

AN OLD LOCATION'S NEW LIFE: EARLY-OTTOMAN *LEFKOŞA*

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Abstract

In spite of displaying continuity with the administrative structure of the Venetian rule, the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus coincided with the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the island. Though emptied of its previous inhabitants and deprived of its trans-cultural character, Nicosia/Lefkoşa remained the capital, where the provincial government and administration were located. Compared to this (old) location of the (new) Ottoman elite, the growing importance of Tuzla/Larnaka, where foreign merchants and consuls established themselves, created a dualism that became a key aspect of the history of Ottoman Cyprus.

Key Words: *Ottoman Cyprus, Ottoman Rulers in Cyprus, Ottoman Rule in Cyprus. Slavery, Population*

Introduction

The beginning of Ottoman rule on Cyprus involved major structural changes in the political, economic and social life of the island. In particular, due to the heavy losses suffered during the war and to the administrative decisions taken in its aftermath, the capital Lefkoşa, former Nicosia¹, continued to be the headquarters of the local government, although it became a very different city from before. The relatively quick Ottoman conquest of Venetian Nicosia, whose fortified walls had benefited from decades-long investments and works², was followed by the sack of the city by Lala Mustafa Pasha's troops. Two factors made the massacres and plundering particularly significant. The first was the determination to show to still-Venetian Famagusta the consequences of continuing its stubborn resistance to the Sultan's victorious army.³ The second was the very large number of people gathered within the walls, seeking protection following the Ottoman invasion and siege.

¹ In this article the Venetian place name (Nicosia/Famagusta) is used until 1571. From that date onwards these cities, like all the others, are cited with the name reported in the Ottoman documents (Lefkoşa/Mağosa).

² Paci, R., "La guerra nell'Europa del Cinquecento e il generale Achille Tarducci da Corinaldo", *Quaderni monografici di Proposte e Ricerche*, XXXI (2005), p. 30; Manno, A., "Politica e architettura militare: le difese di Venezia (1557-1573)", *Studi Veneziani*, XI (1986), 91-137; and Grivaud, G., "Nicosie remodelée (1567): contribution à la topographie de la ville médiévale", *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, XIX (1992), 281-306.

³ Costantini, V., *Il sultano e l'isola contesa. Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano*, (Torino: UTET Libreria, 2009), p. 67.

A survey made by the Venetian authorities on the eve of the war counted 56.000 people⁴, a relatively impressive number when considering that at the same time cities such as London or Paris did not number more than 200.000 and 220.000 inhabitants respectively⁵. Given this, the list of almost 14.000 prisoners of war, recorded in the 1571 *Esir Defteri*, is far from surprising⁶. One quarter of the inhabitants were enslaved. Chronicles compiled by survivors from the Venetian side contain accounts of the slaughter of numerous Cypriot noblemen and the enslavement of their families. Names of both Greek and Latin origin appear in the *Esir Defteri*, since heterogeneity was one of Cypriot aristocracy's characteristics. In fact, far from being confined to noble families, in an urban environment such as Venetian Nicosia, inter-confessional and, more generally, trans-cultural patterns had become pervasive throughout society as a whole⁷. Therefore, even more important than causing the collapse of the Cypriot aristocracy, the Ottoman sack of Nicosia meant the end of a model of urban growth based upon the coexistence and intermingling of different faiths and groups.

What happened to the enslaved *Nicosiates* (people from Nicosia)? Some of them died before their departure to Istanbul's slave market: two ships burnt before they had even left Cyprus. A few noblemen were ransomed by the Venetians in Famagusta and in Istanbul, while the majority of the prisoners were destined for slavery in many different places. One example is Giacomo de Nores, "il contin di Tripoli" ("the little count of Tripoli"), aged two at the time of the surrender of the city, whose grandfather had been killed by a poisonous arrow on Nicosia's bastions. Enslaved with his mother and sisters, he was registered by the *ballo* as a personal prisoner of Lala Muştafa Pasha⁸. Nevertheless, he is reported growing up in the household of a soldier called Turan Bali, learning Turkish and, later, even Persian, having followed his master in the campaign against the Safavids⁹. Finally ransomed by his mother in 1587, he left for Venice where he became one of the assis-

⁴ Arbel, B., "Cypriot Population under Venetian Rule (1473-1571): A Demographic Study", *Μελέται καί Υπομνήματα*, I (1984), 183-215, in *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th-16th Centuries*, (Lodon: Ashgate, 2000), p. 197.

