı eserinden yansımaktadır. Eser, 1822'de *The Exemplary Novelas* olarak İngilizceye çevrilmiştir. Çeviride bu bölüm *The Liberal Lover* adı altındadır. Bu çalışmada, her iki eser karşılaştırılarak Cervantes'in Kıbrıs'ın fethine dair ortaya koydukları tarihsel çerçeve ve duyum edebiyatı açısından değerlendirilecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Cervantes, *El Amante Liberal*, *The Liberal Lover*, Kıbrıs'ın Fethi, Türk imajı, Duyum edebiyatı

*** Bu makale, hem Türkçe hem de İngilizce olarak yayımlanmıştır.

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*****Cyprus, in *La Amante Liberal* / *The Liberal Lover* in the Context of Rumour
Literature****

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Abstract

Turks conquest of Cyprus disappointed Spain. This is reflected in *Cervantes' El Amante Liberal*. It contains one of the stories found in *Novelas Exemplares* published in 1613. The same story was published in 1822, as *The Liberal Lover*. Turkish articles about Cervantes, evaluated his views on Turkish Image. The historical framework of the conquest of Cyprus, as reflected in Cervantes's *El Amante Liberal*, has not been evaluated until today, in the context of rumour literature. The reflections of historical events during the Turkish conquest of Cyprus, will be established in this study, within the context of the rumour literature.

Keywords: Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra; El Amante Liberal; Cyprus; Turkish Image; Rumour Literature.

*** This article has been published in both Turkish and English.

** Research Article

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**Кипр, в *La Amante Liberal* / Либеральный любовник в контексте литературного
вымысла****

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Резюме

Завоевание Кипра турками разочаровало Испанию. Это отражено в книге Сервантеса *El Amante Liberal*. Один из рассказов, содержащихся в «Образцах новелл», опубликован в 1613 году. Этот же рассказ был опубликован в 1822 году под названием «Либеральный любовник». Турецкие статьи о Сервантесе изменили его взгляды на события. Исторические рамки завоевания Кипра, отраженные в «Либерале Аманте» Сервантеса, до сегодняшнего дня не оценивались в контексте литературного вымысла. Отражения исторических событий во время турецкого завоевания Кипра будут установлены в этом контексте.

Ключевые слова: Мигель де Сервантес Сааведра, Либеральный любовник, Либеральный любовник, Кипр завоевание, Картина Турции, Литературный вымысел.

** Исследовательская работа

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Energy Card Of The Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus**

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Introduction

Many natural gas fields of different sizes have been discovered in recent years as a result of research that have been conducted by international companies from Eastern Mediterranean`s waters. Among the most important of these are the Egyptian Zohr, the Greek Cypriot Administration (GASC) Aphrodite and Israel's Tamar and Leviathan fields. These reserves are thought to be able to meet the energy demands of neighboring countries as well as source countries. Thus, in March 2010 U.S. In the light of the information obtained as a result of the researches carried out by the Geological Survey in the region, it is estimated that there are 3.4 trillion cubic meters of recyclable natural gas and 1.7 billion barrels of oil in the Eastern Mediterranean (Kurt ve Duman 2020, 285). The energy potential of the Eastern Mediterranean makes the region strategically important for both countries in the region and foreign countries.

At the same time, not only hydrocarbon deposits, but also logistics to countries needed by these discoveries, it opens the door to new economic and political cooperation between countries in region and on the other hand would be deepening existing disputes and conflicts. In this context, Israel and Egypt policies, which have the largest reserves in the region with the natural gas reserves discovered in Tamar (280 billion cubic meters) in 2009, Leviathan (620 billion cubic meters) in 2010 and Zorh (850 billion cubic meters) in 2015 in the Nile Delta had been fueled conflicts as well as new alliance relations (Kurt ve Duman 2020, 285). It can be said that these two countries focus on issues such as meeting domestic demand, energy security, natural gas transfer and increasing regional cooperation in their policies towards the Eastern Mediterranean.

Israel is historically an energy poor country. Its dependence on foreign energy creates strategic and political weakness and pressure on Israel. Israel imports hydrocarbon from countries such as Angola, Colombia, Mexico, Azerbaijan and Norway, which cannot import from neighboring Arab countries (except Egypt), which have rich natural gas and oil resources and energy resources. This has brought great costs both in terms of price as well as transfer costs. Indeed, Israel met 13.4 percent of its energy production itself in 2012, but

** Review Article

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imported 49.3 percent of its energy needs, including oil and 35.4 percent coal. However, with the use of gas in the Tamar region in 2013 and the use of gas in the Leviathan region in 2015, Israel was able to meet 60-65 percent of its energy needs. This figure will increase to 70 percent in 2030 (Kurt ve Duman 2020, 286).

The existence of energy resources around the Island of Cyprus had been set in motion Greece together with the Greek Cypriot Administration. Greece, ignoring the special status of the Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean Sea due to semi-enclosed seas and islands, regardless of the decisions made by international judicial bodies, especially on the maritime jurisdiction areas of the Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) an important part of the continental shelf and Greece and GASC have prepared maps showing as belonging. Turkey began to take measures to prevent this unfair share since 2004. Ankara notified the United Nations (UN) of the western boundaries of the continental shelf in the Mediterranean in 2004. Also in 2011, it signed a licensing agreement with the TRNC. With this agreement, Turkey has been able to demonstrate the presence of the naval component and drilling ships around the Cyprus. With these moves, the use of the TRNC arising from the island's hydrocarbon resources was ensured and attempts to violate these rights were deterred.

1. Importance of the Eastern Mediterranean in terms of Energy Transport and Distribution:

Eastern Mediterranean, Middle Eastern geography; It is the gateway to the Mediterranean, the Aegean, the Black Sea, the Red Sea and the Atlantic.

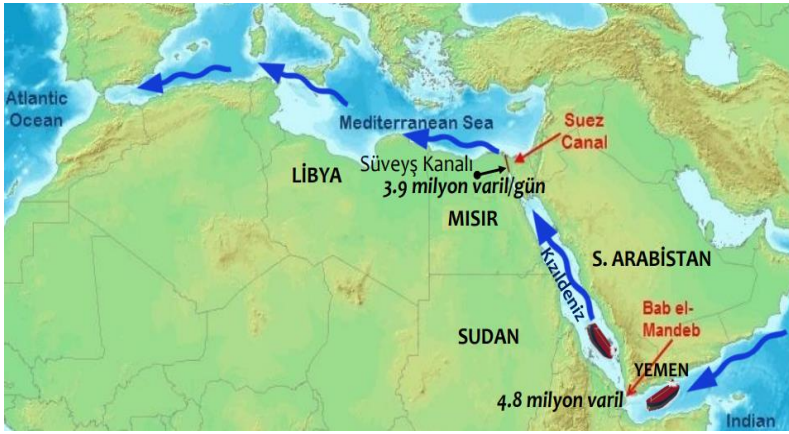


Map 1: The ways from the Mediterranean, the Aegean, the Black Sea, the Red Sea and the Atlantic in East Mediterranean (Source: Kandemir 2013, 13)

The Eastern Mediterranean is part of the Middle East geography, which contains 48% of the world's found oil reserves and 41% of natural gas reserves. It is the gateway to the Mediterranean, Aegean, Black Sea, Red Sea and Atlantic. Cyprus, one of the most delicate

balance in Cyprus for Turkey's security, especially in England (Russia, China, Israel), USA, Greece, Cyprus and protect the strategic and military importance for the European Union countries.

Approximately 30% of world trade and 20% of oil trade by sea pass through the Mediterranean basin. Every day, an average of 4 thousand cargo and trade ships are cruising in the Mediterranean. Approximately 40 thousand Russian merchant ships cross the Turkish Straits to the Mediterranean every year. Its proximity to the Suez Canal, which is one of the three gates providing entry and exit to Cyprus' oil and natural gas resources, has increased its geostrategic importance. The British bases placed in the region to "control" the Mediterranean, energy and international trade security, "early intervention" and listening stations used by the Americans are also at this point (Olgun 2016, 327).



