



THE CONSULS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN CYPRUS UNDER THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION (1571-1878)

*Ali Efdal ÖZKUL**

ABSTRACT

Cyprus has a very important strategic geographic position in the Mediterranean and especially in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. Because of this position, Cyprus has attracted an important part of the Mediterranean trade in the course of history, and the states in charge of trade in the Mediterranean Sea, held Cyprus for their different aims. Therefore, nearly all the states that were trading in the lands of the Ottoman Empire had merchants on the island. The states which had embassies in Istanbul used to appoint the consuls, who were their representatives on the island, to deal with the foreign merchants and their problems on the island. These consuls were given power by the Ottoman state to enliven the trade. These consuls were given great deal of authority to liven up the trade. In the beginning, the Ottoman Empire only let these consuls stay in Tuzla district of Cyprus (Larnaca). However, towards the end of the 18th Century and the beginning of the 19th Century, the states that had consulates in Cyprus started having consulate representatives in Limassol, Famagusta, Paphos and even in Nicosia.

The most dominant countries, such as England, France and Holland had consuls and consuls' interpreters in Cyprus. In this study, data will be presented involving details on the identities and activities of the consuls and their interpreters as well as the dates they started and ended their posts.

Trade in the Mediterranean Sea involving Cyprus was deeply affecting the Cypriot community and the socio-economic structure in Cyprus. This study will focus on the influential port cities in the Mediterranean and discuss the dimension of trade in Cyprus. Trading conflicts' and contraband activities in the Mediterranean due to the rivalry among Western countries such as France, Holland and England is also discussed. In addition, different measures taken not to pay the Ottomans tariffs and the harm given to the Ottoman economy by the contraband activities are highlighted.

This study focuses on consulate activities in Cyprus during the Ottoman period including consuls, their interpreters, and the trade carried out by the traders and their trading products.

This study has been supported by the data gained from Cyprus Nicosia judicial record (*Şer-i Sicil*) registers and from the diary entries of

* Doç. Dr., Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi, Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Tarih Öğretmenliği Bölümü, El-mek:
aeozkul@gmail.com

the consuls, vice-consuls of the other countries and those of European travellers.

The findings of the study aims to demonstrate and reach conclusions on the importance of Cyprus in terms of trade in the Mediterranean Sea, the influence of such trade on Cypriot citizens, the positive effects and negative effects of the consuls and their interpreters on the socio-economic structure in Cyprus.

Key Words: Cyprus, Consul, vice-Consul, Dragomans, *Şer'i Sicil* (judicial records)

OSMANLI İDARESİNDE KIBRIS ADASINDA FAALİYET GÖSTEREN KONSOLSLAR VE FAALİYETLERİ (1571-1878)

ÖZET

Kıbrıs, Akdeniz'de ve özellikle Doğu Akdeniz'de stratejik ve coğrafi bakımdan çok önemli bir konuma sahip bulunmaktaydı. Söz konusu konumundan dolayı tarih boyunca Akdeniz ticaretinde önemli bir paya sahip olmuştur. Tarih boyunca Akdeniz'de ticaret yapan devletler Kıbrıs adasını da çeşitli amaçları için kullanmaktaydılar. Dolayısıyla Osmanlı ülkesinde ticaret yapan devletlerin hemen hemen hepsinin adada tüccarları bulunmaktaydı. Kıbrıs adasında bulunan yabancı tüccarların sorunlarıyla ilgilenmeleri için İstanbul'da elçileri bulunan devletler adaya vekilleri olan konsolosları atamaktaydılar. Söz konusu konsoloslara ticareti canlandırmak için Osmanlı Devleti tarafından geniş yetkiler verilmiştir. Başlangıçta Osmanlı Devleti konsolosların Kıbrıs adasında sadece Tuzla kazasında kalmalarına izin vermişti. Ancak 18. yüzyılın sonları ile 19. yüzyılda adada konsolosları olan devletlerin Limasol'da, Mağusa'da, Bafta ve hatta Lefkoşa'da konsolos vekilleri olmaya başlamıştı.

Kıbrıs adasının ticaretinde söz sahibi ülkelerin başında da İngiltere, Fransa ile Hollanda ve onun adadaki temsilcisi olan konsolosu ve konsolos tercümanı gelmekteydi. Osmanlı idaresinde adada görev yapan konsoloslar ve tercümanlarının kimlikleri, göreve başlangıç ve bitiş tarihleri ile faaliyetleri hakkında bilgiler verilmiştir.

Akdeniz'de yapılan Kıbrıs bağlantılı ticaret Kıbrıs halkını da etkilemekte ve adanın sosyo-ekonomik kültüründe derin izler bırakmaktaydı. Araştırmada Akdeniz ticaretinde etkili olan liman kentleri ile Kıbrıs adasının ticari boyutu karşılaştırılmıştır. İlgili çalışmada Akdeniz'de Batılı devletlerin özellikle İngiltere, Fransa ve Hollanda'nın aralarındaki ticari rekabetten ötürü meydana gelen çatışma ve korsanlık faaliyetlerine de değinilmiştir. Ayrıca Akdeniz'de yapılan kaçakçılık ve Osmanlı Devleti'ne gümrük vermemek için kullanılan çeşitli yöntemlerin de Osmanlı Devleti'nin ekonomisine yaptığı zararın da boyutları verilmiştir.

Söz konusu araştırma Osmanlı dönemindeki Kıbrıs adasında kurulan konsolosluklar ve faaliyetlerini kapsamaktadır. Araştırma sürecinde genel olarak Osmanlı idaresinde Kıbrıs adasındaki konsoloslar, konsolos vekilleri, konsolos tercümanları ile adada faaliyet

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gösteren *müstemen* tüccarının adada yaptıkları ticaret ve ticarî ürünler üzerinde durulmuştur.

Araştırma Kıbrıs Lefkoşa Şeriye Sicillerinden yola çıkılarak elde edilen verilerle desteklenmiştir. Ayrıca Kıbrıs adasında görev yapan konsolos veya konsolos vekilleri ile Avrupalı seyyahların ada ile ilgili tuttıkları günlüklerindeki bilgilerle de elde edilen veriler karşılaştırılmıştır.

Araştırma sonucunda öz olarak Kıbrıs adasının Akdeniz ticaretindeki önemi, adalıların bu ticarettten etkilendikleri noktalar ile yabancı devletlerin adadaki temsilcileri olan konsolosların, konsolos vekillerinin ve konsolos tercümanlarının adanın sosyo-kültürel yapısına yaptıkları olumlu-olumsuz katkılar ile ilgili sonuçlara ulaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs, Konsolos, Konsolos Tercümanı, Levant Company, Şer'i Sicil

Introduction

Cyprus has a very important strategic geographic position in the Mediterranean and especially in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. Because of this position, Cyprus has attracted an important part of the Mediterranean trade in the course of history, and the states in charge of trade in the Mediterranean Sea, held Cyprus for their different aims. Therefore, nearly all the states that were trading in the lands of the Ottoman Empire had merchants on the island. The states which had embassies in Istanbul used to appoint the consuls, who were their representatives on the island, to deal with the foreign merchants and their problems on the island. These consuls were given power by the Ottoman state to enliven the trade.¹

The trade conducted in the Mediterranean Sea, and which is related to Cyprus, affected the people of the island and left deep marks on the socio-economic culture. In this study, we will look at the European states which wanted to be superior in their Mediterranean trade, the activities they exhibited, their consuls, the consul representatives and the dragomans of the consuls. In addition to smuggling, we will discuss the different methods used to avoid paying the customs fees to the Ottoman state and the extent of the economic damage to the Ottoman state because of the conflict between European Countries.

A Consul is described as a person who firstly protects his country's commercial benefits, his citizens' and merchants' rights in a foreign country, trade city or harbour, who directs the trade ships, and who has administrative and commercial privileges recognized by the authorities of the country he inhabits. The word Consul derives from Latin.²

Once a country had established diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire and it had set up a permanent ambassador in Istanbul, it had the right to open consulates in the cities they felt was necessary. The lives and properties of the consuls were under the guarantee of the Ottoman

¹ For details on consuls and dragomans in the 18th century, see Ali Efdal Özkul, **Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi**, İstanbul 2005, p. 104-117; M. Akif Erdoğan, "Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Sonlarında Kıbrıs'ta Avrupalı Konsoloslar ve Tercümanları", **İkinci Uluslararası Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Kongresi Bildirileri (24-27 Kasım 1998)**, Gazimağusa 1999, II, 316-328; Kemal Çiçek, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yabancı Konsolosluk Tercümanları", **Tarih ve Toplum**, No. 146, İstanbul 1996.

² M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Konsolos", **İA**, VI, İstanbul 1979, p. 836.

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state³. When the Ottoman state was dominant in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea, it had different relationships and contacts with the consuls of the European States in main harbours and commercial centres and they started to make decisions and agreements about trade and maritime affairs.

The Venetian and French states had the right to trade freely in the Ottoman Empire until the last quarter of the 16th century. The other states could trade under the French flag according to the stipulations in the treaty of 1569. With its current meaning, the institution of the Consul and the rules were for the first time set up in the Ottoman Empire during the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent with France. According to Royal Command (*hüküm-i şerif*) given to France, the consul will report the citizens' complaints who were under his administration and control to the local authorities, whenever they suffer from harm, he will solve the problems among themselves, he'll carry out the decisions of their written wills, he will accept and hand over their remains, will provide their personal food and clothing.⁴

On the other hand, the ships belonging to the consulate won't be seized under any circumstances and as far as the consul had official authority, his rights and qualifications won't be limited and he won't be arrested or detained. In addition, the consuls were given the right to deal themselves with the subjects of their states, their merchants' legal problems and punishment according to their laws and traditions.⁵

The credentials given to France were followed by those given to other states. Similar promises (*ahidname*) were given to England in 1580, to Holland in 1612, to Austria in 1616, to Sweden in 1737, to Sicily-Naples (*Sicilyateyn*) in 1740, to Denmark in 1766, to Prussia in 1761 and to Spain in 1783.⁶

The terms of the agreement (*ahidname*) were valid in the reign of the ruling Sultan of Turkey in his period until the 18th century. Therefore, whenever the sovereign was changed the contract was renewed. The last contract made before the political reform of Abdülmejid in 1839 was that with the French in 1740.⁷ One copy of this contract is registered in the judicial records of Cyprus. Mostly new rights were added to those contracts according to the demands of the European states.

At the beginning, a consul of any one state helped the merchants and the people of another state as a representative whenever needed. Heretofore, the consuls of England, France and Holland were served by Christian subjects of the Ottoman state such as on the islands on the Aegean Sea, like Chios (*Sakız*) and Cyprus. Because this circumstance caused some problems, the Ottoman state demanded the consulates in Chios (*Sakız*), Cyprus and in other places that the French, English, and Dutch consulates should be served by people who belong to their own nations.⁸ This matter was made clear to the consuls when they were given their appointment warrant. In the warrants, it was written which country's citizen was the consul.⁹

³ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Ahidnâmeler ve Ticâret Muâhedeleri", **Osmanlı**, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara 1999, III, 331.

⁴ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, **Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri I (1580-1838)**, Ankara 1974, p. 8-9.

⁵ Gökbilgin, "Konsolos", *op.cit.*, p. 837.

⁶ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Ahidname", **DİA**, I, İstanbul 1988, p. 537-538.

⁷ Kütükoğlu, "Ahidnâmeler ve Ticâret Muâhedeleri", *op.cit.*, p. 330.

⁸ Gökbilgin, "Konsolos", *op.cit.*, p. 837.

⁹ **KŞS**, 14/88-1; **KŞS**, 14/88-2. (In Cyprus Sheri Register, first of all, a book number was given. Then a page number and a judgement number were determined respectively. The references to the registers were done in this way.)

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The Ottoman state gave vast rights to the consulates. Those who had a court case with a consulate would be heard at the imperial council of state (*Divân-ı Hümayun*). When one of his citizens died, the late man's property would be given to his heirs by the consul. In Ottoman areas, the consul dealing with trade, bail and other issues would apply to the *Kadi*, the Muslim judge, be allowed to register matters to the judicial record (*Şer'î Sicil*) and demand to get a title-deed. He would also be listened to about the slaves belonging to a foreigner. The consul would solve the problems of foreigners according to their laws. The consuls would use their dragomans when they had a dispute with the ottoman people who demanded a claim. Finally, the consuls would use any Janissary they demanded as a guard for the security of their residence.¹⁰

When the headquarters of the Janissary was closed in 1826, the guards (*yasakçı*) of the consuls were abolished too. For the security of the consuls, some other people were charged with an official duty instead of the guards (*yasakçı*) (29 June 1826).¹¹ However, on the document dated on the 10th August 1833, Süleyman (Suleiman), a guard (*yasakçı*) of a French consul was mentioned.¹²

Each consul had at least a translator (dragoman) and two janissary soldiers who took care of him when he stepped out of his door. The Janissaries who were charged with an official duty to protect the consuls accompanied them when they went out of the building.¹³ In addition, the consuls were given the rights to get a fee (*konsolosluk hakkı*) from the merchants under their care in favour of the consulate and the rights to be exempt from tax (exp. *haraç, kasabîyye ve örfî tekâlif*).¹⁴ The Ottoman state administrators wanted to prevent any kinds of forgeries of the privileges which were given to the foreign consuls, dragomans and their assistants in Cyprus and which some forgers wanted to use for their own benefit.¹⁵

The trade made in Cyprus wasn't only important for the foreign merchants who played a great role with the goods they imported or exported and the customs fees taken from the properties on the island but was also important for the whole empire. The trade and the industry also developed within the Ottoman state. The Ottoman administrators carried out reforms so, from the conquest of Cyprus and onwards, the powers given to the merchants of Latin origin mentioned above were taken away and their monopoly ended whereas the islanders now had those powers. Besides Famagusta, which was considered an important trade harbour during the Latin period, other areas such as Tuzla (Larnaca) and Limassol were also added to this list during the Ottoman period. The Ottomans could not use Famagusta actively so since the conquest, its commercial importance decreased gradually.¹⁶ Within the network of 19th century Levant trade, the Cyprus port-city of Tuzla (Larnaca) was just one node among many. It is only to be expected that its material and symbolic social landscape was magnified by Levantine circles and European consulates. Yet the place was in fact a brought rather than a city proper, which implies that Larnaca's urbanity had much to do with what was going on in the countryside.¹⁷

¹⁰ Gökbilgin, "Konsolos", *op.cit.*, p. 838.

¹¹ KŞS, 32/29-1.

¹² KŞS, 35/23-1.

¹³ Ahmet C. Gazioğlu, *Kıbrıs'ta Türkler (1570-1878)*, Lefkoşa 1994, p. 293.

¹⁴ Gökbilgin, "Konsolos", *op.cit.*, p.838.

¹⁵ KŞS, 19/29-1.

¹⁶ Ronald C. Jennings, "Maghosa", *EP*, çev. M. A. Erdoğan, "Mağosa", *Tarih Yazıları*, İstanbul 2006, p. 294.

¹⁷ Marc Aymes, "The Port-city in the fields: investigating an improper urbanity in mid-nineteenth-century Cyprus", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2, December 2009, p. 133.

After the 19th century, Famagusta harbour was the 3rd busy harbour of the island after Tuzla (Larnaca) and Limassol.¹⁸ The travellers who visited the island noticed that although Cyprus had a few harbours, they were better protected and gave more shelter than the Levantine shores.¹⁹ In some sources we see that besides Tuzla (Larnaca), Limassol and Famagusta harbours, Paphos was also mentioned. We even learn from different sources that many states that had consuls on the island; they had a consulate agent or a representative in the commercial harbours of Cyprus.²⁰

The Ottoman state permitted the consuls to stay only in Tuzla (Larnaca) so Tuzla was an important export point and a duty-free passage of goods in the Eastern route of the Mediterranean trade.²¹ Besides the harbour cities, Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus was also the administrative centre of the island; therefore, Nicosia also became a commercial centre. As long as Cyprus was close to the Silk and Spice trade terminals, it remained a commercial centre.²²

The consuls in Cyprus stayed in the Tuzla district (Larnaca). According to the protocol, the position of these consuls here came before the *Kadi*, the Muslim Judge, and the Lieutenant-Colonel (*kaymakam*) but after the Governor.²³ The Ottoman State aimed to ensure the security of the consuls and tried to make it easier by gathering them in Tuzla (Larnaca) and at the same time aimed to control the trade on the island.²⁴ Although the Ottoman State gathered the consuls and their representative in Tuzla in the 19th century documents, they couldn't prevent the consuls and their representatives from staying in places other than Tuzla, such as Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta or Paphos.²⁵

As it is understood from the documents, the states that opened consulates in Cyprus and they were effective on the Mediterranean Sea trade were as follows: France, England, Venice²⁶, Holland (*Flemenk/Nederlande*)²⁷ and Genoa²⁸. In the period between 1571-1878, we find the following France²⁹, England³⁰, Holland³¹, the Republic of Venice³², the Republic of Genoa³³, Austria Empire (*Nemçe/Roma/Macaristan-Hungary*)³⁴, Sweden (*İsveç/Norveç-Norway*)³⁵, the Kingdom of Sicily (*Sicilya/Analpa/Napoli-Naples*)³⁶, the Republic of Dubrovnik (*Ragusa*)³⁷,

¹⁸ Jennings, "Maghosha", *op.cit.*, p. 300.