⁵ Malanima, P., *Pre-Modern European Economy. One Thousand Years (10th-19th Centuries)*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 250.

⁶ Costantini, V., "Destini di guerra. L'inventario ottomano dei prigionieri di Nicosia (September 1570)", *Studi Veneziani*, XLV (2003), p. 236.

⁷ Cypriot nobility was distinguished by its profound inter-confessional character; cf. Arbel, B., "Résistance ou collaboration? Les Chypriotes sous la domination vénitienne," in *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th-16th Centuries*, (London: Ashgate, 2000), p. 135 and Arbel, B., "Greek Magnates in Venetian Cyprus: the Case of the Synglitico Family" *ivi*, VII, pp. 336-337.

⁸ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (from now onwards ASV), *Collegio Relazioni*, b. 84, *Relazione venuta da Costantinopoli 18 april 1571 di quello che sia avvenuto in Nicosia alla presa di quella città*.

⁹ Rothman, E.N., "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in Early Modern Mediterranean", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, LI-4 (2009), p. 787.

tants of Michele Membré, dragoman, himself of Cypriot origin. Giacomo officially succeeded him only in 1594 after Membré's death.

The traumatic nature of the Atlantic slave trade can make it hard to understand early-modern Mediterranean slavery. It was far from being a one-way ticket to hell, especially when people of high social rank were concerned. One of the aunts of Giacomo de Nores, for example, would convert to Islam and become fully integrated into Ottoman high society¹⁰. In general, domestic slavery led to a high degree of proximity with the world "of the others", granting an incomparable insight into its structures, hierarchies and behaviours. To use Natalie Rothman's words, slavery intensified the implications of the "contact zone"¹¹. People like Giacomo de Nores, who had acquired such a close acquaintance with the Ottoman world, were destined for a career of intercultural mediation, which was, as Benjamin Arbel states, "a central aspect [...], a constant and continuous necessity"¹² for the sixteenth-century Venetian ruling class. Subjects – or, as in this case, former subjects – from the maritime colonies were often the actors fulfilling this essential political role. Somehow, old Nicosia's intercultural legacy continued, albeit not in its original setting, throughout the Mediterranean world.

What about the actual site of Nicosia in the immediate aftermath of the Ottoman conquest? Two phases may be distinguished: the first, before the surrender of Famagusta, when the Ottomans had already occupied Nicosia as well as the rest of the island; the second, after the end of the war up until 1572, when Christians were almost completely banned from within the walls.

The first phase lasted longer than expected by the Ottomans. While the siege of Nicosia started on 27 July 1570 and ended on 9 September of the same year, the military activity at Famagusta continued for ten months until Marcantonio Bragadin surrendered (1 August 1571). During those months, the focus of the primary sources on both sides was on Famagusta, so there is little contemporary evidence about Nicosia. The Ottoman army could count on the availability of food from the Cypriot countryside and from Nicosia itself, since Lala Mustafa had succeeded in entering the walls before the city's provisions had run out. As soon as the troops arrived on Cyprus, the main target appeared to be that of gathering under the fortified walls of Nicosia and starting to attack them, while many villages, even as late as in July 22, were reported as being still in Venetian hands¹³. Two people from Nicosia managed to flee to Famagusta when the Ottomans entered the walls: the Cypriot nobleman Filippo Podocataro and one of his sons. Francesco da Mi-

¹⁰ Rothman, *Interpreting Dragomans*, p. 787.

¹¹ Rothman, *Interpreting Dragomans*, p. 771.

¹² Arbel, B., "Translating the Orient for the Serenissima: Michiel Membré in the service of sixteenth-century Venice", in *Studies on Venetian Cyprus*, B. Arbel (Ed) (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2017), p. 109.

¹³ "Venedik'e tâbi' kariyeler garetinde", Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (from now onwards BOA), *Kâmil Kepeci, Râus Kalemi*, defter 221bis, p. 13, 18 Safer 978 (July 22 1570).

lan and Alfonso Bragadin were ransomed by the commander-in-chief of the Venetian resistance¹⁴. Evidently, as valiant soldiers, their presence in Famagusta was highly desired.