Map 2: Oil transport road to the north to Mediterranean from Red Sea (Source: www.naturalgasnow.org 2018).

Oil and product of 61% of the world is transported by sea. At the top of these roads, the Suez Canal in Egypt is the most important waterway in terms of connecting the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. 3.9 million barrels of crude oil and refined products produced in 2016 were transported from the Suez Canal to target countries. As the 200-mile Collected Pipeline was transported to the Mediterranean via Egypt, the amount of transport in the northern direction of the canal increased by 300.00 barrels per day in 2016. The south direction had gone down for the first time since 2009.

Its capacity is 2.34 million barrels a day and it is the only way to cross the Mediterranean from the Red Sea where ships can pass through the Suez Canal. On the other hand, the Bab-el-Mandeb is located between from the Horn of Africa and the Middle East and connects the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean. The amount of crude oil and products transported in 2016 reached 4.8 million barrels per day (3.3 million barrels per day in 2011) (Talkbusiness.net. tarih yok).

59 million barrels, which means 61% of the daily world crude oil and petroleum products trade, were transported by sea in 2016. Most of these products are transported

around the Arabian Peninsula and through bottlenecks such as the Suez Canal, the Sumed Pipeline, the Bab-el-Mendeb Strait and the Strait of Hormuz. According to the US Department of Energy, these narrow waterways are critical to global energy security. Even for short periods of time, the disruption of oil flow through these important bottlenecks is the basis for serious supply delays, high freight charges and ultimately high oil prices (naturalgasnow.org 2018).

2. Eastern Mediterranean Hydrocarbon Resources

Exploration studies to find hydrocarbon resources in the Eastern Mediterranean had started in the 1960s. Especially the drilling in Syria is not developed enough to compare with today's activities for the commercialization of hydrocarbon resources, because it was carried out close to the coastline (EIA, U.S. . 15 08 2013. (accessed: June 20, 2020). 2013). In the 1970s, a more successful process was experienced in the drilling in Egypt, Jordan and Israel compared to the studies in Syria (Üstün tarih yok, 2) . This is because; the drillings in the specified period have been made in offshore areas. The first known offshore hydrocarbon studies were conducted in Egypt (34 km northeast of Alexandria) (Karbuz ve Baccarini 2017, 1). However, unstable developments such as the Arab-Israeli War in this period and the 1973 Oil Crisis; had slowed down the discovery process of hydrocarbon resources. The purpose of the drilling works in the specified period; it is the determination of the hydrocarbon resources that are estimated to exist.

The process of commercializing hydrocarbon resources will only begin to be evaluated with the reserves found in the mid-1990s. It had been many factors that motivated the countries of the region to discover hydrocarbon resources in the 1990s. These factors are the development of the techniques in seismic exploration and drilling activities with the effect of the development of technology in the specified period and the emergence of a suitable environment for the exploration of hydrocarbon resources due to the increasing energy prices (Stocker, 579). With the effect of developments, especially Israeli and US energy companies have accelerated their efforts to explore hydrocarbon resources in Israel's offshore fields. In particular, the Israeli energy company Delek Group has been operating for hydrocarbon exploration since the 1950s (Delek Group 2017). Discovered by Delek Group and US energy company Noble Energy in 1999 at Israel's offshore field, Noa gas field, and also at Israel's offshore Ashkelon in 2000, the Mari-B gas field are important for the commercialization of hydrocarbon resources. This had been caused energy companies to change their policies

towards the region for the Tamar and Leviathan gas fields to be discovered in the late 2000s (Bahgat 2011, 29).

Map 3: Noa gas field located in Israel offshore in 1999 by Delek Group and US energy company Noble Energy (Karpuz 2013, 1).



Gas deposits discovered by Israel in the late 1990s are shown on the map. Gas discoveries mentioned above; improved hydrocarbon discovery and accelerated the acquisition of geophysical data across the region (Karpuz 2013). Also, in the period of 1999-2000, the Veya and Nir gas fields discovered in the Israeli offshore field and the Gaza Marine gas field discovered in the offshore field of the Gaza Strip within the borders of the Palestinian National Authority increased their hopes for the discovery of Eastern Mediterranean natural gas (Bahgat 2011, 28). Of the five discovered regions, only the Noa, Mari-B and Gaza Marine fields had been able to find natural gas with reserves of 1.1, 42.4 and 28.3 billion cubic meters, respectively (BDO 2017, 85).

Israel: The discovery of hydrocarbon resources for Israel has not ended with gas fields with high reserves such as Tamar and Leviathan. Especially, energy companies such as Noble Energy and Delek Group continued their activities in the Eastern Mediterranean to find gas fields with higher reserves after Tamar and Leviathan. As a result, Dolphin in 2011, Shimshon and Tannin in 2012 and Karish gas fields in 2013 were found in Israel's offshore fields (Karpuz 2013). The reserves in these discovered gas fields were calculated as Dolphin

22.6 Shimshon 84.9 Tanin 33.9 Karish 50.9 billion m³, respectively (U.S., Energy Information Administration. Overview of oil and natural gas in the Eastern Mediterranean region 2013, 5).

Egypt: For Egypt, there was a positive development in gas discoveries in 2015. In 2015, the Italian energy company ENI announced that it had found a gas field in the Shorouk block 120 miles off Port Said in the Egyptian offshore field, determined that there is an estimated 850 billion m³ of gas in the specified gas field. It is stated that the discovered gas field was the largest area ever found in the Eastern Mediterranean (Shiryayevskaya 2016).

Lebanon: Seismic research activities has conducted in Lebanon to explore hydrocarbon resources date back to the early 2000s. 2D (two-dimensional) research conducted by UK seismic survey ships in the offshore areas of Lebanon between 2000-2002 and the Norwegian seismic research company PGS (Petroleum Geo-Services) in 2007 in Lebanon's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) hydrocarbon sources have been identified in 3D research (Khadduri 2012, 115). As a result of the determinations made, it was determined that there is a potential gas reserve of between 339-707 billion cubic meters in the seismic research areas, but the drilling and exploration activities required for the estimated reserve amount to become proven could not be carried out (U.S. tarih yok, 6). The most important factor hampering drilling and exploration activities is the country's war with Israel in 2006 (Altunısık 2007, 11). The country's failure to elect a President in the 2007 Presidential election, but the unfavorable environment created by events such as the 2008 presidential election also led to the inability to do the necessary work to discover hydrocarbon resources (Cingoli 2016, 2).

Cyprus: The Southern Cyprus Parliament decided to open an international tender for exploration of hydrocarbon resources in its own EEZ area, for which the EEZ area to be licensed was divided into 13 parcels in 2007 (Collinsworth tarih yok, 23). The move made by Southern Cyprus has been a game changing strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean, but there has been created an additional situation besides the unresolved conflict such as the Cyprus Problem for years.

Southern Cyprus has given the license of the 12th parcel to the US energy company Noble Energy at the end of 2010 in an international tender for the exploration of hydrocarbon resources (Watkins 2011, 23). The goal of discovering Southern Cyprus's Eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbon resources became a reality with the announcement of Noble

Energy in 2011, and the company announced on 15 November that an estimated 84 to 141 billion cubic meters of natural gas reserves was detected in the 12th parcel of Southern Cyprus (Leventis 2012, 8). The estimated reserve amount announced by Noble Energy paved the way for other energy companies to bid for other hydrocarbon parcels in Southern Cyprus. Because other energy companies had not bid for the international tender opened by Southern Cyprus, due to the unknown amount of gas to be commercialized in hydrocarbon parcels (Kaymak 1968, 18).

