Elevating and Safeguarding Culture Using Tools of the Information Society

Dusty traces of the Muslim Culture
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Elevating and Safeguarding Culture Using Tools of the Information Society: Dusty traces of the Muslim culture
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CYPRUS

Cyprus during the Ottoman domination
1. From Venetian to Turkish Domination

1.1. Cyprus before the Ottoman Conquest

During the period of the Ottoman occupation of the island, Cyprus was in the possession of the Venetians who had occupied the island since 13th March 1489. During the period of Venetian domination, Cyprus was under a special regime that had already been imposed upon it during Frankish rule. Cyprus had been under tribute to the Sultan of Cairo since 1426 (after King Ianos’ defeat by the Mameluk of Egypt), and so the Venetians were forced to accept the obligation to pay an annual tribute to Egypt until 1517. In 1517, Egypt was conquered by Sultan Selim I and the Venetians were then forced to pay a tribute to Constantinople.

1.2. The Ottomans’ plans for Cyprus

The occupation of Cyprus had been a part of the Ottomans’ plans even before the island was conquered by the Venetians. In 1488, Sultan Bayacint II sent the Fleet to conquer Famagusta, but this attempt failed because of the opportune intervention of the Venetians. After the occupation of the island by the Venetians, the Ottoman Fleet was always close to the island ready to attack at any time. The state of affairs became even more dangerous when in 1517 Sultan Selim I conquered Egypt, a country to which Venetian-occupied Cyprus was under tribute.

In 1539, during the reign of Suleyiman II the Magnificent, the Ottoman Fleet organized an attack against Lemesos destroying the already declining city. When Selim II ascended the throne, it was very easy to conquer Cyprus and incorporate it into the Ottoman Empire.

1.3. The Venetian defensive measures for the island

The Ottomans’ great interest in Cyprus was a very worrying fact for the Venetians. Despite this, Venetian defensive measures were not very effective, because of their refusal to invest larger amounts of money in the fortification of the island. However, great emphasis was given to the fortification of part of the island during the last years of the Venetian domination. On the suggestions of experts, special attention was paid to the fortification of the axis Lefkosia – Kyrenia – Famagusta.
The new fortification of the capital city, Lefkosia, was assigned to the Venetian engineer Julio Savorniano. The defensive works started in 1567, but were not able to be completed before the Ottoman army’s attack. The Venetians paid great attention to the fortification of Kyrenia. The rest of the island was doomed to remain with no defensive works. The decision concerning the fate of the three forts on Pentadaktylos, those of Saint Ilarionas, Boufavento and Kantara, was their total abandonment and destruction, so that they would not be used by the Ottomans. The same policy was adopted for the forts of Lemesos, Pafos and Larnaka, as the Venetians decided to abandon them due to their inability to man them, and due to the lack of money that could be used for their repair. In case of an attack by the Ottomans, there was always the danger that the enemy could use the forts of Lemesos, Pafos and Larnaka; this fact led the Venetians to the decision to destroy these forts. Consequently, two small castles at Pafos port, which had been built during the 13th century, were demolished. The castle of Lemesos met the same fate, as it was destroyed firstly by the Ottoman attack in 1539 and then by earthquakes in 1567 and 1568. According to Fl. Bustron, the repair of the fort would have cost less than its demolition. The defensive works of the cities of Lemesos, Pafos and Larnaka were inadequate, and they were sure to be conquered by the Ottomans during a possible attack. The Venetians’ inability to man the forts was also due to the distrust that they had towards the Cypriots, so the latter were debarred from any military service in the Venetian military forces.
2. The reasons for the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus

The Ottoman Empire had spread from Asia Minor to Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Cyprus was the last Christian bulwark in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially after the conquest of Rhodes by the Ottomans in 1522. However, the reasons for the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus were various. Angelo Calepio, who was a monk of the Saint Dominic Order in Cyprus, recorded some quite interesting reasons for the conquest of the island by the Ottomans. According to Angelo Calepio, these were: “avarice, lust for fame, difference of religion, diabolic suggestion, Divine permission, an unbounded appetite for new territory to be added to the Ottoman dominions…”¹.

The conquest of Cyprus would offer great financial gains to the Sublime Porte Treasury, but at the same time the Western European conquerors of the island would be forced to flee from the Eastern Mediterranean. The vital strategic importance of Cyprus, which was situated at the eastern edge of the Mediterranean, but which was under the sway of Venice was a worrying fact for the Ottomans. The island could easily be turned into a base for a European military force by the Venetians, and such a possibility could not be ignored by the Ottomans.

Religious reasons were also quite important for the conquest of the island by the Ottomans and certainly cannot be ignored.
3. The events of the conquest of Cyprus

3.1. The organization of the Ottomans and the first attempts to conquer the island

Conquering the island had been one of Selim II’s aims even before he came to power. When he became Sultan, he wanted to realize his aim and all the pashas were behind him except the Great Vizier Mehmet Sokoloviç. Mehmet Sokoloviç was in favour of maintaining cooperation with the Venetians and seeing Selim II standing firm, he persuaded Selim II to let him try and settle the issue by diplomatic means before using arms. Thus, Mehmet Sokoloviç sent an envoy to Venice to deliver an ultimatum to the Venetians and to announce his intentions. According to Archimandrite Kyprianos, the Ottoman envoy announced to the Venetians that “it was not possible for the Vizier to prevent the declaration of war … and because he is aware that you are not able to resist such a powerful Monarch, he prompts you as a friend to choose what is the most beneficial to you. For this reason, he took action so that I would be sent here, and he offers you his cooperation, if you would like to avoid the imminent miseries of War. What is Cyprus to you, more than a reef, an islet? What does it matter if you quit your territorial possession of Cyprus in favour of his Majesty in order to please him?” This demand was rejected by the Venetians who asked the Pope, as well as other Christian potentates for help and support. Philippe II of Spain and the Pope of Rome agreed to help. The former sent 148 warships and the latter 12, but this great campaign whose purpose was to defend Cyprus failed due to disputes and bad organization. This help never reached Cyprus.

On the other hand, Sultan Selim II had already started preparing enthusiastically for war. He assigned General Commander-in-Chief Lala Mustafa and Fleet Admiral Piali Pasha to organize the campaign against Cyprus.
The first group of warships of the Ottoman Fleet set off from Constantinople on 17th April 1570 with General Commander-in-Chief Piali Pasha at the head of the fleet. Their destination was Cyprus and their aim was to conquer the island. The 80 galleys and 30 galliots of the Ottoman Fleet attempted unsuccessfully to besiege Venetian-occupied Tinos. Another group of warships of the Ottoman Fleet with Lala Mustafa at its head set off from Constantinople and reached Rhodes, where it joined the Ottoman Fleet that was already there. This happened at the beginning of June, while the Ottoman land forces were mustered on the Asia Minor coast opposite Cyprus waiting for transport to Cyprus. The first landing attempts were made at the end of June 1570 on the northwestern coasts of Cyprus.

It was decided to carry out the first military operation in the southeastern part of Pafos and in particular, the Lara area. This information comes from Angelo Calepio, who was in Cyprus during the period of the Ottoman invasion and lived through the events that led to the occupation of the island. On 20th June, a small group of the Ottoman invading military force landed on the island. This small group was soon put to flight after it had been attacked by a group of soldiers, who were under the command of Petros Rontakis.

On 2nd July, the Ottoman Fleet assembled opposite the Lemesos coast. The landing of Ottoman soldiers was stopped after an organized attack by the same group of soldiers under the command of Rontakis and Vincent Malipiero. Despite the quick check on the Ottomans’ advance, a part of Lemesos up to Polemidia village was set on fire, as well as Saint Nicolas monastery at Gata Cape.

On 3rd July, the Ottoman Fleet transporting the Ottoman troops reached Larnaka Bay, and specifically, the Salt-Mines. In the city of Larnaka, there was no defence whatsoever and this was the area from where the Ottomans invaded Cyprus. This fact can be found in many primary sources.
based on texts that outline the accounts of people who lived through the events. In relation to this, the harsh criticism of the Italian Giovan- 
ni Sozomenti, who fought against the Ottomans during the siege of 
Lefkosia and despite the fact that he was taken captive managed to es-
cape and reach Venice after Cyprus was conquered, is quite important. 
More specifically, Sozomenti states that “not only could the landing 
of troops have been delayed, but if a landing had been made, so much 
injury could have been inflicted that the enemy would have readily 
changed their plans”. Perhaps Sozomenti’s admission expresses a more 
general estimation by other people, who lived through these events as 
well, and proves that the Venetians were interested only in the defence 
of Lefkosia and Famagusta, leaving the rest of Cyprus in the hands of 
the invaders.

The Salines (Salt-Mines) area was used by Lala Mustafa to create an 
army camp which would be used to organize military operations for the 
conquest of the island. This area would also be used as a place where 
troops that kept arriving in Cyprus from the Asia Minor coast would be 
mustered. The landing of the whole Ottoman military force was com-
pleted on 21st July. Several groups of Ottoman soldiers were sent to the 
areas nearby to call on the local people to offer their submission to the 
Ottomans. The setting fire of Stavrovouni monastery by the Ottomans, 
as well as the pillage of some of the areas of Larnaka was a warning. A 
case in point is the village of Lefkara, which offered its submission to 
the Ottomans in exchange for some spurious privileges and which the 
Venetians under the command of the Greek Chief Demetrios Laskaris 
Megadoukas set on fire.

After the conquest of Larnaka, the area of the Salt-Mines and part of 
the inland regions, the Chief of the Campaign, Lala Mustafa, ordered 
the advance of the army towards Lefkosia and this started on 24th July. 
This decision was the result of the evidence Mustafa had collected. Ac-
cording to this evidence, the defence of Lefkosia had some weak points 
in contrast to the very well-organized defence of Famagusta.
3.2. The siege and conquest of Lefkosia

The siege of Lefkosia started on 25th July 1570, when 100,000 Ottoman soldiers mustered around its walls. The Armed Forces Supreme Command of Lala Mustafa was set up at the southeastern edge of Lefkosia on the hill of Mandias. On this elevation, the Ottomans built a tower on which they positioned their cannons. They did the same on all the hills, which they could use as fortresses to set up batteries. The troops were scattered in groups in the area around the walls of Lefkosia. Similar fortresses to those of Mandrias were built in several areas, forcing the besieged to make unsuccessful attempts to destroy them. The Ottoman cannons pounded away mercilessly at the walls of Lefkosia, but didn’t succeeding in destroying them. It was then that the Ottomans decided to dig mines that reached the walls from below in such a way as to make breaches in them.

The defence of the capital city of the island was in the hands of the Venetian deputy, Nicolaos Dandolos, and the Greek Governor-General of the Cypriot cavalry, Eugene Syglitikos. Archimandrite Kyprianos comments about Dandolos that “he was known in all Venice for his inability and incapability and as a man of a cowardly and base spirit”. The lack of courage and determination of Dandolos as well as the disputes amongst the high officials were hardly conducive to a well-organized defence of the city. The number of well-trained defenders of the city, who were less than 3,000, in combination with the soldiers’ insubordination and the difficulties in delivering munitions led to the fall of Lefkosia. It is estimated that the population that lived inside the walls of the city was greater than 560,000 people. Most of them were civilians who had taken refuge inside the walls in order to protect themselves from the Ottoman invaders. The action taken by the besieged in order to sabotage the enemy’s plans and which was aimed at the weakening of the Ottoman fighting spirit not only failed to do so, but hastened the fall of the city as well. The Ottoman army made 15 attacks against the city and, finally, the 15th attack was the one that led to the conquest of the city. In this way, on 9th September 1570, Lefkosia fell into the hands of the Ottomans after 46 days of siege. According to tradition, the place where the Mosque of Bayraktari (i.e., the Flag-Bearer) is situated, in the rampart of Constantzo, is where the flag-bearer who raised the first Ottoman flag died. The events that followed the fall of Lefkosia were characterized by incredible savagery. The pillage of the city lasted for three days and the victims of the slaughter are estimated at thousands of men, women and children. Many of them were taken captive and after they were put aboard
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ships by force, they were sent to be sold as slaves in the slave markets of the East. Angelo Calepio, a monk of the Saint Dominic Order, lived through the events of the siege of Lefkosia and took part in the defence of the city, and was finally taken as a captive to Constantinople. When he was released, he returned to Italy and recorded the events of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in a text that has been preserved. In this way, this eye-witness, referring to the people of Lefkosia after the fall of the city in his text, notes that they “saw themselves separated from their parents, one driven this way, another that, in irremediable division; All had their hands bound behind them, they were pushed and hurried with blows from sticks and sword hilts, many had an arm lopped off, or a skull cleft open. Any man or woman who resisted was killed.”

According to tradition, the most handsome young men and the most beautiful young women were taken captive in order to be sent to the Sultan, while, the very next day after the fall of the city, a loot and slave bazaar was organized. Amongst the captives was Maria Syglitiki, a Greek noblewoman, who refusing to be disgraced, managed to set fire to the powder kegs of the ship, while the ship was still in Famagusta Bay. This incident took place at the beginning of October and Angelo Gatto, an Italian soldier who took part in the defence of Famagusta and was taken captive and sent to Constantinople, records that “many corpses belonging to women and young virgin girls, as well as pieces of scattered wreckage from the wrecked ships were washed up in the port of Famagusta”.

Inevitably, the fall of the capital city of Lefkosia led to Ottoman domination over the whole island except in Famagusta and Kyrenia. Ottoman commanders were placed in Pafos, Lemesos and Larnaka. A military force of 4,000 janissaries and 1,000 horsemen under the command of Muzaffer Pasha remained in Lefkosia.

After the fall of Lefkosia, Lala Mustafa sent envoys to Kyrenia and Famagusta demanding the surrender of both cities. The Chiefs of the defence of Kyrenia were Commander Alfonzo Palatzo and the city’s
garrison commander. Despite the fact that both Palatzo and the city’s garrison commander had asked for instructions about what should be done from the Venetian Supreme Command of the armed forces that were in Famagusta, they agreed to sign a treaty of surrender to the Ottomans before they received any orders from Famagusta. Angelo Gatto refers to this event, noting that the surrender of the city of Kyrenia was completed with not a single shot being fired by the enemy. On 14th September, the fort of Kyrenia was surrendered to the Ottomans and the Venetians left Cyprus. The two commanders of Kyrenia left for Venice, where they were later convicted and put in prison with the charge of the surrender of the city of Kyrenia laid against them.

The ultimatum concerning the surrender of the city of Famagusta, which was issued by Lala Mustafa to the defenders of the city had never been answered. Therefore, on 16th September 1570, Lala Mustafa mustered his numerous troops and all the siege artillery he commanded in front of the walls of Famagusta.
The above drawing\textsuperscript{14} titled “Nicosia” was originally circulated by the cartographer Giovanni Francesco Camocio in the untitled “isolario” that he had published (between 1570-1574), known as “Isole Famose” (it included the map of Cyprus “Cipro insula nobilissima” and the siege drawing of Famagusta, “Famagosta”). These publications played the role of an illustrated historical book concerning the activities of the Venetians. Camocio’s Book of Islands was published in 1574/5 by the Donato Bertelli publishing house, and it was entitled “Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre maritime sottoposte alla Ser.ma Sig.ra di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig.or Turco, novamente poste in luce. In Venetia alla librarìa del segno di S. Marco.”

The siege drawing of Lefkosia entitled “Nicosia” (no.72), despite the fact that it is not dated, is believed to have been made at the time the city was conquered by the Ottoman Fleet, that is, on 9\textsuperscript{th} September 1570. In the drawing, the cartographer depicts Lefkosia with the Venetian walls around it, and the waters of river Pediaios filling the moat around the walls.

In this drawing, there are labels, which are quite informative about everything that is pictured. The Ottoman military forces the two battalions of the janissaries (Ianiceri) and the three cavalry regiments (Cavaleria) are pictured along the west section of the wall. On the left side of the map, between the battalion of the janissaries and the cavalry regiment, there are pictured three captives who have been put to death; the first two have been hanged and the third one has been impaled. At the southeastern end of the wall, a group of besieged soldiers is pictured; the creator of the map informs the reader that it is a group of Christiani, and nearby there is a group of besiegers labelled Turchi. In between these two groups of soldiers, some wounded soldiers are pictured as well. At the eastern part of the wall, there is only a big group of archers (Arcieri) who are depicted holding Ottoman flags, as well as a small artillery regiment, which is facing the walls.
3.3. The siege of Famagusta

Famagusta was the last bulwark of resistance and the Venetians were determined to resist. Those responsible for the defence of Famagusta were the Venetian Captain of Famagusta, MarcAnthony Bragadine, and the General Commander-in-Chief, Astore Bialone. The defence of Famagusta was better organized by those responsible than in the case of Lefkosia, and the cooperation between the Venetians and Greeks was better. Before the attack, those responsible for the defence of the city increased the procurement of military supplies both in munitions and in food. They also reinforced the garrisons around the walls and the moat of the city, and they ordered the abandonment of the area in front of the walls.

According to Angelo Gatto, who had taken part in the battles of Famagusta, the Ottoman army amounted to more than 200,000 men. This number is considered to be exaggerated as it includes 160,000 foot soldiers, 40,000 sappers, 7,000 horsemen, and some thousands of volunteers. According to the same source, the Venetian and Greek defenders of Famagusta amounted to approximately 8,000.

During the siege, the Ottomans built 17 ditches and fortifications as well as many underground tunnels through which they attempted to reach below the walls of the city and blow them up. It is also estimated that the Ottomans fired 163,000 canon-balls, while the besieged fired 4,600 cannon-balls altogether from the 90 canons of the city. Part of the Ottoman Fleet was very close to Famagusta Bay, while other warships were patrolling around Cyprus in order to hold in check the allied Christian Fleet that the defenders of Famagusta had been waiting for.

On 23rd September, the Ottomans set up their artillery and started a heavy cannonade against the Venetian navy yard and warships. At the beginning of October, the Ottoman army and Fleet withdrew from their positions and retreated due to the arrival of a Cretan frigate. The Ottomans took the arrival of the Cretan frigate as a portent of the arrival of the allied Venetian naval forces, but when they realized that the allied Fleet had not arrived, they returned to their previous positions. The disappointment of the besieged at the indifference of the Allies to helping, as well as the problems they had to face concerning provisions, left them in a tragic situation.

The Ottoman attacks were repulsed despite incessant clashes, and the Ottomans suffered greater casualties than the defenders of Famagusta. The last two months of the siege were
the hardest. During this period of time, the Ottomans organized 7 assaults\textsuperscript{17} using their entire force, and, as a result, the defenders almost reached the end of their endurance. The first assault took place on 21\textsuperscript{st} June and the Ottomans organized 6 attacks in a single day! However, the defenders of the city repulsed the Ottomans causing them to suffer great casualties. The same scenario was repeated on the 29\textsuperscript{th} of June, and on 2\textsuperscript{nd} July, the Latin Bishop of Lemesos, Seraffino Fortembratza, asked on behalf of the population of Famagusta for the surrender of the city to the Ottomans. During a service that was held, Bragadine asked the beleaguered defenders and the people to wait for 15 more days for help to come. The Ottoman assaults continued with immense brutality and the frequency of the attacks forced the besieged to resist and fight back without having any rest at all. The defenders were decimated and this caused another problem; a lack of men to man the castle ramparts. There was a shortage of food and munitions supplies and many died of diseases. On 31\textsuperscript{st} July, the Ottomans carried out their 7\textsuperscript{th} assault. The defenders had only 7 barrels of gunpowder available and no food. The city’s endurance came to an end and Bragadine faced a dilemma; to surrender the city to the Ottomans or leave the defenders to die without any arms. His final decision was to surrender the city, but on fair conditions.