When Famagusta surrendered, the conquest of the island was complete and the Ottoman functionaries could start surveying the territory, counting taxpayers and potential resources. The 1572 *Tahrir Defteri* is the first Ottoman source where we can find information on Nicosia/Lefkoşa after the war. The capital, which numbered approximately 25.000 inhabitants in the second half of the sixteenth century, had only 220 *hane*¹⁵. How many people lived in a *hane*? One hypothesis is supported by Venetian documents, when the local administration, seeking soldiers, had drawn up surveys of the male population and written down relevant information on the island's demographic structure. According to Domenico Trevisan's *Relazione* to the *Senato* of the Republic, dated 1560, Cypriot families "were not as in Italy [...] since few are the houses where you may count more than one man each"¹⁶. He mentioned villages where the number of households corresponded exactly to the number of adult men. Nine years later, Nicolò Loredan, in charge of storing the provisions within the walls of Famagusta, counted four people per family¹⁷. Therefore, in order to understand how many people corresponded to the 220 *hane* surveyed in 1572 Lefkoşa, it seems rational to use a multiple of four, corresponding to 880 people¹⁸. Even using a slightly higher multiplier, the demographic losses in the capital had been dramatic.

Victims of the war had been numerous even in the countryside. Comparing estimates of the rural population in the late Venetian period with the data of the *Tahrir Defteri*, it appears that in the countryside alone approximately 20.000 people had disappeared, either dead or sold into slavery¹⁹. As for Mağosa, it had lost approximately half of its population. The two most important cities of Venetian Cyprus had had broadly similar military experiences and both registered higher demographic losses than the whole of the rest of the island. A significant difference between the two cities was the number of widows: according to the *Tahrir*, there were none in Lefkoşa and 85 in Mağosa. While numerous women were enslaved during the pillage of Nicosia, the population not involved in military operations, including women, children and the elderly, was gradually allowed out of the fortified perimeter of Famagusta. When they returned, the war was probably over and so too the conquering army's opportunity for taking people as booty.

¹⁴ ASV, *Collegio Relazioni*, b.84, *Relazione venuta da ...* cit.

¹⁵ Fondazione Cini, Microfilmoteca dell'Istituto per la Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano, *Registro del catasto di Cipro* – Bobina 1.

¹⁶ ASV, *Senato Segreta, Relazioni*, b. 84, 1560.

¹⁷ Ivi, December 271569.

¹⁸ Unmarried (11) and handicapped (3) adults must also be added (Fondazione Cini, *Registro del catasto... cit.*).

¹⁹ Costantini, *Il sultano e l'isola... cit.*, pp. 91-92.

Regarding the second phase, when did the war actually end? If the central topic of interest were the relationship between Ottomans and Venetians, the official peace in 1573 would be the answer. If focusing on Cyprus, it would be more appropriate to consider the earlier departure to Istanbul of Lala Mustafa Pasha in August 1571. Some of his men stayed in Cyprus, thus becoming either the new leading class of the island or the military contingent in charge of defending the territory. In total, there were 3,779 military staff, of whom 1,000 were janissaries and 2,779 artillerymen, volunteers and infantrymen²⁰. Moreover, Sinan Pasha was nominated *beylerbeyi*, "governor", the highest provincial title, and Mehmed Çelebi *defterdar*, "treasurer"²¹. Unlike the military staff scattered around the island, the latter lived in Lefkoşa. In the following months, their families and entourage joined them. The *Kıbrıs defteri kethüdası* Hasan, an official in charge of managing the fiscal registers, announced as early as in June 1572 that the (incredibly) high number of 1,000 *hane*, corresponding to his extended family and acquaintances, had already moved to Cyprus²².

Where did these early new settlers reside? According to the *Tahrir Defteri*, in 1572 there were two Muslim *hane* among the rural population of the district of Mağosa, five in Karpas, and one in a village located in the district of Kirine. Evidently, the military staff, having been exempted from paying any *per capita* fiscal tributes, had not been surveyed in the *Tahrir*. Generally, soldiers and functionaries lived close to the place where they had been appointed. For instance, the commander of the fortress of Kirine asked Lala Mustafa to make "Mehmed" the head of the port (*liman re'isi*), a function that had existed "at the time of the infidels" (*kefere zamanında*)²³. Probably, this newly appointed Mehmed Re'is was one of the three aristocrats (*beyzade*) who converted to Islam and surrendered the fortress of Kirine without fighting²⁴. In another case, Recep Re'is was appointed "local captain" (*mahal kapudanı*) of Baffo/Baf as early as on 12 August 1570, when Nicosia had not yet been conquered²⁵. And on 9 January 1571 a previously unmentioned *kadı* of Crussoco/Hırsofu asked, on behalf of the starving population, permission to run a market²⁶. A couple of weeks earlier, the *kadı* of Limassol/Leymosun

²⁰ Orhonlu, C., "Osmanlı Türklerin Kıbrıs Adasına Yerleşmesi (1570-1580)", *Milletlerarası Birinci Kıbrıs Tetkikleri Kongresi (14-19 Nisan 1969)*, *Türk Heyeti Tebliğleri*, (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1971), p. 92.