South Cyprus; after the estimated natural gas reserves found in the 12th parcel discovered in 2011, it decided to make an international tender for other parcels in 2012 (Khadduri 2012, 116). Southern Cyprus has opened the parcels it has put out for a new tender, not in the EEZ area, which overlaps with Northern Cyprus, but in areas on the southern coast of the island and the Italian energy company ENI and Korean Gas Corporation (KOGAS) had received the license for the parcels no. 2,3,9, and the French energy company Total had licensed the parcels no.10, 11 (ENI 2013). In the parcels in the second license round, there were no hydrocarbon reserves as in parcel 12. Despite this situation, the interest of energy companies in Southern Cyprus's parcels has continued. South Cyprus; In March 2016, it started the third round of international license tender for parcels 6, 8 and 10 (AlJazeeraTurk 2016).

The ability of Southern Cyprus to produce and commercialize its discovered resources in the future will provide significant gains in terms of both the country and the energy center of the region. However, for The Southern Cyprus, for The Cyprus to be used as a transit point, its relations with other countries in the region should be on a positive course. The unresolved situation of the Cyprus Problem, which continues to date, is a situation that needs to be resolved in the context of transferring hydrocarbon resources to the European market.

3. Cyprus and its Strategic Importance

Cyprus is located in the middle of Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Egypt, Greece and Libya. It is also 65 km from Turkey and 965 km from Greece. Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean after Sicily and Sardinia. The Cyprus Island is the center of Asia, Africa and Europe.

Although Cyprus is shown on the map of Europe, it can be considered geographically and strategically in the Middle East. Transport routes of oil and natural gas in the Eastern Mediterranean control the Island of Cyprus. The island has a very important place

in the region in terms of politics, economy and military. Especially the fact that Britain has military bases in the region shows that the thoughts of dominating the region from the past to the present continue (Capanoglu ve Ozkurt 2013, 1).

The thoughts of dominating and controlling the Mediterranean continue by making continuous plans on the island. One of the global powers is the EU. On the island of Cyprus, it tries to be effective in the region by making the GASC a full member of the EU. In fact, the most important reason why Cyprus made Cyprus a full member to the EU, despite the fact that the island of Cyprus has no economic, political, social or cultural affiliation with the EU; the European Union sees it as a bridge from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Middle East. In addition, considering the geopolitical position of Cyprus, it is important for the EU that energy points are close to the island. The island of Cyprus has an inhomogeneous structure in terms of population. The people are made up of Turks and Greeks. However, Cypriots are unlikely to have a say in the island. Whoever controls the Eastern Mediterranean, at same time this is power in dominance over the island (Capanoglu ve Ozkurt 2013, 1).

It is the preparation and rescue area of the forces for the operations of power centers to operate in the east. There were the three major fluctuations for the importance of the island after the cold war period. Firstly; during the invasion of Iraq after the US entry into the Middle East did not allow US troops to take part in Turkey's territory. In contrast, the US administration, threatening the Turkey has responded that with relocate the Incirlik Air Base in Southern Cyprus. Second; as a result of the acceptance of the GASC as a member of the EU, the EU has taken over the authority to control the Eastern Mediterranean basin and the GASC. The third fluctuation is directly related to energy geopolitics. Eastern Mediterranean basin is geostrategic importance like Cyprus for the USA and other great powers. With the increasing globalization, the USA, which has continued its idea of dominating the world from past to present, had wanted to control the areas where energy resources are located in order to control the economy. Therefore, the Island of Cyprus provides important advantages in terms of security problems in energy resources in terms of great powers (Yılmaz tarih yok).

The Greek administration, which insistently demanded that the Turkish army to be withdrawn from Cyprus and the guarantor ship of Ankara be lifted, had made base agreements with France and Israel in the last two months in addition to the two British bases on the island. The last request came from the USA. The Commander of the Land Forces, General Mark A. Milley made a surprise visit to the Greek administration and demanded "understanding" from the Greeks regarding their naval and air bases. Under normal circumstances, the US naval and air forces have no difficulty in using military bases from Greek Cypriot-administered. The

USA, the UK's Akrotiri air base near Limassol and the Dhekelia naval base near Larnaca is used in joint operations.



Map 4: Akrotiri air base near Limassol and the Dhekelia naval base near Larnaca (www.dikgazete.com/amerikanin-afganistanda-stinger-suriyede-tow-bgm-71-fuzesi-diplomasisi-makale,1491.html).

As a result, the Island of Cyprus provides the USA and Britain with "its proximity to the centers of instability and the opportunity to provide early intervention and supply to possible crisis".

4. Cyprus as an Energy Transition Point

When the studies carried out by the countries in the region mentioned to research the hydrocarbon reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean are examined; extraction of resources, the production and transportation processes are necessary for economic gain from the reserves. The fact that the export options of resources could not be created and released, the result is that energy not be used as desired for the countries in the region. The necessity of cooperation between the countries in the region in transporting their natural gas reserves to the European market becomes even more important due to the sensitive nature of the region, especially the political instability. However, in order to establish cooperation, the countries in the region must solve the problems between them and allow the gas to be commercialized within the framework of a common understanding. In order for cooperation to be possible, resolving the disputed issues between the countries in the region (like the Cyprus Problem) will be among the priorities (Tuttle ve Shiryaevskaya 2013).

The option of commercializing the gas to be created in light of the strategies will also provide a political gain for the countries in the region, apart from the economic gain

mentioned above. The possibility of being named as independent and exporting countries in energy markets will also emerge (Morning 2014, 4). Particularly, Israel and Southern Cyprus, which are the least affected by the political instability environment experienced in the majority of the countries in the region. The goals of Israel and Southern Cyprus to become energy exporters and the studies carried out by the Israeli Ministry of Energy on the subject are important in terms of making the goals concrete (MEI 2012). Although Southern Cyprus is not an active actor in energy markets as much as Israel, it aims to become an energy center with the natural gas reserves discovered in parcel 12 and resources in other parcels in the future (GazetteFamagusta 2014).

The resolution of the problems among the countries in the region, which has been examined above, will be an important step in terms of commercialization (export options) of the Eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbon resources. In the export of hydrocarbon resources, European Union countries are a market that should be evaluated due to their geographic proximity and dependence on energy. Especially due to the low energy consumption in the Cyprus Island, almost all of the gas reserves in the 12th parcel could be exported (Demiryol 2015). It is also possible to export the reserves in the Tamar and Leviathan and Zohr gas fields in the sea fields of Israel and Egypt. However, it is necessary to determine which routes should be used for gas export and to create projects for this.

The European Union, which countries in the Eastern Mediterranean see as the main buyer in the goal of exporting gas, was foreseeing the establishment of the Mediterranean Gas Center in the "European Energy Security Strategy" with the document published by the European Commission in May 2014 (EC 2016, 16). With the published document, the European Union had taken a concrete step towards achieving its goal of increasing resource diversity. In addition, the European Commission aims to complete the planned gas projects faster and more efficiently thanks to the 'Joint Investment Projects' by including three gas projects in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 'Joint Investment Projects' list of 2014-2020, published in 2013 (EC 2016, 16). The gas projects and routes in the Eastern Mediterranean that have been listed by the European Commission are as follows (EC 2016, 18):

✓ Mediterranean Gas Storage Project: Creation of an initially 6 billion m³ capacity LNG terminal for export of Southern Cyprus and Israeli gas (Vasilikos LNG terminal);

✓ Eastern Mediterranean Pipeline: Transport of gas from Israel's Leviathan field to Greece through a 1,600 km long pipeline with an annual capacity of 8.5 billion m³ to be passed under the Mediterranean;

✓ Eurasia Power Line Connection aiming to pass 2000 megawatts of electricity cables and other equipment under the Mediterranean in the course of Israel-Southern Cyprus-Greece.



Map 5: The gas projects and routes in the Eastern Mediterranean that have been listed by the European Commission (EC 2016, 16).

It is seen that despite the problems faced by the countries in the region with each other regarding the integration of Eastern Mediterranean gas into the EU, it is seen that they are trying to develop many policies, especially gas projects, for the export of gas to the European market.