¹⁹ Jennings, *ibid*, p. 296.

²⁰ Erica Ianiro, "Notes On Venetian Commerce on Cyprus in the 18th Century", **Ottoman Cyprus, a Collection of Studies on History and Culture**, Ed. by M. N. Michael, M. Kappler and E. Gavriel, Germany 2009, p. 183-4; Harry Luke, **Cyprus Under The Turks 1571-1878**, London 1989, p. 277; **KŞS**, 24/169-1; **KŞS**, 24/175-1.; Claude D. Cobham, **Excerpta Cyprica, Materials for a History of Cyprus. With an Appendix on Bibliography of Cyprus**, Cambridge 1908, p. 392.

²¹ Kemal Çiçek, "Kıbrıs", **DİA**, Ankara 2002, XXV, p. 377-8.; A. H. De Groot, "Kubrus" **Eİ²**, V, Leiden 1986²; translate by M. A. Erdoğan, "Kıbrıs", **Tarihin İçinden**, İstanbul 2006, p. 296-7.; Ianiro, "Notes On Venetian Commerce", *op.cit.*, p. 183.

²² Ronald C. Jennings, "Lefkoşa", **Eİ²**, çev. M. A. Erdoğan, "Lefkoşa", **Tarihin İçinden**, İstanbul 2006, p. 369.

²³ Gazioglu, **Kıbrıs'da Türkler**, *op.cit.*, p. 294.

²⁴ Eyüp Özveren, "Marsilya Ticâret Odası Belgelerinde On dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Öncesi Kıbrıs", **Journal of Cypriot Studies**, III/1, (Gazimağusa 1997), 15-6.

²⁵ **KŞS**, 24/169-1; **KŞS**, 24/175-1; **KŞS**, 51/176-1.

²⁶ Erdoğan, "Avrupalı Konsoloslar ve Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, II, 317

²⁷ **KŞS**, 3/128-1.

²⁸ **KŞS**, 5/74-2.

²⁹ **KŞS**, 15/116-1.

³⁰ **KŞS**, 16/162-1.

³¹ **KŞS**, 16/202-2.

³² **KŞS**, 16/63-2.

³³ **KŞS**, 5/74-2.

³⁴ **KŞS**, 16/160-1; **KŞS**, 16/160-2.

³⁵ **KŞS**, 16/207-1.

³⁶ **KŞS**, 17/4-1.

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Denmark³⁸, Russia³⁹, the Kingdom of Spain⁴⁰, Prussia⁴¹, Republic of *Cezair-i Seba* (Republic of Aegean Islands)⁴², Sardinia⁴³, Belgium⁴⁴, Greece⁴⁵, America (North America-USA)⁴⁶ and Italy^{47, 48}.

It is understood from the appointment documents of the consuls of some states that the Ottoman state afforded nearly all the consuls with the same rights. It is understood from the sources there were 19 consuls from different countries who were in service in Cyprus during the Ottoman administration. In the registrations of Cyprus, the oldest registration belonged to the consul of Holland (*Flemenk*), Yakomoto son of Mile (Jacob Mille) (17th November 1610).⁴⁹

The record about the oldest appointed consul in Cyprus registrations belonged to the consul of Genoa, called Salvandermarni. In this document, the ambassador of Genoa serving in Istanbul, Agosini Istebale, gave a petition to the imperial army and notified that the merchants depended on Cyprus and other harbours within Genoa jurisdiction should be helped and that Genovese Salvandermarni was appointed as a consul (22th April 1678).⁵⁰

In some periods, two states could use the same person as consul or a representative of a consul. The English consul of Cyprus called George Wakeman (*Corci Vikman*), served as a representative of consul (vice-consul) of Austria (*Roma/Nemçe*) at the same time.⁵¹ In a similar record, the English consul called Timothy Turner (*Timona Turner*) was also a representative of consul of Denmark (21st January 1765).⁵²

As it was mentioned before, the Ottoman state gave great rights to the consuls as representatives of the foreign states so the Ottoman administrators on the island had a lot of difficulties in keeping them under Ottoman authority and controlling them was next to impossible.⁵³ In some periods in Cyprus, some people appear to benefit from the advantages that were given to the consuls and their partners. The state warned the officials to prevent these kinds of

³⁷ KŞS, 16/212-1.

³⁸ KŞS, 18/91-1.

³⁹ KŞS, 18/125-3; As it is known, the cooperation of the Russian Empire with the Ottoman Empire started with the *Aynalikkavak Trade Agreement* on 24 September 1784.; KŞS, 21/29-1. It is understood from the documents of 27 July 1785 that Captain Ivan Ecali was the first consul of Russia in Cyprus.

⁴⁰ KŞS, 22/64-2.

⁴¹ KŞS, 22/124-1.

⁴² KŞS, 24/141-1.

⁴³ KŞS, 36/153-2.

⁴⁴ KŞS, 38/179-1.

⁴⁵ Hasan Samani, *Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs (1839-1878)*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Unpublished PhD thesis, Ankara 2006, p. 126; KŞS, 40/174-1. It is understood from the documents of 19 February 1846 that Dimitri Mergadini was the first representative consul of Greece in Cyprus.

⁴⁶ KŞS 35/33-2; KŞS, 45/98-1; It is understood from the documents of 1833 that Manali Mariyo was the first representative consul of USA in Tuzla (Larnaca) in Cyprus. On the other hand, Mösyo Yasefiri was the first representative consul of USA in Limassol in Cyprus, taken from Haydar Çoruh, *II. Mahmut Döneminde Kıbrıs'ın İdarî, İktisadî, İctimai Yapısı*, Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Unpublished PhD thesis, İstanbul 2008, p. 466.

⁴⁷ KŞS, 47/2-1. After the unification of Italy in 1870, Italy had a consul and vice-consul in Cyprus. As a result, the countries which became a part of Italy (Sardinia, Genoa, Venice, Sicily-Naples) had only one common consul.

⁴⁸ Similar data see, Durmuş Akalın-Cemil Çiçek, "XIX. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de İngiliz-Fransız Rekabeti ve Osmanlı Devleti", *Turkish Studies-International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Vol. 7/3, Summer 2012, Ankara 2012, p. 9.

⁴⁹ KŞS, 3/128-6.

⁵⁰ KŞS, 5/74-1.

⁵¹ KŞS, 16/160-1; KŞS, 16/160-2; KŞS, 16/189-1; KŞS, 16/190-1.

⁵² KŞS, 20/83-1; KŞS, 20/83-2

⁵³ KŞS, 14/121-1; Erdoğan, "Avrupalı Konsoloslar ve Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p.317; Samani, *Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs*, *op.cit.*, p. 125 p.p

attitudes. According to one of the documents in the sources, the consuls, their dragomans and the officials were free of all the taxes. Some opportunists tried to pretend that they had official duty in order to be free of taxes, therefore, after the real people with official duty were confirmed, the Ottoman authorities tried to collect the taxes from the pretenders as they did with the other citizens (4th October 1766).⁵⁴

The consuls in Cyprus were dependent on the embassies of their states in Istanbul. Whenever they had any problems, they informed their embassies in Istanbul and their embassies communicated it to the top authorities of their state. The appointments or dismissals of the consuls always agreed with the petition offered to the sovereign by the ambassador in Istanbul.⁵⁵

When the examples given below are studied, it is seen that the consuls on the island of Cyprus had the financial potential of the island in their hands. Although it was easy to borrow money from the consuls, it was very difficult to pay it back. It is understood that whenever the consuls had difficulty to collect the loans owed to them, they did not hesitate to inform and demand help from their ambassadors.

As it is understood from the documents, the European states which were active in the Mediterranean Sea also carried passengers besides cargo. The ships of the consulates had regular trips between Anatolia and Cyprus. The consuls had a lot of serious influence on these ships. In some periods, the Ottoman administrators tried to control these ships with the help of the ambassadors and consuls.⁵⁶ In one of the document dated 23rd December 1803, Albanians wanted to come to Egypt to help the Albanians who caused some problems in Cairo. The Ottoman administrators demanded and warned the Austrian (*Nemçe*), Russian, Dubrovnik, *Cezair-i Seba* consuls to prevent the Albanians from coming to Egypt anymore and not to let the Albanians get on their ships and go to Egypt.⁵⁷

French Consulate in Cyprus

In 1589, when the traveller villamount visited Cyprus, he said that there was a French consulate in the island.⁵⁸ One of the oldest consuls of the French in documents serving in Cyprus was Eblamak. In a document dated 13th October 1635, we see that the French consul Eblamak wanted the money owed to him of the value of 160 piasters from the European Pope Petro son of Luka from Degirmenlik.⁵⁹

During the 1660s there was a significant rise in French interest in Mediterranean trade, a result of personal interest of the newly appointed trade minister Colbert.⁶⁰ As a result we have the gradual formation of a community of the French merchants in Tuzla (Larnaca). The French consulate in Aleppo appointed a vice-consul to Cyprus. Balthazar Sauvan held the post until 1675, when he was promoted to consul with the upgrade of the mission to a consulate, a post he held until 1691.⁶¹

⁵⁴ KŞS, 19/29-1.

⁵⁵ Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi*, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

⁵⁶ KŞS, 18/11-1.

⁵⁷ KŞS, 24/44-1.

⁵⁸ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, *op.cit.*, p.173.

⁵⁹ KŞS, 4/120-1.

⁶⁰ Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, London 1964, p. 135.

⁶¹ Marios Hadjiansastasis, "Cyprus in the Ottoman Period: Consolidation of the Cypro-Ottoman Elite, 1650-1750", *Ottoman Cyprus A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, Ed. M.N. Michael, M.Kappler, E.Gavriel, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 69.

Before this date mentioned above, in another record, the French ambassador, Marquis de Nolte, sent a petition to the Ottoman state administrators saying that the French merchants and the consuls and dragomans who helped them were sometimes called to Nicosia and other places which sent them away from Tuzla harbour where they had settled before under the claim that they had debts to the public, and they complained that a great harm was done to their trade (9th October 1676).⁶² In 1709-1710 dates Francois Luce who was a consul of French in Cyprus.⁶³

The records in the registrations show the commercial activities and products of the consuls on the island. Nicosia, Tuzla and Famagusta *Kadi* (judges) and *resm-i boya-i sürh ve nüzul emini* Abdi, was sent a document with the demand of the French and English states ambassadors. In this record, there is the complaint that the raw silk (*harir-i ham*), cotton (*penbe*) and red paint (*boya-i sürh*), which the French merchants living on the island were going to take to France, weren't weighed. In this instance, *resm-i kantar* (the weighing machine) payment and the sale price of the mentioned materials were to be collected by the state treasury; two for raw akches (*sağ akçe*) for each strand (*kantar*) of silk and 15 akches (*akçe*) for each 1 *kantar* (weighbridge) for cotton and red paint (8 Haziran 1721).⁶⁴

The French ambassador in Istanbul, Markiz (Marquis) de Lenof also complains of a similar event on 18th September 1735.⁶⁵ Markiz was ordered not to mix raw materials with added rubbish among the silk which was grown in Nicosia, Paphos, Famagusta, Kyrenia and other districts in Cyprus. He added that Cypriots would provide five okes of (*vukiyye*) raw materials for every hundred okes (*vukiyye*) of silk (21 February 1727).⁶⁶

In another document, the French ambassador, Markiz (Marquis) de Lenof, complained that a man named Ahmed helped the French merchants for frauding the merchants. Because of the French ambassador's complaint, a broker (*simsar*) named Ahmed was punished.⁶⁷

Another subject that the representatives of foreign states in the Ottoman Empire were complaining about was the security of the trade routes. In a record regarding this subject, it was found that the French trade ships and French citizens would make the export and import of any goods which wasn't forbidden in Ottoman Empire and demanded that any possible attacks to the French ships especially from the pirates from the *Garp Ocakları* to be stopped (30 May 1740).⁶⁸ In another related record about the trade, it was found that if the French trade ships were attacked by the pirates, the French demanded that the attacks be stopped. Otherwise, depending on the places of the attacks, the harm would be met by the country whose borders covered the area that the attack took place (15 July 1741).⁶⁹

As it is learned from the sources, the European states, which were active in the Mediterranean Sea, also carried passengers besides cargo. The ships of the consulates had regular trips between Anatolia and Cyprus. According to a document dated 11th January 1758, two French ships had regular trips between Cyprus and Anatolia with the help of the French consul in Cyprus.

⁶² KŞS, 5/77-1.

⁶³ Anna Pouradier Duteil-Loizidou, *Consulat De France A Larnaca, Documents Inédits Pour Servir A L'Histoire De Chypre*, Tome VI (1709-1710), Nicosie 2009, p. 41.

⁶⁴ KŞS, 10/133-2.

⁶⁵ KŞS, 14/120-1.

⁶⁶ KŞS, 10/111-1.

⁶⁷ KŞS, 11/95-2.

⁶⁸ KŞS, 15/197-1.

⁶⁹ KŞS, 15/146-1; KŞS, 15/110-2; KŞS, 15/116-1. For a similar example see Şenay Özdemir, "Osmanlı Sularında Yabancı Devletlerin Korsanlığı Karşısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Tarafsızlık Konumu", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol. 23 No. 36, Ankara 2004, p. 194.

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Those ships organized alternate trips between Kyrenia and *Silifke* and *Akliman*. But the captain of a big ship, which was put in, the voyage by the French died. The French consul who stayed in Tuzla (Larnaca) notified that he would not put the ship in service until a captain was appointed and reassigned a ship from Kyrenia to Famagusta and another one from Kyrenia to Tuzla. The French consul's attitude caused the trips between Anatolia and Cyprus to be delayed; therefore an appeal was made to the French consul in Istanbul to start the trips again. This document shows us how influential the consuls were and that there were alternate trips between Kyrenia and the Anatolian shores.⁷⁰

According to recorded dates (25th October 1767) Kavukçu Haco son of Bagos (living in Nevbethane district who died) was one of the men among the people that the consul representative of France, Paskali, loaned him money.⁷¹

During the *Dizdar* Halil rebellion in Cyprus, the French ship covering the route between Kyrenia and Anatolia caused a problem. The French consul said that the ship connected with the problem could travel only to Kyrenia harbour. According to the Ottoman administrators, the French consul and the commander of the Castle (*dizdar*) of Kyrenia, Halil, were close friends so Halil was protected or wanted to be sent away by the French consul in Cyprus. Thereupon, in the document dated 8th June 1776 sent from Istanbul, it was demanded that the ship mentioned should travel to Famagusta and Tuzla harbours too after Kyrenia harbour and to stop the *Dizdar* Halil rebellion. Again it is understood from this record how much the consuls in Cyprus interfered with the internal affairs of the island.⁷²

The Consul of France on the island, called Asdiyer, embezzled his late wife's (Tomasne daughter of (bint-i) Pedro) inheritance of the value of 275,000 piasters and therefore the relatives of his wife accused him. Thereupon, Istanbul demanded this matter in question should be investigated by the foreign states consuls and their translators (dragomans) (23rd January 1776).⁷³

The ambassador of France Kont (Conte) de Şozl Gufiye (Sozlgufiye), notified that the flags on the ships of the state of France and on the buildings of consuls, which had a white background from now on, the ground would be divided vertically in three equal parts of white, blue and red (4 April 1791).⁷⁴ On the other hand, in the document dated 2nd June 1815, it was announced that the French ships coming to the Ottoman lands and the ambassadors and consuls belonging to France in the Ottoman country would not be permitted to use these three-coloured flag on account of spoiling the impartiality. It is demanded that the French would use the white flag as they used to in the Ottoman times.⁷⁵

In a document dated 8th June 1795 the ambassador of France on Ottoman lands, Vertinak, announced that the consul, Mösyo (Monsieur) Astir (Asdiyer), in Cyprus was dismissed and French called Seykar was appointed in his place.⁷⁶

The consuls active on the Ottoman lands could leave their representatives in their places when they left. This position could be true whenever a consul died unexpectedly. When a consul died in any district, a person from the same nationality could be appointed temporarily until a new consul was appointed. In the document dated 22th December 1795 when the French consul in

⁷⁰ KŞS, 18/11-1.