²¹ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 16, *hüküm* 33, 19 Cemaziyevvel 979 (October 1571). The document is also quoted in H. Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdâresinde Kıbrıs'ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi", *Belgeler*, 7-8 (1967), p. 6.

²² BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 19, *hüküm* 154, 22 Muharrem 980 (4 June 1572).

²³ BOA, *Kâmil Kepeci, Râus Kalemi, defter* 221bis, p. 139, 27 Zilhicce 978 (22 May 1571).

²⁴ BOA, *Kâmil Kepeci, Râus Kalemi, defter* 221bis, p. 51, 24 Rebiülahir 978 (25 September 1570).

²⁵ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 8, *hüküm* 1383, 10 Rebiülevvel 978 (12 August 1570).

²⁶ BOA, *Kâmil Kepeci, Râus Kalemi, defter* 221bis, p. 94, 12 Şaban 978 (9 January 1571).

had forwarded Lala Mustafa the same request²⁷. These examples show that Ottoman officials were present in the different towns from soon after the invasion, generally following the previous rulers' administrative areas.

In fact, in Cyprus in 1571, as in any other newly conquered place, the Ottomans did not hesitate to continue the administrative structure of the preceding, defeated, regime. Traces and records of any kind belonging or referring to the "time of the infidels" were generally sought out and used as guidelines for the establishment of the new regime. This general assumption, applied in post-war Cyprus, nevertheless met a number of obstacles—such as the *de facto* disappearance of three social classes (the aristocracy, "franco-mates" and serfs)²⁸—that ultimately ended up invalidating it: Ottoman Cyprus became so detached from its Venetian past that there followed an irreversible process of radical change in the whole surrounding area, namely the waters and shores of the South-eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, this break with tradition was not an openly-declared strategy, as demonstrated by the decision to re-establish previous appointments and more specifically to maintain the central administrative functions in Lefkoşa: as mentioned above, since the departure of Lala Mustafa Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* (governor) resided in Lefkoşa and so did the main financial official, the *defterdar*. The question is: could Lefkoşa, as it was in 1571, be the capital of an Ottoman province?

On 3 March 1572, Hasan Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* of Karaman, wrote to the Sultan that within the walls of Lefkoşa there were not more than a thousand Muslims, while the Christian population was definitely more conspicuous²⁹. The risks of an uprising were real and measures needed to be taken quickly. As had happened in Rhodes fifty years earlier, the Christian population was expelled from the fortified perimeter of the fortress and re-settled elsewhere. A few months later it was the turn of Mağosa³⁰. In both cases, only artisans were allowed to stay, whereas other inhabitants were obliged to sell their dwellings "at a price appropriate to their value" (*değer bahası*), which had to be calculated according to the prices prevailing during Venetian rule³¹. Where there was no record, the provincial treasury took the opportunity to temporarily acquire the property in question.

In general, both Ottoman and Venetian sources state that at the end of the war the island of Cyprus was deeply impoverished. The harvest had been destroyed by military action and there was a plague epidemic³². In September

²⁷ BOA, *Kâmil Kepeci, Râis Kalemî, defter* 221bis, p. 91, 28 Receb 978 (26 December 1570).

²⁸ Arbel, B. and Veinstin, G., "La fiscalité vénéto-chyprïote au miroir de la législation ottomane: le qânünnâme de 1572", in *Studies on Venetian Cyprus*, B. Arbel (Ed) (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia 2017), pp. 303-310.

²⁹ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 18, *hüküm* 277, 17 Şevval 979 (3 March 1572).

³⁰ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 21, *hüküm* 135, 24 Ramazan 980 (28 January 1573).

³¹ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 21, *hüküm* 135, 24 Ramazan 980 (28 January 1573).