If we need to examine the contribution of the three gas projects mentioned above to the commercialization of hydrocarbon resources in the Eastern Mediterranean; first of all, the aim of the Mediterranean Gas Storage Project is to establish an LNG facility next to the Vassilikos Power Plant in Southern Cyprus and to restore the power plant's production capacity (Lakes tarih yok, 82). With the LNG facility to be established, it is aimed to deliver Israeli and Southern Cyprus gas to Europe. However, difficulties in securing control of the plant in another country due to the Cyprus issue with Turkey regarding to had live and tensions have led to the postponement of the process of establishment of the LNG facility.

Secondly; The Eastern Mediterranean Pipeline project basically aims to transport the gas of Israel and Southern Cyprus to Greece on the coast of Crete and then to Italy, before under the Mediterranean. But the project, between the region's countries (especially Turkey-Cyprus) EEZ area due to disputes (Karbuz ve Baccarini 2017, 3) and one of the longest undersea pipelines would be difficult to implement with the emergence of financial incompetence had been become.

Thirdly; Eurasia Power Line Connection aims to pass electricity cables in a length of 1000 km from 2000 meters below the sea and to establish a Pan-European electricity system on the Israel-Cyprus-Greece route. With a total budget of 1.5 billion Euros, the link between Israel and Cyprus is planned to be 500 million Euros.

As a result; despite the problems faced by the countries in the region, it is that they are trying to develop many policies, especially gas projects, for gas export to the European market. Naturally, time is needed for the development and commercialization of hydrocarbon resources in the Eastern Mediterranean, but resolving the fundamental negative situations such as the Cyprus Problem will allow all actors in the region to take advantage of the opportunity.

Conclusion

In the Eastern Mediterranean region, the Cyprus is the most important actor strategically in terms of regional security as well as political problems and disputes. Although Cyprus attracts attention with its rich hydrocarbon deposits today, these reserves are relatively low, especially when compared with the Middle East Region and nearby regions. Nevertheless, if the relevant reserves are extracted and presented to the international market, the relevant parties will gain substantial financial gain and contribute to their economic development directly and indirectly. However, another important point is that the island is at a very important crossroads and is in a position to function as a transfer base for the realization of strategically important energy projects.

The Cyprus Island has the opportunity to control both the Middle East Region and the Eastern Mediterranean region due to its location. Another main reason behind the island's importance is that it is located on the major air and sea trade routes in the world. Cyprus, as found that location as Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, and each of the countries like Iraq also has direct access to possibility the Suez Canal. Therefore, it is inevitable that countries that want to have a say in the region and energy resources will be interested in Cyprus.

In the areas of energy, the projects that have been developed and brought to the agenda in Cyprus are extremely important in terms of regional and global politics. The most important issue that Cyprus and neighboring countries should consider in this equation is the new geopolitical balances formed on the basis of energy reserves. In particular, the rapprochement between Israel-Greece and the Greek Cypriot Administration can be described as the expression of the security circle they are trying to establish in the Mediterranean. All

these developments are creating the Republic of Turkey's foreign policy should be followed carefully.

Cyprus energy resources have a great share in the formation of regional politics. The first point that is essential for Cyprus is the two-state structure of the island. The event that further deepened this duality was the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus' becoming a full member of the European Union (EU) under the name of Cyprus.

Today, the European Union countries realize a significant part of their energy imports through the Eastern Mediterranean. It is also important for the European Union that the Eastern Mediterranean region can play a key role in the distribution of energy resources coming from the Middle East and Caspian region. For this reason, the Cyprus Island is of great importance for the European Union to have a say in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, by accepting the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus as a member, the European Union further expanded the political deadlock on the island and became a part of the problem themselves. Today Cyprus blocks the opening of the chapter in Turkey's eight chapters under negotiation in the European Union. The most logical of the policies followed by the European Union on the Cyprus Problem is that it declared that all parties on the island should benefit from sharing energy resources on the island. Another important political process in the region is occurring on a series of events will keep coming to the breaking point range experienced in relations between Turkey and Israel. Especially after the tense political agenda with Israel since 2009, Israel quickly came closer with Greece and the Greek Cypriot Administration, and had signed agreements in many areas including energy. Other actors in the region in Egypt and Lebanon to establish close relations with the Greek Cypriot Administration, aims to leave alone in the region of Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic and Turkish Republic.

Another problem that continues in the region is that it is not possible to determine the conditions under which the natural gas revenue to be extracted will be shared between the parties. The most logical and realistic perspective regarding the use and marketing of energy resources in the region is the signing of a partnership between the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the Greek Cypriot Administration within the framework of mutual interest. In this regard, an income pool or a joint fund can be established between the parties. However, today all these offers are turned down by the Greek Cypriot Administration.

The Greek Cypriot Administration claims that it is the only and legal representative of the energy resources on the island today. The guarantor Republic of Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, denied these allegations that expresses at every

opportunity that the Turkish side, as one of the two communities that took place after the foundation of the island in 1960, should be included in the issue of revenue sharing. In response to these allegations of Turkey, the Greek Cypriot Administration, on the other hand, sovereignty over the island's resources is based on the resolution 186 of the United Nations Security Council on March 4, 1964.

When a general evaluation is made, it can be seen that the main way in the problem of not realizing the energy projects developed over Cyprus is not the technical and legal problems regarding the sharing of energy resources on the island, but the discussion under which conditions the general sovereignty of the Greek and Turkish sides over the island will occur. Additionally, the Greek Cypriot Administration also receives support from the international community within the scope of its sovereignty claims. Important global powers such as the European Union, the United States of America and Russia are directly a party to the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus in the sovereignty debate over the Cyprus hydrocarbons.

As a result, the extraction and operation of the rich hydrocarbon reserves of Cyprus will undoubtedly benefit both Turkish and Greek sides. In addition, making Cyprus an important center in energy will also be a positive reflection in terms of the guarantors: Turkey and Greece. However, the sharing of energy resources and income distribution issues have deepened the Cyprus political crisis that has been going on for years. If both sides solve these problems on the basis of common consensus, rationality and logic, the island of Cyprus will take its place as an important energy exporter with all relevant countries with its strategic location and reserves as an important energy card in the region.

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Doęu Akdeniz'in Enerji Kartı: Kıbrıs**

Doç.Dr. Murat Köylü*

Öz

1974'ten sonra iki ayrı idareye sahip olan Kıbrıs Adası için enerji kaynaklarının varlığı, her iki kesim için de gelecek planlarını deęiřtirecek gibi görünmektedir. İki taraf arasında yıllarca süren müzakereler ve uzlaşmaya varılamaması enerji kartıyla çözülmesi daha da zorlaşacaktır. Rum Yönetimi, bölgesindeki elektrik açığına kapatmak için 2001 yılından beri KKTC'den elektrik almaktadır. Kıbrıs adasının etrafındaki doğalgaz, özellikle 2015 yılından bu yana adanın enerji dengesini deęiřtirmiştir. Kıbrıs, sadece doğalgaz ve enerji sorununu çözmekle kalmayacak, aynı zamanda AB ülkelerine ve özellikle enerji transferi Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi için önemli bir lojistik üssüdür. Bu nedenle Kıbrıs Adası, bölgedeki enerji potansiyelinin tüketici ülkelere ihracatı ve teslimi açısından Doęu Akdeniz coęrafyasında "anahtar" rol üstlenmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı, Doęu Akdeniz'deki hidrokarbon yataklarının son yıllardaki etkilerini ve Kıbrıs üzerindeki geleceğini incelemektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs Adası, Hidrokarbon, Enerji Kartı, KKTC, GKRY

** Derleme Makalesi

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Energy Card Of The Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus**

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Abstract

The existence of energy resources for the Island of Cyprus, which had two separate administrations after 1974, seems to change the plans for both segments. Years of negotiations between the two sides and the failure to reach consensus will become even more difficult to resolve with the energy card. The Greek Cypriot Administration has been receiving electricity from the TRNC since 2001 in order to close the electricity gap in its region. The natural gas off the around island of Cyprus has especially changed the energy balance of the island since 2015. Cyprus will not only solving the natural gas and energy problem, but also an important logistics base for energy transfer to EU countries and especially for the Greek Cypriot Administration. Therefore, the Cyprus Island has assumed the "key" role in the Eastern Mediterranean geography in terms of the export and delivery of the energy potential in the region to consumer countries. The aim of the study is to examine the effects of hydrocarbon deposits in the Eastern Mediterranean in recent years and their future on Cyprus.