After an eleven-month siege, on 1\textsuperscript{st} August 1571, Bragadine delivered to the envoys of Lala Mustafa the signed treaty of surrender\textsuperscript{18}. According to the treaty of surrender:

A) The Venetian officials and soldiers with their families, arms, and possessions will be transported to Crete. The same is agreed to be done for any Cypriot who would like to leave the island.

B) The Cypriots who do not want to leave the island should be able to remain in Famagusta on the condition that their freedom and religion will be respected.

Despite the Ottomans’ assurances, however, it was evident that the conquerors did not have any such intentions. On the evening of the 5\textsuperscript{th}
of August, MarcAnthony Bragadine accompanied by his personal guard was taken into Lala Mustafa’s tent in order to deliver up the keys of Famagusta. The Ottomans’ intentions became immediately evident, but it was too late to react in any way. At once, Lala Mustafa gave orders to disarm Bragadine, tie his hands and cut off his ears and nose. The General Commander-in-Chief Astore Balione as well as 300 officials were arrested and decapitated. Captain Bragadine was put to death after he had suffered horrible torture and been flayed alive. Angelo Gatto describes in every detail the tragic events that led to the horrible death of Bragadine and of all the other defenders of Famagusta. The people of Famagusta suffered the same fate as the other cities had suffered, in which merciless slaughters and brutalities were conducted by thousands of Ottoman soldiers. On 7th September 1571, the Ottoman Lieutenant-General, Mustafa Pasha, entered the ravaged Famagusta as the triumphant victor.
In the above drawing\textsuperscript{20}, there is a depiction of the siege of Famagusta. The illustrated one-page drawing was printed in Nuremberg by Balthasar Jenichen in order to inform the Europeans about the events of the War of Cyprus. It is a copy of an Italian drawing. Famagusta is presented as it had been fortified by the Venetians, and while besieged from land and sea by the Ottoman military and naval forces. The blockade of Famagusta port by many Ottoman warships as well as the well-organized troops, which are mustered around the area outside the city walls, show the suffocating conditions caused by the eleven-month siege of the city. A chain (Catena), hanging from Othello’s Tower, prevents the Ottoman galleys from approaching the port. On land, several scenes of the siege are presented. Ditches, cavalry movements, and on the top right of the map, Lala Mustafa pasha’s army are depicted. The explanatory annotations on the map are also quite important.

After the fall of Famagusta, the island fell completely into the hands of the Ottomans. On 9\textsuperscript{th} August, the work of cleaning the moat and the city as well as the repair of the fortifications of the city started.

The same policy was followed for all the cities in which there were castles that needed to be repaired, so that the defence would be more effective in case any attacks were made by the Christians. In particular, the Ottomans decided to reconstruct one of the two small forts in Pafos port in the form that can be seen today.

The fort of Lemesos was rebuilt, but on a smaller scale, around 1590 on the remnants of the medieval edifice. The fort was used as a prison and this is evident from the cells that were constructed on the ground floor and the first floor of the castle. The form that the castle of Larnaka has today is due to the reconstruction that was carried out by the conquerors.

The total number of Ottoman soldiers that remained in Cyprus was 12,000 horsemen and 4,000 horsemen who manned the Ottomans’ defence areas in Lefkosia, Famagusta, Kyrenia, Lemesos, Larnaka and Pafos. The rest of the Ottoman military force returned to the other
dominions of the Ottoman Empire from where they had been assembled. Lala Mustafa left for Constantinople on 22nd September. Sixteen out of the fifty warships of Lala Mustafa’s Fleet transported captives consisting of fighters, women and children. Many of them were to be sold as slaves in the slave bazaars of the East, and would die as a result of hardship. Amongst the captives were A. Calepio and A. Gatto, who were saved after they were ransomed and freed.
4. Administrative organization

After the conquest of Cyprus, the island was organized administratively in the same way as the other dominions of the Ottoman Empire were organized. The island of Cyprus along with another 4 provinces that were situated in the area of Asia Minor opposite Cyprus constituted an eyialeti (i.e., an area of administration).

The great distance between Cyprus and Constantinople, which was the seat of central administration, caused many problems and favoured only arbitrary administrative officials. The island was administratively divided into districts, and the conqueror’s actions were aimed not at a fair administration but at the exploitation of the residents and Cyprus’ natural resources. Another factor which hindered just administration was the appointment of Ottoman officials who, in a way, bought their posts. As a result, hundreds of Ottomans arrived in Cyprus for a fixed time and left with as many financial benefits as they could get. In the public administration of the island, which we will refer to below, were also employed Orthodox Christians, such as the dragomen. An important part of the administration was undertaken by the Church, which acquired a social character. Thus, as a part of the administrative system, the Church undertook the collection of taxes, as we will see in the relative chapter.

4.1. Administrative division of the island

Despite the information available concerning the way in which Cyprus was administered by the Ottomans, our knowledge of the administrative division of the island is drawn solely from the 18th century onwards. The main characteristic of the administrative division is that the island was divided into 3 provinces, which were sub-divided again into katillikia, which in the first phase of the division after the conquest probably numbered 12. The period during which the Ottomans di-
vided Cyprus into katillikia is unknown. By katillikia, we mean the regions into which every province was sub-divided. These regions constituted the seat of the kadi (judge of the Ottoman ecclesiastical court) and the mudiri (i.e., the Prefect). The capital city of Lefkosia, as the administrative centre, belonged neither to the provinces nor to the katillikia.

The first pieces of information about the administrative division of the island can be found in the book “Istoria Chronologiki tis Nisou Kyprou” ([“Chronological History of the Island of Cyprus”]) which was written by Archimandrite Kyprianos and published in 1788. Cyprus appears to be divided into 4 provinces: Lefkosia (except the capital city), Larnaka, Pafos and Kyrenia. The above 4 provinces are sub-divided into 17 katillikia21 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Lefkosia</th>
<th>Larnaka</th>
<th>Pafos</th>
<th>Kyrenia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Kythrea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 17 katillikia/regions which Cyprus had been divided into during the 18th century, are reduced to 12 in the first half of the 19th century. This information is drawn from the taxation Index of the Archbishopric of the years 1825 and 183222. The same number of provinces can be found in another source, recorded by the sub-Consul of Greece in Cyprus, Demetrios Margarites, as we shall see further on.

According to the taxation Index of 1825, Cyprus is divided into 12 katillikia:

1. Larnaka
2. Lemesos
3. Koilani
4. Pafos
5. Chrysochou
6. Lefka
7. Morfou
8. Oreini
9. Kythrea
10. Kyrenia
11. Mesaoria
12. Karpasia

In 1832, the taxation Index of the Archbishopric presents some changes in relation to the administrative division of the island, as the number of katillikia remains the same, but the areas are different.

1. Larnaka
2. Lemesos and Episkopi
3. Koilani and Avdimou
4. Pafos and Kouklia
5. Chrysochou
6. Lefka
7. Morfou
8. Oreini
9. Kythrea
10. Kyrenia
11. Mesaoria
12. Karpasia and Famagusta

After a census that was taken in 1841, when Talaat Efendi was the governor of Cyprus, the island is shown to be divided into 12 provinces.

1. Larnaka
2. Lemesos
3. Koilani and Avdimou
4. Pafos and Kouklia
5. Chrysochou
6. Lefka
7. Morfou
8. Lapithos and Kyrenia
9. Oreini and Tylliria
10. Kythrea
11. Mesaoria
12. Karpasi

In 1845, the British Consul, Niven Kerr, presents Cyprus divided as above with the following changes:

1. Lemesos and Episkopi
2. Lefka and Solea
3. Famagusta and Karpasia
4. Morfou and Marathasa

The Vice-Consul of Greece in Cyprus, D. Margarites, provides evidence that during the years 1846-8, Cyprus is divided into 12 provinces, as in the Index of the census that was taken in 1841. Avdimou, Kouklia and Tylliria are absent from the Index that Margarites provides.

In the report of the Greek Consul, G. S. Menardos, which includes evidence concerning the state of affairs in Cyprus in 1862, the island is shown to be divided into 16 katillikia. Four of them, however, are combined with other katillikia and so only 12 mudiris (i.e., Prefects) are represented. The katillikia which are combined with others are: Pafos with Avdimou, Koilani with Episkopi, Morfou with Lefka, and Chrysochou with Kouklia.

During the last decade of the Turkish domination, Cyprus is administratively divided into 6 provinces and in each of them a governor, the kaimakkamis, is appointed. These provinces are sub-divided into 17 katillikia.

From 1872 onwards, the names of the provinces and the regions change. The provinces are renamed kazades and the regions nahiedes. The administrative division of Cyprus remains the same, and is even preserved during the first years of the British occupation.
4.2. Ottoman officials

Governors

Governors were responsible for the administration of Cyprus. They had military and taxation duties as well as responsibility for the convocation of the Divani (i.e., the Board of Governors) of Lefkosia. Their appointment depended on the person who was responsible for the administration of the island at the time. For this reason, the title of the governors of Cyprus was different in each period depending on the responsibilities and powers they were given, as we shall analyze below:

A. 1571-1670: After the Ottoman conquest of the island, Cyprus was put under the jurisdiction of the Grand Vizier (Prime Minister of the Ottoman State). He was responsible for the appointment of the
governor of the island, who had the office of beylerbey (beglerbeg), and had full administrative and military power as well as responsibility for the collection of taxes. The first appointments were arranged by the Chief of the Ottoman army, Lala Mustafa, who had organized the conquest of the island. Muzaffer Pasha was appointed the first beglerbeg. The administration that was the Grand Vizier’s responsibility led to the exhaustion of the resources of the island. After protests by the Bishops of Cyprus to the Sublime Porte against the bad administration conducted by the governor and other administrative organs, the Grand Vizier was relieved of his responsibility.

B. 1670-1703: The appointment of the governor of Cyprus depended on kapudan pasha (Fleet Admiral of the Ottoman Fleet), who had acquired great status in the Ottoman Empire after the conquest of Crete in 1669. He was responsible for the appointment of an official as governor, and conferred on him the title of muhasili (muhassil) or fellimi (musellim).

C. 1703-1785: The administration of Cyprus reverted to the jurisdiction of the Grand Vizier, but this time under another regime. The island was given to the Grand Vizier as a personal manor (a manor was given to office-holders who received an income of more than 100,000 aspra24), and the governors of the island were considered to be representatives of the Grand Vizier on the island.

D. 1785-1839: Cyprus was again put under the authority of kapudan pasha who appointed office-holders with the title of muhasili (muhassil) or musellimi (musellim) as governors of the island.

E. 1839-1878: The island was administratively a santzaki (sancaki) under the administration of the Archipelago, which belonged to the prefecture of Kallipoli (Dardanellia). During this period, the governors of Cyprus had the title of murassarif (mutasarrif) (i.e., the Prefect, the governor of the sancaki).

The Ottoman governors’ tenure of office was short and could last only 1 or 2 years. They obtained this position only after paying great amounts of money for it. In this way, as soon as they arrived on the island, their first and most important aim was to collect as much money as they could, by any means legal or otherwise. During the short period of time that their tenure lasted, they had to collect not only the money they were going to use in order to pay for their office but much more. This state of affairs led to a great drain on the Cypriots’ resources, provoking continual protests. These protests were expressed either by Cypriot bishops making representations to the Sublime Porte against the exploitation or through uprisings. Despite the
measures that were taken to reduce such despotism, the results were not always long-lasting. The way the governors were appointed always led to the appointment of those office-holders, who had paid the greatest amount of money, and therefore aimed solely at the exploitation of the people and not at a well-conducted administration. Solving the subject people’s problems, or dealing with expenditure on infrastructure, or on the development of the island were issues in which the governors were not interested, unless these matters affected their receipts. The power of a governor was great. He could convoke the Divani (the Board of Governors) of Lefkosia.

Regarding the matter of buying the Governor’s office Giovanni Maria remarks that ‘as it is not merit, but interest which gives access to this dignity, it is by interest that the governors regulate their actions. They ill-use and harass the people, and impose on them unjust taxes, not only to recoup what they pay to the Grand Vezir, but also enough to allow them to leave the country after a year, having made their own fortunes and those of all their train. As the Grand Vezir finds every year in Constantinople men who offer more to get the reins of this kingdom, Cyprus is reduced to a miserable condition for want of money, and of a large yield of its usual rich products-results, which follow the abandonment of their country by thousands of its inhabitants, one of the greatest disgraces of a state. Both, the system of buying the office and of the criterion for the Governor’s choice being the money he gave for the office, caused serious problems to the island. Also, the fact that the Governor stayed for a short time in Cyprus in order to avoid any injustice (something which did not happen) had negative consequences on the residents’ everyday lives. Pietro della Valle, who visited Cyprus in 1625, describes and simultaneously comments on the administrative organization: ‘A new Pasha was expected to take up the government of the island. The old one had left immediately on the arrival of one of his successor’s officers, a musullim, who came, as is their wont, to prepare things for his master. The new nominee had not reached Lefko-
sia when a fresh order came from the Gran Signor depriving him of the post, which he had not yet taken up, and reinstating the old Pasha, who had already left. The Defterdar and other officials were changed at the same time. These sudden and unforeseen changes among officials, a practice which has now for some years prevailed at Constantinople, arise from bad administration and because all offices are saleable and distributed for uncertain periods to the highest bidders. The confusion is growing every day, and I make a point of recording this incident to show in what an evil plight the Turkish commonwealth is marching, as one can see, to its own deliberate ruin.  

Two cases in point are those of two Ottomans who managed to make great fortunes as governors of Cyprus. Mustafa Bey, who was appointed governor of Cyprus in 1702, managed to collect 500 purses (250,000 piastres) and countless valuable jewels among other things. Hagi Seid Mehmet succeeded in being appointed governor of Cyprus several times and managed to remain in the same post for long periods of time. Thus, during the years 1823-26, 1834-38 and 1841-2, he managed to amass a great fortune, which was worth 40,000,000 piastres, an incredible amount of money for that time.

A characteristic example of a tyrannical governor was the case of a Turk called Hadjymbakki. He was an illiterate but ruthless man, who succeeded in being appointed governor of the island for long periods of time (1773-1774 and 1774-1783), by foul means and through bribery.

Another odd case is that of governor Tzil (Cil) Osman who on 25th September 1764 organized with quite a lot of imagination, but without any success the mass assas-
sination of some very important people of the time. In particular, Osman’s aim was to assassinate the Archbishop of Cyprus, Paisios, as well as other Bishops, several office-holders and leaders of the Turks of Cyprus and the special envoy of the Grand Vizier. According to Osman’s plan, he invited his prospective victims to the seraglio after he had sawn through the beams of the floor in the room in which they were going to confer. By killing his victims, Osman hoped to avoid being accused of theft and despotism. His attempt failed as nobody was killed, but his act provoked a popular backlash that resulted in the assassination of the governor himself and his guard.

The Governor’s court consisted of many other officials and clerks who offered their services to the Ottoman Governor. According to Alexander Drummond, at the Governor’s headquarters one could meet the following people:
- a Kiaya, who is his deputy, lieutenant and private secretary.
- Divan effendi, high chancellor and secretary of state.
- Khaznadar, high treasurer.
- Muhurdar, keeper of the seals.
- Ich-aghaler, grooms of the bedchamber and pages of honour, who are always near his person.
- Imam, chaplain in ordinary.
- Embrakhor, master of the horse.
- Vekil-Kharj, master of the household.
- Qahveji, coffee maker.
- Sherbetji, confectioner and sherbet maker.
- Bukhurdanji, perfumer, and he who carries the perfume of the wood of aloes.
- Bash Chawush, keeper of the prisoners.
- Alay Chawush, buffoons, who carry batons tipt with silver, and play a thousand monkey-tricks, fitter for the entertainment of children than of sensible men.
- Mu’ avinler, officers of an inferior rank, who have no particular department, but are fit for many purposes.”27.
Aghades

These were four high officials who had great power. At the head of the group of aghades was the hasine-defrerdari who was responsible for the Treasury. The other three aghades were responsible for taxation matters as well as the collection of taxes.

Kadi or mulla (Molla)

Every province had its own kadi, the judge of the Ottoman ecclesiastical court, who, apart from religious power, had jurisdiction over political and social matters in his area. As judges, they could impose various punishments. The kadi of Lefkosia was the religious leader of the Muslims who lived on the island but also the Chief Justice of the katillikia of the province of Lefkosia.

Mufti

The Mufti co-operated with the Kadi and he was the representative of religious law.

Muhtasipi

This official was responsible for the observance of morals. One of his other responsibilities was control of commercial trade.

Bey

This official was not under the authority of the Ottoman Governor. He was the governor of Famagousta and was answerable only to the Sultan. He had the power, if he so whished, not to allow the Governor himself into the city!

Other administrative officials

Other administrative officials were the archivist (teskereji), the chief secretary (divan ef-fendisi), the Inland Revenue secretary (defter emini). The janissary agha (yeniceri agasi) was at the head of the regular janissary guard on the island and could replace the governor of the island during his absence. The Divan (i.e., the Board of Governors), which was expanded
during the 19th century, consisted of the governor and the four aghas of Lefkosia. After the Divan of Lefkosia was re-organized in the 19th century, as well as the governor, Muslim officials, the Archbishop and the kadi of Lefkosia, 6 elected members (three Greeks and three Turks) also participated in it.

4.3. Cypriot officials

Apart from Ottoman administrative officials, the Sublime Porte decided to use Cypriots in some administrative institutions. The most important aspect of this was the appointment of Greek Christians to posts in administration and finance. Giovanni Mariti mentions that among the Ottoman executive officials ‘there are besides the Sarafs, through whose hands pass all the monies which enter or leave the Treasury, their duty being to test its goodness and value, and to keep the accounts. This office is held by a Greek’ 28.

Despite the fact that the existence of the institution of the demo-gerontes (i.e., the local village elders) is recorded, there is not much information about them. They were responsible for the collection of taxes from their communities.

The office of the dragoman of the seraglio was very important and those appointed to this post were mostly Christian Cypriots. Giovanni Mariti mentions about this post that ‘the Dragoman of the Serai holds one of the principal posts assigned to a Christian. His title signifies “interpreter in the Governor’s palace,” but he is really the agent who treats between the Christian population and the Governor’ 29. A dragoman was an interpreter at the seraglio; this meant that he was the Cypriot official who was closest to the administrator of the island. He was the one who communicated the Ottoman policy to its subjects, and had great political power. He essentially acted as an intermediary between the Ottoman State and its subjects. The dragoman was appointed by and was responsible to the Sublime Porte.
The dragomen gained great authority and could influence the Sublime Porte on various subjects. Michael de Vezin says about his administrative power that ‘many public and private cases were handled by him, his salary is 2,000 piastres per year paid by the Governor, yet his private gains are very substantial… this man often exerts total power over the Governor, who is unable to read Greek and inevitably has to trust and believe whatever the dragoman says’30.