³² ASV, *Senato, Secreta, Dispacciambasciatori a Costantinopoli*, filza 5, cc. 189r.-290v., lett. 62, 15 November 1570, *Allegato*.

1572, the Sultan Selim II wrote an order to the *kadıs* of three Anatolian provinces asking them to select one family out of ten to be deported and resettled on Cyprus. The order, made famous by the analysis of Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, described the profiles of the would-be settlers, who had to be chosen independently of their religious beliefs and occupations. Ideal candidates were the poor and the rebellious: “the newly-established immigrants from other regions, those who do not own their dwelling, and those who have disputes over pastures, vineyards or vegetable gardens [...]”³³. These new immigrants were not all sent to the same destinations; however, since the newly-established rulers were determined to install the headquarters of the ruling class in Lefkoşa, it is probable that most of the newcomers settled in other cities or towns on the islands, leaving the capital to the use of high-ranking military officials, administrative functionaries and the working people servicing their everyday needs.

In the early Ottoman sources on Cyprus “Christians” was a general category. While in the *Tahrir* Copts and Jews are both identified as separate groups, the administration seemed to ignore the presence of “Latins”, probably because they did not distinguish them from their Orthodox subjects. This had not been the case during the war, when the definition of *Frenk*, “Latin”, was clearly defined in the Ottoman military diary. Either Latins had completely disappeared, been killed, fled or enslaved, or too few had remained to be recognized as official *millet*. This is not only true for the main cities, where the aristocracy preferred to reside, but also for the Catholic monasteries, located in the countryside – such as Bellapays – which were all occupied by Orthodox clergy in the years following the Ottoman conquest³⁴.

While the Cypriot Franks had disappeared from the island's records, relatively soon Venetian merchants were to be re-admitted. Since 1573, when the official peace agreement was signed by both states, an ‘*ahidnâme* (Capitulations) was agreed by Selim II granting Venetian subjects the opportunity to trade in Ottoman lands, including Cyprus³⁵. This was not surprising since the same had occurred in those port-towns on the Eastern Adriatic shores which had undergone similar upheavals and, more generally, whenever a military confrontation had led to territory transferring from the Venetian Republic to the Ottoman Empire³⁶. Indeed, quite understandably, the Ottoman administration encouraged the exploitation and trading of local resources, even by former overlords. The fiscal benefit derived from duties was only one aspect of an economic strategy that was generally open to foreign in-

³³ Barkan, Ö. L., “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XI (1949-50), 548-61.

³⁴ Costantini, *Il sultano e l'isola ...*, pp. 98-108.

³⁵ Ivi, pp. 134.

³⁶ Barkan, Ö.L., “Le déclin de Venise dans ses rapports avec la décadence économique de Venise au XVIIème siècle”, G. Luzzatto (a cura di), *Decadenza economica veneziana nel secolo XVII – Atti del convegno, 27 giugno-2 luglio 1957*, Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, (Roma: Istituto Per La Collaborazione Culturale Venezia-Roma, 1961), pp. 275-79.

vestments and focused on the export of raw materials and the import of finished goods. Occasionally, Sultans would banish the export of a number of items, such as cereals or working animals, but these were temporary measures, motivated by the need to supply military campaigns or by famines caused by inadequate harvests.

As rulers of a vast territory that connected the world's main markets to one another, the Ottoman elite needed to let trade flourish. Military clashes with significant economic partners did not last longer than a few years. This was also the case with the Republic of Venice at the time of the Cyprus war. At the end of the sixteenth century the international trade connecting the South-eastern Mediterranean with Venice was still particularly important for both the Venetian and the Ottoman economies, as demonstrated by an imperial order dated February 1574: one of the "reliable men" (*mu'temed adamlar*), whose arrival to Cyprus was imminent and who would soon be appointed consul of the Republic of Venice, wrote to the Sultan³⁷. In reality, fourteen more years had to pass before Fedel Battista Dalla Moneda was appointed, on 8 August 1588³⁸. In the meantime, another consul had been appointed, although he never came to Cyprus³⁹, while merchants from or connected with the Venetian trading community based in Aleppo were already active on the island⁴⁰.