⁷¹ KŞS, 19/45-1.

⁷² KŞS, 19/6-1.

⁷³ KŞS, 20/110-1.

⁷⁴ KŞS, 21/185-2.

⁷⁵ KŞS, 29/6-11.

⁷⁶ KŞS, 21/312-1; KŞS, 21/312-2.

Cyprus, called Seykar, died, the French ambassador in Istanbul, Vertak, appointed Inosan Ray who was the head of the French merchants in Cyprus as a temporary consul.⁷⁷ On the other hand, on the 26th August 1797, the ambassador of France in Istanbul, called Oper de Paye, appointed a French person named Moor instead of Inosan Ray as a consul.⁷⁸

In a record dated 10th September 1798, France attacked Egypt⁷⁹ and it was ordered that the French consul, merchants and the French citizens staying in the Ottoman lands would be imprisoned and their properties would be given to the Muslims in Egypt so the best of these goods and properties would be sent to Istanbul.⁸⁰ In a record dated 26th March 1799 according to the command given before, the French consul Henri (Henry) in Tuzla district in Cyprus and the previous consul Benadito Estir (Asdiyer) and 20 other French were arrested and their properties were commandeered. These properties and the arrested people were sent to Nicosia and the list of the properties was sent to Istanbul as it was claimed.⁸¹ Some of the people arrested were handed over to the English commander Smith (Sir Sydney Smith⁸²) on his demand (2nd August 1799).⁸³ Another group including some important people such as the consul and the chief secretary were also sent to Istanbul on 17th October 1799.⁸⁴

On the other hand, in a document dated 1st September 1800, the English commander Smith requested that the old consul Benadito Estir wouldn't be harassed by anyone so the French consul was imprisoned at home.⁸⁵ Since 26th June 1802, when the war with France came to an end, the consulates of France and its ally Holland would have their previous powers again (August 1803).⁸⁶ In a similar record since the war with France ended, it was permitted that the flags should be hung on the French consulates nearly all over the Ottoman country and in Cyprus as well (24th December 1802).⁸⁷

The ambassador of France called Rufet on the 25th November 1802, notified that he appointed a consul (*komiser*) called Sitoyen (Citoyen) Reno to represent France in Cyprus and be helpful to the French who travelled to and from the island.⁸⁸ However, in the relative document, it wasn't written to whose position the new consul appointed. As it is known, the Ottoman state respected the decisions of other countries' ambassadors and they only approved the appointed person. On 28th February 1816, the ambassador of France in the Ottoman lands, Deval, appointed Rateis, instead of Sitoyen (Citoyen) Reno to France in Cyprus.⁸⁹ The French ambassador, Marki (Marquis) de Raboyer, representing the state of France on the Ottoman lands, appointed Lisin to the consulate of France when the consul in Cyprus Rateis died (17th February 1820).⁹⁰

The consuls claimed ownership of their dead citizens' properties so that they would hand them over to their heirs. The ship captain and the French monks were killed and kidnapped by

⁷⁷ KŞS, 21/321-3.

⁷⁸ KŞS, 21/361-1; KŞS, 21/362-1.

⁷⁹ For details the war of Egypt see, Haydar Çoruh, "XIX. Yüzyıl Başlarında Stratejik Bir Mevki Olarak Kıbrıs'ın Muhafazası", *Osmanlı Dönemi Akdeniz Dünyası*, Ed by: H. Çoruh, M.Y. Ertas, M. Z. Köse, İstanbul 2011, p. 239-267.

⁸⁰ KŞS, 22/5-1; KŞS, 22/5-3.

⁸¹ KŞS, 22/27-3.

⁸² Çoruh, "Kıbrıs'ın Muhafazası", *op.cit.*, p. 357.

⁸³ KŞS, 22/48-2.

⁸⁴ KŞS, 22/65-2.

⁸⁵ KŞS, 22/116-4.

⁸⁶ KŞS, 24/34-1.

⁸⁷ KŞS, 24/19-1.

⁸⁸ KŞS, 24/30-1; KŞS, 24/31-1.

⁸⁹ KŞS, 29/44-1; KŞS, 29/44-2.

⁹⁰ KŞS, 30/127-1.

foreigners in a ship belonged to captain Ahmet from Mora near the Tuzla harbour. This ship came to the harbour of Famagusta and lists of the goods on the ship were made. The goods belonging to the dead French were handed over to the representative of the French consul (10th August 1833).⁹¹

Other French consuls in Cyprus were Méchain in 1824, Bottu in 1831, Guillois in 1834 and Vasse de Saint-Oven in 1835⁹². In January 1840, since Korkar, appointed to the French consulate in Cyprus was appointed to another place with a document dated 28th September 1848, Mösyö (Monsieur) Nastorinden was appointed in his place.⁹³ On June 1856, a French consul Daras appointed for official duty, was appointed to another place on 2nd September 1860 so he left the Cyprus consulate.⁹⁴ On the other hand, Rotor, an old French consul of the Chania (*Hanya*) harbour in Crete was appointed in the place of Daras⁹⁵. Rotor stayed at the position for nearly a year and then on February 1862, Conte (*Kont*) de Marikor was appointed in his place. Conte (*Kont*) de Marikor stayed in this position for four years. When he died, *Çikaler* (Cigaldi) became the consul of France in Cyprus on 20st December 1865.⁹⁶ On 30 November 1874, Since *Çikaler*, was appointed to another place, Barön de Perol was appointed in his place, vice-consul in Cyprus.⁹⁷

Table 1 French Consuls in Cyprus

Date	Name	Status
13.10.1635	Eblamak	Consul
1636-1654/55	Antoine Jansz van Duyvelaar	The Dutch and French consul in Cyprus ⁹⁸
1683	Balthazar Sovran ⁹⁹	Consul
1698	Moloci	Consul
1709-10	Francois Luce	Consul
25.10.1767	Paskali	Vice-consul
1772, 23.01.1776	Astier (Asdiyer, Estir Benadito, Astir)	Consul
8.06.1795	Seykar	Consul
22.12.1795	Inosan Ray	Temporary consul
26.08.1797	Moor	Consul
26.03.1799	Henri (Henry)	Consul
25.11.1802	Sitoyen Reno	Consul
28.02.1816	Rateis	Consul
17.02.1820	Lisin	Consul
1824	Mechain	Consul
1831	Bottu	Consul
1834	Guillois	Consul
1835	Vasse de Saint-Oven	Consul
01.1840	Korkar	Consul
28.09.1848	Mösyö Nastorinden	Consul
06.1856	Daras	Consul

⁹¹ KŞS, 35/23-1.

⁹² Aymes, "The Port-City in the Fields", *op.cit.*, p. 135, 137, 140, 141, 142.

⁹³ KŞS, 41/200-1; KŞS, 41/200-2.

⁹⁴ KŞS, 45/117-1.

⁹⁵ KŞS, 45/117-2.

⁹⁶ KŞS, 47/111-1; KŞS, 47/111-2.

⁹⁷ KŞS, 52/89-1.

⁹⁸ Demiryürek, "Consulate of the Dutch", p.6.

⁹⁹ The French consul of Cyprus served as a vice consul of England. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, *op.cit.*, p. 236-244.

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02.09.1860	Rotor	Consul
02.1862	Conte de Marikor	Consul
20.12.1865	Cikaler	Consul
30.11.1874	Baron de Perol	Consul

English Consulate in Cyprus

The increasing English involvement in trade in the East Mediterranean and the foundation of Levant Company in 1592 resulted in an increase of English trade during the seventeenth century. The company installed consulates in various ports.¹⁰⁰ English consulate in Cyprus may be traced back to 1626, as the oldest of the Aleppo Letter- books contains a reference, dated 22nd July 1626 to Petro Savioni, Consolo in Cipro.¹⁰¹ The first regular appointment of a Consular officer in Cyprus took place in 1636. On 19th May 1636, a letter from Mr. Glover was read, asking for the Company's approbation. The court approved, holding that it was very necessary to have a consul in that place. At the General Court held on 2nd June 1636, Richard Glover was appointed vice consul, asking for confirmation for his position in Levant Company and he was to be subordinate to the consul at Aleppo.¹⁰²

The Sheri Register (*Şer-i Sicil*) documents about the oldest appointed English consul registrations belonged to the *balyos* (bailos-consul) Samuel Dorner. (10 August 1698).¹⁰³ In the 17th and 18th century, the consuls in Cyprus got the right to deal with banking and lend money with interest.¹⁰⁴ It was recorded in the documents that at that period the consuls started dealing with commercial life and lend money to the Cypriots. The English consul (*balyos*), Samuel Dorner, who lived in Tuzla, proved that Ahmed bin Isa owed him 100 piaster's and it was decided that Ahmed should pay him back (10th August 1698).¹⁰⁵ The French consul (*balyos*) Moloci and the English consul (*balyos*) Samuel who lived in Tuzla paid 60 *kese* piasters to the Janissary steward (*Kethüdası*) Hasan Ağa bin Mehmet as an annual tax for non-Muslims Cypriots and merchants. The French and English consuls demanded the debt document for the money to be collected from the subjects especially the non-Muslim subjects and *müstemen merchants*.¹⁰⁶

The English consuls in 1657-1669 worked for French, Venetian, and Dutch merchants.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, for a period during the 1680's, no English agent existed in Cyprus and the French consul looked after the affairs of the English merchants, but on the outbreak of war with France in 1689, Richard Westbrook was appointed consul.¹⁰⁸ In 1693 Van Bruyn, a Dutcman, visited Larnaca and realised that all the European merchants there to be Frenchmen, but an Englishman came to live there during his stay. M. Baldasar Sovran, French consul, was representing the English

¹⁰⁰ Wood, **A History of the Levant Company**, *op.cit.*, p. 123; Hadjiansastasis, "Cyprus in the Ottoman Period", *op.cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁰¹ Luke, **Cyprus Under The Turks**, *op.cit.*, p. 87-8.

¹⁰² Mortimer Epstein, **Early History of Levant Company**, London 1908, p. 216; Wood, **A History of the Levant Company**, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁰³ KŞS, 6/12-2; KŞS, 6/12-3; KŞS, 6/59-1.

¹⁰⁴ Çiçek, "Konsolosluk Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p. 20; KŞS, 6/12-3; KŞS, 6/12-2; KŞS, 6/92-2.

¹⁰⁵ KŞS, 6/12-1.

¹⁰⁶ KŞS, 6/59-1.

¹⁰⁷ Hadjiansastasis, "Cyprus in Ottoman Period", *op.cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁰⁸ Wood, **A History of the Levant Company**, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

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nation.¹⁰⁹ In 1772, the French consul in Cyprus, Astier, was appointed English vice-consul, after the English consul there had died.¹¹⁰

Wood argues that 17th Century the consulate of England in Cyprus was under the control of Aleppo. After the year 1722, English consulate in Cyprus was independent. In the 19th century consulate of English was under the control of Rhodes and Beirut. It is possible to argue that from the documents the consul of English in Cyprus and Aleppo in certain years was the same.¹¹¹ The vice-consul was located at Larnaca and the consulate was made independent of Aleppo on 13th December 1722.¹¹²

Another Dutchman, Jan Heyman, visited Cyprus in the early eighteenth century, and provided information on the English Consulate at Larnaca, and of its troubles with a company of merchants who had infringed the Levant Company's privileges. "The English consul is highly respected all over the island, as jointly with his company he advances money to the inhabitants, for getting in their several harvests, in which otherwise they would be at a great loss".¹¹³

It is understood from the judicial records that the consuls in Cyprus used to buy and sell property. An English merchant, dragoman Hristofi, who lived in Tuzla, died and because he didn't have any heirs, the English consul Drododi, had the right to sell Hristofi's property of 50 hectares in different areas of Cyprus for 850 piaster to *Kadi* Lutfullah Efendi son of Ali Efendi with the help of the consul's representative dragoman Kostantin son of Luizo (23rd August 1713).¹¹⁴ When the Cyprus palace dragoman (*saray tercümanı*) died, his property in a place named *Suk-i Sultani* was sold by court decision in Nicosia because the debts of the dragoman (translator) were more than his property. His mansion in Bas district in Nicosia was bought for 1,500 piaster by the English consul Corci Vikman with the help of his representative dragoman Zevani Karuda (16th August 1750).¹¹⁵ The sources say that the consul working in Cyprus at the beginning of the 19th century possessed 198 estates.¹¹⁶

The English consul in Cyprus, Corci Vikman (George Wakeman), informed his ambassador in Istanbul about his complaint that the ships with English flags which were not supposed to pay customs due to their consulate privileges (*konsolosluk hakkı*) were treated against the state contract (*ahidnâme-i hümayun*) and were asked to be paid fees. In addition, the consul also complained about the fact that Piyeraci son of Nikola also had to pay tax forcibly in spite of state contract. On the complaint of the consul, the ambassador put the problem to the administrative centre. Thereupon, a *firman*, an Imperial Order, was sent saying not to interfere with the consul and his men.¹¹⁷ The consuls got tax (2%) from the sold goods as a consulate fee (*konsolosluk hakkı*).¹¹⁸ According to the treaty (*muahede*) between the two states, it was observed that, although a 2% tax would be taken as the English merchants' rights, Abraham Stanyan, (Abraham Istepanyan) the

¹⁰⁹ Cobham, *Excerpta Cyprica*, *op.cit.*, p. 236-244.

¹¹⁰ Maurits H. Van den Boogert, "European Patronage in The Ottoman empire: Anglo-Dutch Conflicts of Interest In Aleppo (1703-1755)", *Friends and Rivals In The East Studies In Anglo-Dutch Relations In the Levant From The Seventeenth to The Early Nineteenth Century*, Ed. By. H. Hamilton, A.H.de Groot, M. H.van den Boogert, Netherlands 2000, p.190.

¹¹¹ Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

¹¹² Luke said the year is 1792. Luke, *Cyprus Under The Turks*, *op.cit.*, p. 98; Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, *op.cit.*, p.123.

¹¹³ Cobham, *Excerpta Cyprica*, *op.cit.*, p. 250-251; Luke, *Cyprus Under The Turks*, *op.cit.*, p. 90-92.

¹¹⁴ KŞS, 8/38-2.

¹¹⁵ KŞS, 16/180-1.

¹¹⁶ Çoruh, *II. Mahmut Döneminde Kıbrıs*, *op.cit.*, p. 467.

¹¹⁷ KŞS, 16/162-1.

¹¹⁸ For details see Kütükoğlu, "Ahidnâme", *op.cit.*, p. 538.

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ambassador of England in Istanbul complained that in Nicosia and Tuzla a 10% of tax was demanded. On the complaint of the English ambassador, the state authorities warned that nobody would demand more tax than the percentage which was written in the contract (March 1721).¹¹⁹

In the period of research, documents of the first English consul¹²⁰ Pornil (William Purnell) were found. In the mentioned record, the English ambassador in Istanbul, Konte Herakenbol (George Kinnoul Earl) sent a petition to the Sultan and said he dismissed the consul Corci Barton (George Barton) and appointed William Purnell as a consul valid from 10th April 1732.¹²¹

However, in another decision, the English ambassador Konte Herakenbol (George Kinnoul Earl) and the ambassador of Holland (*Nederlande*) Kortelyos Kalikon offered a petition to the Sovereign and complained about the *muhassıl* (tax collector) and *dizdar* (the commander) of the Tuzla Castle because of the event which occurred in Cyprus. Upon the *muhassıl*, Ismail's visit to the Tuzla Castle, the guard in the castle salvo fired and during this act of firing, the English ships harboured in Tuzla were destroyed. Therefore, the English consul in Cyprus complained about the guard of the Castle to the *muhassıl* and succeeded in dismissing the guard and having him arrested. However, the *muhassıl*, Ismail, forgave the guard after a few months and brought them to their previous position.