The dragomen gained great power and had various responsibilities. They appointed the treasurer and paid the wages of the Jannissaries from the revenue they had received from specific villages. They were also responsible for the census for taxation purposes and the distribution of taxes. They, themselves, did not pay any taxes, and enjoyed many privileges. Their uniform was indicative of the office they held. The key post they held offered them tremendous power. A dragoman could have free access to the Sublime Porte, and was the link between the Ottoman governor and the Archbishop. Evidence of this was reported by Ali Bey, who visited Cyprus in 1803. His evidence relates to the amount of power the dragomen had, which was used for the benefit of the subjugated Cypriots. In particular, Ali Bey states that the dragoman of Cyprus: “has thus become the chief civil authority: he has particularly the rank and attributes of a prince of the community, because the Turkish Governor can do nothing to a Greek without the participation and presence of the Dragoman, who is also entrusted with the duty of laying at the foot of the Grand Seigneur’s throne the wishes of his fellow-Christians”31.
5. Urban Centres

By the end of the 16th century, it was evident in every city that the island had fallen into decline. This decline, however, did not result from the bad state of the economy of the island, which was due to the destruction caused by the Ottoman conquest; it was rather the result of the policy that the Ottoman rulers followed. Their aim was to relieve the people of Cyprus of their last piastre by overtaxing them; in this way, all the goods which the island produced ended up in the Ottoman rulers’ hands. They were not interested in the development of the island and did not invest in any such development, but rather they just wanted to increase the profits of the Sultanic Treasury. The island was doomed to a period of cultural and spiritual stagnation.

Urban centres were organized according to the rules of the new conquerors’ religion. The situation changed after 1660 when Christians were given more rights and from then on could build new ecclesiastical edifices.

The urban centres of the island remained the same as during the previous periods. These centres were: the capital city of Lefkosia and the coastal cities of Lemesos, Larnaka, Famagusta, Pafos and Kyrenia.
5.1. Lefkosia

Lefkosia remained the capital city of Cyprus throughout the period of the Ottoman Domination of the island. The city of Lefkosia was of great importance to the conquerors, because it was an administrative centre and, as such, was the seat of the Turkish governor whom the Sublime Porte in Constantinople appointed each time. It was also the residence of the four aghades and other officials. The city of Lefkosia was also the See of the Orthodox bishops and the seat of the dragomen.

Despite the great importance of the city of Lefkosia, the Ottomans did not make any effort to develop the city in any way, but only tried to organize it according to their own lifestyle.

After the conquest of Lefkosia by the Ottomans, the appearance of the city was to change according to the new conquerors’ habits and character.

Throughout the period of the Ottoman Domination, Lefkosia did not expand outside the Venetian walls, but remained confined inside them. The fact that the 3 gates of the walls (those of Pafos, Kyrenia and Famagusta) were closed in the evening for safety reasons, and only the inhabitants and a few visitors to the city stayed inside is characteristic of the city’s confinement. The walls around the city, which had been built by the Venetians, were preserved by the Turks, who only made some very rough and not very extensive repairs. These repairs included the strengthening of the ramparts and alterations, which were made to the gates of the walls. The French traveller Le Sieur de Stochove describing the state of the walls notes that “the Turks, who are careless enough in keeping up the works, allow the walls to fall and fill up the ditches”32. In 1814 the Englishman John MacDonald Kinnier described the bad condition of the walls, and, in particular, that “the ditch is dry and shallow, but so broad that it now yields a considerable quantity of corn; the rampart is also in some parts cultivated, and of great breadth, as all the earth and rubbish from the interior of the town appears to have been transported thither in order to add to its solidity”33.

During the previous Frankish and Venetian occupations edifices had been preserved for many centuries, and only in the case of decay would they either be repaired or demolished. These huge edifices were used by the conquerors as administrative buildings or as residences for Ottoman office-holders. The royal palace of the Lusignans, which had been used by the Venetian governors as well, was converted into a lodging (konaki) for the Ottoman governor,
the seraglio. The left wing of this magnificent medieval edifice was used as a prison. In 1613, the Frenchman Le Sieur de Stochove described the entrance to the lodging (konaki) above which the Ottomans had preserved the carved coat of arms of the Lusignans. In the square in front of the entrance of the Lusignan Palace, as the traveller himself described, “the Turks conduct military exercises on their horses every Friday”. Over a period of time, this palace fell into decay although the Ottoman governor was still living in it. In 1814, the Englishman John MacDonald Kinnier noted about this royal mansion, which was used by the Turkish governors, that “it is now so much altered and disfigured, that it is not possible to form any idea of its original appearance: the gate is however entire, and over the arch, in basso relieve, is the figure of a griffin, the crest, I believe, of Lusignan”.

The preservation of the strong West European aspect of the city is evident in impressions recorded by travellers who had visited the island. The French traveller Stochove, who had visited the island in May 1631, notes that “there are many guard houses built of cut stone, the streets are fine and wide, there is nothing Turkish about them, nor in the buildings, which are for the most part of Venetian work”. These elements of western architecture were preserved until the 19th century and, from then onwards, they started to disappear. Most of the edifices of the period of Frankish and Venetian rule started disappearing after they fell into ruin.

Immediately after the conquest of the city, the new conquerors wanted to leave their own mark on its appearance as well as on the way the city was organized. They mainly aimed at organizing the city according to their own traditions and leaving their mark on its appearance by drawing on their own culture and tradition. The first evidence of the Ottoman presence on the island was the minarets, which were erected, and the mosques, which were created by making alterations to Christian churches. These alterations included the addition of minarets onto
or next to the churches, as well as alterations to their interiors. In particular, the walls were whitewashed completely covering the frescos, the churches were aligned in the direction of Mecca and their floors were covered with carpets. As far as the belfries of the church towers were concerned, according to the evidence of Girolamo Dandini, who visited the island in 1596 and 1597, they were either destroyed or left without any bells, which were turned into cannons.

The church, along with other buildings, which were situated in the monastery of the Augustinians, was badly damaged during the siege of Lefkosia. The church, devoted to Saint Mary and dating from the 14th century, was converted into a mosque immediately after the conquest of the city, while the rest of the monastery remained abandoned. The church, which was 15 metres high, was probably destroyed by the Ottoman cannonades. The conquerors named this mosque Omerie in honour of Caliph Omar who, according to tradition, lived there.

The Gothic cathedral of Saint Sophia, which had been built during the first years of Frankish rule on top of a previous Byzantine church, was converted into a mosque. Girolamo Dandini describes the condition of the interior of the church after its conversion stating “no altars, statues or painting of any kind: the walls are simply whitewashed”. The destruction of the decoration and the religious statues of all the churches that were turned into mosques was carried out, because the Muslim religion did not permit the existence of any imagery whatsoever. Reports of churches in similarly bad condition appear in several descriptions recorded by
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travellers such as Ioannes Cotovicus (1598-9) and the French traveller Le Sieur de Stochove in 1631, among others. According to the Spanish traveller Don Domingo Badia-y-Leyblich, known as Ali Bey el Abbassi, the two tall 49-metre-high minarets, which were erected on the Gothic building of Saint Sophia, did not match the rest of the edifice at all. Ali Bey, who visited the island in 1806, referred to another alteration, which was made to the church by the Ottomans to allow them to perform their religious duties. Specifically, as Ali Bey notes, “as their law requires them to say their prayers with their faces towards Mecca, and as this cathedral was not built originally for Moslem worship, the Turks have been obliged to put up within it wooden screens aligned in the direction of Mecca, so as to face correctly during prayer.” Strangely enough, the Christian name of this mosque, which was previously a Christian church, was not changed and neither were the Christian names of other Christian churches that were changed into mosques. In 1954, the mosque was renamed Selimie Mosque in honour of Sultan Selim II, who organized the conquest of the island in 1571.

The Ottomans’ policy of converting the Christian churches into mosques was adopted in many cases, but it mainly affected Catholic churches.

The Gothic church of Saint Katherine, which was situated next to Saint Sophia Cathedral, was converted into a mosque immediately after the conquest of the city. The mosque was known as Arablar Mosque (i.e., the Mosque of the Lords), but today it is known as Haidar Pasha Mosque.

The temple of Panayia Odigitria, or according to other sources, of Saint Nicolaos, was also turned into a mosque, known as Bedestan. The architecture of the church was a combination of Byzantine and Gothic and, according to popular tradition, after the conquest of the city of Lefkosia, it was used as a place for the textile trade (i.e., Bedestan, which in Turkish means ‘roofed marked’) and, later on, was used as a wheat storehouse.
The church of the Cross of Missirikos, dating from the first half of the 16th century, was converted into a mosque known as Arablar. The architecture of this church was also a combination of Byzantine and Gothic. The alterations which were made to this church included: the walling in of doors and windows, and the addition of a small minaret at the north end of the apse.

The Yeni mosque was part of an unknown church, which already existed on the site where it was built in 1772.

Also important to note is the conversion of churches into public baths such as that of Saint George, which became known as Buyuk Hamam (i.e., Big Baths).

The Ottoman conquerors not only converted churches into mosques, but they themselves also built mosques in the capital city.

A monument to the Ottoman flag-bearer (Bayraktari), who first raised the flag of the new conquerors during the conquest of the city on 9th September 1571, was initially erected on the rampart of Constanzo. According to popular tradition, the flag-bearer died at that very place and was buried there. From 1764 onwards, his tomb was built by the then Ottoman governor Hasan agha Shiefik (şiefik) and, in 1820, the then governor Abdullah pasha built the mosque known as Bayraktari.

At the end of the 16th or 17th century, the Arab Ahmed Mosque was built in the capital city. The mosque was built in the Ottoman style, but it was influenced by Byzantine architecture as well, as in the case of the dome. The building is square and topped by one main 6-metre-wide dome with four smaller domes, one in each corner. The mosque has a minaret, and in the courtyard there is a small graveyard with tombstones on which the names of well-known French families are written. It is believed that perhaps there was a Catholic church in this same place before.

Another characteristic of the Ottoman lifestyle was the use of public baths, a habit which finally became an important aspect of the social life of both Ottomans and Christians. According to the Archduke of Austria, Louis Salvator, there were 8 public baths in the capital city of Lefkosia, which were preserved until the last years of the Ottoman Domination, two of which were public and the other six private.

The Omerie baths were built as an endowment by Lala Mustafa immediately after the conquest of Cyprus, and are situated next to the Omerie mosque. They are divided into three sections corresponding to the three rooms that the people visiting the bath had to visit: the
reception room, the medium temperature room, and the high temperature room.

The Big Baths (Buyuk Hamam), as we noted above, had been a Roman Catholic church devoted to Saint George. The entrance of the baths is very characteristic as the visitor descends a staircase; the doorframe is of Gothic style and dates from the 15th century. The building is two metres below street level.

Two of the public baths to which Louis Savator\textsuperscript{44} refers were the Emir Hamam, which belonged to a rich Turk, and the Yegni Hamam, which belonged to a Cretan.

The conquerors were also interested in the education of young Ottomans who lived on the island, but there are no records of the specific policy they followed in this matter.

Behind Saint Sophia, the Turks created a Divinity School; that is, a Muslim seminary called a medresse. According to Louis Salvator, who visited the island in 1837, “a corner house, with a dome and a vaulting room with numerous verses from the Koran written on the walls all around, is a Turkish school, where the children study Islam. The small library contains many books which were offered as an endowment by the Sultan. Moreover, there are other Medresse Mektebs in Lefkosia as well”\textsuperscript{45}.

The Mevlevi Dervishes Tekke was built during the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries near the gate of Kyrenia. According to popular tradition, it was built by Arab Ahmet pasha whose tomb is situated in the same place. The tekke consists of an oblong Mausoleum in which there are situated 15 dervishes’ tombs. The mosque of the tekke consists of a big room with a wooden floor and balcony. In this room, the dervishes danced every Sunday, and on the balcony stood the musicians and the readers of the Koran. This particular religious group was abolished in 1920 by Kemal Atatürk.

After the Ottoman conquest of the island, the guest-houses and hostels were replaced by khans (inns), which were built alongside arterial
roads, at a time when the only means of transport was the camel, the donkey and the horse. The khans offered food, accommodation for the night and animal care. The khans consisted of a central yard around which there were rooms. The purpose of the khans was the hospitality and care of the animals which were used as means of transport and of the foreigners or traders who used these animals. The Buyuk Khan (i.e., The Big Khan) was built in 1572 by Muzaffer Pasha, the first governor of Cyprus. It was built on the ruins of the Lusignans Palace and its architectural plan was a square edifice with ground and first floors around an open square yard. The design of this specific khan is not considered to be based on Turkish architecture, because it is believed to have been built on the ruins of a medieval edifice. In the khan, there were 68 rooms and 10 shops. Many of the rooms had a fireplace, but none of them had beds as the guests brought their own mattresses with them. The rooms that were on the ground floor were used as storehouses, and, in the big interior yard, there were mangers for the animals belonging to the guests of the khan. In the centre of the square yard, there was a small elevated mosque with a dome.
A tank with taps all around was added to the base of the mosque at the beginning of the 19th century. This khan, which was situated in the centre of the town market, was described by the Italian Giovanni Mariti, who gives some important information on the way it was built. In particular, Mariti notes that “this khan was built for the benefit of foreigners generally by Muzaffer Pasha, who imposed to the end a tax of two paras on every Cypriot”.

A short distance from the Buyuk Khan was the Kumarjilar Khan (i.e., The Gamblers Khan), which was used, as its name denotes, as a gambling centre. In the 17th century, it became private property.

Apart from the mosques, the Turkish baths and the travelers’ inns, which are all characteristically Ottoman, the conquerors also made changes to the organization of the city of Lefkosia. The division of the city into ‘Machallades,’ i.e., neighborhoods, also led to the segregation of the residents in areas according to their nationality, religion and class. The neighborhoods became small, closed communities having common characteristics according to their religion, class, habits and customs. As a result, the inhabitants suffered hardship and the members of each ethnic group, were obliged to rally round and help each other. These neighborhoods developed around places of worship, churches and mosques, respectively. Later, when mutual trust grew among the groups, mixed ‘Machallades’ were formed. At the end of the 19th century, there were 25 ‘Machallades’ in Lefkosia of which 14 were Muslim, 7 Christian Orthodox, 2 mixed, 1 Armenian, and 1 Roman Catholic.

The wide roads and squares, which reflected the open social life of Christians, were replaced by narrow roads 2-3 m in width. These roads were unpaved and were characterized by stone arches in many places.

As far as the private residences of the Christians were concerned, they were built in rows, very close to each other, not because of a shortage of land but for security. The very few mansions were built on larger pieces of land. A common feature of all these mansions was the court-yard, which was surrounded by a high wall, so that the family could move
freely, far from the eyes of strangers and the danger of the conqueror. Another characteristic of the houses was the ‘Heliakos’, a rectangular room with its main door opening onto a courtyard and the rest of the rooms around it. For building materials, sandstone was used. Often bricks were used, which although cheaper, gave a poorer appearance to the houses. The floors were made of marble or wood, while for the roof wooden posts or trunks of trees were used over which were placed reeds or straw, and, on top of that, clay. This type of roof construction kept the inside rooms cool. The ground floor windows had metal protective bars and at the top there was a skylight. One oriental feature was the addition of a pavilion on top of the roof. An outstanding example of urban architecture is the luxurious Greek house located in Lefkosia, which belonged to dragoman Chatzigewrgakis Kornesius. This house is situated within the Lefkosia walls in the area of Agios Antonios, and it is an important historical sight.

The Spanish Ali Bey\textsuperscript{47} was a guest in this mansion in 1806. The outside of the house has the appearance of a fortress. The entrance is located on the north side, and is an arch type with rich sculptural decoration. Another characteristic of its facade is the wood, covered balcony. The small, metal barred windows of the ground floor are placed high up. The area of the ground floor is for ancillary use, and contains stables and a kitchen. The ground plan of the mansion has a Π shape with a spacious internal yard protected by a high wall. In this yard, there is a drinking fountain and a small Turkish bath.

On the first floor, one can find the family rooms. Wooden steps in the yard lead up to the first floor. The first room is a spacious room with a huge wooden arch in the centre. A corridor on the right leads to the ‘Ontas’, the sitting room. This place has a wooden ceiling and floor. In a corner of the northern wall, there is a wall painting illustrating Constantinople.

The Archbishopric, apart from being the religious centre, was the political and spiritual centre for the subjugated Greeks.

Barsky makes reference to 9 Christian churches, but no monastery\textsuperscript{48}, while in 1914 the Englishman John Macdonald Kinneir mentions that there were only 6 churches and 1 monastery for the Catholics\textsuperscript{49}. The English traveler Richard Pococke, who visited the island in 1738, provides us with important information, ‘the Greeks have several newly-built churches in the city’\textsuperscript{50}. During the 18\textsuperscript{th} century the construction of new churches and the restoration of old ones began, but they were destroyed, according to the imperial order of Chatti Choumagium in 1856.
According to Salvator\textsuperscript{51}, the church of Chrysaliniotissa in Lefkosia was rebuilt in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century in the same place as, according to popular tradition, it had been built by Eleni Palaiologina. The church of the archbishop’s palace, Agios Ioannis Church in Lefkosia, was built in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century and had the appearance of a castle with high flying buttresses round its external walls.

There is also evidence regarding the churches of Tripioti, Agios Savvas, Agios Iakovos, Agios Kassianos, Agios Georgios, Agios Loukas and Agios Antonios, which as Salvador said had a new bell-tower\textsuperscript{52}. There was as well the Roman Catholic Monastery of the Holy Cross\textsuperscript{53}, which accommodated five Spanish and Italian monks. This monastery was built in 1733 and extended in 1863.

The beating heart of the city was the market, the bazaar. In 1814, the Englishman Kinneir reported that ‘the bazaar, although tolerably well-supplied is not even arched, but roofed with reeds and mats, which admit the rain in all directions’\textsuperscript{54}. The life and intensity of the market place was described by R. Hamilton Lang, Director of the Ottoman Bank in Cyprus and British Consul, commenting that ‘we pass with difficulty through the bazaars full of loaded donkeys, mules and camels, while the noisy crowds deal with the buying and selling transactions...’\textsuperscript{55}.

According to Giovanni Mariti\textsuperscript{56} “various products are gathered in Lefkosia and, afterwards, all these are transferred to Larnaka for exportation.”

In Lefkosia and its suburbs, there were a number of small family businesses dealing with the production of various products, which had always been made in Cyprus. More specifically, these units produced woolen, cotton, dimity and satin textiles, leather goods and luxury items, like cosmetics and jewellery, for the upper class people. As Giovanni Mariti mentions, in 1767 the marketing of cotton textiles takes place in the city, and he emphasises the method of dying textiles and leathers. Specifically, he reports that ‘there is some trade here in cotton fabrics, some of them made in the city, but most of the lillages outside. They
have the art of dying in red and yellow skins, tanned with sumach, and the general opinion is that the colours are brighter than those of Barbary. They stamp cotton cloths with indelible colours, which get prettier with washing. They dye also the red cloth called bucassini, for which they use the root madder or alizarin, a product of the island mixed with ox-blood; this colour too is durable and never fades.