Key Words: The Cyprus Island, Hydrocarbon, Energy Card, TRNC, GASC

** Review Article

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Восточно-Средиземноморская энергетическая карта: Кипр**

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Резюме

Наличие энергетических ресурсов у острова Кипр, расколовшегося после 1974 года фактически на две обособленные части, изменит планы на будущее обеих из сторон. Видимо, года потраченные на переговоры между двумя сторонами и невозможность достижения договоренностей, затруднят ситуацию по решению вопроса с помощью энергетической карты. Администрация греков-киприотов, начиная с 2001 года в целях покрытия дефицита электрической энергии в своей части получают электроэнергию из ТРСК. Особенно, начиная с 2015 года, имеющийся природный газ вокруг острова Кипр привело к изменению энергетического баланса острова. Кипру придется решать не только вопросы, связанные с природным газом и энергией, но и вопросы, связанные со странами ЕС, и особенно вопросы по передаче электрической энергии для администрации киприотов-греков, для которых она станет важной логистической базой. По этой же причине остров Кипр играет «ключевую» роль в Восточно-Средиземноморском регионе с точки зрения экспорта и доставки энергетического потенциала региональным странам потребителям. Целью настоящей статьи является изучение влияния углеводородных залежей Восточно-Средиземноморского региона на сложившуюся ситуацию в регионе за последние годы и влияния их последствия на будущее Кипра.

Ключевые слова: остров Кипр, углеводороды, энергетическая карта, ТРСК, АЮКГ

** Обзорная статья

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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**

Terrance Michael Patrick Duggan *

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 Kossovo, 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; Latrîe, 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 Kjøppen, 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° *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, Turkdom-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 sit 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, 1776*¹²⁹; *Cyprus (subject to) Turkey, in 1782*¹³⁰; *Cyprus in, Turkey in Asia, 1782*¹³¹; *the island of Cyprus in Asiatic Turkey, 1792*¹³², 1813¹³³, 1819¹³⁴, 1850¹³⁵, 1850¹³⁶, 1851¹³⁷, 1853¹³⁸, 1856¹³⁹, 1863¹⁴⁰, 1868¹⁴¹, 1869¹⁴², 1871¹⁴³, 1876¹⁴⁴, 1877¹⁴⁵; *Island of Cyprus in Asia, 1804*¹⁴⁶, (USA)1907¹⁴⁷; *Cyprus, Turkey in Asia, in (USA) 1806, 1808*¹⁴⁸, 1809¹⁴⁹, 1820¹⁵⁰, 1826¹⁵¹, 1834¹⁵², 1836¹⁵³, 1850¹⁵⁴, 1850¹⁵⁵, 1850¹⁵⁶, 1857¹⁵⁷, 1874¹⁵⁸; *Cyprus in Asia, in 1815*¹⁵⁹, 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.* Anonymous, 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, (Djezâir-i-bahr-i Sefid, vilâiet de Djezâir) 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

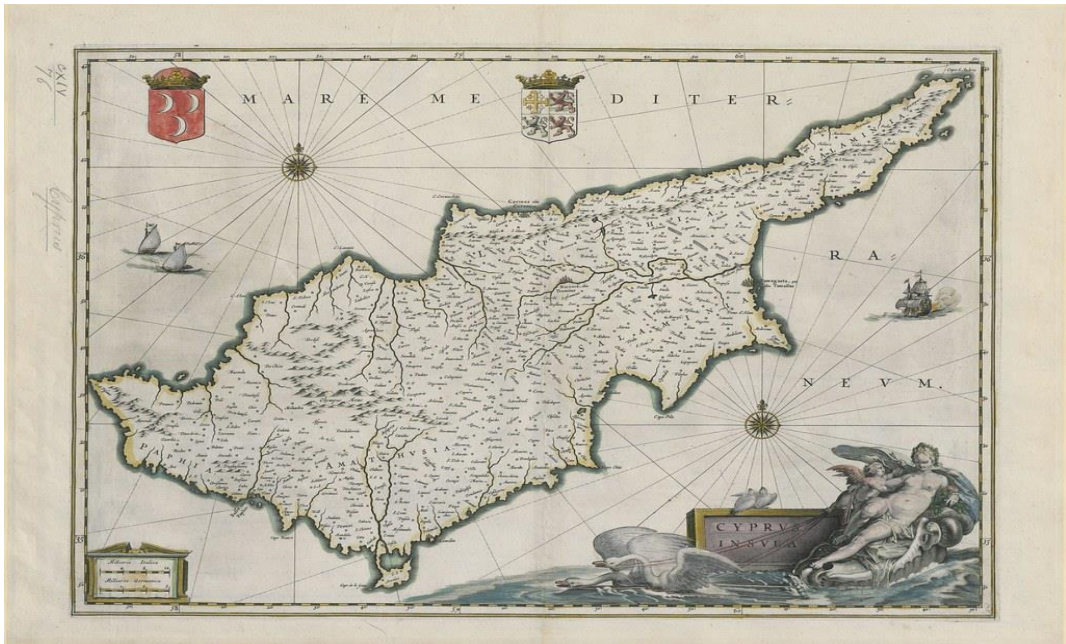


Fig. 1. Joan Blaeu's 17th century map of Cyprus entitled, *Cyprus Insula*, with its armorials (hand coloured, varying from print to print) that indicated both Ottoman and Lusignan sovereignty over the island. Even though Lusignan sovereignty over Cyprus ended

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 Latrie, 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'Auton, 1980: 30-31.

power than as defensible by law; as necessary, but not as legitimate³⁵⁰, 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*, *Osmanli*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 Ötekileştirme; 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 coğrafyacılar 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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İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'dan Bir Alfabe: Kıbrıs Türk Alfabeti (1934)**

“Bütün cihan edebiyatını bir kül olarak görmenin bugün fikrî ve ilmî bir ihtiyaç”

İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan

Furkan Uysal*

1. Giriş

Kıbrıs 1571’de Osmanlı Devleti tarafından fethedilmiştir. Adaya Türkiye’den Türkler iskân politikası kapsamında yerleştirilmişlerdir. Böylece adada Türk varlığı ilk kez tarih sahnesine çıkmaya başlamıştır. Tanınmış din ve devlet adamlarının yanı sıra birçok divan şairinin de Kıbrıs’ta olgunlaştığını söylemek mümkündür. Osmanlıların adayı ele geçirmesinden sonra açılan Mevlevi Tekkesi (1594), divan şiirinin gelişiminde büyük bir rol oynamıştır. 1730 Patrona Halil isyanından sonra Kıbrıs’a sürülen Osmanlı Devlet adamlarından önemli biri de “*Paris Sefaretnamesi*” nin yazarı 28 Çelebi Mehmet’tir. Çelebi Mehmet’i adaya mutasarrıf olarak atanmış Ziya Paşa takip eder. 1873- 1876 yılları arasında Magosa’ya sürgün olarak gönderilen bir başka isim ise vatan şairi olarak bildiğimiz şair Namık Kemal’dir. Namık Kemal’in Kıbrıs Türkleri arasında yeri oldukça etkilidir. O, Kıbrıs Türklerinde vatan ve hürriyet aşkının kıvılcımını oluşturan kişidir.