However, while celebrating this, there was more salvo firing, an English ship loaded with commercial goods on the harbour sank during this time. Naturally, the consul demanded the damage to be paid by the tax collector. But when the tax collector didn't pay for the damage, the English and Dutch consuls in Cyprus notified the situation to their ambassadors in Istanbul. The two ambassadors complained about the situation to the sovereign together because there were goods in the ship, which belonged to the Dutch merchants as well. Thereupon, with the command of the official centre, the guard was confined in a fortress in the castle of Famagusta. It was notified that the damage done the ship and merchant's loss added to the value of 55.000 piaster and would be provided from the people responsible for this event (24th February 1734).¹²²

As it was mentioned before, according to the agreement made between England and the Ottoman state, the English consul could get a Janissary as a guard for the ambassador to ensure his safety. On the other hand, the Janissary officer demanded 5,5 piaster for a Janissary every month and this led to a complaint. The Janissary officer acted as he liked in spite of the agreement between the Ottoman state, England and Venice, therefore the central office sent writing from the consul forbidding the Janissary to take money (22 April 1750).¹²³

The English ambassador in Istanbul, Ceymis (James) Porter, offered a petition to the *Divân-ı Hümayun* (High Imperial Court). The English consul Covan Podenton (John Boddington) appointed a trade representative to Nicosia and notified that there was interference by the officials serving in Cyprus and demanded that this should be prevented. Thereupon, with the command (*emr-i şerif*) sent from Istanbul it was ordered that the English consul John Boddington would

¹¹⁹ KSS, 10/108-2.

¹²⁰ For details of English Consuls in Cyprus in Otoman period see, Ali Efdal Özkul, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs Adasındaki İngiltere Konsoloslugu ve Faaliyetleri", *Osmanlı Dönemi Akdeniz Dünyası*, Ed by: H. Çoruh, M.Y. Ertaş, M. Z. Köse, İstanbul 2011, p. 303-351.

¹²¹ KSS, 14/88-1; For more details on the consuls in Cyprus during this period, see Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi*, *op.cit.*, p. 110-112.

¹²² KSS, 14/121-1.

¹²³ KSS, 16/174-1.

appoint a representative Ancoli Hiristofaci to do the jobs in Nicosia and nobody would interfere with him according to the laws and the treaty (*ahidname*) (8th February 1758).¹²⁴

The ambassador of the English state, John Murray, applied to *Sudde-i saadet* and notified that as the English consul Timona Turner (Timothy Turner) had died, Con Baldavin (John Baldwin) was appointed in his place (1st March 1769).¹²⁵ On 27th March 1790 Migel de Vezin (Michael De Vezin) was appointed as an English consul in Cyprus.¹²⁶ The English ambassador Kavalyer Robert Anesli (Robert Ainslie) demanded the money owed by the Muslims and non-Muslims since 1786 to be given to the heirs of the English consul Migel de Vezin (Michael de Vezin) in Cyprus who had died in 1792. As a result of a research on the demand of the English ambassador, it was ordered that Cypriot people who owed to Michael de Vezin's would pay the amounts to the dragoman Anton Agop the representative of the heir (5th October 1793).¹²⁷

After the English consul Migel de Vezin (Michael De Vezin), the English ambassador in Istanbul, Facen Spenssir Smith (Spencer Smith), appointed Antoniyo Vondiziayano in Tuzla (Larnaca) in Cyprus as a vice consul in November 1799.¹²⁸ On the other hand, on the 15th September 1799, the English ambassador Facen Spenssir Smith (Spencer Smith) announced that Anton Agop who was charged with the official duty to collect the debts since 1790 from the Cypriot people died and as a result Antonio Vondiziyano was charged with the official duty to collect the debts.¹²⁹

When the Ottoman state started a war against another state which had a consul on the Ottoman lands, that consul was sometimes arrested and his properties were listed and confiscated. One such procedure took place with the English representative consul in Cyprus Antonio Vondiziano on 23rd April 1807.¹³⁰ In 1808, an agreement was signed between the Ottoman state and England, according to which the English citizens residing on Ottoman lands were given back their previous rights.¹³¹

After de Vezin, Antonio Vondiziyano was appointed as the English vice-consul and we see that he also loaned money to the Greek Bishops (*metropolit*) on the 22nd Sept 1810. The Greek Bishops in Cyprus borrowed 30,000 piaster from Antonio Vondiziyano on condition to pay him back in a year with interest, aiming to bring soldiers from Anatolia to protect Cyprus. However, the debt mentioned wasn't paid in this time and Stanford Canning, the English ambassador in Istanbul brought the situation to the attention of the top authorities in Istanbul. At the end of the enquiry, it was ordered that the debt would be paid to the representative of the English consul.¹³²

In 1821, justifiable precautions were taken against the Greeks because they tried to take part in a riot against the Ottoman administration in Cyprus. These precautions were several such as strengthening the castles, bringing soldiers from Anatolia to the island and ammunition supplies. Besides the supplies brought from Anatolia some more ammunition was brought from the consuls in Cyprus. 1282 okes of gun powder for 8333 piaster; 563.5 okes for 3381 piaster were bought

¹²⁴ KSS, 18/29-2.

¹²⁵ KSS, 19/119-1; KSS, 19/119-2.

¹²⁶ KSS, 23/47-3.

¹²⁷ KSS, 21/271-2.

¹²⁸ KSS, 23/47-3.

¹²⁹ KSS, 22/71-1.

¹³⁰ KSS, 26/27-1.

¹³¹ KSS, 26/129-1; KSS, 26/129-2.

¹³² Çoruh, II. Mahmut Döneminde Kıbrıs, *op.cit.*, p. 75.

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from the English consul of Tuzla. On the other hand, 1297 okes of bullet for 2594 piaster was bought from the Russian consul (4 December 1822).¹³³

In 1821, in another record regarding the English representative of the consul in Cyprus, we see Antonio Vondiziyano's debts from the Cypriots non-Muslims who interfered in period in 1821 and were executed or the Greeks who escaped. These debts were accounted as 28,192 piaster from the Archbishop, 3 Bishops; 47,773 piaster from Cerbako Taledo; 30,880 piaster from the Greek merchant Laktiri; 7,500 piaster from Nikola Franko; and 18,000 piaster from Hiristodolo Anodiri. When we add the credit of the consul representative's brother the total amount was 144,222 piaster (13th November 1823 and 9th May 1824).¹³⁴

According to the trade agreements made between the Ottoman state and England on the 16th August 1838¹³⁵ 3% custom tax would be taken from the English merchants' goods which would be brought to or taken away from the country.¹³⁶ Afterwards, the first trade agreement made with England in 1838 was also made with the other states. After England, the states which were given new trade privileges were France (1840)¹³⁷, Sweden (1830), Spain (1840), Holland¹³⁸ (1840), Belgium¹³⁹, Prussia (1840), Denmark (1841), Portugal (1843) and Russia¹⁴⁰ (1846).¹⁴¹ On September 1839, in another document regarding trade, a new trade agreement between France and England and their merchants of both countries set up the new amount of taxes such as on *damga* (stamp), *gümrük* (customs), *ihtisap*, *amediyeye* and *masdariye* (a tax paid for exporting alcoholic drinks) which would be imported and exported from the ottoman lands.¹⁴²

The chief ambassador of the Queen of England and the Sovereign in Istanbul Avroponsivini (Stratford Canning) offered a sealed petition to *Sudde-i Saadet* and notified that Antoniyo Vondiziano, the vice-consul of the English merchants and ships coming and leaving Cyprus, died and that Mister Con Lilboren (John Lilburn) was suitable to be appointed in his place. So the administrators of the Ottoman state in Istanbul appointed Mister Con Lilboren (John Lilburn) to Cyprus to Tuzla district as a representative of England on the demand of the English ambassador (September 1841).¹⁴³ After the death of Antonio Vondiziano, the English consul Mister Nibenkar (Niven Kerr) was appointed in the place of Antonio's heirs and Mister Nibenkar said that the heirs had documents showing that some bishops in Cyprus owed them 84,492 piaster and filed a suit against them. But the bishops acknowledged neither their debts nor the heirs found witnesses to support them.¹⁴⁴

When the English consul of Cyprus, Mister Con Lilboren (John Lilburn) died, the English ambassador in Istanbul Stratford Canning in Tuzla district notified the Ottoman state with a sealed petition that he appointed Mister Nibenkar (Niven Kerr) in John Lilburn's place. On the application

¹³³ KSS, 30/178-1.

¹³⁴ Çoruh, *II. Mahmut Döneminde Kıbrıs*, *op.cit.*, p. 488-9.

¹³⁵ Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri*, *op.cit.*, p. 109-116; Uygur Koçabaşoğlu, *Majestelerinin Konsolosları, İngiliz Belgeleriyle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki İngiliz Konsoloslukları (1580-1900)*, İstanbul 2004, p. 22.

¹³⁶ KSS, 38/45-1; KSS, 38/128-1; KSS, 38/132-2.

¹³⁷ KSS, 38/128-1.

¹³⁸ KSS, 38/132-2.

¹³⁹ KSS, 38/179-1.

¹⁴⁰ KSS, 39/17-1; 23 March 1841, it is possible to see that a trade agreement was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Russia.

¹⁴¹ Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri*, *op.cit.*, p. 115-117.

¹⁴² KSS, 38/42-1.

¹⁴³ KSS, 38/219-1; KSS, 38/219-2.

¹⁴⁴ KSS, 41/72-1.

of the English ambassador in Istanbul, it is notified to the officials in Cyprus that Niven Kerr was officially appointed as the consul of England in Cyprus.¹⁴⁵

The English ambassador in Istanbul, Henry Bulwer, notified the Ottoman state that he appointed Horasi Vayit (Horace P. White), the consul representative of Cyprus to another place on May 1862, so he gave the duty to Dominik Elisi Kolnaki (Dominic Ellis Colnaghi) on the 6th June 1864.¹⁴⁶

Levant Company appointed English consuls and vice-consuls in Tuzla (Larnaca) and in other trade centres in certain years.¹⁴⁷ In these years, Levant Company opened consular agents in Limassol, Nicosia, Pafhos and Famagusta. These were; in Limassol, Demetrios Francoudes, 1738, 1787; Nicholas Francoudes, 1845; Pietro Loiso (1869-1878); in Pafhos, Andrea Zimbulachi (1799-1826) and Smith Zimbulachi (1826-1878); in Famagusta Pietro Brunoni in 1820.¹⁴⁸ In Nicosia, Ancoli Hristofaci (8 February 1758) and Petraki in 1870.¹⁴⁹

Table 2 English Consuls in Cyprus¹⁵⁰

Date	Name	Status
1626	Petro Savioni	Vice consul
1626-?	Daniel Steenwinckel ¹⁵¹	Vice-consul of the English in Cyprus
1636	Richard Glover	Vice consul
1683	Balthazar Sovran ¹⁵²	Vice consul
1689	Richard Westbrook ¹⁵³	Consul
1698	Samuel Dörner ¹⁵⁴	Consul
1713	Drododi ¹⁵⁵	Consul
1730-1732 ¹⁵⁶	George Barton	Consul
1732-1733	William Purnell	Consul
1735-1738	Stiles Lupart	Consul
1738-1739	George Barton	Consul
(1741 ¹⁵⁷)		
1741 ¹⁵⁸ -1753	George Wakeman	Consul
1753-1759	Alexander Drummond	Consul
		Aleppo and Cyprus
1759(1758 ¹⁵⁹)-1762	John Boddington	Vice-consul
1762-1763	John Brand Kirkhouse	Vice-consul

¹⁴⁵ KSS, 39/110-1; KSS, 39/110-2.

¹⁴⁶ KSS, 47/48-1.

¹⁴⁷ Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

¹⁴⁸ Luke, *Cyprus Under The Turks*, *op.cit.*, p. 277;

¹⁴⁹ KSS, 18/29-2.; Samani, *Tanzimat Devrinde Kıbrıs*, *op.cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁵⁰ Özkul, "Kıbrıs İngiltere Konsolosluğu", *op.cit.*, p. 316-17.

¹⁵¹ Demiryürek, "Consulate of the Dutch", p.6.

¹⁵² Cobham argued that, the French consul of Cyprus served as a vice consul of England. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, *op.cit.*, p. 236-244.

¹⁵³ Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁵⁴ KSS, 6/12-2; KSS, 6/12-3; KSS, 6/59-1.

¹⁵⁵ KSS, 8/38-2.

¹⁵⁶ KSS, 14/88-1.

¹⁵⁷ KSS, 15/206-1; KSS, 15/206-2.

¹⁵⁸ KSS, 15/206-1; KSS, 15/206-2.

¹⁵⁹ KSS, 18/29-2.

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1763-1768	Timothy Turner	Vice-consul
1771 (died)	William Baldwin ¹⁶⁰	Consul
1771-1776	William Bashley Turner	Consul
1776-1781	John Baldwin	Vice-consul
1784-1785	Nicholas Caprara	Vice-consul
1776-1792	Michael de Vezin	Consul
		Aleppo and Cyprus
	Pietro Crutta ¹⁶¹	Vice-consul
1799-1840	Antonio Vondiziano	Vice-consul
1840-1841	Paul Vondiziano	Vice-consul
1841-1843	John Lilburn	Consul
1843-1849	Niver Kerr	Consul
1849-1850	Demetrios Pierides	Vice-consul
		Depending on Rhodes
1850-1860	Antonio Palma	Vice-consul
		Depending on Rhodes
1860-1861	P. Wilkinson	Vice-consul
		Depending on Rhodes
1861-1864	Horace P. White	Vice-consul
1864-1865	Dominic Ellis Colnaghi	Vice-consul
1865-1870	T.B. Sandwith	Vice-consul
		Depending on Beirut
1871-1876	Robert Hamilton Lang	Consul
1876	W. Riddell	Consul
1876-1877	Z.D. Pierides	Vice-consul
1877-1878	Charles Watkins	Consul

Dutch Consulate in Cyprus

According to Faroqhi, the Dutch merchants appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries in Eastern Mediterranean area.¹⁶² Before 1601, the Dutch merchants started to trade under the French flag in the Ottoman State.¹⁶³ After 1601, Dutch merchants continued their trade under the English flag.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, they finally began to trade under their own flag in 1612.¹⁶⁵ The Traveller

¹⁶⁰ Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, *op.cit.*, p. 168.

¹⁶¹ Luke was unable to accurately determine the years of vice consul Pietro Crutta. But he thought that might be between the years of 1792-1799. Luke, *Cyprus Under The Turks*, *op.cit.*, p. 276.

¹⁶² Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, New York 2010, p.150.

¹⁶³ Mehmet Demiryürek, "The Merchants And Consulate Of The Dutch Republic In Cyprus (1600-1700)", Unpublished document, p. 2; İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol IV/2, Ankara 1982, p. 335; Mehmet Bulut, "The Role of the Ottomans and Dutch in the Commercial Integrations Between the Levant and Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 45/2, 2002, p. 200-201.

¹⁶⁴ Gerard Erdbrink, "Onyedinci Asırda Osmanlı-Hollanda Münasebetlerine Bir Bakış", *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2-3, 1974, p. 161; A. H. de Groot, *The Netherlands and Turkey, selected essays*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 2009, p. 124.

¹⁶⁵ Demiryürek, "Consulate of the Dutch", *op.cit.*, p.2.