The Archduke of Austria, Louis Salvator, describes in detail the ‘commercial centre’ of Lefkosia, the bazaar, as he saw it in the last years of the Turkish occupation in 1873. According to this text, there were 23 markets (1. Craftsmen, 2. Tailors, 3. Cotton fabric, blankets, leather, 4. European shoe-makers, 5. Shoe-makers, 6. Turkish shoes, 7. Yarn, 8. Furniture makers, 9. Carriage makers, 10. Copper items, 11. Silversmiths, 12. Metal items, 13. Pottery, 14. Miscellaneous items, 15. Taverns, 16. Grocery and meat market, 17. Fish market, 18. Cake market, 19. Women’s market, 20. Cotton, 21. Flour, 22. Wheat and maize, 23. Mule market) in the city, spread between the gates of Famagousta and Pafos, which were the centres of social life. The busiest day for the market was Friday. According to Salvador’s description of these markets, he writes: ‘the widest and the biggest was the craftsmen’s market covered with a pedimented roof made of marble with openings, so as to let the light in. With the exception of some silk textiles woven locally, all the other merchandise is imported. Next to this market, there is a small one covered with a trellis of grapevines, where boots for villagers are made. In front of this market is the carpenters’ small market, and, next to it is the Abbot of Kykkos’ residence. Just opposite the latter, is the market of Kykkos, with a cross and the date it was built, 1866, at its entrance. This big new market has a roof supported by arches with pointed tops resting on keystones, openings for lighting, and is occupied mainly by merchants and itinerant letter-writers. On the other side, there is the Ducks Basi market with the magistrate’s office. After that, there are some semi-covered markets, until we arrive at the tailors, some of whom are working with sewing machines. Just next to it, there is a market with a triangular roof and apertures to let the light in, where you can find European shoes. Passing the craftsmen’s market moving towards the Pafos gate, we reach the Makri Bazaar (Long Bazaar), where we first find some stores which sell outfits from Roumeli for fishermen, some Greek tailors, and further on some blacksmiths. Their only protection from the sun is some projecting roofs made of straw. Then, we arrive at the market of cotton fabrics, where some men, mostly Turkish, process this product on the left and on the right. The Jai market, which is just next to it, is also for cotton fabrics and blankets. A bit further on, we can find merchants of leather goods who also process
Cyprus During the Ottoman Domination

leather... At the end of this street, there are some shops for provisions, timber, marble slabs and white stone jars made in Athienou. The street ends near the dyers shops... near the entrance of the cotton fabric market, there is another one where boots and leather goods are sold. This market is divided into two wings, one for medicines and the other, on the right, for provisions. Following this narrow street, we come across some little spaces where Turkish multi-colored blankets, with various patterns are made... Following our route, in the same direction, we come across the area of silversmiths, situated opposite the baptismal font and further on we find the gunsmiths... If we return to our starting point, we find ourselves at the big market of provisions. Here, we see citrons, bread, kolokasi (a kind of sweet potato), Jerusalem artichokes, carrots, long radishes, turnips, currants, dates, chestnuts, nuts, big almonds, cakes, poppy seeds (opium) to calm children to sleep, linseed, legumes, all kind of vegetables, soap from Larnaka and abroad, pine resin used for barrels, which the Turks also like to chew. All these goods are sheltered by old rugs, carpets, and projecting roofs. Next to this market, one can find the tobacconists, sitting with their legs crossed and cutting select tobacco with sharp knives on a petal-shaped piece of iron. At the end of Tachtakala market, we find stools for children, oxen yokes, cats, pack-saddle makers and inns...

Throughout Salvador’s description, the above condition of the capital Lefkosia after the 300 years of subjugation, during which Lefkosia went through a nasty recession is clearly reflected. Hamilton, Director of the Ottoman Bank, believes that the terrible condition of the city ‘is a clear proof of the fact that we live in the neglected territory of crescent’59. Larnaka, with its big port and the consulates of various countries, was more developed than Lefkosia, the capital. This fact led the French consul Doazan in the middle of 19th century to suggest that Larnaka should become the capital of the island. This suggestion that Larnaka should become the seat of the Ottoman administration was welcomed by the Turkish governor Osman Sierif, who agreed to
forward the proposal to the Sublime Porte. In the end, this suggestion was not carried out, because the subsequent governors were not in favour of it. Thus, the Sublime Porte rejected this request with the excuse that in Larnaka there was no ‘serayio’, i.e. Government House!

During the Turkish occupation, Lefkosia was supplied with water from wells. One of the aqueducts of Lefkosia took water from the Arap Achmet well (this name was given to honour the Ottoman official Arap Achmet, who took part in the towns’ conquest in 1571), and this water was conveyed through stone conduits up to the Pafos gate. Water from the well of Chatzichousein aga Silichtar (governor 1801 - 1803) ran through an aqueduct to the area of the Famagousta gate. This construction was sponsored by the dragoman Chatzigiorgakis Kornesius. In the city, there were many public fountains to which characteristic names, such as Tzioutziou and Karidia were given.

Lefkosia suffered from damage caused by various natural phenomena, which was exacerbated by the disinterest of the conquerors in taking precautionary measures, or in helping the citizens. Among these catastrophes was the flooding of the river Pediaios in 1859, during which the level of the river water exceeded the height of the Pafos gate. The water flowed through the city causing enormous damage. Sixteen people were drowned; however, the Ottomans’ apathy was remarkable. The governor of the time, Isiak pasas passively
observed this catastrophe from his ‘serai’ (palace) and took no measures to help the citizens with the excuse that he did not have any legitimate right to interfere!

The most important political events during the Turkish domination took place in the capital.

Chil Osmam’s efforts, who was the Turkish governor, to kill Archbishop Paisios and other ecclesiastical leaders in 1764, by inviting them to his palace for a meeting, roused the population of Lefkosia. As a result of this, violent events took place in the city. Although, the governor’s effort failed, the population rebelled and as a result Osman and 18 of his people were killed. Archimandrite Kyprianos, who took part in the meeting and witnessed the attempt to murder the church leaders, describes the situation after the revolution as follows: ‘three or four hours passed before there was any lull in the shouting in the streets, in the rush and roar of men running to the sack of the burning palace. The bazaars were shut and all the respectable people shut up in their houses suffering paroxysms of terror. They believed that the city was wholly given over to revolt, murder and pillage, and the Turkish magnates, though sadly distressed, took prudent measures to disperse the mob, lest the rioting should increase and be directed against the houses of the wealthy and prominent citizens’.

In 1804, mobs of Turkish - Linovamvakoi and Greeks rose up against the dragoman Chatzigiorgakis Kornesius protesting against increased taxes. They set fire to his mansion and besieged the capital. This revolution was quelled by Ottoman military forces, which were sent from Asia Minor.

The climax of these tragic events was the slaughter, which followed in July 1821, and particularly the public execution of the then Archbishop of Cyprus, Kyprianos, and other ecclesiastical leaders. When Britain became the new conqueror of the island in 1878, the Englishman Hepworth W. Dixon, a British official, compared Lefkosia to a young sister of Damaskus.
5.2. Larnaka – Skala

After the occupation of Cyprus by the Ottomans, Larnaka’s course of development becomes of special interest. The destruction that Larnaka suffered due to the Turkish invasion was not as devastating as in the case of Lefkosia or Ammochostos. This fact, in conjunction with the fact that Larnaka was the only port in use on the island, would help the town, as we will see, to develop more than the other towns of the island till the end of the Turkish occupation. Another important feature of the town was the Aliki, the salt pan. This was the reason why the port of the town would continue to operate, in order to export salt, even after the capture of the island. The French traveler Le sieur De Stochove mentions that ‘in all the island there is only one good harbor, capable of sheltering vessels of all sizes, it is called the port of Salines, from the quantity of saltpans in the neighborhood. All trading vessels coming from Christian countries bring up here, and, on this account, the Consuls of France, England and Venice reside here’.

During the first years of subjugation, according to the records of European travelers, Larnaka, as well as Skala, appear to be in decline in spite of its being a commercial centre. The Dutchman Ioannes Cotovicus, who visited Larnaka in 1598, describes a deteriorating situation though he calls the town Comercio, meaning commercial centre. Specifically, he mentions the fact that ‘it was once a remarkable and very populous city is sufficiently attested by the remains of public buildings, and ruined houses. Now there is nothing to see, but some small buildings, few and poor, of one storey only…’.

Skala – Larnaka

Not only through the maps of that period, but also from the available written sources, we can clearly observe that Skala, the port, is separated from Larnaka. So the town has two settlements. The one is situated only a mile from the other.

Soon, due to the port, the financial resources of the population increased. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, commercial activity began to increase and the mooring place moved from the area of Aliki to the coast near the castle. Round this area, inns and storage buildings were built to serve the merchants and the travelers. Thus, the Customs moved there and, because of this development, the Ottomans decided to put the castle back in operation in order to protect the ships.
Larnaca castle

The castle of the town was constructed in the 14th century (Frankish Domination) and was built by King Jacovo the First (1382-1398). During the Venetian Period, the castle was deserted, so the Ottoman conquerors had to renovate it after their occupation of the island. Their aim was to use it as a place of residence for the military guard, but also to protect the mooring place. The two storey building that we can see today on the north side is a part, which was added by the Ottomans in 1625.

In a letter sent by a group of Cypriots to the King of Spain, Philip the Third, in 1690, asking for help to free the island, some information is given about the Turkish military force in Larnaka. It is stated that the military force in the castle of the town consisted of 100 spahis and 1,000 janissaries. There were also 100 bowmen and 100 azapides.

In 1690, the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle completed his visit to Larnaka, where he described the castle as an unimportant fortress, which could not offer any protection.

Consulates

The town would obtain, as we have already mentioned before, a cosmopolitan character due to the presence of the consulates and the European merchants who settled in Larnaca. The Russian monk Vassilios Gregorovits Barsci describes the town as follows: “Larnaca is neither a town nor a village; it is a sea resort, where the Consuls, French and English, reside with the intention of administering to and ruling their respective citizens… Close to Larnaka, there is a place named Alikes near the sea, with a port for ships arriving from various countries, France and England among others, which import the necessary goods for the Cypriots. In exchange, they take Cypriot products for exportation… The distance between Larnaka and Alikes is short. Because of this and since the population is of one nationality, they travel for their jobs between
the two locations easily. However, all the important people, the most luxurious houses and three churches are located in Larnaka, whereas at Alikes there is only Saint Lazaros church. Nevertheless, here and there you can find beautiful palaces, especially those accommodating Consulates or French merchants…”66.

The Italian abbot Giovani Mariti (1760), who lived on the island for seven years as a consul of Toskani, reveals the riches of the European residents of Larnaka through his description of their houses: “the largest house in Larnaka, which for their size and good condition deserve to be called palaces, are these: that of Mr. Tredues, who was English consul, now in the possession of MM. Pory of French origin, which is adorned with ancient tapestries and pictures by good painters. The other apartments also are distinguished by equal good taste and proportions. It has stabling for 50 horses and a most charming garden…”67.

The traditional houses in Larnaka were built of brick and had flat roofs. The Europeans, as well as wealthy locals, showed off their prosperity in their rich constructions, as we can see from Mariti’s description above.

It is believed that in Larnaca more than 30 consulates operated during the Ottoman period, for example, those of Holland, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Neapolis, Toscani, Ragouza, Austria, Prossia, Ionian State (Eptanisa), Sardinia, the United States of America, and so on. After the independence of Greece, the Greek consulate had been in operation since 1866, but without the right to protect the local Orthodox population.

During the last decades of the 18th century, many families from Eptanisa settled in Larnaca, at first as Venetian residents and later falling under French consulate control. Their Greek origin had a social importance for the local Greek population of the town.

Anchor of the ships

The procedure to be followed by ships arriving at the port of the town is rather interesting68. The ship had to drop anchor a mile away from the Castle of the town, and then fire 3 cannon shots. After the reciprocation of greetings from the castle, the captain had to send a representative carrying presents to the Kadi of the town, and ask for a permit to disembark passengers or merchandise. Giovanni Mariti gives plenty of information about the compulsory procedures, which the merchant and war ships had to comply with, before anchoring at Larnaca port69.
Trade – the Port

In the 19th century, Larnaca was enjoying great prosperity. The English traveler William Turner, who visited the island in 1815, declares that ‘the traveler certainly sees in Cyprus that he is in a more civilized spot than he must often expect to find in Turkey’70. As for the commercial activities of Larnaca, Turner describes the export goods71: cotton, white silk, yellow silk, wool, cattle and sheep, corn, barley, oil, caroba, wine, commonest red wine, raki, coloquida, madder, terra d’ ombra (an earth used by painters), salt, etc. The Spanish traveler Don Domingo Babia-y-Leyblich, who traveled under the pseudonym Ali Beis el Abassi, compares Larnaca to the cities and ports of Europe72. The consuls of France, Austria, Neapolis and Spain took residence in luxurious houses in Larnaca. On the sea-front at Skala, there were three consulates and residences73 of the English, Austrian, Swedish, and Russian consuls. All these carried out consular duties during the first half of the 19th century.

Christian churches

The ecclesiastical needs of the Europeans who lived in the town, as well as of the sailors and travelers who stopped in Larnaca, were met firstly by the monastery of the Frankish monks at Saint Mary’s Chapel74. This small church was replaced in 1724 by a bigger Church of Saint Mary which was the official church of the European community in Cyprus75.

The Italian traveler Giovanni Mariti, who lived on the island for seven years (1760-1767), describes this monastery which offered many services to the Catholics who lived there as well as to those who visited the town76. In 1842, Santa Maria delle Grazie church, known as Terra Santa, was built in the same place.

The Orthodox religious buildings helped not only in the preservation of the religion, but also in the rallying of the Cypriot inhabit-
The churches of Chrysopolitissa Virgin Mary, Saint John the Theologian, the Cathedral Church of the Saviour continued officiating during Ottoman Domination.

Saint Lazarus Church, built in the 9th century, was seized by the Ottoman conquerors upon conquering of the town. It was returned to the Orthodox Church in 1589 in exchange for 3,000 ‘aspra’. The Roman Catholics were also granted the right to perform their mass twice a year in the north aisle. The belfry of the church was pulled down by the conquerors, and was replaced in 1857 with today’s impressive belfry.

The traveller Van der Nyenburg, in regard to the aforementioned, cites that ‘in Larnaca, not far from the coast, there is one of the most important Greek churches in the whole island. It is a strong, stone-built construction without any decorative features. Here, was shown to us the tomb of St. Lazarus whom Jesus brought back from the dead’. This church constituted the religious, ethnic, and educational centre of the town. One of the responsibilities of its bishops was the foundation of schools in the middle of 19th century, the maintenance of which was the bishops’ responsibility. At the west side of the church, lies the ‘Public Reciprocal School’, which the church established in 1857’.

Turning churches into mosques

The Muslim monuments of Larnaka are evidence of the 300 year occupation of the island. In Larnaka, there are three mosques. In the area of Dromolaksia, next to the lake of Aliki, is situated the Hala Sultan Tekke, the most important religious place for the Ottomans. One of the mosques of Larnaka is situated in the town, right behind the Orthodox Archibishopric. In particular, we refer to the Touzla mosque, which became a religious place for the Muslims after the Ottomans conquered the island, but which dates from the Frankish period and was in fact a Gothic, Roman Catholic church, devoted to Santa Cross (Santa Croce). The Byzantine frescoes that have recently been revealed are proof that perhaps the church operated as an Orthodox church at first.

Two more mosques are situated in the port area, the Begiouk or Kebir mosque lies to the west of Larnaka castle. According to popular tradition, this construction was a church before its transformation into a mosque, and it is mentioned for the first time in Governor Abu-Bekir’s will (1747). It is a construction, which has a ground floor used as a storeroom. The mosque is located on the first floor.
The Zouhouri mosque (Malachti) is an important building of the Ottoman period, which dates from the first half of the 19th century.

A part of the area, where the mosque was built, was used by the Ottomans of the area as a cemetery. According to legend, after excavations in the area, the tomb of an unknown woman, whose body had not been affected by rigor mortis, was discovered. This woman was considered by the Ottomans to be a Saint and here they built a mosque, known as Malleable (Malachti).

The Hala Sultan Tekke or Umm Haram Tekke is situated on the west bank of the salt lake Aliki in Larnaka, and it is the third most holy place for the Muslims. According to legend, Umm Haram, the wet nurse of the prophet Mohamet died and was buried in this place in the 7th century. Yet, as we will see in Mariti’s report below, this legend was created in the 18th century and there were many expediencies for it. The Dutch traveler Cornelius van Bruyn describes the tomb as follows: ‘the sepulchre is enclosed by three huge stones, two of them upright, and the third resting on them above. The first two are thirteen palms broad, and at least as high again. But the stone is covered with lime, and can no longer be seen’78. Mariti gives remarkable information not only about the legend around this tekke, but also about the Ottomans’ actions and expediency concerning its establishment. In fact, Mariti mentions that: ‘the building stands on the west shore of the salt lake; within, it is a tomb, which was for some time considered to contain the remains of Mohammad’s mother. The dervishes now teach that the tomb is that of his aunt; but, they know not her name or lineage, and both ascriptions are equally false. The Moslems call her Umm haram, bint Milhan, “Revered mother, daughter of Milhan”, but this is a title rather than a name. Many suppose that she came to Cyprus when the Saracens conquered the island and died here, but they bring no proof or evidence of their belief. What I known of the origin of the shrine, I will here set down. In the early years of the eighteenth century, a dervish of a speculative turn discovered and dug out a common-place Moslem tomb, and
thought it might be a profitable business to inspire the shepherds, who fed their flocks thereabouts with veneration for the place. Old Cypriot Christians assert that it was he who, in furtherance of this project, circulated the story of miracles performed at the tomb. Mohammedans however hold that the tomb was underground, and being exposed by rains was found by some shepherds, to whom, on entering it, there appeared a lady of beautiful and majestic aspect, clothed in white and shining garments. They were astounded, but their fears were soon stilled by the lady who blessed them and their flocks, and revealed to them that she was the aunt of Mohammad, and that her body lay in the tomb, which they had found. The vision, which they believed sent by their prophet, who wished to point out for their veneration his aunt’s sepulcher, filled them with comfort.
and happiness, and thenceforth their flocks were ever more and more fruitful. The dervish no doubt had accomplices, who spread through the island the news of the discovery. Crowds rushed to the place: the sick were healed, the lame walked, and left for their homes in perfect health. Such virtue, it was said, lay in the mere touch of the stones. Offerings rolled in, and the dervish had the wherewithal to adorn the shrine he had created. His efforts, and the influence of certain devotees, procured him leave from the government to build over the tomb a suitable dome, under which a few persons could assemble, as is customary throughout the East, at the tomb of any notable saint. Time passed, and the shrine, though frequented and honoured by devotees in the island, was little known beyond it. When the plague of 1760 had ceased, the Muhassil, Mehmed Agha made a kind of wooden barrier to enclose and guard the tomb. But, in Islam men are not allowed to congregate with women, so an Imam was appointed to direct the devotions of men, while his wife attended the women. Ajem Ali Agha, the successor of Mehmed Agha, removed the wooden barrier in 1761, and enclosed the shrine with a wall, closed by two gates of bronze, adorned with foliage worked in low relief, one at each and of the tomb. By these women can enter to pay their devotions at the shrine, and at such times men may not penetrate beyond the outer wall. Representations were made to the Sultan of the origin, the miracles and the sanctity of the tomb, and permission was readily granted to build a Mosque and to do all that was possible to increase the dignity and sanctity of the spot. The work was completed with such grandeur and solidity as was possible in a place where the arts were so little studied, and was crowned with three domes, the largest in the middle covered the tomb...