Foreign merchants and consuls had to reside in Țuzla (Saline)⁴¹. This practice was adopted in the aftermath of the war, contemporaneously with the banishment of non-Muslims from Lefkoşa and Mağosa. In 1592 the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, the office in charge of managing Venetian trading networks, had already specified that the consular house had to be established in the port of Țuzla⁴². Due to the growing presence of foreign merchants, the once small port of Țuzla grew to the point where it incorporated the nearby town of Larnaka⁴³. Attempts by the Ottoman administration to move consular houses in Lefkoşa in order to keep them under more effective control are

³⁷ BOA, *Mühimme Defteri* 23, *hüküm* 603, 18 Şevval 981 (10 February 1574).

³⁸ ASV, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, serie II, b. 26, *Memoria mercantile* n. 128, Parte prima, 8 August 1588.

³⁹ His name was Lorenzo Morosini (ivi, March 15th 1578).

⁴⁰ Erdoğan, M.A., "The Servants and Venetian Interest in Ottoman Cyprus in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, XV (1997), 97-120. Apparently, this connection between Aleppo and Cyprus was also true for the merchants of the Levant Company: Özkul, A.E., "The Consuls and Their Activities in Cyprus under the Ottoman Administration (1571-1878)", *Turkish Studies – International Periodical For. The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, VIII, 2 (2013), p. 251.

⁴¹ Özkul, A.E., *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi (1726-1750)*, (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2010), p. 112.

⁴² Costantini, V., "From Greek Village to Levantine City. The transformation of Larnaka under Ottoman Rule", in *Histories of Ottoman Larnaca*, E. Balta-Th. Stavrides-I. Theocharides (Eds) (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2012), p. 31.

⁴³ Costantini, "From Greek Village to Levantine City. The Transformation of Larnaka under Ottoman Rule," p. 26.

recorded by Venetian sources only once, in 1614, and were ultimately withdrawn⁴⁴. By that time, there were dozens of Venetian trading houses established on the island, living side by side with their new competitors: English, Dutch and French merchants. Trade undoubtedly became the means for recovering from the post-war economic crisis and Larnaka/Ṭuzla happened to be the favourite location of this commercial activity. Therefore, Lefkoşa's new beginnings as the capital of the Ottoman administration was made possible by the changes brought about as a result of the conquest but more specifically because of Larnaka/Ṭuzla's growth as a new South-eastern Mediterranean trading port. Mağosa and Leymosun also had important ports, but the dualism between the administrative capital and the commercial centre existed from the first decades of Ottoman rule. At least a part of the political history of the island may be understood in light of this dualism. According to the nineteenth-century *kadi*'s registers quoted by Ali Efdal Özkul, the Ottoman authorities could not prevent European consuls "from staying in places other than Tuzla, such as Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta or Paphos"⁴⁵, which means that the aforementioned dualism was a feature of Cyprus throughout the modern age up to the eve of British colonisation.

According to the 1831 census, Lefkoşa was the most populated town on Cyprus and the only one containing a majority of Muslim inhabitants⁴⁶. Since only military and administrative careers were forbidden to non-Muslims, it seems logical to conclude that the early project of making Lefkoşa the centre of the Ottoman provincial administration had been successful. Out of the 204 pious foundations (*vakf*) established on the island during the whole period of Ottoman rule, 145 included properties located in either Lefkoşa or its hinterland⁴⁷.

At the beginning of British rule, the situation had already slightly changed in favour of the Greek Orthodox community, which had grown into the town's most numerous (49% of the entire urban population)⁴⁸. The three-century history of Ottoman Cyprus was finished and the beginning of British colonial expansion in the Middle East had just begun. Though Cypriot Muslims, in Lefkoşa as on the whole island, continued to be a numerous community, the balance had been irreversibly modified and Cyprus, like other peripheral territories of the decaying Ottoman Empire, was about to witness

⁴⁴ Costantini, "From Greek Village to Levantine City. The Transformation of Larnaka under Ottoman Rule", p. 30.

⁴⁵ Özkul, *The Consuls and Their Activities in Cyprus*, p. 244.

⁴⁶ T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivleri Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 43, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs (Nüfusu-Arazi Dağılımı ve Türk Vakıfları)*, (Ankara: Osmanlı Arşivleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayını, 2000), p. 95.

⁴⁷ Osmanlı Arşivleri Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 43, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs (Nüfusu-Arazi Dağılımı ve Türk Vakıfları)*, pp. 201-258.

⁴⁸ Census dated 4 April 1881, quoted in R.C. Jennings, "Lefkosha", in *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Women, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, İstanbul 1999), p. 430.

more than a century of fratricidal civil conflicts whose dreadful effects and memories are yet to find an end.

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