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Henry de Beauvau noted some Flemish merchants in the city of Larnaca during his visit in Cyprus in 1604.¹⁶⁶

According to the Peter Teixeira, who was a traveller, stated that the consulates of Venice, English, French and Flanders (Dutch) were in Cyprus in 1605.¹⁶⁷ Groot stated that, a vice-consul was appointed in Istanbul by the ambassador of the Holland and that the Dutch consulate was established in 1613 in Cyprus.¹⁶⁸

The research of Çiçek, Bulut, Erdoğan, Demiryürek and Erdbrink contain data on Holland (Dutch) consulate in the 17th century in Cyprus.¹⁶⁹ In a document dated 17th November 1610, the consul of Holland (*Flemenk*), Yakomoto son of Mile, and a European merchant, Eric son of Veleskiro, made a sale of cotton (*penbe*) and it is understood that Yakomoto proved with witnesses that he was to receive 571 golden coins (*sikke altın*) and 56 akches (*akçe*) from Eric Veleskiro.¹⁷⁰

Groot stated the names of the Dutch consul in Cyprus; Jacob Mille (?-1615)¹⁷¹, Willem Pinas (1615), Cornelis van Ostayen (1615-1620), Pietro Savioni (1620-1626), Daniel Steenwinckel (1626) and Antonie Jansz van Duyvelaar (1637).¹⁷²

We come across another Dutch consul serving in Tuzla according to another document dated 10th November 1636. In this document, some of the administrators from Nicosia wanted to make the pilgrimage aboard a ship named Santakroze bearing the Dutch flags. The consul of Holland, Antonio, who served in Tuzla, provided safety for this ship.¹⁷³ The Dutch consul was still Antonie in 1661 in Cyprus. But it is understood that Cook Cerat was appointed as the Dutch consul in Cyprus soon.¹⁷⁴

As Loizidou stated, in 1664-1676, 1686, 1687 and 1688 the French consuls in Cyprus were in charge of Dutch and English as well.¹⁷⁵ *The Dutch consulate in Cyprus was subordinate to the consulate-general at Aleppo as Louzidou and Groot has stated. As the records of Felemenk Ahkam Defteri supports this data, this argument can be valid from 1686. Apart from that, from the beginning of the 17th century to 1661 the Dutch consulate in Cyprus was independent and the post was represented by the Dutch or French in Larnaca in Cyprus.*¹⁷⁶

F. Luce been selected as a French consul and made responsible from the Dutch merchants in 1696. Nevertheless in 1697, the English counsel in Cyprus undertook the right of protection for the Dutch merchants trading in Cyprus.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁶ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, *op.cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁶⁷ George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol IV, Great Britain 1952, p. 62-3.

¹⁶⁸ A. H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, Leiden/Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1978, p. 215-16.

¹⁶⁹ Erdbrink, "Onyedinci Asırda Osmanlı-Hollanda Münasebetlerine", *op.cit.*, p. 161. Çiçek, "Konsolosluk Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p. 172-183; Mehmet Bulut, *Ottoman-Dutch Economic Relations, in the Early Modern Period 1571-1699*, Hilversum-Verloren: Rombus te Hilversum, Amsterdam 2001; Erdoğan, "On sekizinci Yüzyıl Sonlarında Kıbrıs'ta Avrupalı", *op.cit.*, p. 317; Demiryürek, "Consulate of the Dutch", *op.cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ KŞS, 3/128-6.

¹⁷¹ KŞS, 3/128-6.

¹⁷² Groot, *The Dutch Republic*, *op.cit.*, p.214.

¹⁷³ KŞS, 4/172-3.

¹⁷⁴ Demiryürek, "Consulate of the Dutch", *op.cit.*, p. 5; BOA, DVN.DVE. Defter No: 902, p. 4; BOA, DVN.DVE. Defter No: 902, p.3

¹⁷⁵ Anna Pouadier Loizidou-Duteil, *Consulat de France A Larnaca (1660-1696), Documents Inédits Pour Servir À L'Histoire De Chypre*, Tome I Nicosie 1991, p. 21, 79, 113, 135, 140, 160.

¹⁷⁶ Demiryürek, "Consulate of the Dutch", *op.cit.*, p. 5-6.

¹⁷⁷ Anna Pouadier Loizidou-Duteil, *Consulat De France A Larnaca (1696-1699), Documentes inédits pour servir a l'histoire de Chypre*, Tome II, Nicosie, 1995, p. 19-20.

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By analysing the registers in the period 1686-1704, the registers in the Felemenk Ahkam Defteri enable one to determine the names of the Dutch consuls in Aleppo, who were accountable for Cyprus. The consuls were De Joye (?-1686), Francesko/Franko Goliyo (1686-1688), who was the consul of France in Aleppo at the same time, Konrad Kalk Bernar (1688-1695), merchants Covan Bekrez and Covan Goski, as the representatives of the Dutch merchants in Aleppo (March 1695-December 1695) and Covan Goski (1695-1704).¹⁷⁸ The Dutch consulate in Aleppo at the beginning of the 18th century appointed a vice-consul to Cyprus.¹⁷⁹

The ambassador of Holland (*Nederlande*), Gaspar Kasta, dismissed the consul representative of Holland in Cyprus, Yirim Kalimay, and appointed Lorenzo Covanni Saniti in his place. (17th February 1819).¹⁸⁰ In the relevant document, we learn that the ambassador of Holland changed the Dutch consuls who were on the Ottoman lands, that is, in Egypt, Alexandria, Aleppo (Halep), Tripoli in Syria (*Trablusşam*), Sayda, Cyprus, Algeria, Tripoli in Africa (*Trablusgarp*), Mora, Izmir and Chios.¹⁸¹

Since the consul of Holland in Cyprus, Lorenzo Govanni Saniti would go to Antalya via his ambassadors in Istanbul Covanni Mani was appointed in his place until he came back. However, Lorenzo Govanni Saniti died in Antalya and Lorenzo's son Mark Antuan Saniti was appointed to Cyprus as a consul by the ambassador of Holland, Sir Knight Gaspar de Testa dating from 18th July 1823.¹⁸²

Luizi mortgaged his farm in the village called Nisou which he bought from the consul of Holland in Cyprus as a mortgage to this farm value of 6,450 piaster but he couldn't pay his debt. In this instance, the consul demanded that Luizi's debt should be paid from his father's inheritance (Pope Mihail's) who was condemned to death. However, Pope Mihail's inheritance was discovered to be unregistered so it was demanded that it should be researched and the findings should be announced to Istanbul (10th July 1825).¹⁸³

From the document dated 12th April 1861, we learn that Saniti died and Andon Palme was given the post of consul of Holland.¹⁸⁴

Table 3 Dutch Consuls in Cyprus¹⁸⁵

Date	Name	Status
1610-1615-?	Jacob Mille	Independent consul
1615	Willem Pinas	Independent consul
1615-1620	Cornalis van Ostayen	Independent consul
1620-1626	Pietro Savioni	English consul in Cyprus
1626-?	Daniel Steenwinckel	Vice-consul of the English in Cyprus
1636-	Antoine Jansz van	The Dutch and French consul in

¹⁷⁸ Demiryürek, "Consulate of the Dutch", *op.cit.*, p. 5-6. For details the Dutch consuls in 17th century look at Demiryürek, *ibid*, p.6.

¹⁷⁹ Hadjianastasis, "Cyprus in the Ottoman Period", *op.cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁸⁰ KŞS, 29/191-3; KŞS, 30/34-1.

¹⁸¹ KŞS, 30/34-1.

¹⁸² KŞS, 31/51-3.

¹⁸³ KŞS, 31/130-1.

¹⁸⁴ KŞS, 45/92-2.

¹⁸⁵ Demiryürek, "Consulate of the Dutch", *op.cit.*, p. 6

1654/55	Duyvelaar	Cyprus
1661	Cook Cerat	The Dutch consul in Cyprus
1661-1686	?	The French consuls in Cyprus
1686	De Joye	The Dutch consulate in Aleppo
1686-1688	Françesko/Franko Göliye	The French consulate in Aleppo
1688-1695	Konrad Kalk Bernar	The Dutch consulate in Aleppo
1695	Covan Bekrez and Covan Goski	The Dutch consulate in Aleppo
1695-1704 ¹⁸⁶	Covan Goski	The Dutch consulate in Aleppo
1704	George Brandon	The English consul in Aleppo
17.02.1819	Yirim Kalimay	Independent
17.02.1819	Lorenco Covanni Saniti	Independent
18.07.1823	Mark Antuan Saniti	Independent
12.04.1861	Andon Palme	Independent

Venetian Consulate in Cyprus

Where Cyprus was concerned, upon the beginning of trade by the Dutch and English merchants, the Venetian consul in Cyprus highlighted its disadvantages on Venetian trade in Cyprus in 1606.¹⁸⁷ Specifically, it pointed out that it was established for the first time on 3 June 1588¹⁸⁸ even though the Venetians attempted to set up a consulate there in 1578 and Lorenzo Morosini was appointed as consul. After he left, Fedel Battista della Moneda took his place in 1588.¹⁸⁹ Consequently, in 1592, the name of the Venetian consul in Cyprus was Korduvan¹⁹⁰, Piero de Cordovani¹⁹¹ or Zuanne Cordoani¹⁹², whilst the consul in 1600 was Candido di Barbieri.¹⁹³

In 1593, despite the price of cotton determined as 800 akcha of kantar of cotton by the Ottoman authorities in Cyprus, the Venetian merchant and consul Korduvan (Piero de Cordovani) agreed to pay 1000 akcha. Having paid, he applied to the Nicosia court and the decision given was in his favour.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁶ Louzidou argued that in 1696 the French consul in Cyprus and in 1697 the English consul in Cyprus were accountable for the Dutch merchants visiting Cyprus. But this argument is not supported by the Felemenk Register in the Ottoman Archives.

¹⁸⁷ Vera Costantini, "Venetian trade and the boundaries of legality in Early Modern Ottoman Cyprus", **Merchants in the Ottoman Empire**, ed by S. Faroqhi and G. Veinstein, Paris 2008, p. 43.

¹⁸⁸ Ianiro, "Notes on Venetian Commerce", *op.cit.*, p.184.

¹⁸⁹ Costantini, "Venetian trade", *op.cit.*, p. 39; Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations", *op.cit.*, p. 239.

¹⁹⁰ M. Akif Erdoğan, "XVI. Yüzyılın Sonu ile XVII. Yüzyılın Başlarında Osmanlı Kıbrıs'ında Osmanlı Memurları ve Venedik Menfaati", **Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar II**, Lefkoşa 2009, p. 218.

¹⁹¹ Costantini, "Venetian trade", *op.cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁹² Vera Costantini, **Il Sultano E L'isola Contesa Cipro Tra Eredità Veneziana e Potere Ottomano**, U:TET Libreria, Milano 2009, p. 59.

¹⁹³ Costantini "Venetian trade", *op.cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁴ M. Akif Erdoğan, "The Servants And Venetian Interest In Ottoman Cyprus In The Late Sixteenth And The Early Seventeenth Centuries", **Quaderni Di Studi Arabi**, 15 Supplemento, Venice 1997, p. 105-106; Mehmet Demiryürek,

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The sporadic Venetian presence on the island was probably reinforced after the fall of Crete in 1669 and the end of a war which lasted over 20 years.¹⁹⁵ In the June 1684, the Venetian consul Santonini sold a çiftlik (farm) in Lakatamia that consisted of a residence, 5000 mulberry trees and 300 olive trees to Mustafa Ağa, the mütesellim (governor) of the island, all for the total amount of 2,250 piaster.¹⁹⁶

On 28 April 1699, the Savi informed the Senate of the establishment of a consulate on Cyprus. In spite of the renewal of Venetian trade, the consulate remained vacant. However, this could no longer be. After Venetian merchants made two requests one in 1704 and one in 1708, the Venetian consulate was set up in 1710. On 11 March 1710, a public notice for the position of consul was published by order of the Savi.¹⁹⁷ Costantini argues that such commercial relations between Cyprus and Venice carried on throughout the 18th century.¹⁹⁸ In the 18th century, although Venetian merchants visited Aleppo, there wasn't a Venetian consul in Aleppo around the middle of this century.¹⁹⁹ Ianiro states that the commercial situation developed until the beginning of the 1750s due to the change in the cotton economy and the stiff competition from France, making it superfluous for a consul necessary in Aleppo to serve in Cyprus.²⁰⁰

On 3rd May 1745, the ambassador of the Venetian Republic in Istanbul, Covane Donado, notified that in Cyprus and in the places under the jurisdiction of Cyprus where there were ships bearing the Venetian flag, travelling to and from Cyprus, the consul Iberal Kalokera (Giovanni Michiel Iauna) was given the duty to do the merchants' jobs but this Venetian consul was dismissed and Cerolamo Berifadi (Giralomo Brigadi) was appointed in his place as a Venetian consul in Cyprus.²⁰¹ This document is the first one which we come across about the Venice consul in Cyprus. In the record dated 12th December 1750 about a claim concerning debts, we come across the name of the consul of Venice in Cyprus, Cerolamo Berifadi (Giralomo Brigadi).²⁰²

The Venetian consul Cerolamo Berifadi (Giralomo Brigadi), in Cyprus, confirmed that he gave Hristofaci of Kostanti who died when he was a dragoman in Nicosia Palace, some garden and property and instead of getting 60,000 piaster from the inheritance of the dragoman; the mentioned properties were sold without permission and shared among the creditors. Thus it was confirmed that Hristofaci didn't pay the 60,000 piaster when he was alive so the claimant Venetian consul Cerolamo lost the case (12th December 1750).²⁰³

When the Cyprus palace dragoman Hristofaci son of Kostanti was murdered, his debt was more than the value of his properties so the court intervened in the situation upon the demand of the creditors. As a result of the inheritance settlement, we learn that the consuls of France, Venice and Dubrovnik in Cyprus were among the creditors (22nd May 1750).²⁰⁴

"The Commercial Relations Between Venice and Cyprus After the Ottoman Conquest (1600-1800)", **Levant (Council for British Research in the Levant)**, Vol 42 No.2, Autumn 2010, p. 540.

¹⁹⁵ Hadjiansastasis, "Cyprus in the Ottoman Period", *op.cit.*, p.70.

¹⁹⁶ Hadjiansastasis, *ibid*, p.70.

¹⁹⁷ Ianiro, "Notes on Venetian Commerce", *op.cit.*, p. 185-86

¹⁹⁸ Costantini, "Venetian trade", *op.cit.*, p. 45.

¹⁹⁹ Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations", *op.cit.*, p. 245.

²⁰⁰ Ianiro, "Notes on Venetian Commerce", *op.cit.*, p. 186.

²⁰¹ KSS, 16/63-2; KSS, 16/65-1.

²⁰² KSS, 16/198-1.

²⁰³ KSS, 16/198-4.

²⁰⁴ KSS, 16/212-1.

In 1754²⁰⁵ as consul of Venice in both Cyprus and Aleppo, Giralomo Brigadi was appointed. After Brigadi was dismissed by the bailo in Istanbul, Bernardo Caprara was appointed as the new Venetian consul in both places on 23 November 1765. The Venetian consulate in Aleppo was bound to Cyprus from 1754 to 1771. Bernardo Caprara continued working as consul in both places until 2 September 1771, when Domenico Serpoli was appointed consul in Aleppo. Therefore, Bernardo Caprara was only responsible for Cyprus until his death in 1779.²⁰⁶

As far as a later period of time is concerned, a document mentioning the ambassador of the Republic of Venice in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, Andrea Memmo, says that a Venetian consul, Bernardo Kabrar (Bernardo Caprara), who was dealing with the Venetian merchants' affairs who were travelling to and from the island of Cyprus, died, so Emmanuel Vasalo, a national of Venice, was appointed in the place of Bernardo Kabrar (Bernardo Caprara) (23rd June 1779).²⁰⁷ When Emmanuel Vasalo died, Count Angelo Rosalem was appointed as the new consul of Venice in Cyprus on 13 September 1794, whose consulate continued for only three years.²⁰⁸ Following his death, the bailo of Venice in Istanbul appointed Girolamo Caprara as a new consul. (21 March 1797).²⁰⁹

When the treaty of Campo Formio was signed between Napoleon and Austria in 1797, the Venice Republic no longer existed. Girolama Caprara, the last consul of Venice in Cyprus, was appointed on 21 March 1797 whose consulate only lasted for seven months.²¹⁰

Table 4 Venetian Consuls in Cyprus²¹¹

Name	Status	Date
Lorenzo Morosini		1578
Fedel Battista Dalla Moneda		1588-1592
Pietro Cordovani		1592-1595
Marchiò Spinelli		1595-1597
Antonio Ciurano		1597-1599
Candido Barbieri		1599-1602
Mattio di Mattio		1602-1603
Lunardo Emo		1603-1607
Almorò Tiepolo		1607-1613
Zan Battista Contarini		1613-1616
Alvise Soneme		1616-1624
Nicolò Orlandi		1624
Alessandro Goneme ²¹²	Consul	1625

²⁰⁵ Boogert has argued that, In 1753 Giraloma Brigadi, Venetian consul in Cyprus, was appointed to the consulate in Aleppo. See details, Boogert, "European Patronage in The Ottoman empire", *op.cit.*, p. 208.