At this place, during the 18th and 19th century, a complex was built, which includes apart from the mausoleum, a mosque with a minaret and accommodation for the pilgrims – men and women. The present mosque was completed in 1816 by the Ottoman governor of the island, Seyyid Mehmet Emin Efendi.
The utter indifference of the Ottoman authorities to Larnaca’s development and progress was also clearly evident all over the island. It was remarkable that when the English became the new governors of the island in 1878, the sole public work that had been accomplished by the Ottomans was the only road existing on the island, which connected Lefkosia with Larnaca. Behind this public work, though, the truth was hidden. In fact, the Cypriots experienced hardship when the Ottomans forced them to pay a special tax to build this road. The tax collections between 1865–1877 reached the enormous amount of 2,300,000 grossia.

The most remarkable public work, which was completed in Larnaca during the 18th century, and which is the only impressive public work on the whole island, was the water supply system, which was built on the individual initiative of Bekir pasa. This Ottoman performed administrative duties in Larnaca and later on became the governor of the island. The total expenses of 50,000 grossia were fully covered by Bekir. The work is described by the English traveler Alexander Drummond, who visited the island in 1750. He writes about the water system: ‘for the honor of Bekir Pasha, I must communicate an instance of the old gentleman’s public spirit. While he was Pasha of this island, in the year 1747, he formed the noble design of bringing water from the river at Arpera, and occasional springs on the road about six miles from hence, to supply the people of Larnaca, Salines and the shipping. A work worthy of a great and good man, which might have cost him above fifty thousand piastres, or six thousand two hundred pounds. Accordingly, he set down sumpts, or pits, and carried drifts from one to another to lead the water through the high grounds, and conveyed it in aqueducts over the hollows: the first of which from Arpera is an arcade of fifty arches; two of these are small, the others nine feet wide, the highest twelve feet in height, while the others diminish as the ground rises: the pillars, or piers of the arches, are eight feet broad and three feet thick; and here he has planed fine silk-gardens, with a vineyard, and built a mill, in which grain is ground by the fall of water. The second arcade has twelve arches, each being twelve feet wide, the pillars being five feet thick, and the highest about eighteen feet in height. The third arcade, which is near Larnaca, consists of thirty-one arches, four feet and a half wide, the height of the highest being about sixteen feet, each pillar is four feet thick and twelve feet broad…’
6. Religion

The conquest of Cyprus by the Ottoman resulted in the first subjugation of the island to an Islamic state. The indigenous population of the island prior to the conquest consisted mainly of Christians, but also Armenians, Maronites, Copts, and Catholics who were represented by the European conquerors.

Since the period of Frankish rule, the Orthodox church of the island had been in a difficult and inferior position, because of the Franks’ efforts to subjugate the indigenous population. With the establishment of the Catholic Church by these European conquerors of the island, they started trying to impose submission on the Orthodox Church. Despite the measures and restrictions put into effect, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus survived and retained its Christian dogma unalloyed.

From the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus, a new religious element was to be imposed on the island, that of Mohammedanism. At this point, it would be useful to remember that this new religious element would also become the authority on the island, since it was the religion of the conquerors. Additionally, the administration and justice systems set up by the conquerors would be based on the conceptions established by the Koran, and thus this new religious element would influence the religious situation on the island.

In order to comprehend the religious situation on the island as it evolved, we should be aware of the religious ideology of the conquerors. It is significant to note that according to the Koran, people are separated into two categories on the basis of their religion: the Muslim and the Unfaithful. According to their Holy Islamic book, an exception can only be made for the Jews and Christians, who were considered people of the Bible. Only they, as far as the Unfaithful were concerned, were allowed to remain subjects of the Ottoman state and for them the Sultan assumed the responsibility of protecting them, and providing them with the right to retain their faith. In exchange for the Sultan’s
generosity, the subjects in this category were obliged to pay taxes. However, respect and freedom to retain their faith was not the strategy the Ottomans followed for all Christian groups. For political reasons, as is shown below, the Ottomans preferred not to follow this strategy of religious respect to the Catholic inhabitants of Cyprus.

As for the religious groups that inhabited the island after the Ottoman conquest, Ioannes Cotovicus mentions that 'besides Turks, Moors and a few Jews the majority of the inhabitants are Greeks, who use the Greek language and written character, their dialect differing somewhat from that of Crete: they are Christians of the Greek rite. There are also Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites and Copts, fugitives from Palestine, who were driven from the realm of Saladin after the capture of Jerusalem, and settled here, each sect still observing its own rites'\(^82\).
6.1. The Catholic Church

The main aim of the Ottomans was the maintenance of the Orthodox Church on the island. The Catholic Church suffered persecution, as did all those who adopted the Catholic dogma. Because of this, the European residents of the island were forced to leave Cyprus and their properties as well. Those who stayed were obliged to convert to Islamism. Callepio’s evidence illustrates this point. He reports that Cypriots in Famagousta ‘were allowed to live as Christians, provided only that there should be none of the Latin Church. To these, the Turk would grant neither church house nor any privilege. The Latins in Famagousta were thus compelled to dissemble their faith and rites’\(^83\). Almost all the Catholic churches were converted into mosques and the Catholics were forced either to leave, or, if they wanted to stay on the island, to change their religion. This is also testified to by Girolamo Dandini, who, referring to the “families of old nobility”, declares that “these are either extinct, or left the island on its conquest by the Turks”\(^84\).

The political pattern of expulsion of the Catholic Church followed by the Ottomans contrasts with the political strategy of the Ottoman state towards Christians in general. This exception can be justified only in terms of the political and historical facts of that specific era. The Catholic Church was related to the Catholic West, which in this specific historical period was an enemy of the Ottoman state. After the surrender of Cyprus and because of the Ottoman fear of attempts by the European powers to recapture the island, the conquerors decided to banish the Catholic Church. In this way, all the Catholic subjects whose actions could create a disturbance to the new conquerors would abandon the island. The Catholic clergy was seen as an agent of the Catholic states, and thus all the survivors, or those who were not sold as slaves, were forced to leave the island.

In 1573, conditions changed and the prohibitive measures against the Catholic Church were relaxed. According to an agreement between
the Venetians and Turks, Catholic merchants were permitted to take up residence in Cyprus and in doing so, to reorganize new Catholic communities. However, a Catholic Archbishop would never be appointed, and the churches would be run by missionary groups.

Foreign visitors’ testimonies as to the existence of Catholic churches and monasteries are proof of the change of Ottoman policy towards Catholic Europeans.

In 1596, after a visit by Girolamo Dandini, he reports the existence of a Franciscan monastery in Larnaca to accommodate the religious needs of Italian merchants. Concerning the Catholic Church in Lefkosia, the same visitor reports that “the Latins have at Lefkosia only a small church, or rather a chapel, which is well kept up. It is served by a priest, an aged and honest man, but ignorant and illiterate. The Italian merchants who live there give him his food and clothes, and provide the ornaments of the church.” This testimony is of great significance and verifies the change in Ottoman policy, which now gave the right to Europeans to freely practice their religion.

Francesco Piacenza Napolitano, after visiting the island around the mid 17th century, reports the existence of two Catholic churches. Specifically, he reports that at St Jacobs Church Capuchin Fathers of the French mission preached the sermon and, at Timios Stavros Church, Joccoladi fathers of the Italian mission preached the sermon.

During the second half of the 18th century (1760), Giovanni Mariti reports that “the Latins have two convents in Lefkosia, one of the Spanish branches of the fathers of Terra Santa, the other of French Capuchins, who know the language of the country and minister to the Maronite Christians. There are no European Catholics in the city; by Europeans meaning always subjects of the Christian princes of Europe, called also Franks.” The same visitor referring to the position of the Catholics in Larnaca describes a strengthened religious group, which depended upon the numerous groups of European consuls. In particular, the Catholics living in Larnaca could satisfy their religious needs at the Church of St Maria but also at a monastery where many French and Italian priests dwelled: “The Fathers of Terra Santa have a church called St Maria di Larnaca… St Maria is the parish church of the whole European colony in Larnaca, and here they are bound to fulfill the well defined duties of Catholic Christians. In the convent are two large dormitories, and a refectory… their dispensary, fully furnished with drugs, is worthy of remark, as well as their excellent library, their orchards and gardens. The convent serves as a resthouse for pilgrims on their way to and from the Holy Places…” The same author records another church where monks are detached and which satisfies the reli-
6.2. The Orthodox Church

With regard to the Orthodox Church, the Ottoman period would entail yet another ordeal at the hands of a different foreign conqueror. The Orthodox Church served as a strong bond which kept the Greeks of the island, called “rayahs” (subject people), united and also helped to preserve their national characteristics. Its role in the preservation of both Hellenism and the Orthodox religion on the island was indeed crucial.

The conqueror’s stance towards the Orthodox Church was a very significant factor in the subsequent acquisition of power by the church. Its restoration following the Ottoman conquest bestowed on it great authority, in contrast to the Catholic Church whose members were persecuted. Equally important was the recognition of the Archbishop of Cyprus as the representative of the people of Cyprus, who had the right to freely practice their religion albeit with a few restrictions. An important element in the continuing cohesion of the Orthodox Church was the bestowal of privileges, as analyzed below, which strengthened its multifaceted role on religious, political, social, and economical levels.

After the island’s conquest, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus was leaderless and disorganized. Therefore, the Cypriots requested that the Patriarch of Constantinople be permitted to ordain Orthodox clergymen. Vizier Sokolowitz appointed a Serbian monk as Archbishop (many sources also refer to a Syrian monk), who actually bought this
office even though he only retained it for a few months.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople dealt with the ecclesiastical issues of Cyprus in an Assembly in which representatives of all the patriarchates took part. This Assembly decided on the reunification of Cyprus with the other patriarchates and the rapprochement between them. Nevertheless, the Church of Cyprus retained its Autocephaly. A significant decision made by Assembly was the election of the first official Archbishop of Cyprus, Timotheos Kykkotis, who was a monk in the Kykkos monastery and had served as the coadjutor of the Constantinople Patriarchate since 1550.

Following the new Archbishop’s arrival on the island, the composition of the church of Cyprus began to take shape. It was decided to establish the Archbishop’s See in the capital, as well as create three Episcopal Sees, in Paphos, in Kiti, and in Kyrenea. More specifically, Metropolitan of Pafos had his seat at Ktema, the Metropolitan of Kiti in Larnaka and the Metropolitan of Kyrenea at Agios Pandeleimonas Monastery. It should be noted that there seemed to be great vagueness concerning the bishops’ territorial jurisdiction and the clerical districts did not correspond with the administrative districts.

At the top of the ecclesiastical pyramid was the Archbishop of Cyprus who presided over the Holy Synod, which convened whenever an ecclesiastical issue arose. The structure of the Church of Cyprus continued down through the bishoprics to the parish churches.

The role of the Church of Cyprus was multifaceted. Besides its religious duties, the Church also had social, political, jurisdictional, economical, cultural, and educational power. Furthermore, it was the political representative of the subjugated Christians and hence the Church of Cyprus was cast as an ethnarchy, since it exercised both ecclesiastical and secular authority.

An exceptional feature, which was of a secular nature, included in the duties assigned by the conquerors to the Church, is worth mentioning. The Church had the responsibility for distributing and collecting taxes from the inhabitants of the island on behalf of the Ottoman authorities. Girolamo Dandini, who visited Cyprus in 1596 as a delegate of Pope Clement VI, reports that “in the kingdom there is a Greek Bishop who enjoys the receipts of the tribute which the others are obliged to pay: he exacts each year from every one seventy aspres. The Janissary does not hesitate to give a good beating to those who do not pay and shows no more quarter to bishops than to others, according to the instructions of the Receiver. He exacts besides fifteen or twenty ducats from each priest on whom he confers orders.” The Church, in order to meet its responsibilities, developed a bureaucratic mechanism in which notaries,
archimandrites and so on were involved. The Archbishop himself was answerable to the Ottoman authorities on issues of tax payment on behalf of the subjects.

The Church of Cyprus gained great power through the privileges that were given to it by the Ottoman state. The decrees (berat), which were official documents for the appointment of hierarchs, included clauses that designated and guaranteed its administrative and jurisdictional powers. The hierarchs of the Church of Cyprus, the Archbishop and the Bishops, had jurisdictional power in matters of family and inheritance law. The clauses according to which the rights and the privileges of the hierarchs were protected are an illuminating example. For example, no one could take away any of the Church’s assets, nor interfere in its internal affairs.

The Church’s great power was further strengthened, when it assumed the role of the subject people’s (rayahs) representative to the Porte and to the regional government. This happened around the 17th century when the Sublime Porte itself acknowledged the Archbishop of Cyprus as the representative of the subject people (rayahs) with the right of appeal to the Sultan, if the population was oppressed or its rights violated. This right granted an advantage to the Church of Cyprus over the regional Ottoman administration. Archimandrite Kyprianos dated the recognition of the Orthodox Church to 1660, when Nikiforos was Archbishop. With regard to this subject, he records “it is however quite clear that the local bishops were recognized by the Porte, because they could not assume jurisdiction over their flocks and churches without an imperial berat-decree, as we saw above, and, as chiefs of the Christian community, they had some simple public duties…. The Archbishops of Cyprus often appeared boldly in person before the Grand Vazir, stating their complaints and asking for a diminution of the taxes paid by the rayah, and begging for help and support in other necessities…. ”

The right to lay a complaint to the Sultan given by the Sublime Porte to each Archbishop was used very favorably by Archbishop Philotheos
(1734-1759). His appeal for a decrease in taxes and an improvement in the subject people’s (rayahs) living conditions was granted by the Sublime Porte. Specifically, a) the amount of taxes paid by each was assessed at 21 ½ grosia per year, b) the number of tax payers was specified as 10,066 persons, independent of population fluctuation, c) monastery tax was assessed at 4000 grosia, d) the old privileges of the Church, which recognized the Bishops as kotzampasides, i.e., protectors and representatives of the subject people, who had the right of appeal to the High Gate, were ratified.

During this period, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus reached its peak of power and influence.

The practice of the Hierarchs having a direct audience with the Sultan for every official complaint did not always lead to the desired results for every mission to Constantinople. An example is the failed mission\textsuperscript{96} carried out in 1783 by Archbishop Chrysanthos (1766-1810) and other Hierarchs in order to denounce Ottoman governor Hadji Bakki Aga. In this case, the Sultan decided to issue a firman ordering the banishment of the Hierarchs!

In the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the Church of Cyprus lost its political authority and the collection of taxes was taken over by the Ottoman state itself. This happened as a consequence of the reformation that took place in 1839 in the Ottoman Empire with the Sultan’s decree Hatt-I Serif and in 1856 with Hatt-I Humayun. The Orthodox Church retained jurisdictional power only over religious and civil cases associated with Christians. The Archbishop continued participating in the various administrative committees as before.

**Monasteries**

The monasteries in Cyprus played a significant role in the island’s history and their great number proves just how well the Church was organized. Amongst the privileges bestowed on the Church of Cyprus, was the right to buy back the monasteries confiscated by the Ottomans upon the island’s conquest. Consequently, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus not only repossessed all the monasteries, but also bought monasteries formerly held by the Catholics. Vassiliios Gregowitz Barsky, a Russian monk who visited the island in 1727 and during 1734-1736, testifies that more than 70 monasteries were in operation and that Archimandrite Kyprianos mentioned the existence of many more\textsuperscript{97}.

Most of the monasteries were small, with few monks and without any noteworthy pro-
property. Not all monasteries could survive only from this property and therefore their land was let by the Church of Cyprus to private citizens. There were certainly big monasteries with a lot of monks which not only survived, but also acquired great wealth and power. These monasteries were the target of the conquerors. The biggest monastery was the Panagia tou Kykkou (Kykkos Monastery). The role of monasteries was significant due to their great contribution to the subjugated Cypriots. Equally significant was their contribution to the people's basic education. Richard Pococke, an English visitor who stayed on the island in 1738, mentions in connection with this that “they may be also looked on as places of education, where the youth who labour by day learn to read and chant their offices at night”.

Churches

The Ottomans as conquerors had jurisdiction over the churches and they decided which churches to return and at what cost. All Catholic cathedrals were turned into mosques to be used by the conquerors. The same happened to the Orthodox churches which were in the countryside where, since there were no Catholic churches, they were forced to use the Orthodox ones. Examples of this policy are recounted by many visitors to the island. In particular, Angelo Calepio reports that “the Greeks…hoped to keep all their Greek churches, but none was granted them except the Greek Cathedral, and when they offered handsome presents, they got as well the little church of S. Simeon”. Also, Seigneur de Villamont a visitor to the island in 1589 reports that the inhabitants of Larnaca bought Saint Lazarus church by paying 3,000 whites (aspra) to the Turks.

During the 18th century, specifically in 1738, English visitor Richard Pococke notes concerning the right of possessing churches that ‘the Greeks are everywhere in possession of their churches, but cannot repair any that are ruined without a license; they are built in the style of the
Cyprus During the Ottoman Domination

Syrian churches, but are generally covered with cupolas; they had formerly a custom here, as they have in many other parts, of hanging out flags at the west end of their churches on Sundays and holidays, and I saw some of the stones, which had holes in them for that purpose…’101.

6.3. Islam – EVKAF

One of the first Ottoman acts was the conversion of Christian churches into mosques to serve the religious needs of the Muslim conquerors. Thus, in the framework of the occupiers’ policy of banishing the Catholic Church, it seems that Catholic churches and monasteries were mostly chosen to be mosques102. Giovanni Mariti describes the Ottoman’s organization saying that ‘every mosque has its Imam, or Curate, who is bound to attend at the mosque at the hours of prayer. He is permitted to read the Qur’an and teach the people. The Muezzin are officials of lower rank, whose duty is to mount the minaret and call the people to prayer. They begin their call on the south side, then turn successively to the east, north and west. They shout as loudly as they can, stopping their ears with their fingers: the call is in Arabic, and invokes the names of God and Mohammad…’103.

An important aspect of the Muslim religion is the orders of the Turkish monks, the dervishes, the santons and the abdali. Mariti describes the dervishes as follows: ‘the Dervishes wear a coarse woolen garment of various colours, quite open at the breast, and over it an Abba, or cloak of fine white wool, which they bind in at the waist in different ways. On their heads, they have a large cap of white felt, of sugar loaf shape, with a strip of the same stuff twisted round it. They wear no shirt, but they are nevertheless neat and clean, and their manners very courteous. They are commonly given to unnatural vice, and their
feigned devoutness helps them to indulge their unhallowed tastes’. The same writer, describing the features typical of the Dervishes’ religious ideology mentions that ‘they recognize as their founder a certain Molla Khunkiar, under whose rule they are formed into sundry convents and mosques. They preach in these twice a week, and admit to their sermons men and women, a thing not sundry convents and mosques. One of them begins his discourse with a passage from the Qur’an, generally in condemnation of the very vices from which they themselves never abstain. The other Dervishes stand listening, separated from the people by a grating. When the sermon is over, some of them begin to sing a hymn, accompanied by the music of reed-flutes, and dry by a dance, which their chief begins and the others join in. They begin to turn very gently round the mosque, one after another, gradually increasing the pace until they circle round close together with such speed that the eye can scarcely follow them. The dance over they squat down on their heels, and wait very demurely until their chief begins the dance anew, when all follow him. This function lasts an hour and a half.