Kıbrıs’ın Türkler tarafından alındığından günümüze kadar geçen süreçte Türk siyaset ve kültür yaşantısında önemli bir yer tutar. Genelde Kıbrıs’a yerleştirilen Türklerin eğitim sorunları, kültür yaşantıları veya adada ürettikleri manevi ürünler, çok sonraları araştırma ve inceleme konusu olmuştur. Ege denizi ve Akdeniz’de yer alan Kıbrıs, Girit ve Rodos başta olmak üzere adalara yerleştirilmiş olan Türkler, esnafılık, tarım ve hayvancılık işleriyle uğraşmış, sıbyan, rüştiye ve medrese eğitiminden kimileri geçmiş olsa bile büyük çoğunlukla ada Türklerinin eğitim ve kültür işlerini Osmanlı Devleti çok kafa yormamıştır. Bir başka ifadeyle Osmanlı Devleti idarecileri, Ege ve Akdeniz adalarına yerleştirdiği Türkleri batıdan deniz üzerinden gerçekleştirebilecek herhangi bir haçlı ve korsan saldırılarına karşı, bir uç kale veya gözetleme noktası gibi düşünmüş, bu nedenle ada Türklerinin eğitim ve kültür konuları üzerinde pek bir faaliyet göstermemişlerdir. Bu konuda Oğuz Karakartal şöyle der: “*Kıbrıs’a*

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sürgüne gönderilen Namık Kemal ile Rodos'a sürgüne yollanan Ahmet Mithat Efendi, bu geri kalışı fark etmişler ve kendilerince ada Türklerinin eğitim ve kültür açılardan kalkınması için fikirleri projeler üretmişlerdir. Namık Kemal'in Kıbrıs'tan döndükten sonra görev aldığı Midilli ve Sakız adalarında, Türklerin sorunlarıyla yakından ilgilenmesinin, Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin ise daha Rodos'ta iken orada Türk çocuklarına öğretmenlik yapmaya başlamasının arkasında, Kıbrıs ve Rodos'ta farkına vardıkları Ada Türklerinin eğitimsizliği sorununu kendilerince telafi etmek arzusu yatar.” (2010: 17-18).

Kıbrıs'ın 1878 yılında Osmanlı Devleti tarafından İngiltere'ye kiralanmasının ardından 1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı'na kadar Kıbrıs'a pek çok aydının yolu düşmüştür. Bu isimler arasında ilk akla gelen, hiciv-taşlamalarıyla ünlü Şair Eşref'tir. Kazım Nami Duru, İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, İbrahim Zeki Burdurlu İngiliz döneminde Kıbrıs'a gelen ve öğretmenlik yapan kişiler olarak karşımıza çıkar. 1950'lerde başlayan EOKA terör hareketleri ile Kıbrıs adasında sıkıntılı günler başlar ve Kıbrıs konusu farklı bir boyut kazanır. Kıbrıs Türkleri İngiliz-Rum kısıpacı altında kalmış ve 1974 Barış Harekâtına kadar adadaki varlığını koruma adına kahramanca direnmiştir.

İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan Kimdir?

Edebiyatçı ve Edebiyat Tarihçisi olan İsmail Hakkı Ertaylan, 1889 yılında İstanbul'da dünyaya geldi. 1908 yılında Galatasaray Lisesini, 1911 yılında Mülkiye Mektebini bitirdi. Galatasaray Lisesi ve Robert Kolejinde edebiyat öğretmenliği yaptı. Azerbaycan Bakü Üniversitesinde Edebiyat Tarihi Öğretim Üyeliği, Yüksek Pedagoji Enstitüsü ile Tiyatro Mektebinde Sanat Tarihi, Türk ve Batı Edebiyatı dersleri verdi. 1923-27yıllarında Ankara Kız Lisesi ve Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsünde Türk Edebiyatı ve Sanat Tarihi dersleri verdi. Kıbrıs Türk Lisesi Müdürlüğü, İstanbul Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Müdürlüğü ile Afganistan Maarif Nezareti Müşavirliğinde çalıştı. İstanbul Üniversitesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Kürsüsüne Profesör olarak atandı. Ordunaryüs Profesörlüğe kadar yükseldi. 1958 yılında kendi isteği ile emekli oldu. 18 Aralık 1967 günü İstanbul'da vefat etti. Sırasıyla;

- Ateş Olur da Yakmaz mı? (1924-Hikâye),
- Kır Çiçekleri(1915-Şiir),
- Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi (1925-Bakü),
- Kıbrıs Türk Alfabesi (1934),
- Azerbaycan Edebiyat Tarihi (1937) adlı eserleri yayınlandı.

Edebiyat tarihi ile medeniyet arasında doğrudan bir bağ olduğu görüşünü kabul eden İsmail Hikmet, “bir halkın medeniyeti, içtimai, iktisadi, hayati kabiliyeti hakkında doğru bir fikir almak istenirse o halkın edebiyat tarihinin yakından tetkik edilmesi” (Ertaylan, 1934) gerektiğini ifade eder.

2. İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan ve Kıbrıs:

Kıbrıs'ta 1901 yılında Viktorya İnas İslam Sanayi Mektebi açılır. Kıbrıs Türk kızlarını okutacak bu okulun inşaat yardımını İngiliz sömürge devleti yaptığı için isminin Viktorya olmasını ister. Lefkoşa Türk Lisesi'ne o zaman dönemin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitim Bakanı Raşit Galib Bey'in yakın dostu ve Türk Dil Kurumu üyelerinden olan İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Kıbrıs Türklerinin yoğun arzusu üzerine müdür olarak atanır. Başka bir ifadeyle; *“Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilanından sonra Kıbrıs'a gönderilen öğretmenler arasında tanınmış ilk isim, edebiyat öğretmeni, araştırmacı ve edebiyat tarihçisi İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'dır.”* (Karakartal, 2010).

“İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'ın eşi Mevhibe Hanım da aynı dönemde Lefkoşa Kız Lisesi'nin, o zamanki adıyla Viktorya Kız Okulu'nun müdüreliliğini yapmakla görevlendirilir.” (Fedai, 2002). İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan uygulama derslerine daha çok önem vererek üzerinde durmuş, lise bandosunu daha güçlü bir konuma getirmiştir. Ayrıca lise marşı ile öğretmen marşını da yazmıştır. İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, öğrencilerin, öğretmenlerin yanı sıra halkın da katılabileceği konferanslar düzenlemeye başlamıştır. İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'nın bütün eserlerinin arka planında edebiyat tarihi ile ilgili düşünceleri ve Türk medeniyetinin gelişmesine katkıda bulunmak idealinin olduğu görülmektedir. Ertaylan'a göre ülke ve medeniyetler, yüzyıllar boyunca savaş ve ticaret yoluyla birbirlerini etkilemişlerdir. Bunun şeffaf göstergesi de medeniyetlere mensup kişilerin ortaya koyduğu edebiyat ürünleridir.

I. Dünya Savaşı'nın ortaya çıkmasıyla beraber İngiliz Hükümeti'nin Kıbrıs üzerindeki eğitim yönetimindeki merkezileştirme politikasında duraklamalar görülmüştür. Lakin bu duraklama 1920 yılında çıkarılan kanunla beraber tekrar hareket kazanmaya başlamıştır. Bu kanuna göre bağımsız olarak seçilerek görev yapan köy komisyonları kaldırılarak, yerine doğrudan hükümete bağlı komisyonlar kurulmuştur. Bu komisyonlar eğitim hakkında arz ve şikâyetlerini İngiliz kaza komiserine bildirmekle yükümlüydüler. Bu yöntemin doğuracağı sonuçlarda İngilizlerin eğitimde merkezileştirme politikasında başarılı bir adım atmalarına vesile olmuştur. İşte böyle bir dönemde İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Kıbrıs'ta görev yapacaktır.

1928 yılında Türkiye'de Latin alfabesinin kabul edilmesiyle Latin harflerine geçilmiştir. Bu olayın hemen ardından Kıbrıs'ta Latin alfabesine kısa bir zaman sonra

geçmiştir. 1933-1934 yılları arasında adada, Lefkoşa Türk Lisesi'nde müdür olarak bulunan Ertaylan, Latin harflerinin ada Türklerince benimsenmesine ve işlerlik kazanmasına vesile olabilmek amacıyla 1934'te “*Kıbrıs Türk Alfabeti*” adlı bir alfabe ve okuma kitabını yazmış ve bastırmıştır. İsmail Bey'in yazmış olduğu kitabı, Türkiye ile yavru vatan arasında kültürel birlikteliğini ön plana çıkaran en güzel örnektir.