²⁰⁶ Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations", *op.cit.*, p.245-46

²⁰⁷ KŞS, 20/146-3; KŞS, 20/147-1.

²⁰⁸ Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations", *op.cit.*, p. 246.

²⁰⁹ KŞS, 21/359-1.

²¹⁰ Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations", *op.cit.*, p. 247-48.

²¹¹ Costantini, *Il Sultano E L'isola Contesa Cipro*, *op.cit.*, p. 174; Ianiro, "Notes on Venetian Commerce", *op.cit.*, p. 187.

²¹² Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, *op.cit.*, p. 211; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

Turkish Studies

Paulo sarotti		1626-1629
Pietro Roncinelli		1629-1634
Nicolò Orlandi		1634-1638
Antonio Morosini		1638-1640
Zaccaria Foscolo		1640-1644
Marco Soderini		1644-1648
Bortolo Malombra		1648-1649
Marco Apogiario		1649-1650
Giovanni Antonio Santonini		1670-1674
Marco Ghirardi		1674-1680
Giovanni Antonio Santonini		1680-1684
Paulo Scrivanich	Consul	1710-11 (1711-14 ²¹³)
Liberal Calogera	Consul	1721-24 (1720-24)
Francesco Manzoni	Pro-consul	1722-25 (1724-25)
Giovanni Garmogliesi	Ragusan consul; the Venetian merchants turned to him during the suspension of the Venetian consulate.	
Giovanni Michiel Iauna	Venetian merchant	1739 and 1744
Girolamo Brigadi	Consul	1745-54 (1645-1754)
Giovanni Bizzaro	Pro-consul	1754-59
Domenico Seriola	Vice-consul	1759-61 (1759-60)
Girolamo Brigadi	Consul	1762-65
Bernardo Caprara	Consul	1765-78
Giovanni Antonio Zambelli	Pro-Consul	1769-70
Giacomo Caprara	Pro-Consul	1778-79 (1778-1779)
Emanuel Vassallo	Consul	1779-94 (1779-1788)
Angelo Rosalem	Consul	1794-96
Girolamo Verlano	Pro-consul	1796-97
Girolamo (Giacomo ²¹⁴) Caprara	Consul	September 1797

Austrian Consulate in Cyprus

In the 18th Century's second quarter, when the vessels of Austria States started to have a journey in the Mediterranean, Cyprus has become one of Austria's merchants frequented place as the other Mediterranean ports. Cyprus, Cario, Alexandria, Narda, Chios, Smyrna, Thessaloniki and

²¹³ Costantini, *Il Sultano E L'isola Contesa Cipro*, *op.cit.*, p. 174.

²¹⁴ Costantini, *ibid*, p. 174.

Chania were the Mediterranean harbours, which the Austria's ships were calling at. From 1750, the ships with Austrian flag have increased to the Mediterranean.²¹⁵

When the Austrian merchants have begun to blow in to Cyprus, the Austiran consuls started to be appointed in Cyprus aswell. George Wakeman (Corci Vikman) is the fist vice-consul, which we coincide in documents. The English consul of Cyprus called George Wakeman (*Corci Vikman*), served as a representative of consul (vice-consul) of Austria (*Roma/Nemçe*) at the same time (13 October 1749, 22 November 1750).²¹⁶

The ambassador of the Austrian (*Nemçe*) Empire in Istanbul, Kavalier (Chevalier) de Istrem, appointed Antonto Kapara as a vice-consul to take the place of the late Dominiko Antanyo (Dominico Antonio) Spiras on 13th August 1813, as consul of the Austrian citizens in Cyprus and in places under the jurisdiction of Cyprus dating from September 1809.²¹⁷

Another problem about the debts concerned the Austrian (*Nemçe*) consul and his merchants. In a record dated 9th March 1823, the Austrian consul and seven Austrian merchants claimed that they had 8,709 piaster to be collected from the Greeks who were condemned to death or they had escaped because they had participated in the riots. It was demanded from the officials in Cyprus to investigate the Austrians' claims.²¹⁸ In a document dated 21st March 1833, the Austrian consul and the Australian Bozovic demanded the loans owed to them to be taken from the inheritance of the people who were condemned to death or had escaped from the country.²¹⁹

As it was notified before, the states which opened consulates in the Tuzla district of Cyprus also opened them in Limassol, Paphos, and Nicosia in order to serve their citizens better. In a document dated 20th November 1850, we see that the Austrian ambassador in Istanbul appointed as Austrian representative of consul in Limassol a man by the name Konstantino Frankori, who would help the Austrian citizens in their affairs and with their problems.²²⁰ Kapara who was the consul of Austria in Tuzla harbour, was retired and a sergeant-major from the Austrian Empire, Bossiye Miser Artid, was given the duty of representative consul. In addition, in the relative document, it was announced that Bossiye Miser Artid would be attached to the Austrian consul in Beirut (23rd February 1858).²²¹ On 4 June 1860, Bossiye Miser Artid was appointed to a new mission so the representative consul of Austria would be Paskoneti.²²²

During the riots in Cyprus, the Austrian (*Nemçe*) representative consul of Paphos was murdered. Following this incident, the Austrian ambassador of Istanbul demanded that this horrible situation should be investigated and the guilty people should be punished. On the request of the Austrian ambassador, Refet, a man with official duty, was sent from Istanbul to investigate how the representative consul was murdered (16th October 1833).²²³

Sweden Consulate in Cyprus

In a record dated 3rd August 1750, the ambassador of the State of Sweden in Istanbul, De Selsin, notified that he appointed a Swedish consul named Cirola Moyedgadi to help the Swedish

²¹⁵ Numan Elibol, "Avusturya Tüccar Gemilerine Ait Veriler Işığında Osmanlı-Avusturya Deniz Ticareti (1700-1800)", **Osmanlı Dönemi Akdeniz Dünyası**, Ed by: H. Çoruh, M.Y. Ertaş, M. Z. Köse, İstanbul 2011, p.181-185.

²¹⁶ KŞS, 16/160-1; KŞS, 16/160-2; KŞS, 16/189-1; KŞS, 16/190-1.

²¹⁷ KŞS, 28/112-1.

²¹⁸ KŞS, 31/25-2.

²¹⁹ KŞS, 35/10-1.

²²⁰ KŞS, 42/112-2.

²²¹ KŞS, 44/152-1; KŞS, 44/152-2.

²²² KŞS, 45/57-1.

²²³ KŞS, 35/25-2.

merchants coming and going to Cyprus.²²⁴ In a relative document about the appointments of translators (dragomans), the ambassador of Sweden, De Selsin, talks about the Swedish representative consul at Limassol harbour in Cyprus (9th December 1768).²²⁵

Konig, the ambassador of Sweden announces that he appointed a vice-representative consul named Konstantino Prisitiyani among the Swedish citizens on the death of Swedish consul Misel son of Covanni (Giovanni) (was appointed Swedish consul in Cyprus on February 1800) until the appointed consul came (September 1802).²²⁶ In a later decision in a record of the same date, the ambassador (*Orta elçisi*) of the Russian Empire in Istanbul, Barilde Tamara, appointed Konstantino Prisitiyani to the position left empty due to the death of the Russian representative consul (September 1802).²²⁷ There isn't a similarity in the names, there is a slight difference comparing to the previous examples. Konstantino Prisitiyani was appointed as a representative consul for both States. On the 20th November 1812, Anderya Ibtalinski, the ambassador of Russia in Istanbul, appointed Konstantino Prisitiyani as a representative consul to help the Russian citizens in Cyprus.²²⁸

Konstantino Prisitiyani, the representative consul of Sweden in Cyprus was appointed as a consul by the ambassador of Sweden in Istanbul Kovaliyo Balire dating from 21st July 1809.²²⁹ On 30 June 1813, the ambassador of Sweden Kovaliyo Balire demanded that the Swedish nobles would go to some of the islands in the Mediterranean Sea and also demanded that Kostantino Prisitiyani and his two servants would not be harassed.²³⁰ The ambassador of the King of Sweden and Norway on the Ottoman lands, Kavalir (Chevalier) Anton Nast, appointed Marko Prisitiyani, Konstantino's son in his father's place dating 7th April 1837.²³¹

On 25th July 1827, a new trade agreement was made between the Ottoman Empire and Sweden-Norway State. According to this agreement, it was decided that the merchants of Sweden-Norway would give 3% customs tax from the goods bought from the Ottoman lands and the duration of the agreement was 7.5 years.²³²

Sicilian Consulate in Cyprus

The ambassador of Sicily (Sicilyateyn/Sicily-Naples-Analpa) in Istanbul, Chevalier Mayo, notified that he appointed Covanni (Giovanni) Kalimiri from Napoli (Analpa) as a consul to help the merchants who come to all the Cypriot harbours by ship bearing the Naples-Sicily (Napoli-Analpa) flag. (17th November 1744).²³³ On the other hand, on 7th June 1764, the ambassador of Sicily (Naples-Analpa), Don Kollemer le Doilmon Ledof notified that their consul Covanni (Giovanni) Kalimiri serving in Cyprus died and Petro Sayer was appointed in his place.²³⁴

The ambassador of Sicily (Naples-Analpa), Don Kollemer, complained that the amount of 25 piaster was taken forcefully from one of his citizens in Cyprus, Leonardo Testila, without informing the consul. Upon research, it is understood that, in spite of the contract, the merchant

²²⁴ KŞS, 16/208-2.

²²⁵ KŞS, 20/93-1; KŞS, 20/93-2.

²²⁶ KŞS, 24/32-2.

²²⁷ KŞS, 24/32-3.

²²⁸ KŞS, 30/140-3.

²²⁹ KŞS, 30/147-2.

²³⁰ KŞS, 30/140-4.

²³¹ KŞS, 36/128-1.

²³² KŞS, 33/22-1.

²³³ KŞS, 17/4-1; KŞS, 17/6-1.

²³⁴ KŞS, 18/57-1.

was forced to give 25 piaster and decided this money should be returned to him and those who had collected that amount should be punished. (2nd November 1785.²³⁵ On 26th July 1794, the ambassador of Sicily (Sicilyateyn-Naples-Analpa), Don Konstantino Ledolk, complained that some monks from Sicily who had come to Cyprus were harassed while visiting Jerusalem (*Kudus-i Serif*) and some other places in spite of the contract. Due to the complaint, the administrators of the Ottoman state warned the officials in Cyprus not to act in spite of the contract and that the consul of Sicily serving in Cyprus was responsible for the monks.²³⁶

The ambassador (*orta elçisi*) of Sicily Josef Conrad le Dolof, appointed the representative consul of Sicily Cebro (Gebro) son of Kalmiri, as a consul, dating from 6th May 1818.²³⁷ On the other hand, the Sicily ambassador Kavalier (Chevalier) Malo dismissed the consul of Cyprus, Cebro (Gebro) son of Kalmiri and appointed his son Antonio Kalmiri in his place (23rd May 1826).²³⁸ On the other hand, on 17th September 1832, the consul Antonio Kalmiri serving in Cyprus died and Corciyo Lapiz was appointed in his place (representative consul).²³⁹ Corciyo (Giorgio) Lapiz, a Sicily representative consul in Cyprus was dismissed by the ambassador in Istanbul, Gaveriko, on 22nd July 1834 and Nicholas Gifaras was appointed in his place.²⁴⁰

Sardinian Consulate in Cyprus

According to the agreement signed between the Ottoman state and the state of Sardinia, the Sardinian ships bearing Sardinian flags would not be harassed at the shore and harbours of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the state of Sardinia could open consulates wherever the Ottoman State demanded apart from the consulate in Istanbul (28th July 1824).²⁴¹ According to the resources that mention the consul of Sardinia, it is understood that in Ayayorgi village in Mesarya (Mesaria) a Sardinian citizen called Saba Malagamy and a *zimmi* (non-Muslim) named Haralambo from the same village had a conflict between them because of a planted field. At the end of this conflict, Saba had to sell his field because it was forbidden to the foreigners to possess property on the Ottoman lands. (10th December 1836).²⁴² We see that the representative of the King of Sardinia, General Major Montlilyo dismissed Ceyan Batasna, the consul of Sardinia in Cyprus, and appointed Robert Vertoni in his place (4th June 1837).²⁴³ The reason why the consul of Sardinia was dismissed was probably because he couldn't defend his citizen at the court. On this occasion, the ambassador of Sardinia, Nekozeret, dismissed Robert Vertoni and appointed Marcelo Ceroti, a Sardinian citizen (17th October 1841).²⁴⁴ We learn from the resources that Marcelo Ceroti continued on the post until 11th October 1846.²⁴⁵ Marcelo gave up the post to a citizen Rafael Petci on the demand of Romalvenku's ambassador in Istanbul (11th October 1846).²⁴⁶ Rafael Petci, the consul of Sardinia in Cyprus was dismissed by the ambassador on 21st May 1852 and Clair Janmar Pakarina

²³⁵ KŞS, 21/42-4.

²³⁶ KŞS, 21/278-1.

²³⁷ KŞS, 30/8-1; KŞS, 30/8-2.

²³⁸ KŞS, 32/23-1.

²³⁹ KŞS, 34/110-1.

²⁴⁰ KŞS, 35/93-1.

²⁴¹ KŞS, 31/83-2.

²⁴² KŞS, 36/96-1.

²⁴³ KŞS, 36/135-1.

²⁴⁴ KŞS, 39/6-1; KŞS, 39/6-2.

²⁴⁵ KŞS, 41/15-1.

²⁴⁶ KŞS, 41/15-2.

was brought to his place.²⁴⁷ On the other hand, the vice-consul of Sardinia in Cyprus, Kavalier (Chevalier) Karniya, died on 22nd February 1856 and Balramatiyele was appointed to his place.²⁴⁸

After the date December 1861, the King of Sardinia was to use the title of King of Italy, agreed by Ottoman State. The vice-consul of Sardinia in Cyprus, Bağdasar Mateti who was the vice-consul of Italy would continue his work till December 1861.²⁴⁹ Beldomana, the representative consul of Italy (Sicily-Napoli) was dismissed on December 1861 and Kandirotikri was appointed as representative consul on 16th July 1863.²⁵⁰ 5 March 1867, an Italian vice-consul in Tuzla Melkure Simonretti appointed for official duty, was appointed to another place with a document dated 9 March 1868. On the other hand Rikardo Kovelçi was appointed in the place of Melkure.²⁵¹ 28 September 1873, since Francesko Lamertin an Italian vice-consul appointed to the Italy consulate in Tuzla was appointed to another place on 29 August 1874, Ganyako Sevdatelli was appointed in his place.²⁵²

Dubrovnic Consulate in Cyprus

In dated 2nd March 1699, Luka, the representative of Dubrovnic who traveled aboard Dubrovnic ships towards Cyprus and Tripoli in Syria, should not pay any money apart from customs according to the Imperial contract.²⁵³ We understand from this document that there wasn't an official such as a consul or representative of consul of Dubrovnic so the affairs of these from Dubrovnic in this area were dealt with by the ambassadors in Istanbul. The ambassador of Dubrovnic Republic in Istanbul, Baltasar (Balthazar) Goca de Marinozamanya, notified that he appointed Marino Katayi in the place of Ciyovani Gazmoliyezi (Giyovani Gasmelleyzi) the consul in Cyprus and Tripoli of Syria who had died (29th June 1777).²⁵⁴ It is understood that the consuls of foreign countries operating on the Ottoman lands were responsible for more than one area.

Denmark Consulate in Cyprus

In 18th century, Denmark was one of the states, which is involved with Mediterranean trade and Cyprus was the way of port of the merchants who are connected to the Denmark Kingdom. Therefore, at first the Kingdom of Denmark have asked for help from the United Kingdom but soon Denmark has established its own consul on the island. As it can be seen in documents, the first Denmark vice-consul was the United Kingdom's consul Timothy Turner who named in 21 January 1765.²⁵⁵

The document concerning the appointment of dragoman is dated 15th October 1783, although through the document we learn that there was a consul of Denmark in Cyprus.²⁵⁶ The ambassador of the King of Denmark in Cyprus, Baron Heys, appointed Cebrolamo Kalimiri as a representative consul on 6th May 1799, to help the Danish citizens staying in Tuzla district in their travels to and from Cyprus.²⁵⁷ When the ambassador of Denmark Heys Cebrolamo resigned his post, Konstantino Lonato was appointed as a representative to the consulate of Denmark in Cyprus

²⁴⁷ KŞS, 42/212-1.