The existence of Evkaf on the island was significant; it was the religious institution handling the assets offered by the believers to Islam. Thus, the institution of Evkaf was responsible for the administration of assets and money which belonged to, or was donated for charity, religious, cultural, educational, or for other causes by the Muslims.

Another group of Ottoman monks were the santons. According to Mariti, they were very different from the dervishes in that they were dressed differently, they had different customs and worshipped in a different way. Specifically, ‘the santons who called Hezreti Mevlava their founder dress like Dervishes, but they are dirty, always untidy, often half naked, sometimes wholly so: their appearance is revolting, their manners very coarse and rude. Their religious exercises take place three hours after sunset, and consist in whirlings and contortions and howls, which become bestial bellowings, terrible to hear. One of them meanwhile clashes cymbals or beats a drum, shouting continually Allah(God):
at last, they fall faint from fatigue, and foam fearfully at the mouth: it is now that Moham-
madans believe that the Santons are conversing with God and Mohammad.Recovered from
their swoon, they feast and consort with youths and women after a most unseemly fashion.
These monks however enjoy no great credit with their fellow Mohammadans. Their convents
are chiefly in Anatolia…’105.

6.4. Maronite Church

Important information on the religious group of Maronites on the island can be drawn
from Girolamo Dandini, who was sent by Pope Clement VI to investigate the condition and
the problems of Maronites from Lebanon. Cyprus was a stopover in Dandini’s mission and the
record of his impressions is a significant source for the end of the 16th century (1596). Dan-
dini informs us that in Lefkosia the community of Maronites ‘have also their church, which
is in a poor condition, so ill supplied with linen cloths, candlesticks, altar chalices, chasubles,
and in fact everything, that I was really sorry for them…’ As far as the dwellings of this minor-
ity are concerned, Dandini informs us that Maronites ‘were scattered over nineteen villages
or farms called Metosci, Fludi, Santamarina, Asomatos, Gambili, Carpassia, Cormachiti, Tri-
mitia, Casapifani, Vono, Cibo, Jeri near Citria, Cruscida, Cefalauriso, sotto Cruscida, Attalu,
Cleipirio, Piscopia, Gastria: that in each of these places, they have at least one parish, and in
some two or three with one or more priests…’106.

A noteworthy characteristic of the religious group of Maronites is their distinctive depen-
dence upon the Catholic Church. According to Giovanni Mariti (1760) ‘the Maronites ob-
serve their own rites in the matter of feasts and fasts, but, having no churches of their own,
they officiate, and fulfill the duties of Catholic Christians, in the Latin churches. The number
of Latin Catholics is much smaller than that of the sects named above, for they are only the
Europeans settled in the island, among whom are the fathers of St Francis (Minori Observanti)
called Padri di Terra Santa…’107.

The same information is also given by the Spanish monk of the order of Franciscans, Joan
Lopez, who lived in Cyprus during 1770-1771. In his travel writings, he reports that during
this era ‘throughout the island one never meets a Greek Christian who is a Catholic, except
only the Maronites…’ This testimony proves that Catholics in Cyprus were represented only
by Maronites.
6.5. Armenian Church

The Armenian community started to decline after the Ottoman conquest of the island, and the people who remained on the island were mostly confined to Lefkosia. Giovanni Mariti\(^{108}\) says that Armenians were dissociated from the Catholic Church, and had their own bishop. This section of the population according to Mariti was the richest, while, according to Richard Pococke the Armenians were the poorest\(^{109}\). Francesco Piacenza Napolitano (during the 17\(^{th}\) century) reports that “Armenians also had their own church, which is very nice and which in the past used to be a Carthusian monastery”\(^{110}\).

Englishman John Macdonald Kinneir, who stayed on the island in 1814, reports that in Lefkosia 40 Armenian families lived\(^{111}\). The community of Armenians amounted to 175 persons during the last years of Turkish occupation, and this is confirmed by the British census of 1881.
7. Population

The demographic profile of Cyprus presents great variations due to historical events, but also due to the status quo at various times on the island. The ethnic diversification of the population and its constant restructuring are the two main characteristics of this era. The European element on the island during the Frankish occupation and Venetian rule disappeared, and a new one took its place, the Muslim community.

Evidence of demographic development during the Turkish occupation is given by foreign visitors who came to the island, and in the censuses carried out by the Ottoman conquerors from time to time for tax purposes.

During the last years of Venetian rule, Cyprus’ population is considered to have been around 197,000-200,000 inhabitants. At least so many sources testify, among which is a text by archbishop Kyprianos who says that in a population report for tax purposes “85,000 men between 14 and 50, Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Copts, and other nationalities, without the women, the children, and the elderly counting” registered; as he says, “before the conquest,
the population amounted up to 197,000\textsuperscript{112}.

After the island’s conquest the population decreased. Thousands of farmers and craftsmen were shipped to Cyprus from Anatolia on the Sultan’s command in order to fill the population gap. The transfer of settlers was not intended to demographically alter the indigenous population, but rather to supply industrial labor. This population was not necessarily Muslim as is claimed by many Turkish historians\textsuperscript{113}. On the contrary, information from various sources\textsuperscript{114} shows that it was basically subjugated Greeks living in Asia Minor. In Sultanic documents of 1573 and 1574, the actions of an architect, Mimar Sinan who asked for the exemption of his fellow-villagers from being transferred to Cyprus, are mentioned. In particular, in the second document it is mentioned that Sinan’s relatives had to be “exempted from the transfer of Greek rayahs from Caesarea to Cyprus…It is my command that right after the arrival of this, the aforesaid Christian relatives of the aforementioned [of Sinian] are to be exempted, even if they were included in the list of the unfaithful who are to be sent to Cyprus…”\textsuperscript{115}. This point proves that in this specific case, the group of people who was destined to suffer the hardship of being uprooted from their homes consisted of Greek subjects. Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the transferal of families to Cyprus, and if it ever actually happened, then very few permanently settled on the island.

Coronelli\textsuperscript{116}, at the end of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, estimates the population of the island to be 144,000 of whom 112,000 were Christians and 32,000 Muslims. A few decades later in 1738, Richard Pococke\textsuperscript{117}, an English visitor, reports that a third of the population of Cyprus are Christians and the other third are Muslims. However, the total population, estimated at 72,000 – 90,000, showed a noticeable decrease compared to some decades before.

The population decrease continued during the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. In 1777, according to Archimandrite Kyprianos\textsuperscript{118}, the population of Cyprus reached 84,000 (37,000 Christians and 47,000 Muslims) and from the
850 villages which originally existed, only 564 remained, since the rest of them had fallen into ruin and were deserted.

In a census, which was carried out in 1841 when the governor of Cyprus was Talaat Efendi, 108,600 were registered. Among them, 73,200 were Greeks, 33,300 were Turks, and 2,100 were Catholics, Maronites and Armenians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Katillikia</th>
<th>Tourkish</th>
<th>Greeks</th>
<th>Others (Katholics)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Larnaka</td>
<td>3.000</td>
<td>9.500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>13.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemesos</td>
<td>2.000</td>
<td>6.500</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilani Avdimou</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>5.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pafos-Kouklaia</td>
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<td>7.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrisohou</td>
<td>1.500</td>
<td>3.500</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lefka</td>
<td>2.400</td>
<td>4.600</td>
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<td>7.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morfou</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>4.500</td>
<td>100 (M)</td>
<td>5.600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapithos-Kerynia</td>
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<td>1.000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orini Tilliria</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>5.400</td>
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<td>6.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kithrea</td>
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<td>5.500</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesaoria</td>
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<td>8.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karpasia</td>
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<td>5.000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>8.200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lefkosia</td>
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<td>300</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>33.300</strong></td>
<td><strong>73.200</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.100</strong></td>
<td><strong>108.600</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Table from the book of Theodore Papadopoullos, Social and historical data on population, Lefkosia, p. 62.)
In his report, the Greek consul G. S. Menandrou (25/3/1862) gives some details about the population that inhabited the katillikia in 1862. 6,332 Greeks, 8,666 Turks, and 150 Westerners lived in Lefkosia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Katillikia</th>
<th>Greeks</th>
<th>Tourkish</th>
<th>Others (foreigners)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orini</td>
<td>16.518</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kithrea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mesaoria</td>
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<td>Karpasia</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Episkopi</td>
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<td>Kilani</td>
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<td>Avdimou</td>
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<td>Pafos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chrisohou</td>
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<td>1.125</td>
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<td>Lefka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morfou</td>
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<td>818</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>124.624</strong></td>
<td><strong>25.541</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Table from the Megali Kypriaki Enkyklopaideia [The Great Cypriot Encyclopaedia], Vol. 6, p. 347.)
The first official and scientific census of the Cyprus population was undertaken by the English, two years after the end of the Turkish occupation in 1881. The brief report of the island’s residents appears as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Greeks</th>
<th>M,A, others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karpasia</td>
<td>3.478</td>
<td>8.688</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12.186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesaoria</td>
<td>4.482</td>
<td>9.459</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammohostos</td>
<td>1.489</td>
<td>10.546</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerynia</td>
<td>2.672</td>
<td>9.843</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>13.216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morfou</td>
<td>1.545</td>
<td>9.754</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kithrea</td>
<td>7.904</td>
<td>15.660</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>24.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orini</td>
<td>1.057</td>
<td>9.302</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>10.446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lefka</td>
<td>2.156</td>
<td>8.349</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrisohou</td>
<td>3.725</td>
<td>5.791</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pafos</td>
<td>2.782</td>
<td>8.446</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelokedara</td>
<td>2.947</td>
<td>4.697</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilani</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>5.331</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5.784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemesos</td>
<td>2.367</td>
<td>5.960</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>8.635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episkopi</td>
<td>1.228</td>
<td>7.583</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avdimou</td>
<td>1.887</td>
<td>3.598</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaka</td>
<td>5.317</td>
<td>14.624</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>20.766</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table from the book of Theodore Papadopoullos, Social and historical data on population, Lefkosia, p. 43.)
8. The way of life - manners and customs of the religious groups

8.1. Christians

After the Ottoman conquest, the Christians became subjects of the Ottoman Empire (rayahs). According to Islam, they could retain their religion, but they had to recognize the Muslims as sovereigns and pay taxes. In a document, which Sultan Selim II sent to the Ottoman officials on 6 May 1572, he ordered the prohibition of ill-treatment of the subject inhabitants of the island: ‘Because the Island [of Cyprus] was conquered by My triumphant royal military forces and became a province of the State, and because the Rayahs (ragades) of the Island [of Cyprus] happen to be weak to a certain degree, tyranny and transgression must not be employed against them, but justice instead [..]So, if I hear that any tyranny and transgression was used against the subjects (ragiades), and that more taxes than required have been collected, and because of this, disunity and disturbance of the public peace were caused, it is possible that I will not accept your excuses. Therefore, you must neither be completely neglectful nor unconcerned’.

This document proves that the Sultan was aware of the efforts made by his officials to oppress and exploit the indigenous people of Cyprus, but their position as conquered and inferior to the Ottomans was not going to change.

According to the organization of the Ottoman State, which was dictated by the holy book, the Koran, there should be a clear distinction between the community of the Muslims and that of the “infidels”, the Christians. The reason for this distinction is the belief that the Christians are inferior to the Ottomans.

Ioannes Cotovicus presenting the position of the Christians notes that “now under the tyranny of the barbarians, all Christians are of the
same condition: there is no difference between noble and plebeian, all are slaves, and esteemed as the vilest of such: master and man, rich and poor, old and young, mistress and maid, all and everyone feel the same yoke”120. This is evidence of the social and financial condition of the indigenous Christians.

The same traveler notes that “Cyprus ... is now in great measure deserted and uncultivated. For the Turks have no care themselves for agriculture, and if they see any of the Greek natives occupying themselves in cultivating the soil, of amassing wealth, they either harass them with avanie (so the Italians call the fraudulent tricks of the Turks), or drain their resources by exactions, and flay them to the bone. So, much only remains to the wretched creatures from the fruits of the earth as allow them to sustain life, to provide bare necessaries, and sow their fields anew”121.

This situation changed and positions were reversed during the last decades of the Turkish Domination. According to Louis Salvator, who visited the island in 1873, the Turkish men and women were often servants of the Greeks122.

Through their customs and traditions, the Orthodox Christians devoutly preserved the distinctive character of their civilization. This is recorded in the descriptions of the travelers, who visited the island during the period of the Ottoman conquest.

The costumes of the Christians, according to Girolamo Dandini (1596-7), differentiated them from the Ottomans: “The Christians, whether Greeks or Franks, wear no turban, nor shave their heads, but keep their hair decently cut like us, and wear a hat or black cap. They wear, however, in Eastern fashion, a garment without a collar, falling to the knees or a little lower, with wide sleeves which reach to the elbow. They gird themselves with a sort of sash of linen or other material wound four or five times round. Under their garment, they wear a petticoat over a shirt with a collar, and stockings on their legs, and over all another garment without a belt cut very much like the first. They wear generally black or violet, or any other colour they may prefer”123.

The travellers describe the costumes of the inhabitants of the island, which are clearly national in detail. Cornelius van Bruyn, who visited the island in 1683, describes the costume of the Christian women as follows: “the head-dress of the women is just a handkerchief tied round the head, brown or grey striped with black, gold or silver, and sometimes embroidered. They dress in all manners of silk stuffs. Their chemise has a kind of fringe round the neck and on the sleeves, but this is only the stuff itself worked into a kind of lace... The peasants
have generally very short hair and very long beards, a fashion which I
thought remarkable, but not without its beauty. In the country, they
wear high hats with a broad brim, such as were worn in Holland forty
years ago.…”124.

According to Mariti (1760), the Cypriot national costume of the
Christian women “is more scanty than the other alla Turca; it consists
of a kind of tight vest, and a skirt of red cotton cloth, the outer garment,
which they call benisce is of cloth, velvet or other silk stuff. This is a
long mantle, which starts from the shoulders, and passing over the arms,
almost reaches the ground. It is not closed in front, but leaves the body
exposed down to the feet. The under garments are of silk, made in the
country, and like white veils. They have drawers reaching to the feet,
and their boots, called mesti, are a kind of low boots of yellow leather,
which reach to the instep, under which they wear slippers. They wear
no stays, but a little corset of dimity, which stops below the bosom, the
rest being covered only by that plain, fine chemise, and another small
piece of stuff which they wear for greater modesty. They adorn their
necks and arms with pearls, jewels and gold chains. Their head dress, of
which I have spoken above, consists of a collection of various handker-
chiefs of muslin, prettily shaped, so that they form a kind of casque of
a palm’s height, with a pendant behind to the end of which they attach
another handkerchief folded in a triangle, and allowed to hang on their
shoulders”125.

Christianity and the religious beliefs of the Orthodox Christians had
a direct bearing on their customs and traditions such as: the christening
of their children 40 days after they were born126. Concerning Greek
weddings, Louis Salvator127 notes, in his description of the marriage
service taking place, that “the Greeks cannot intermarry first, second
and third cousins”, while, as far as funerals are concerned, he refers to
the practice of the memorial service (mnemosyna), which is preserved
until today.
8.2. Ottomans

After the island’s conquest, a new religious minority group appeared, the Muslims. The core element in the creation of the Ottoman group was the first soldiers who remained on the island as a garrison after the conquest.

An unknown number of Ottomans, which did not exceed 4,000, remained on the island\textsuperscript{128}. According to A. Callepio\textsuperscript{129}, “in all Cyprus the garrison, consisted of only two thousand soldiers and eight hundred horses”.

It is a fact that a number of the officials took as feudal domains some of the best land, which belonged to the locals and some Europeans, who left the island when the Ottomans conquered it. After obtaining property and a new residence, these officials brought their families to stay on the island as well. The military troop of Janizari (yeniceri= new army) also remained on the island.

Various craftsmen also came and settled on the island after its occupation. In order to fill the population gap which had been created by the events during the island’s conquest, the Ottomans attempted to colonize the island by transferring residents from Asia Minor and Syria. Most of them were Greek Christians from Asia Minor as well as Arabs and Hebrews. Their attempts were of no avail and finally only a small number managed to reach the island.

The Muslim minority was reinforced by Islamized Franks and Greeks and this phenomenon continued throughout the duration of the Turkish occupation. Linovamvakoi were a particular group of Christians who were Islamized and gradually through the centuries were
embodied into and reinforced this minority.

Ioannes Cotovicus describes the Ottomans as negligent and responsible for the depopulation and the economic decline of the island. He mentions that ‘one may infer how great is the negligence, the sloth, of the Turks. Sunk in idle ease, hating toil and industry, they prefer to indulge their appetites and lusts rather than to protect their possessions or to extend them. If ever there was a race wholly abandoned to laziness and ease that is the Turkish!’

The Ottoman’s daily habits were guided by their religion and more specifically, by the rules of their Holy Book. Giovanni Mariti was a witness on the occasion of boys’ circumcision in Lefkosia, and describes this event, as well as a young Muslim’s life: ‘Circumcision among the Turks is performed after the completion of the boy’s seventh year: but at a child’s birth a little salt is put in its mouth, with some words from the Qur’an to the effect “precious to thee for the gift of life be the name of the true God, to Whom thou shalt give honour and glory”. For eight days before, they get up feasting and merry-makings, then, on the appointed day, the boy is clothed in gala dress, and led through the city on a horse with gay trappings. The green banner of Islam precedes him, and singis or dancers. Followed by various instruments and the crowd, he is conducted to a mosque, where prayer is said, and then to his home, where an expert performs the operation, while the patient repeats their confession of faith, lifting the thumb, and using the words “La ilalia illa Allah, wa Mohammad rasul Allah – there is no god but God, and Mohammad is His prophet. The function over, the guests make presents to the new Muslim, and the festival ends with a sumptuous dinner. Women make a simple confession of faith, as above”.

As for love and marriage, we have to stress that as in many other aspects, the Ottomans’ way of life was dictated by the rules of their religion. The woman’s place was at home, and unmarried women in particular were not allowed to talk to a man in public. As far as the relationship of a couple before being married is concerned, we learn that
‘it is quite clear that Turkish men cannot indulge in amorous converse with women, the latter being always well guarded in their houses, and not even when they are betrothed are the lovers allowed to meet, or to see each other before the wedding day. They contrive however to make a lively and even extravagant show of their passion. They often pass under the windows of the loved one, singing songs, and brandishing an unsheathed khanjar or knife. Then, they put the point to their arms or breast, drive it into the flesh, and as they draw it out enlarge the wound. If the lady does not notice these affectionate demonstrations, her love is satisfied with being able to show her later the scars...’132.