3. Kıbrıs Türk Alfabeti Kitabı Tanıtımı:

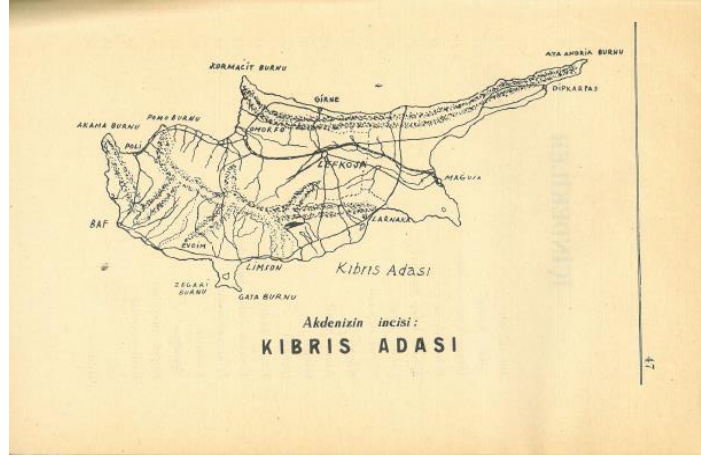
İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Kıbrıs Türk Alfabeti kitabını 1934 yılında Lefkoşa'da yazmış, fakat basımını İstanbul Resimli Ay Matbaası'nda gerçekleştirmiştir. İsmail Hikmet Bey, Kıbrıslılara verdiği değeri ve önemi çıkarmış olduğu bu alfabe kitabı ile gözler önüne sermektedir. Nitekim alfabe kitabında seçmiş olduğu kelimeler ve örnekler tamamen Kıbrıs adasıyla ilgili ve Kıbrıs adasını över niteliktedir. Alfabe öğretimi için vermiş olduğu kelimeler tamamıyla Kıbrıs'ın güzide ve değerli meyvelerinden incir, kiraz ve üzüm gibi yiyecekler olmuştur. Bunun yanında bir başka kelime örneği olarak da karşımıza korna olarak Kıbrıslıların söylemiş olduğu boru sözcüğünü kullanması da dikkat edilecek bir başka husustur.

İsmail Bey, kitabın ilk bölümünde “Bir İki Söz” başlığı altında, alfabe derslerinin okuma ve yazmanın temelini oluşturduğunu, insanların diğer ülke vatandaşlarıyla sağlıklı ve düzgün bir iletişim kurması için yeni harflere geçilmesinin elzem olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Yeni bir alfabenin öğretilmesinin öncelikle çocukların alışık olduğu ve daima işittiği insan, hayvan ve diğer şeylerin adlarını, çocuğun gözünün önünde canlandırılmasıyla daha mümkün olacağını söylemiştir. Bunu; “Kelime bir şekil, bir resim halinde önünde canlanır. Onu gösteren resimde ayrıca yardım eder. Zaten söylemesini bildiği kelimenin, okunuşunu da işitir. Gözü, kulağı aynı zamanda dikkatine hitap eder. Hafızası uyanır, canlanır ve derhal gözünün önündeki şekli kavrar” cümleleriyle dile getirmeye çalışmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, alfabe öğretimini öğrencinin gözünün önünde gerçekleştirecek olan muallimin barındırması gereken özelliklere de bu başlık altında değinen İsmail Bey; “Kelime usulü ile ders veren muallim, o kelimeyi büyük olarak yazmak sureti ile kara tahtadan da istifade edebilir. Mukavvadan, tahtadan ve tenekeden kesilmiş, boyalı ve boyasız harflerden de faydalanabilir. Bütün bunlar muallimin zekâsına ve gayretine bağlıdır”



sözleriyle öğretmenin neler yapması ve hangi yolu izlemesi konusunda tavsiyede bulunmuştur. Bu yönden baktığımızda öğretmenin alfabe öğretimi içinde, Kıbrıs Türk Alfabe kitabı, öğretmen içinde bir el kılavuzu niteliğindedir.

Ertaylan, alfabe kitabının bazı sayfalarında harflerin, büyük ve küçük yazımının yanı sıra harflerin el yazısıyla yazımına da yer vermiştir. Bunun yanında kitaptaki kıraat parçalarını görsellere desteklemiştir. Kıraat parçalarının birçoğunun altına kendi adını yazmasıyla, metinlerin kendine ait olduğu kanısına da varabiliriz. Kitapta vermiş olduğu metinlere tematik olarak değinecek olursak; konular tamamıyla insan, doğa ve hayvan sevgisinin yanı sıra yardımseverlik ve Kıbrıs'ın doğal güzellikleriyle alakalı hususlardır. En dikkat çeken bir başka bölüm ise İsmail Bey'in en son sayfada Kıbrıs haritasına yer vermesidir.



İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'ın yazmış olduğu “*Kıbrıs Türk Alfabesi*” kitabındaki son okuma parçası “Akdeniz’in İncisi Kıbrıs” adını taşımaktadır. Nitekim İsmail Hikmet Bey, İngiliz sömürgesi yönetiminde eğitim gören öğrencilerin, gençlerin ve çocukların hatta kısmen de olsa halkın vatan, milliyet ve bayrak düşüncelerini kuvvetlendirmek amacıyla böyle bir metin seçmiş olabilir. Bu dönemde ada İngiliz himayesi altında bulunduğu için metinlerde ulusal semboller, semboller ve Türk kelimesi ne yazık ki kullanılamamıştır. İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan ise metinlerinde Kıbrıslı çocuklar için, Kıbrıs'ın güzelliklerini ve vazgeçilmez oluşunu “havasının güzelliği, meşhur iri üzümü, portakal ve mandalina bahçeleri, harnup ve zeytin ağaçları” gibi kelimelerle aşlamaya gayret göstermiştir.

İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Lefkoşa’da pek hareketli bir dönem geçirmiştir. Halkın ilgisini çeken konferansların yanı sıra olayları gülünç ve toplumsal, siyasal yergi öğeleri içererek anlatan müzikal sahne oyunu adı verilen operet bile sergilemiştir.

İsmail Hikmet Bey’in macerasını Özker Yaşın hazin bir öykü olarak neticelendirerek şiire dökmüştür. Özker Yaşın, onun Kıbrıs Türk halkına hizmetini şöyle ifade eder:

“Kitaplarından birinin adı

Kıbrıs Türk Alfabesi

İsmail Hikmet’i biz

Ardından teneke çaldırıp

Uğurlamış olsak bile

O yine de ilgilenmiş alfabemizle.” (2001).

İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Kıbrıs'ta Latin Alfabesine geçişte sadece alfabe kitabı hazırlamakla yetinmemiş, yazdığı Türkçe okuma ders kitapları bugün dahi adada devam eden Türk ve Türkçe varlığının kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılması işlevini yüklenmiştir. İngiliz sömürge yönetiminin 1930-1955 yılları arasında kitapsız eğitim politikası karşısında Türkiye'den kitap temin edemeyen Kıbrıs Türk öğretmenleri onun okuma kitaplarının yeni baskısını adada yapmak yoluyla Türkçe ders kitabı eksikliğini gidermişlerdir.

Sonuç

Stratejik açıdan önemli olan Kıbrıs, bugüne kadar birçok milletin egemenliğinde kalmıştır. Gerek Akdeniz'e hâkimiyeti, gerek jeopolitik konumu gerekse adanın verimli toprakları her milletin ilgisini çekmiştir. Ada 1571'den 1878'e kadar hem hukuken hem de fiilen Osmanlı idaresinde kalmıştır ve tarihin en sorunsuz ve huzurlu dönemini yaşamıştır. Ancak adanın İngiliz idaresine girmesiyle birlikte, uluslararası alanda bir Kıbrıs sorunu doğmaya başlamıştır. İngilizler adadaki kültürel yapıyı ve entelektüel çevreyi etkileyecek eğitim alanına müdahaleleri 1920'lerden sonra yapmaya başlamışlardır.