²⁴⁸ KŞS, 44/74-1.

²⁴⁹ KŞS, 46/126-1.

²⁵⁰ KŞS, 47/2-1.

²⁵¹ KŞS, 48/88-1; KŞS, 48/88-2.

²⁵² KŞS, 52/31-1.

²⁵³ KŞS, 6/178-1.

²⁵⁴ KŞS, 20/132-2; KŞS, 20/133-1.

²⁵⁵ KŞS, 20/83-1; KŞS, 20/83-2.

²⁵⁶ KŞS, 18/91-1.

²⁵⁷ KŞS, 22/39-2.

(June 1804).²⁵⁸ On July 1830, the representative consul Konstantino Lonato died and Marino de Manye was appointed in his place.²⁵⁹ Upon the death of Marino de Manye, the representative of consul of Denmark in the Tuzla district of Cyprus, who had been appointed to the post on July 1830, Nazaro de Manye was ordered to assume the post as a representative consul by the document dated 3 May 1859.²⁶⁰ Nazaro de Manye stayed at this post for nearly two years. Then he was taken from this job with the document dated 27th January 1861 and Ebnosak Teriretkovic was appointed in his place.²⁶¹

Russian Consulate in Cyprus²⁶²

With the aim of becoming a part of the Mediterranean trade, Russians signed the ‘Aynalikavak’ treatment with the Ottoman Empire at the end of 18th century. Cyprus was a part of the territory that the Russians had. Russians opened a council in Cyprus in no time as it can be seen on the documents.

In the document dated 6th October 1783, according to the trade agreement signed in *Aynalikavak* between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires, some privileges were given to the English and French merchants and citizens. From now on, it is made known that the same privileges would be given to the Russian merchants and citizens and the Ottoman authorities were informed of this decision. Although a Russian ambassador started to be present in Istanbul from this date on, a Russian consul wasn’t appointed in Cyprus.²⁶³

The ambassador (*Orta elçisi*) of Russia in the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, Kavalarda Polikaf, announced that he appointed Captain Ivan Ecali to Cyprus as a consul with the document dated 27th July 1785 to be helpful to the Russian citizens. In the certificate (*berat*) given to the Russian consul, it is said that the privileges given to the English and French would be given to the Russians as well.²⁶⁴ As it is known, the cooperation of the Russian Empire with the Ottoman Empire started with the *Aynalikavak* Trade Agreement. As it is understood, from the documents, Captain Ivan Ecali was the first consul of Russia in Cyprus.

The relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Russia scattered after a war broke between them in 1787. However, after the war ended, the commercial relations began again.²⁶⁵ The ambassador of Russia on the Ottoman lands, Pazilde Tamara, announced that a Russian citizen Dimitriyo Matak who paid 3% customs tax while trading in the Mediterranean Sea should not be demanded to pay any more taxes (31st October 1799).²⁶⁶

For the vice consil position in Cyprus, Mensel Veni Ran Mensel was appointed in 1799. After his death in 1802, Kostantino Pristiyani took his place in the council.²⁶⁷ In addition to this, between 1806 and 1812 the war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia restrained their relationship. After the war the ambassador (*Orta elçisi*) of Russia appointed Kostantino Pristiyani to Cyprus as a vice-consul again with the document dated 20th November 1812 to help out the

²⁵⁸ KŞS, 24/69-1.

²⁵⁹ KŞS, 34/16-4.

²⁶⁰ KŞS, 45/9-1.

²⁶¹ KŞS, 45/72-1.

²⁶² For details on Russian consulate in Cyprus, see Mehmet Demiryürek, “The Consulate of Russia in Cyprus in Later 18th and Early 19th Century”, *XVI. Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi September 2010*, Ankara. (Unpublished paper)

²⁶³ KŞS, 18/125-3.

²⁶⁴ KŞS, 21/29-3.

²⁶⁵ Demiryürek, “The Consulate of Russia”, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

²⁶⁶ KŞS, 22/93-1.

²⁶⁷ KŞS, 24/32-1; BOA, *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri, Defter No: 88/6 Hüküm No: 316, 507*; Demiryürek, “The Consulate of Russia”, *op.cit.*, p.4.

Russian citizens.²⁶⁸ Then Kostantino Beristiyani was appointed as a vice-consul of Russia to the consulate of Cyprus on April 1830.²⁶⁹

The consul of the Russian Empire in Cyprus, Marko Santi, had two slaves called Mercan and Said. These two slaves fought and Said killed Mercan with an axe (8th August 1842).²⁷⁰ According to the research, it is understood that the slaves of the Russian consul were Muslims. In addition, it was explained in detail how Mercan was murdered. Once the report was prepared, it was sent to the *Kaptan-ı Derya* (chief captain) Tahir Pasa on his order (18th September 1842). The consul of Russian was represented by his dragoman Aci Evanceli in this case.²⁷¹

The ambassador of the Russian Empire in Cyprus appointed a Russian citizen, Vonde Cato, as representative consul in Cyprus on 15th October 1856 in order to help the Russian merchants and the citizens of Russia in their travels to and from Cyprus.²⁷² Russian merchants were exported wine (Commandaria), coffee (Yemen-Frenk), carob in this period.²⁷³

Spanian Consulate in Cyprus

From the end of the 18th century, Spain's trade ships has begun to be active in mediteranean ports and as the other kingdoms, Cyprus was the way Port of Spain aswell. Because of that, Spain appoints a consul to Cyprus to helped the Spanish merchants.

When one of the Spanish captains, Klaris, came to Cyprus via Alexandria on his ship bearing a Spanish flag, his ship was commandeered by a Cretan captain Emin who was in a harbour in Cyprus and was taken to Crete. This negative situation was made known by the Spanish consul in Cyprus to his ambassador in Istanbul (3rd July 1799).²⁷⁴ Upon this, the ambassador of Spain applied to the authorities in Istanbul to rescue the Spanish ship and its captain. But according to the investigation, it is understood that the Spanish ship was a part of the French fleet in Alexandria and joined the war and that was the reason the ship had been commandeered (17th October 1799).²⁷⁵

Şövalye (*Sir*) de Pres, the representative of the Spanish king on the Ottoman lands appointed Antonio Kalimeri (Antonyo Kalimeri) as a consul of Spain to the consulate of Cyprus on 12th August 1820.²⁷⁶ Antonio Kalimeri was a representative consul up to his death; the ambassador of the state of Spain, Kavelerde Konderya gave the duty to Anders Mayer as a representative consul (16th May 1836).²⁷⁷ In January 1840, the Spanish representative Consul De Kaylen, who was appointed for official duty, was appointed to another place in February 1862, and Ceba Kandemdiyo Seycodic was appointed in his place.²⁷⁸

Prusian Consulate in Cyprus

The ambassador of Prussia in Istanbul de Kano Blasdorak notified through a document dated 13th December 1792 that he appointed Marino Matayi, as a consul of Cyprus, because Luis

²⁶⁸ KŞS, 30/140-3.

²⁶⁹ KŞS, 34-3-1; *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri, Defter No: 89/7, Hüküm No: 208.*

²⁷⁰ KŞS, 39/39-1.

²⁷¹ KŞS, 39/39-2.

²⁷² KŞS, 44/90-2.

²⁷³ Demiryürek, "The Consulate of Russia", *op.cit.*, p. 6-8.

²⁷⁴ KŞS, 22/64-2.

²⁷⁵ KŞS, 22/65-1.

²⁷⁶ KŞS, 30/89-1.

²⁷⁷ KŞS, 36/92-1.

²⁷⁸ KŞS, 46/127-1.

Hill de Brande who was the consul of Prussia in Cyprus had died.²⁷⁹ Cako Mateyi was appointed to the post, representing the Prussian state in Cyprus on October 1810.

The Prussian consul Cako Matayi (Jacques Mattei), his assistants Bagdasar Matayi, his brother Giovanni Antonio Matayi (Giacometto Mattei) and his *dragoman* Covanni Dösini (Giovanni Dosini) wanted from the officials working in Cyprus to help them get their loans of nearly 200,000 piaster repaid from the Greeks who were condemned to death because of participating in riots or those who had escaped from the country (5th December 1822).²⁸⁰ In one of the documents, it was found that the Prussian consul Cako Matayi bought 2,717 *kurush* worth of cotton from merchant Madrios, who was condemned to death because he participated in the riot activities of the Greeks in Cyprus against the Ottoman State. So it was decided that the consul's money would be paid from the merchant's inheritance (5th December 1822).²⁸¹

In 1836, the taxes taken from wool via Tuzla harbour, show that some consuls were dealing with wool trade. The consuls of Prussia, Cako Mateyi, paid 902 piaster (*kurush*), the consul of Sicily Nikola Kefla paid 95 piaster, and the Austrian consul paid 24 piaster as customs tax (22 March 1837).²⁸²

As it is understood from the resources, Cako Mateyi had been the consul of Prussia until the year 1861, when he died. Upon the death of Cako Mateyi, another Prussian called Risar Mateyi was appointed to be the representative consul (20th September 1861).²⁸³ Two years later, Risar Mateyi was dismissed from this mission and Baldo Mateyi was appointed to his place on 28th October 1863.²⁸⁴

Greek Consulate in Cyprus

After 1829, when Greece gain their independence from Ottoman Empire, they started trading in different places of Greece. Mediterranean island was the important ones. With the documents, it can be understood that for these territories, Greek consuls have been attended by the Greek Government. The Cyprus Island was one of the few spots of this territory where the Greek consuls are situated.

Although a trade agreement wasn't signed between the Ottoman State and Greece, a Greek called Dimitri Mergadini was appointed as a representative consul to deal with the affairs of the Greek citizens travelling to and from Cyprus (19th February 1846).²⁸⁵ As it can be understood from the relative document, Dimitri Mergadini, was the first Greek representative consul appointed to Cyprus. In a document dated 13th September 1855, we see that a trade agreement was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Greece. In addition, in the document mentioned above, we see that the representative consul of Greece, Mösyö (Monsieur) Filipos Varde was given the same rights as the consuls of the other countries.²⁸⁶ On 3 January 1873, a Greek representative consul in Tuzla, Menaro, appointed for official duty, was appointed to another place on 4 August 1874. Petro Beçboni was appointed in his place.²⁸⁷

²⁷⁹ KŞS, 22/124-1; KŞS, 22/124-2.

²⁸⁰ KŞS, 31/13-1.

²⁸¹ KŞS, 31/13-2.

²⁸² KŞS, 36/106-1.

²⁸³ KŞS, 45/99-1.

²⁸⁴ KŞS, 47/15-1.

²⁸⁵ KŞS, 40/174-1.

²⁸⁶ KŞS, 44/63-1.

²⁸⁷ KŞS, 52/23-1.

In 19th August 1871, since Dimitri Niko, appointed to the Greek official-consul in Limassol was dismissed with a document dated 4th August 1874, Menaro was appointed in his place.²⁸⁸ Menaro, mentioned here, was most probably the same person who had been the Greek vice-consul in Tuzla and had been dismissed in the same year.

American Consulate in Cyprus²⁸⁹

The relations between the Ottoman State and the USA had started to improve at the beginning of the 19th Century.²⁹⁰ The first political contact between America and the Ottoman State took place in 1828 at the level of *Chargé d'affaires (maslahatgüzarlık)* However, the first American ambassador was appointed in 1839.²⁹¹ David Potter, the ambassador of the USA in Istanbul, appointed Manali Marino as a representative consul to help the American citizens in Cyprus until he appointed the vice-consul.²⁹² We see that two years later, David Porter appointed Manali Marino as a vice-consul (21st October 1835).²⁹³ As it can be understood from the sources, the consulate of America in Cyprus remained empty for a while. Out of necessity, the previous consul Manali Marino was appointed to Cyprus as an American consul by the ambassador in Istanbul, Dani Ebsifar, in 1847. In addition, we learn from the last appointment document that between 1835 and 1847, nobody was appointed.²⁹⁴ On 10th December 1859, consul of Spain, Tomosava, complained about the fact that after the death of American consul Manali, Cosepe Cesili and Basonit acted as consuls although they had no official documents. In addition, in this document, it is argued that Manali was the consul of America and Denmark.²⁹⁵

On 4th October 1858 upon Manali Mariyo's death, Mösyö Bargi became the American consul in Cyprus.²⁹⁶ It is understood from the sources that Mösyö Yasefiri who was the American vice-consul in Limassol temporarily took over Bargi's post until Bargi was appointed (16 February 1859).²⁹⁷ On 30th September 1861 after the resignation of Perkalin who was the consul in Tuzla helping American merchants and citizens, Aleksandri Lapon was appointed.²⁹⁸ On 26th December 1862, an English consul was appointed to replace the American consul, who returned to his country, in order to help American citizens.²⁹⁹

The most famous American consul in Tuzla appointed by the American President Lincoln in 1865 was of Italian decent Louis Palma di Cesnola.³⁰⁰ He was on duty between 1865 and 1876. He was not just a consul; he carried out contraband activities of lots of valuable archaeological goods to the USA.

America (USA) had representation in Paphos and Limassol districts besides the Tuzla district. We learn the documents that an American vice-consul in Limassol before Basonid was

²⁸⁸ KSS, 52/35-1.

²⁸⁹ Details for American consulate in Cyprus see, Ali Efdal Özkul, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs Adasında Amerikan Konsolosluğu ve Faaliyetleri", *I. Uluslararası Lefke Avrupa Üniversitesi Tarih Kongresi (6-9 Nisan 2011) "Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Tarihi"*, KKTC 2011, pp. 149-160.

²⁹⁰ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, V, Ankara 1995, p. 211.

²⁹¹ H. Tahsin Fendoğlu, "Osmanlı-ABD Ticari İlişkileri", *Türkler*, vol XIV, Ed. H. C. Güzel, Ankara 2002, p. 275.

²⁹² KSS, 35/33-1.

²⁹³ KSS, 36/45-1; KSS, 36/46-1.

²⁹⁴ KSS, 41/63-1; KSS, 41/63-2.

²⁹⁵ HR.MKT. Dosya No: 317 Gömlek No: 67.

²⁹⁶ DVN.DVE. Dosya No: 24/-A Gömlek No: 47.; A.DVN.MHM. Dosya No: 27 Gömlek No: 92.

²⁹⁷ HR.MKT. Dosya No:276 Gömlek No: 71.

²⁹⁸ DVN.MHM. Dosya No. 35 Gömlek No: 17.

²⁹⁹ C.HR. Dosya No: 114 Gömlek No. 5686.

³⁰⁰ Louis Palma Di Cesnola, *Cyprus, Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*, London 1877, p. 41.

Mösyö Yasefiri.³⁰¹ When Basonid who was America's representative consul at the harbour of Limassol from 10-20 April 1857 resigned, Akamat was brought to his place on 4th October 1861.³⁰² In 4 October 1861, since Akamat, appointed to the America vice-consul in Limassol was dismissed with a document dated 6 November 1874, Nibudev Roser Peristiyan was appointed in his place.³⁰³ Alexander Vicostole was appointed to the Paphos district as a representative consul of America on 21st January 1874.³⁰⁴

Belgium Consulate in Cyprus

The State of Belgium opened many consulates on the Ottoman lands in order to organise the commercial activities and help the Belgian merchants and captains on 20th September 1861. The state of Belgium opened a consulate in Cyprus and appointed Balema, one of its citizens, as a consul.³⁰⁵ We learn from the sources that Balema was the first Belgian consul in Cyprus.³⁰⁶

Duchy of Tuscany Consulate in Cyprus

According to the trade agreement signed between the Ottoman state and the Duchy of Tuscany, it is made known that the Tuscan ships sailing under Tuscan flags, which travel to the shores and harbours of the Ottoman Empire wouldn't be harassed. In addition, the Duchy of Tuscany could open a consulate in a place where the Ottoman State would demand, besides the one in Istanbul (25th February 1834).³⁰⁷ On the other hand, we can't come across in the sources that a consul of the Duchy of Tuscany or a representative consul that had been appointed.