In a Muslim marriage women, were considered particularly inferior, while a man could have more than one wife. More specifically, a Muslim could have women, who, according to him, were divided into various groups: those who men could married by law (they can be up to four), those who men could hire and finally the slaves who they could buy.

Even when the marriage was legal, its procedure mainly resembled a written agreement certified in the absence of the future bride. Men ‘...cannot see until they do marry, may be four in number, whom they may have at one time, and in the same house. The Qazi, who acts on these occasions as notary, registers the contract of marriage. One of its chief and invariable conditions is the assignment to the bride of a dowry, although the portion she brings her husband be little or nothing. After this the bridegroom goes on horse back, accompanied by a festive crowd of relations and friends, to pray in the mosque, where the Imam confirms the contract with his blessing. When these acts, which are considered of Divine obligation, are completed, the bride is led to the bridegroom’s house, covered with a veil. On his return from the mosque, he removes this veil, in token that so he will remove the reproach of her sex, and then leaves her to amuse herself and feast with the other women, while he does the same with the men, and at last all retire to their own apartment...’133.

As for the women whom the Ottomans could marry by rental, their place was very inferior. On such occasions, not many formalizations were needed, merely a notorial deed in the presence of a judge. This contract clearly defined the time the man wanted to keep the woman, the amount of money he had to pay and the conditions laid down for this bizarre form of marriage. If any children were born during this kind of marriage, they were considered legal, so they had rights of succession134.

Men could buy and keep at home as many women slaves as they desired, on condition that they could provide for them. On these occasions, a notorial deed was not necessary, and the
possible children had no rights of succession\textsuperscript{135}.

Ottomans’ divorces also exhibited peculiarities compared to other religions. In case a man wished to divorce his wife after a legal marriage, then ‘he must pay the woman the dowry assigned to her in the marriage contract, and restore to her the property she brought to his house. If he has an adequate reason for separating from her, he is not obliged to give her anything; but in both cases the children remain in the husband’s charge. The woman cannot marry again until she has been divorced four months, to see if she is enceinte: if she is, she must wait the birth of the child, which remains with the father. If after the divorce, the parties wish to live together again, the woman must first marry another man, who does not care to keep her; they are then free to remarry. When a reconciliation of this sort is to be effected, the man tries to find a friend to play the part of the new husband, with whom he agrees for the restoration of the woman\textsuperscript{136}.

Although a man could easily get a divorce, a woman could not demand it, unless serious reasons justified it, such as lack of food or not being given any money for the bath house. The procedure for issuing a divorce in a woman’s case was also very strange, since she had to appear in front of the judge and ‘without further explanation she takes off a boot or slipper, and lays it before him up-side-down’\textsuperscript{137}. If the woman’s accusations prove right, then she is immediately given the divorce, and the husband is punished by having the soles of his feet beaten\textsuperscript{138}.

A century later, Louis Salvator described an Ottoman wedding in which the bride participated more in the ceremony – she took part in the imam’s prayer – and she was elaborately dressed when she went to bridegroom’s house. According to Salator\textsuperscript{139}, an Ottoman wedding always begins on Monday and ends on Thursday night. The ceremony is simple as an imam enters a dark room to say a prayer to the couple, while the bride’s and bridegroom’s heads are covered.

Apart from weddings between the Ottomans, there were also some between Ottoman men and Christian women, but not the reverse.
Richard Pococke\textsuperscript{140} also claims that Ottoman men, who got married to Christian women, had no aversion to Christianity and went on fasts with their wives!

As Mariti mentions, the religious duties of the Ottomans were observed with extreme care by all. According to Islamic custom, ‘the Turks are bound to pray five times a day, at the dawn, at midday, at three o’clock, at sunset, and lastly at midnight. On Friday, their day of rest, they say a sixth prayer some hours after sunrise. Busy people omit to pray at some hours, and observe one or two only. Before prayer, they wash very carefully their hands and feet and other parts of the body, and every place where they pray, be it in the open field, they hold to be sacred. When they begin to pray, they kneel on a carpet or mat, or their own garment, having first made certain genuflexions, and, with the face turned to the south, they begin their prayer with great composure. In a quarter of an hour or little more, it is over. They turn the face towards the south to look towards Mecca, the country of their prophet, for thence, they say, came their salvation\textsuperscript{141}.

The Ottomans’ entertainment was characterized by music and dancing. Luis Salvator\textsuperscript{142} describes Turkish music as primitive, though it was accompanied by songs in the Greek language. ‘In this kind of entertainment one can see ‘a ‘tambourlo’ and a ‘banjo’, a stringed instrument, being played, while some half-drunk men sing some Turkish melodies. This melody is mostly Turkish, but the lyrics are in Greek. Their heads are crowned with flowers from orange trees and fruits. During the breaks, they re-heat the ‘tambulek’ in order to maintain its tautness. The tumbulek is a type of a drum composed of a ceramic pot the top of which is covered by the skin of a goat. The player holds it in his left hand and hits it with his right-hand fingers’.

As regards dances, the Ottomans have a characteristic dance named tschenky, which is danced by men and women at great festivities like weddings or circumcisions\textsuperscript{143}.

As for Muslim funerals, the ceremony was very humble. A characteristic of this procedure was the placing of a stone and a coin in the hand of the dead, and the day after the funeral, according to Louis Salvator, ‘the relatives wear their celebrating clothes…’\textsuperscript{144}.

The garments of the Ottomans were different from those of other religious groups, and among the Ottomans were differences relative to their financial status and their residential areas\textsuperscript{145}. 
8.3. Catholics

After the island’s conquest, the Ottomans attempted to eradicate any European element. Many Venetians and Europeans were killed during the island’s conquest. Nevertheless, the Ottoman’s goal was to banish all European Christians from the island and replace them with Ottomans. Angelo Calepio, for instance, mentions that “the Latins in Famagusta were thus compelled to dissemble their faith and rites”\(^{146}\). Thus, all the Catholics who wanted to remain on the island were obliged to change their faith. Consequently, it is taken for granted that at least some of them adopted Islam, or became Orthodox Christians, in order to remain safely on the island.

On March 7, 1573, the signing of a treaty between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, offered the Venetians the right to settle as merchants on the island. This applied only to Venetian merchants and not the indigenous population. Hence, when German visitor Reinhold Lubenau visited the island, in 1583, he recorded commercial trade by Europeans in Ammochostos\(^{147}\) and Lefkosia\(^{148}\).

In the early 17th century, a small European community mostly consisting of Venetian merchants started forming.

A decade after the occupation of Famagusta, in 1583, a Venetian consul resided in the town. According to the German visitor Reinhold Lubenau\(^{149}\), the consul was very active commercially.

The existence of a French consul in Limassol was reported by the French visitor Signor de Villamont\(^{150}\) who visited Cyprus in 1589.

During the 17th century, Larnaca became the centre of European consulates and sub-consulates. Their role was complex and in many cases, they acted as a brake on the despotism of the occupiers. Among the consuls’ activities were commercial transactions, the inspection of ships and the reception of their eminent fellow countrymen. In 1625, Larnaca had a Venetian consul, as Pietro della Valle, a visitor to the island, reports. Additionally, consulates of Venice, France, England, Holland, and Russia existed there.
8.4. Linovamvaki

Islamization was a phenomenon which occurred in all the areas occupied by the Ottoman Empire. There were various methods of Islamization. Islamization in many cases involved acts of violence and in other cases Christians were forced into it, in order to save themselves from oppression. In these cases, entire families or villages were forced to renounce their Christian faith to avoid oppression and taxes.

The expression Linovamvaki refers to Greek Christians of Cyprus who, during the Ottoman conquest, were forced to become crypto-Christians. They presented themselves as Muslims whereas in reality they retained their secret Christian faith. The choice and use of this word, “Linovamvaki,” is of great significance. It is also used for a kind of cloth that is composed of two different materials, linen and cotton, exactly in the same way as these people had two different statuses: i.e., crypto-Christians and Muslims. As well as the compulsory Islamization of many Catholics, it also seems that many of them adopted Islam in order to save themselves from persecution and oppression. An additional reason was to avoid the payment of any taxes, since only Christians paid taxes.

A very graphic description of the conquerors’ violent behavior towards Greek Christians is found in a letter written by the first archbishop of Cyprus, Timotheos, which was sent to the King of Spain, Philip II (a copy of this letter can be found in a Spanish document of 1587). Specifically, it states that “Christians’ houses are being violated and acts of dishonesty of all kinds are being committed against their wives and daughters, while churches and monasteries have been vandalized twice, heavy taxes have been demanded whose collection is sought by means of constant persecution, threats, and torture, a fact that leads many to islamization”.

In 1596, 25 years after the conquest, Girolamo Dandini, who visited the island as a delegate of Pope Clement VI, reports that this particular group of Islamized Cypriot Christians was eager to change their faith back to Christianity, if their safety could be ensured. Specifically he writes, “…for of 30,000 or more inhabitants at Lefkosia there are scarcely 4,000 or 5,000 Turks, and there are not 12,000 or 13,000 of these in all the island, most of whom are renegades who have adopted Islam to enjoy greater quiet; so that it should not be hard to protect the island from the tyranny of the Turk, and to re-establish the Christian faith. For as soon as these renegades saw a Christian army, they would discard the turban and resume the hat, and turn their arms against the Turk”.
As for incidents of Islamization, which occurred due to Cypriots’ deeming it essential in order to avoid paying taxes, it seems that this became a common phenomenon and at some stage the Ottomans themselves started refusing to recognize the island’s inhabitants Islamization, in order to prevent a reduction in their tax receipts. The French visitor Noel Dominique Hurtrel, who stayed on the island in 1670, talks about this issue. When he describes the subjects condition he says, “they are very poor, and have scarcely bread to eat the whole year through. Very many of them, unable to bear any longer this cruel tyranny, wish to turn Turk; but many are rejected, because (say their lords) in receiving them into the Moslem faith, their tribute would be so much diminished”\textsuperscript{153}. The same reason for Christians’ Islamization was reported by Russian monk Vassilios Gregorovitch Barsky; he gives an account, “No one can avoid this tax payment, unless one renounces his/her faith and adopts Mohammedanism. I have shed my tears…when I remember how many poor people I have met who could not endure the taxes and the Turkish tyranny any longer, and hence have renounced their faith to God”\textsuperscript{154}.

During the 18th century William Turner, an English visitor who came to Cyprus in 1815, describes the inhabitants of the island thus: “Many professed Moslem are in secret Greeks, and observe all the numerous fasts of that church. All drink wine freely, and many of them eat pork without scruple in secret, a thing unheard of in Turkey”\textsuperscript{155}.

Islamized Christians who presented themselves as Muslims remained Christian in essence and were christened in secret, taking Christian names which resembled Muslim names such as Joseph-Yusuf, Abraham-Ibrahim, and so on. This group of people always suffered from a crisis of conscience, because they had renounced their religion and also because they had to behave as Muslims in public.

A remarkable fact is that many villages in Cyprus inhabited only by Muslims were named after Orthodox saints, as for example Ayios Epiphanios, Ayios Theodoros, and Ayios Ioannis. Why is it that Muslims chose or preserved such names for their villages? Maybe this is proof of
the fact that the inhabitants of these villages were Islamized Greeks.

Worthy of note are the facts that the Muslims of Cyprus, who were considered to be Islamized, retained the Greek language and that many unmixed Turkish or mixed villages had Greek names, and even the names of saints. Many Greek speaking Muslims did not have an adequate mastery of the Turkish language as was observed in the villages of Louroutzina, Phalinoporni, Ayios Andronicos, and Ayios Simeon. They also took part in the religious celebrations of the subject Greeks, and they joined them in social uprisings against the Ottoman conquerors.

During the 20th century and during the island’s English occupation, Linovamvaki were forced to join the Turkish population of Cyprus.
9. Economy

Cyprus fell into a condition of complete decay. The lack of any official concern for the island’s development, combined with continual catastrophes caused by droughts, floods or plagues of locusts; without any means of help, led the inhabitants of the island into a state of decline. The only thing the conquerors cared about was the financial exploitation of the island, mostly by collecting taxes. Giovanni Mariti mentions that ‘in all the Turkish dominions, there is probably no place where the dues paid by their subjects are heavier...’156 reinforcing the theory of the total exploitation of the inhabitants.

Another source of information about the economic plight of the islanders comes from Piacenza Napolitano, who informs us that ‘their situation becomes terrible as these miserable people of the island do not only suffer from the heavy taxation imposed by the Sultan, but also they suffer even more from the pasa and other officials of the island. The latter wrench from the miserable people what they earn in the fields leaving behind only the things necessary for a poor subsistence of their depressed life’157.

9.1. Taxation

Only the conquered subjects were obliged to pay taxes and only the men.

According to Islam, Orthodox Christians could maintain their religion only by recognizing Moslems as their dominant masters and paying taxes. In a letter158 sent to the Ottoman officials, Sultan Selim B’ ordered the forbiddance of the subject inhabitants’ maltreatment:

“Since the Island [Cyprus] was captured by my victorious army powers and became a province of the State, and because its slaved ones [the island’s] happen to be weak to a certain point, no tyranny or contravention should be exercised on them, but justice instead [...]”
Therefore, if I hear that any form of tyranny and contravention have been exercised on the thralls and taxes greater than the limit have been collected, and because of that discord and disarrangement of the public peace has occurred, it is possible that I would not be able to accept your excuses. Consequently you must be neither entirely negligent nor insouciant.”

This document denotes that the sultan was aware of the officers’ attempts to oppress and manipulate the Cypriots. The imposition of taxation and above all its method of collection was disastrous for the inhabitants of the island. The right to collect the taxes was accorded to Ottoman citizens who paid a specific amount of money for the privilege. Thus, the collection of taxes was converted into a profitable business for these citizens, who aimed not only to cover the amount they had spent themselves but to acquire a lot more.

In the matter of imposing and collecting taxes, the church, as well as the dragoman of Cyprus was involved. A great percentage of the tax raised was sent to Constantinople, while a smaller one was used for administrative expenses.

Alexander Drummond uses a characteristic simile to describe the conquerors’ method of collecting the taxes: ‘this method of raising money is called Mangiare I danari, that is, to eat, or rather to devour, the coin: indeed every Turkish officer, from the highest to the lowest degree, resembles a creature in Poland of the hog kind, called in the German language Vielfrass or the glutton (Gulo borealis), which gormandizes in a voracious manner, as long as it can find food, and then getting between two stones squeezes itself so as to disgorge what it had swallowed, that it may have the pleasure of eating it again: with this difference, however, that the squeezing of the Vielfrass is voluntary, whereas that of the Turkish governor is compulsory, and performed by the Grand Vazir, who in a moment transfers the burthen to his own maw’159.

9.2. Forms of taxation

The land belonged to the Ottoman conquerors and it was ceded to Cypriot farmers in the form of a long term lease, in exchange for 1/3 or 1/5 or 1/10 of the production. This taxation was known as ‘a tithe’ and it extended to almost all agricultural products. This was the basic taxation which gave the Ottoman state a significant income, since all local inhabitants worked exclusively as farmers. On the basis of this taxation, the 1/10th of each yield was given up. When the Ottoman state was ceding land to farmers to rent, many times up to 1/3rd of the production was paid.
Those who possessed land were obligated to pay a very high tax, which was called land tax (verghi).

‘Charatsi’ (haraj or spenja) was also a tax that the conquered Greeks had to pay and the amount depended on the social class they belonged to. In 1855, this tax was replaced by a tax on exemption from military service.

Information about taxes was also given by foreign travelers. The French traveler Noel Dominique Hurtrel, who visited the island in 1670, mentions, as far as the conquered Greeks are concerned, that ‘they paid, each of them, as their annual tribute eight piastres…Besides this payment, they are obliged still to give to their Governor… the fifth part of what income they have’.

Russian monk Vasilios Grigorovits Barsky, who visited the island in 1727, gives a number of facts regarding taxes, which he characterizes as numerous and endless. He gives important information about charatsi. More specifically he writes that “charatsi is a Turkish word. It is the main and most unavoidable tax that the Turkish Sultans ordered to be exacted from Christians and Jews, paid by every man, from childhood till death, or the last days of old age; women were not obligated to pay anything, no matter what their religion was… Charatsi is paid by every man, who takes a small piece of paper the length of a palm and the width of a half, with one signature and five stamps of which the first is the signature of the Sultan, while the rest belong to the most important officials, who sign in a different way, depending on the place. When the tax is to be paid, [the Turks] write a brief description of the particular man on a piece of paper: age, eyebrows, eyes, nose, moustache, beard, stature, if he is tall or short, if he has a beard or not, etc, so that it is not possible for another person to be served with the same paper… Every year, the receipt’s appearance, stamp and shape change; one year it is white, the next black, the third yellow, and then white again. It gradates according to the social position and the [financial] power. The rich person pays 15 talira, the retailer 10, the poor 5. For the penniless and
poor that stay in the street, ‘charatsi’ is 3 ‘talira’ 161.

Alexander Drummond describes three categories of personal taxation according to the number of residents who are to pay. What we know about these three categories is that ‘the first called ala or great, amounting to 11 piastres, raises 38,750 pounds. The second, vassat or middle, brings in 20,000 pounds and third, called edna or little, produces 18,750 pounds’162.

Other taxes were the salt tax, the merchandise tax, the tax on owning animals, the tax on some officers’ salaries, the rental of water resources and so on, the existence of special taxes to cover the governor’s expenses, and also taxes according to the social class of the conquered. In fact, ‘then there is the maishet, or expense of supporting the governor, for which every man pays 5 ½ piastres. And nuzul, according to their condition or station in life. This tax, by agreement, is generally at 7½ pounds a man. Those who are rich, of the first class, pay annually of taxes 24 pounds each; people of the second class pay 18 pounds and persons of the third rank are taxed at 19 pounds. Besides the other taxes, they are obliged to pay, for the furniture of the Serai, 3 pounds’163. Another kind of taxation was the one to cover the governor’s travel expenses in order to control the island. John Heyman informs us that ‘when the Musellim comes to Larnaca for taking a view of the state of the town, which is once a year, all his expenses, and that of his retinue, are defrayed by the Greeks, which amount to betwixt three or four hundred piasters; and whilst the English were building their vast house, which gave such umbrage, the Musellim came four times to Larnaca, without the least abatement to the Greeks, several of whom were reduced extremely low by this additional expense’164.

Apart from these taxes, other extraordinary taxes were imposed on the island’s residents at the same time by officials or the Sublime Porte.
Another example of governors who wanted to impose such taxes with impunity is given by Giovanni Mariti. According to this traveler, ‘when the Governor wishes to collect money out of season, or of his mere caprice, the mode of imposing duties and taxes is curious enough. He may even tax with a certain sum anyone who bears a name, which he may select; as, for instance, anyone called George has, without appeal, to pay a certain sum. Such an exaction falls on members of the Greek community only, who are treated more as slaves than subjects’\textsuperscript{165}.

There were also a number of extra tax surcharges, which were levied from time to time, so that any costs for sending soldiers to Cyprus for the suppression of uprisings or revolts could be covered.

Concurrently with the taxation, all adult male subjects were obliged to offer compulsory unpaid labor for four days.

All forms of tax should be seen as attempts at profiteering by the officials.