Ada'da kurulan Sömürge Hükümeti, 1920 – 1935 yılları arasında Türkler ve Rumlara yönelik eğitim alanındaki hedeflerine, özellikle Rumların faaliyetlerini fırsata dönüştürerek ulaşmaya çalıştı. Bu bağlamda, 1931 Rum isyanı İngiltere'nin müdahalesine meşruiyet oluşturan başlıca araç oldu. Sömürge Hükümeti'nin, Kıbrıs'taki eğitim sistemine müdahalesinde ve İngiliz imparatorluğuna uygun toplumsal zihniyetin şekillenmesine yardımcı olacak adımları atmasında 1933 yasası önemli rol oynadı. Söz konusu yasayla Kıbrıs Türk eğitim-öğretimi üzerindeki Türkiye'nin kültürel etkisi zayıflatıldı. Bu boşluk Britanya İmparatorluğu ilke ve idealleri ile doldurularak Ada'daki İngiliz varlığına daha sempatik yaklaşan yeni nesillerin yetiştirilmesi hedeflendi. Böylece eğitim-öğretim yoluyla sömürge politikalarıyla uyumlu gelecek nesilleri yetiştirme girişimleri hayata geçirildi. Böyle bir durumda İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'ın, Türkiye'nin Latin harflerini benimsemesini kılavuz edinerek yazmış olduğu “*Kıbrıs Türk Alfabesi*” kitabı önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bulunduğu dönemde İngiliz ve Rum baskılarının yanı sıra yetersiz kaynak, bilgisiz halka rağmen Kıbrıs adasını ve Kıbrıs Türklerini överek, onlardan olan umudunu kesmeyerek alfabe kitabını yazarken ilham almıştır. Ayrıca “*Kıbrıs Türk Alfabesi*” adlı alfabe kitabında Kıbrıs'ın meşhur doğal güzelliklerine ve Kıbrıs ağzına yer verilmesi de Kıbrıs Türk'ünün kendine ait has bir millet olduğu, aslında asimile olmadığı mesajı verilmek istenmiştir.

Sonu itibarıyla, Kıbrıs Trklerine ve Kıbrıs'a bu kadar dost ve vefakr isme, İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'a ait tanıtılmıř olduėumuz alfabe kitabının Kıbrıs Arařtırmaları ve İncelemeleri Dergisi'nin bu sayısında yer almasıyla bir nebze de olsa veda borcumuzu yerine getirmeye alıřtık.

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İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan'dan Bir Alfabe: Kıbrıs Türk Alfabeti (1934)**

Furkan Uysal*

Öz

Kıbrıs'ın Türkler tarafından fethedildiğinden günümüze kadar geçen süreçte Türk siyaset ve kültür yaşantısında önemli bir yer edinmiştir. Genelde Kıbrıs'a yerleştirilen Türklerin eğitim sorunları, kültür yaşantıları veya adada ürettikleri manevi ürünler, çok sonraları araştırma ve inceleme konusu olmuştur. 1571 yılında Osmanlı Devleti tarafından alınan Kıbrıs, tarihin en sorunsuz ve huzurlu dönemini yaşamıştır. Kıbrıs adası İngilizlere 1878 yılında kiralanmış ve Türkiye'nin ada üzerindeki az olan eğitim çalışmaları neredeyse duraksama durumuna gelmiştir. Hikmet Ertaylan, İbrahim Zeki Burdurlu İngiliz döneminde Kıbrıs'a gelen ve öğretmenlik yapan kişilerdendir. 1950'lerde başlayan EOKA terör hareketleri ile Kıbrıs adasında sıkıntılı günler başlar ve Kıbrıs konusu farklı bir boyut kazanır. Kıbrıs Türkleri İngiliz-Rum kışkacı altında kalmış ve 1974 Barış Harekâtına kadar adadaki varlığını koruma adına kahramanca direnmiştir. İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Kıbrıs Türk Alfabeti kitabını 1934 yılında Lefkoşa'da yazmış, fakat basımını İstanbul Resimli Ay Matbaası'nda gerçekleştirmiştir. İsmail Hikmet Bey, Kıbrıslılara verdiği değeri ve önemi çıkarmış olduğu bu alfabe kitabı ile gözler önüne sermektedir. Nitekim alfabe kitabında seçmiş olduğu kelimeler ve örnekler tamamen Kıbrıs adasıyla ilgili ve Kıbrıs adasını över niteliktedir. Bu çalışmanın konusu, İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Alfabeti kitabı üçlüsünün üzerinde durulmasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Kıbrıs, Kıbrıs Türk Alfabeti, Osmanlı Devleti, Türkler, Alfabe, İngiliz, İngiltere, Türkiye, Akdeniz, Savaş, Kültür, Ticaret, Eğitim.

** Araştırma Makalesi

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An Alphabet by İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan: The Turkish Cypriot Alphabet (1934)**

Furkan Uysal*

Abstract

It had an important place in the Turkish and his life until the conquest of Cyprus by the Turks turned into politics. The educational problems of the Turks, their culture or the products they produced on the island have been the subject of much research and examination. It was taken by the Ottoman Empire in 1571, passed through the past of the past. The island of Cyprus was chartered by the British in 78 and Turkey's little education on the island is ending, and the pause will be 18. Hikmet Ertaylan, İbrahim Zeki Burdurlu is one of the teachers who came to Cyprus during the British period. In the 1950s, the days of decline related to the EOKA terrorist movements begin and the Cyprus issue is in a different dimension. The Turkish Cypriots remained under the British-Greek clamp and remained bound by the time until the 1974 Operation. İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan completed the Cyprus Turkish Alphabet book in 1934, but it was published in Istanbul Illustrated Ay Printing House. İsmail Hikmet Bey presents the Cypriots with a painting that he can display. The user seems to have chosen the Cypriot alphabet and praises words and a dasi entirely related to the island of Cyprus. This is the subject to be discussed, İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, the triad of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot Alphabet.

Keywords: İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot Alphabet, Ottoman State, Turks, Alphabet, British, England, Turkey, Mediterranean, War, Culture, Trade, Education.

** Research Article

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Алфавит Исмаила Хикмета Эртайлана: Турецкий Алфавит Кипра (1934)**

Furkan Uysal*

Аннотация

После завоевания Кипра турками она заняла важное место в политической и культурной жизни Турции. На много позже, в целом, проблемы образования, культурной жизни, а также духовных продуктов, произведенных турками, поселившимися на Кипре стали предметом исследования и изучения. Кипр, захваченный Османской империей в 1571 году, пережил самый без проблемный и мирный период в своей истории. После сдачи острова Кипр в аренду британцам в 1878 году, почти прекратилась и без того небольшая образовательная деятельность Турции на острове. Хикмет Эртайлан, Ибрагим Зеки Бурдурлу - одни из тех, которые в британский период управления приехали на Кипр работать учителем. С началом террористических движений ЕОКА в 1950-х годах на острове Кипр начинаются тревожные дни, и кипрский вопрос приобретает иное измерение. Киприоты-турки продолжали подвергаться британо-греческому подавлению и они героически сопротивлялись сохранению своего присутствия на острове до операции 1974 года. Свою книгу «Кипрский турецкий алфавит» Исмаил Хикмет Эртайлан написал в Никосии в 1934 году, но она была опубликована в Стамбульской типографии «Ресимли Ай». Исмаил Хикмет Бей издавая свою книгу алфавита, раскрывает, насколько для него ценны и важны киприоты. Фактически, слова и примеры, которые он выбрал в алфавитном сборнике, полностью связаны с островом Кипр и восхваляют само остров Кипр. Целью данного исследования является подчеркивание важности трио – мыслей Исмаила Хикмета Эртайлана, значения Кипра и книги о турецком алфавите кипра.

Ключевые слова: Исмаил Хикмет Эртайлан, Кипр, турецкий алфавит Кипра, Османское государство, тюрки, алфавит, англичане, Англия, Турция, Средиземное море, война, культура, торговля, образование.

** Исследовательская работа

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