It was calculated that during the years 1873-77, the Ottoman conquerors collected 19,036,050 ‘grosia’. None of this money was invested on infrastructure.

On many occasions, the arbitrary collection of taxes led to uprisings. It is noteworthy that often the conquered Cypriots who could not take the heavy taxation any more decided to Islamize in order to avoid it. The Russian monk Vassilios Gregorovits Barski confirms the above mentioned by writing in his diary that ‘nobody could escape paying personal tax, unless he denied his religion in favor of Islam. I often shed tears whenever I remember all those poor people I met, who could not bear the burden of taxes and the Turkish depression, so they denied their faith to Jesus’\textsuperscript{166}.

In 1839, the Sultan, through the ‘chatti sherif’, promised to all locals security, life, honor and respect for property, as well as abandonment of the tax collection system.
9.3. Currency

The coinage of the Ottoman Empire was also imposed on Cyprus after its conquest. During this time, the basic currency was a small silver coin (akse) called ‘aspro’ (white). Seigneur de Villamont, who visited the island in 1589, mentions that ‘the gold sultan is worth about as much as the Venetian sequin and is of nearly the same size. It passes for 120 aspers, the aspre being a little coin of pure silver less in size than half a denier. Eight aspres make a seya, and fifteen seyas are worth a sequin. The crown, both of France and Spain, is worth twelve seyas, and the dollar (Spanish pieces-of-eigh) ten’.

In 1620, the silver ‘para’ came into circulation. It was equivalent to 3 aspra. In 1688, the kurus, which was divided into 40 para was introduced. In 1844, Sultan Abdul decided to circulate new coins, such as the Turkish lira and the metzika, and also a new series of bronze para.
10. Education

Education was not a major issue for the Ottoman conquerors, hence, they were not interested in organizing the Muslims’ education and even less interested in educating Christian rayahs.

Muslim Education

EVKAF, the Muslim religious institution played a significant role in the organization of Ottoman education. All schools founded during the 17th century and after owe their existence to the financial donations by EVKAF, which undertook the teachers’ salaries, the students’ expenses, and the schools’ organization. During the Turkish occupation, education was not satisfactory at all and only toward the end of that period a more systematic structure for the education of the young Muslims developed. The schools offering education were few and, in 1878, when the English assumed control of the island, there were only 41 Ottoman schools on the whole island.

Specifically, there were three categories of educational institutions according to the Ottoman system:

- 29 schools of primary education known as sibya. The curriculum in schools included the teaching of the scared book of Islam, the Koran, the Arabic alphabet, reading, writing and mathematics. This kind of school existed in towns and in big villages.

- 1 school of a higher level than the institution of primary education. This school was founded in 1862 in Lefkosia and there physics, algebra, and ethics were taught.

- 11 medreses, which were religious schools. Grammar, geometry, philosophy, logic etc., were taught there. Five schools of this kind were in Lefkosia, while the rest were in the other towns and in two big villages.
Greek Education

The attempts to educate Cypriots were made exclusively by the Church and private initiatives. Generally, however, it should be noted that the educational level was very low during this period, due to the fact that the inhabitants gave priority to their struggle for survival.

The Cypriot Church played an important role in educating the people and its most important efforts took place during the 18th and 19th centuries. The monasteries were the centres of elementary education for writing and reading. Moreover, schools founded during the Turkish occupation were in the grounds of churches or lessons took place in the churches themselves. The monks were usually the teachers.

In 1733, the School of Deacon Philotheos was founded in Larnaka. In 1741, the current Archbishop, Philotheos, founded the ‘The School of Greek Letters and Music’. This institution operated in Lefkosia with the funding of the Archdiocese and it is not known when it closed. The first headmaster of this school was Efrem the Athenian, who later became Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Russian monk Burski also taught Latin there.

Archbishop Christanthos (1768-1810) strongly encouraged the further development of education. He funded the publication of books and the editing of Archimandrite Kiprianos’ book ‘Chronological History of the Island of Cyprus’ is dedicated to him. He also provided space in the Archdiocese to be used as a school. In 1808, when the monk Ioannikios donated his house, the Hellenic Museum was created and Archbishop Chrisanthos put the institution under his protection.

During the 19th century, many schools began operating on Church initiative. In 1812, Archbishop Kipranos established an institution named ‘Hellenic School’ opposite the Archdiocese. This institution was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but after the events in 1921 the school closed. In 1819, another institution opened in Limassol with the same name.

After the events which took place at the beginning of the war of independence in Greece, Archbishop Panaretos (1827-1839) helped in the re-opening of the Greek School of Lefkosia, which became the Pankiprio Gymnasium in 1893. The Greek School of Lefkosia offered lessons at basic, but also advanced levels.

In 1830, the first tandem-learning school was founded and during the next decades more tandem-learning schools were founded in Lefkosia, Larnaca, and Limassol. It is important to mention that students in these schools used books, which came from the Greek printing-
houses of the communities abroad.

In 1859, Archbishop Makarios I (1854-1865) founded the first all-girls school of Cyprus in Lefkosia, and he encouraged the establishment of schools in villages. The all-girls school was housed in Faneromeni and the Greek, Erato Kariki, who took on the role of teaching according to the methods used in Greece, taught there.

During the last phase of the Ottoman conquest and the take over of the island by the English, the Archbishop of Cyprus, Sofronios III, took particular care to improve the educational level of the Cypriots on the island. Archbishop Sofronios III, a few years prior to the end of the Ottoman period, in one of his reports on the condition of education in Lefkosia said, “In Lefkosia, where 5,900 Christians abide, there is only one Greek school, one tandem-learning school, and one all-girls school. The existence of the Greek School dates from 1830. This School has always been great and strong. In fact, many of its students who have already graduated, go to the surrounding villages and teach at the schools there. The tandem-learning School was established in 1831 and 3 teachers instruct there. These institutes exist due to the regular and extra donations by holy monasteries, churches, and citizens. The children studying at these three schools amount to 445 and correspond to 7% of the population. These students have regular attendance. Most of them are paupers and are deprived not only of the necessary books, but also of bread…in Lefkosia there is a Club named ‘Progress’, which has the ethical advancement of this community as its target…”

It is worth mentioning that schools did not operate only in towns, but also in villages. Likewise, monasteries, as already mentioned, supported the attempts to educate the people. During the 18th and 19th centuries at the monasteries of Kykkos, Macheras, Chrisorayatissas, Trooditissas, and Ayios Chrisostomos schools operated.

The list of schools in 1860 is significant. According to L. Philipou’s research, only 22 schools operated then all over Cyprus and there were 29 teachers. Only 1,179 children attended these schools.
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(Table from the book of L. Philippoy, Greek Letters during the Turkish occupation, p. 175 – 176).
As far as the curriculum offered by the Christian and Muslim schools is concerned, the comparison made by reverend F.D. Newman in 1879 is worthy of note. Specifically, he reports. “According to the information we have, it seems that 8 out of 15 Muslim schools of the town of Lefkosia teach nothing else but the memorization of Koran, while only one school professes to teach something more, for example, reading and writing. Only one of these schools is somehow inspected. This exception is due to the fact that this school belongs to EVKAF and is both supported and supervised by it. In contrast, the 4 Christian schools seem to provide a rather liberal education, since they all include in their curriculum lessons of arithmetic, geography, and ancient Greek language. They are mainly maintained by the Church which provides £400 annually through voluntary donations and school rights, altogether 700 Turkish pounds. The schools are supervised by the Archbishop and have 622 students of both sexes…”171.
11. Justice

The period after the Ottoman conquest was characterized by strict measures against the subject Cypriots. The change of ruler brought modifications to all aspects of the inhabitants’ lives including the justice system.

The main characteristic of this period was the radical repeal of the previous justice system and its replacement by institutions that existed throughout the Ottoman Empire. More specifically the Frankish law of Assizes was abolished and replaced by Muslim Holy Law.

During this time, justice and laws originated from the Koran, the Muslims’ Holy Book, as well as from the Sultan’s regulations. Muslim Holy law can be characterized as extremely strict and its theocratic substance is clear, since, according to its penal code, the penalty is first of all
the atonement of the lawbreaker before God.

Muslim Law was enforced by a kadi or mullah together with the imam or mufti who was a judicial and religious worker at the same time. Criminal law cases were judged by the Ottoman courts.

In Cyprus, the chief judge was the kadi of Lefkosia who judged cases in the ‘katillikion’ of the district of Lefkosia, as well as second degree cases from all over Cyprus.

Every province had its own kadi and, as judges, they had the power to dispense justice and enforce various punishments after brief procedures. In all cases, the kadi cooperated with the mufti who was the interpreter of religious Law.

The Cyprus Orthodox church was also able to exercise the legal power. Its Bishops had the right to judge local Christians’ cases, concerning family and civil law. The judgment of these cases was made on the basis of family and Byzantine Law. Muslim law had no authority or relevance in these matters.

The aforementioned system of justice refers only to the first centuries of Turkish Domination, since things changed after 1839, when important reformations in the Ottoman state took place. At that time, Sultan Abdul Mezit issued ‘Charta’ known as Gulhane Hatti Sherif or Tanzimat Fermani. The Sultan also issued another important Charta in 1856, Hatti Humanyum in which there were positive reforms as far as the Christian subjects were concerned. These developments in the Ottoman state had an impact on the organization and dispensation of justice in Cyprus, but not to the same extent as in the rest of the empire.

On the basis of these reformations, the judicatory system was modified. New courts were created with secular judges who had the responsibility for trying Muslim cases, thus the jurisdiction of the mufti was reduced. It is noteworthy that Greek judges could be included in the composition of the court, in cases where the complainant or the defendant was Greek.
Courts during the Ottoman Period

A court of the first instance, the Mejlis- Daavi, operated in every province. Its president was the Turkish Kadi of the province, while two Turkish and two Greek judges participated. The cases were heard by a three-member committee and one of the Greek judges took part when the case was between a Greek and a Muslim. These courts judged civil cases in which they had the power to impose a penalty of up to 1,000 ‘grossia’, as well as penal cases that involved up to three months imprisonment.

The judicatory council, Mejlis - Tamyiz was based in Lefkosia. It consisted of three Turkish and three Greek judges, and had the mullah of Lefkosia as president. Trials usually took place before a five-member committee. This court judged appeals against the county courts’ decisions, as well as serious civil and penal cases.

The merchant court Mejlis-Tigaret operated in Larnaca. Its president was the Ottoman governor or another high official. Four Turkish and two Greek judges, as well as six European traders participated. The merchant court tried mercantile cases.

The attempt of the Ottomans to approach European standards in their legislation is important. The introduction of the Ottoman civil law Medjelle was part of this attempt.

Although the justice system seemed to be well organized, the corruption of government officials caused serious problems in the judicature. In cases in which litigants from different social classes were involved, the decision depended on the extent of influence over or bribery of the judge. The judges’ low remuneration was one of the reasons that led to this situation. Bad judicature also existed when one of the litigants was Christian. Christians’ testimony was not accepted; therefore, Greeks did not have many rights in their trials.

It is worth mentioning that Ottoman law was maintained in Cyprus even after the end of Ottoman occupation. It was abolished in 1935, almost fifty years after the beginning of English Domination.
12. Ottoman military force on the island

After the departure from Cyprus of the huge military force of conquest, the leader of the campaign Lala Mustafa ordered an Ottoman force to stay on the island. Historical sources do not agree with each other as far as the size of this force is concerned and a lot of different information is given. Some members of this force stayed on the island as settlers, since there was an Ottoman practice to grant land as compensation or reward for military service. Most probably, more than 3,000 Ottoman soldiers or executive officers constituted a powerful new social class.

After the Ottoman conquest the permanent garrison in Cyprus consisted of 1,000-1,500 janissaries as infantry with a janissaraga as leader. To maintain this force, some Cypriot villages were appointed to give their means to these soldiers. Most of these soldiers were allocated to the forts of Pafos, Limassol, Larnaca and Kerynia as well as to the walls of Lefkosia and Famagusta. The Janissaraga replaced the Beilbeleis during his absence. It is noteworthy that janissaries were originally Christians who were taken at a young age by the barbaric institution of ‘paidomazoma’.

Another important army unit was the spahies, a cavalry force consisting of 2,500 men. This force was divided among different towns. The spahies obtained land holdings with the obligation to provide a number of horsemen in case of war. The spahies’ commanders were three senior officers, ‘alai-beis’, who were also possessors of big fiefdoms and had many privileges. They had another 42 officers, ‘zaimies’ under them. Pieces of land were accorded to them in exchange for maintaining a specific number of mounted soldiers. Spahies and Zaimies were also the senior officers and tax collectors of their territory. By the 18th century, big ‘squires’, who collected taxes and were also money lenders took their place.
If uprisings or revolts occurred, the Sublime Porte sent troops from all the territories of the empire. It is notable that the Cypriots were obligated to pay for the troops’ expenses. In such cases, it must be taken into account the long period that these troops stayed on the island as well as the pillage they carried out in the areas where they stayed. By the end of Ottoman Period, the military force had been reduced to 400-500 Ottomans of Cypriot origin.

**Police force**

The police force was small in number. Policemen were called ‘zampies’, while their captain was called ‘soumpasis’. Their function was to maintain peace in addition to helping tax collectors to do their jobs.
13. Cypriots’ Liberation Movements

From the tyranny and exploitation of the Venetians, the Cypriots now came under the Ottoman yoke. Amongst the events that took place during the Turkish occupation, there were a number of Cypriot attempts to rebel against the Ottomans. From the time of the conquest until 1668, more than 30 uprisings took place.

The Cypriots knew that without the help of the European powers, their efforts would be fruitless, so they attempted to gain their cooperation in secret. Those that could help them were their former conquerors, the Venetians, and also the Houses of Savoy and France. They also attempted to gain Spain’s help. An interesting correspondence with the West European powers evolved and a number of delegations were sent. Unfortunately, all the efforts made by the Cypriots to convince the Europeans to liberate the island failed. The European powers were never really interested, and, worst of all, they took advantage of the Cypriots’ passion for liberation. They carried out negotiations with the people of the island giving them false hopes and encouraging them to start bloody uprisings for which they never provided help.

Many rebellions were also organized as reactions to the taxation or the oppressive measures taken by the conquerors from time to time.

These attempts to throw off the Ottomans yoke of slavery started from the first years of conquest, but intensified at the end of 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.

The first known rebellion occurred in Pafos a year after the Ottoman conquest. Sultan Selim B’ sent a letter to the beilerbeis of Cyprus mentioning that “A disloyal man named Propaulos and his adherents had secret contacts with Venice and are ready to revolt”172. The agitators of this specific uprising were imprisoned and, on the command of the Sultan, they were executed as an example to others.
Incidents during Turkish Domination

Beginning of 17th century: Victor Zembeto’s uprising. After this unsuccessful attempt, the conquerors’ reaction against the subjects was enormous. The Ottoman army was increased and the retaliation against the Christians was brutal. A letter\textsuperscript{173} sent by Archbishop Chistodoulos A’ to the Duke of Savoy describes the persecutions and the torture that the Cypriots endured.

In 1608, Cyprus’s dragoman Pietro Guneme secretly sent a letter to the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, asking for help in the island’s liberation.

At the beginning of the 17th century, hopes for liberation of Cyprus turned to the king of Spain Philip C’.

In 1606 an uprising was organized by the Spaniard Pedro Aventine. The leader of the rebellion was forced to escape to Spain in order to save his life, and there he attempted to gain the help of the Spanish King.

In February of 1609 in a meeting that took place in Lefkosia, it was decided that a delegate should be sent to the Spanish king. In the document\textsuperscript{174} that was sent they gave information concerning the strength of the Ottomans’ armed forces and suggested ways of liberating the island.
14. From Turkish Domination to English Domination

Because of its important position in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea on the shipping route to India and the Suez Canal, Cyprus attracted Great Britain’s interest in obtaining the island. This conquest was achieved diplomatically, without a fight, since the Ottomans surrendered the island to the British in exchange for important benefits. The agreement, which remained secret, was signed on 4 of July 1878 between Great Britain and Sultan Abdul Chamit B’. According to this Treaty, “England assumes the obligation to cooperate with his Imperial Majesty the Sultan for his defense using force of weapons. In exchange, his Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, undertakes a commitment to England to make all the necessary reforms in his government … and protect all the Christians and the other subjects of the Sublime Porte in this territory. And in order for England to be able to make the necessary preparations to fulfill her obligations, His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, also agrees to cede the island of Cyprus to England to be occupied and ruled by her”175. This Treaty was concluded on the 1st of July with an additional clause, which made provision for the following: Great Britain would relinquish to the Sublime Porte the financial difference between the income and the expenses of Cyprus. In addition, the deal would be canceled, if Russia returned territory to Turkey which had been previously seized in Armenia.
1 Excerpta Cypria, p. 125.
3 Excerpta Cypria, p. 131.
5 Ibid, p. 132.
6 Ibid, p. 85.
8 Excerpta Cypria, p. 140.
9 Ibid, p. 140.
11 Angelo Gatto, Diigisis tis Tromeras Poliorkeias kai Aloseos tis Ammohostou kata to Eto 1571, [Narration of the Terrible Siege and Fall of Famagusta during the Year 1571], Morfotiki Ypiresia Ypourageiou Paideias, [Education Department of the Ministry of Education], Lefkosia 1972, p. 37-38.
12 Excerpta Cypria, p. 144.
13 Angelo Gatto, p. 38.
15 Ibid, p. 57.
16 Ibid, p. 57.
17 Excerpta Cypria, p. 152-158.
18 Angelo Gatto, p. 94.
19 Ibid, p. 100-102.
23 Megali Kypriaki Enkyklopaideia [The Great Cypriot Encyclopaedia], Vol. 6, p. 348.
24 Coins that were used in the Ottoman Empire.
25 Mariti, p. 6.
26 Excerpta Cypria, p. 214.
The texts of the Russian monk Barsky are the result of his descriptions after his two trips in 1726 and 1727 and also from his two-year stay on the island 1734-1736. Andros Pavlides, Cyprus through the centuries, through the foreign travelers’ texts, Vol. B. Nicosia 1993, p. 776.

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95 Ibid. p. 453-454
96 Ibid. p. 453-454.
98 Excerpta Cypria, Nicosia 1969, p. 269.
101 Excerpta Cypria, p. 269.
102 Information on the churches altered see Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, Ammochostos (Famagusta).
103 Giovanni Mariti, Travels in the island of Cyprus, p. 27.
104 Evkaf (glebe, vakoufion) means oblation of all assets to Islam.
105 Mariti. p. 35.
106 Excerpta Cypria, p. 182.
107 Mariti, p. 3-4.
108 Ibid. p. 45.
109 Excerpta Cypria, p. 269.
116 Theodore Papadopoulos, Social and historical data on population, Nicosia 1965, p. 43.
117 Excerpta Cypria, p. 269.
120 Excerpta Cypria, p. 199.
121 Ibid, p. 192.
123 Excerpta Cypria, p. 183.
125 Mariti, p. 5.
162 Excerpta Cypria, p. 277.
163 Ibid, p. 278.
165 Mariti, p. 8.
167 Excerpta Cypria, p. 177.
174 Ioanni K. Chasioti, Spanish documents of Cyprus’s History (IST’ – IXZ’); Nicosia 1972, p. 73
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