It is understood that the consuls who served in Cyprus had serious socio-economic and cultural impact on the life of the island. During the Ottoman state administration, consuls and representative consuls from nearly 19 countries served in Cyprus. Upon research, it is seen that the French and English consuls were the most active in Cyprus. The reason was that most merchants in Cyprus were English and French. The consuls served in Cyprus stayed at the largest export harbour of Cyprus in the Tuzla district. Although the consuls stayed in Tuzla, they possessed a lot of properties in many different places on the island because of their commercial activities. In addition, these consuls had commercial representatives or agents in Limassol, Paphos, Famagusta and Nicosia apart from the Tuzla shores.

The Dragomans of Consuls

We learn from the documents that besides the other areas of the Ottoman provinces, the most important assistants of the consuls, serving also in Cyprus, are the dragomans of the consuls. According to Wood, the essential duties of the dragomans (translators) were to ensure the relationship between the Ottoman state and the consuls. At the same time, the dragomans were working as an intelligence service and were collecting information both about the Ottoman state and the other consuls. Some dragomans were sometimes transported from one consul to the other and the worst was that they could serve the Ottomans as well. In addition, although they had their certificates in their hands, these dragomans who had Ottoman identity could be influenced by the

³⁰¹ Çoruh, *II. Mahmut Döneminde Kıbrıs*, *op.cit.*, p. 466.

³⁰² KŞS, 45/98-1.

³⁰³ KŞS, 52/54-2.

³⁰⁴ KŞS, 51/176-2.

³⁰⁵ KŞS, 45/101-1.

³⁰⁶ KŞS, 45/101-2.

³⁰⁷ KŞS, 35/73-1.

administrators. For this reason, the French and the English opened language schools to educate their dragomans but they did not succeed.³⁰⁸

Orhonlu divided the dragomans into four groups in the Ottoman province. These were grouped as follows: the Translators of the *Divan-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Council of State), the Translators of Provinces, the Translators of Military and Educational Associations and the Translators of Foreign Ambassadors and Consuls.³⁰⁹

The numbers of the foreign countries' dragomans, dating from 1730, in the Ottoman provinces were about 229.³¹⁰ As of the consuls the appointment of the *dragomans* (translator) of the consuls was possible with a certificate by the Ottoman sovereign. The payments of the dragomans' salaries like their appointments were left to the approval of the consuls.³¹¹ It is understood that the English consul in Cyprus provided extra payments to his dragomans besides their salary.³¹² The dragomans of the consuls at the places related to the Levant Company had a salary between \$200 and \$300 according to their ranks.³¹³ The consuls in Cyprus, including the consuls of England were permitted to have only one dragoman with *berat* (certificate) in some periods.³¹⁴ However, the consuls sometimes had two dragomans serving them.³¹⁵ In spite of this, Cyprus had close strong relationship with the Levant Company in Aleppo which had three dragomans until 1774 and then this was reduced to two dragomans.³¹⁶ Boogert has argued that the number of servants, guards and interpreters employed by the consul was limited.³¹⁷

The documents referring to the 18th and 19th centuries show that these exceptions were enlarged more than before.³¹⁸ One of the reasons to have so much authority reminds us that the consuls were acting as deputy in some periods. The Ottoman state took some precautions to reduce the effectiveness of the consuls.

The dragomans of the consuls, who had the Ottoman State *berat* (certificate), used the privileges for their own benefit and apart from their main duties they dealt with some commercial affairs. The state tried to prevent these kinds of affairs and sent *firman*s (Royal Commands) all over the Ottoman Province but it is understood from the documents that the state couldn't prevent this situation completely. In a record, the consul dragomans serving in Cyprus, were warned that if they performed commercial activities as the Ottoman State citizens did, they wouldn't be protected and they would have to pay the taxes as the other people did (30th April 1785).³¹⁹

In another document dated 10th April 1800, the foreign states' ambassadors in Istanbul and their dragomans in the countryside had to reside in the appointed areas and not to interfere with

³⁰⁸ Wood, *A History of Levant Company*, *op.cit.*, p. 225-227; Çiçek, "Konsolosluk Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p. 20-1.

³⁰⁹ Cengiz Orhonlu, "Tercümân", *İA*, XII/I, İstanbul 1979, p. 176.

³¹⁰ Kenan İnan, "Osmanlı Döneminde Yabancı Elçilik ve Konsolosluklarda Görevli Tercümânların Statüleri", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Sayı 154 (1996), p. 6; However, Çiçek said the number of dragomans is 218. Çiçek, "Konsolosluk Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p. 18.

³¹¹ Çiçek, "Konsolosluk Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p. 19-20.

³¹² Luke, *Cyprus Under The Turks*, *op.cit.*, p.100.

³¹³ Wood, *A History of Levant Company*, *op.cit.*, p. 227.

³¹⁴ Çiçek, "Konsolosluk Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p. 20; Erdoğan, "Avrupalı Konsoloslar ve Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p. 317-8; *KŞS*, 21/271-2.

³¹⁵ Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi*, *op.cit.*, p. 109; Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations" *op.cit.*, p. 248.

³¹⁶ Wood, *A History of Levant Company*, *op.cit.*, p. 227-8.

³¹⁷ Boogert, "European patronage in the Ottoman Empire", *op.cit.*, p. 209.; Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations", *op.cit.*, p. 248.

³¹⁸ *KŞS*, 16/160-1.; Luke, *Cyprus Under The Turks*, *op.cit.*, p. 108-110; Çiçek, "Konsolosluk Tercümânları", *op.cit.*, p. 21.

³¹⁹ *KŞS*, 21/27-2.

other affairs and never to deal in trade. Those who acted against this command had their certificates taken from them and other new dragomans would be appointed in their place. All this was reminded to all the consuls of the foreign states.³²⁰

In 19th century records, the consuls of France, Russia, England, Austria, Sicily, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, *Cezair-i seba*, Dubrovnic and Denmark in Cyprus were notified that they should wear their dragoman uniforms, they shouldn't stay in the inns and shops and shouldn't interfere with the tradesmen affairs and should pay the necessary taxes on the lands and properties they owned (July 1805).³²¹

The dragomans who were the assistants of the consuls used to take a permission certificate in order to travel in the Ottoman province. Even travelling between the districts of Cyprus, this permission *berat* was essential.³²² It is seen on those records that the official authorities were informed about the dragomans who would travel to their zones and that these dragomans wouldn't face difficulties.

In another record dated December 1802, the authorities were informed by the Prussian ambassador Konovildorof in Istanbul that the dragoman of the Prussian consul in Izmir, Francis son of Corci Deyap would travel to Cyprus to dissolve some of his affairs. On the demand of the ambassador, the authorities in Istanbul informed the authorities between Izmir and Cyprus.³²³

In fact, in some periods some people who weren't merchants but dealt with trade gave money to the consuls to get a certificate (*berat*) as dragomans and thus they dispensed with their responsibilities.³²⁴ On the occasion the Ottoman Empire administrators carried out investigations to prevent those who wanted to use the privileges for their own benefits. In a document dated 19th July 1806, it is found that dragomans and the servants of the consuls and the representative consuls or vice-consul of Christian states serving in Nicosia, Limassol and Tuzla districts weren't at the places they had been appointed to so their certificates and travelling permissions were cancelled. On one of these investigations, Serkiz son of Avak was given a *berât-ı ali* (certificate) on 11th November 1798 and Kirkov son of Serkiz was given a certificate on 30th May 1799³²⁵ to be with the English representative consul, but it was found that they weren't present at their posts so their position as interpreter was cancelled (27th October 1806).³²⁶

In the sources we see that the position of interpreter was passed down from father to son. After a time, the position as interpreter was in the monopoly of some families. The representative ambassador of the King of Denmark in Istanbul, Borgoman, notified that the consuls residing in the Ottoman province, were permitted to have one dragoman and appointed Marat son of Hiristodolo Şirbaze in the place of Hiristodolo son of Sirbaze who had died (15th October 1783).³²⁷ It is seen that the new dragoman is the son of the dragoman who had died a while ago. A similar example is seen when Avanis Agop, the French consul's Şövaler dö (Chevalier Du) Verjen's dragoman, died and his son Josef was appointed to his place (16th July 1768).³²⁸ The ambassador of Holland (*Nederlande*), Ron van Devem Van Dekilder, says that Artin son of Avvak, the dragoman of the

³²⁰ KŞS, 22/104-1; KŞS, 24/169-1.

³²¹ KŞS, 24/129-1.

³²² KŞS, 24/169-1; KŞS, 24/148-1.

³²³ KŞS, 24/11-1; KŞS, 24/12-1.

³²⁴ Kütükoğlu, "Ahidnâmeler Ticaret Muâhedeleri", *op.cit.*, p. 331.

³²⁵ KŞS, 24/148-1.

³²⁶ KŞS, 26/14-1.

³²⁷ KŞS, 18/91-1.

³²⁸ KŞS, 20/24-1; KŞS, 20/24-2.

consul of Holland in Cyprus, died and his son Yakob son of Artin was appointed in his place (6th April 1797).³²⁹

It is seen that the dragoman of the French consul in Cyprus, Ceronimo son of Hiristofi, was the oldest one that we come across in the documents. Markiz de Nolte offered a petition to the Ottoman Empire and demanded that Ceronimo son of Hiristofi was appointed as a dragoman to deal with all kinds of the French consuls and asked that he should be given a certificate by the Ottoman sovereign showing his mission and privileges (13th April 1717).³³⁰ The ambassador of France announced that he appointed Ceromo Karidis in the place of dragoman for Harotimo son of Hiristofi who helped the French consul in Cyprus (18th March 1772).³³¹ In a similar document dated 6th September 1774, the dragoman of the French consul dragoman Josef in Cyprus resigned so this time Serkiz son of Avak was appointed as place of him.³³²

The dragoman of the French consul in Cyprus, Serkiz son of Avak and Aci Avakim son of Stefan, a French merchant demanded the 7,395 piaster from Addulbaki Aga the oldest *muhasil* of Cyprus, by commandeering his properties and auctioning them off (9th December 1786).³³³ The properties of Abdülbaki Aga were commandeered by the treasury so that the amount he owed was collected and his debts to the French dragoman and his merchant were paid. The remaining amount would be sent to the treasury (21st April 1787).³³⁴ In a similar document dated 21st February 1792, the *Alaybeyi* of Nicosia Seratibzâde Mehmed died before he had paid his debt to Avak son of Serkiz, the dragoman of the French consul so the state commandeered all his properties and it commanded that this debt value of 4.348 piaster would be paid out of the state budget.³³⁵

The French ambassador in the Ottoman province, Konte (Comte) de Sozl Gufiye, demanded that when the dragomans serving under the French consuls died on duty, their inheritance wouldn't be interfered with and the tax (*resm-i kismet*) not to be taken. On the demand of the French ambassador, a written demand from Istanbul arrived saying that such a condition would be handled with care so as not to appear again (15th February 1790).³³⁶

Because France attacked Egypt under the administration of Ottoman, it was ordered that the French citizen consul and his merchants on the whole of the Ottoman province would be imprisoned in exchange for the Muslims of Egypt. In addition, it was made known that the dragomans, citizens of the Ottoman state and their servants' exception would be abolished and they would start to give *cizye* (poll-tax) when the relevant *firman* (Royal Command) started to be applied in Cyprus. The dragoman of the French consul, Serkiz son of Avak Aci Yorgaki son of Yanaki their servants Petri son of Mihail, Yorgi son of Lefteri, Pavlo Karidi and Mihalaki son of Pavlo's privileges were abolished and they were subjected to *cizye* (poll-tax) (12th September 1798).³³⁷

We come across 13 names of dragomans of the English consuls during the mentioned period. These names are as follows: Lazauya son of Pavlo³³⁸, Zevani Karuda³³⁹ Konstantin son of

³²⁹ KSS, 21/356-2.

³³⁰ KSS, 9/6-1; KSS, 9/6-2.

³³¹ KSS, 20/75-2; KSS, 20/75-3.

³³² KSS, 20/99-2; KSS, 20/100-1.

³³³ KSS, 21/64-1.

³³⁴ KSS, 21/83-1; KSS, 21/92-1.

³³⁵ KSS, 21/207-3.

³³⁶ KSS, 21/165-1.

³³⁷ KSS, 22/4-3.

³³⁸ KSS, 6/12-2; KSS, 6/12-3; KSS, 6/59-1; KSS, 16/92-2.

³³⁹ KSS, 16/180-1.

Luizo³⁴⁰, Hristofi³⁴¹, Konstantin son of Hristofi³⁴², Ancelo (Angelo) son of İstefane (Stefani)³⁴³, Anderiniko son of Yerolmi (Androniko Gerolamo)³⁴⁴, Yasef son of Sahbaz³⁴⁵, Anton Agop³⁴⁶, Tomama Kasari³⁴⁷, Yorgi son of Nikola³⁴⁸, Kirkor son of Sergiz³⁴⁹ and Serkis son of Avak.³⁵⁰ In addition, Luke notified that Anastasis Speltos had been a dragoman in 1768.³⁵¹ If we pay particular attention to these names, we see that the people who were dragomans of the English consuls were Greek, Armenian or Jewish. As a matter of fact, England used these nationalities as dragomans all over the Ottoman province.

One of the dragomans mentioned Konstantin son of Hristofi was dismissed and Ancelo (Angelo) son of Stefani started work from the beginning of November 1731.³⁵² After Konstantin was dismissed, on the demand of Konte Herakyol (George Kinnoul Earl) the ambassador of England in Istanbul, Konstantin was sent on exile to the island called Avret at the end of October 1731. However, the petition of the English ambassador was needed for his amnesty.³⁵³ This decision is important since it shows the power of the western ambassadors in Istanbul, against the Ottoman authorities. Konstantin who was sent to exile was pardoned by the Ottoman sovereign, after five months on Avret Island on the demand of the English ambassador in the middle of March.³⁵⁴

The ambassador of the King of Denmark Sinharmondo Gollemor de Galler sent a petition to *Sudde-i Saadet* and demanded Timona Turner (Timothy Turner) representative consul of Denmark and vice-consul of England in Cyprus in Tuzla district was a dragoman without a *berat* (certificate), therefore should be given a *berat* (certificate). The Ottoman administrators sent a certificate to the officials in Cyprus showing that Yasef son of Şahbaz could serve as a dragoman for Timona Turner (Timothy Turner) on the demand of the King of Denmark (20th January 1765).³⁵⁵

The ambassador of England, Con Spensir Smith (John Spencer Smith), notified that Yorgi son of Nikola, the dragoman of the English consul in Cyprus, died and that he gave the duty to Kirkor son of Sergiz. The notification was made by sending a record to the authorities dating 30th May 1799. On the demand of the English ambassador, Kirkor son of Sergiz was given the position of interpreter. This position was made known to the officials in Cyprus and ordered that nobody could interfere with the new dragoman's business and no tax could be demanded from him or he could not be disturbed by anyone.³⁵⁶

In another record dated 2nd August 1799, the ambassador of England, Francis Stessir Smith, sent a petition to *Rikab-i Humayun* saying that from the dragomans working for the

³⁴⁰ KŞS, 8/38-2.

³⁴¹ KŞS, 8/38-2.

³⁴² KŞS, 14/6-1.

³⁴³ KŞS, 14/6-1.

³⁴⁴ KŞS, 16/160-1; KŞS, 16/160-2.

³⁴⁵ KŞS, 20/83-1; KŞS, 20/83-2.

³⁴⁶ KŞS, 21/271-2.

³⁴⁷ KŞS, 22/91-1.

³⁴⁸ KŞS, 22/48-1; KŞS, 22/126-2.

³⁴⁹ KŞS, 22/126-1; KŞS, 22/126-2.

³⁵⁰ KŞS, 24/141-1.

³⁵¹ Luke, *Cyprus Under The Turks*, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

³⁵² KŞS, 14/6-1.

³⁵³ KŞS, 14/128-1; KŞS, 14/128-2.

³⁵⁴ KŞS, 14/87-3.

³⁵⁵ KŞS, 20/83-1; KŞS, 20/83-2; Çoruh, *II. Mahmut Döneminde Kıbrıs*, *op.cit.*, p. 463.

³⁵⁶ KŞS, 22/126-1.

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ambassador of England and the other officials, tax could not be taken according to the agreement. But in spite of this contract, Yorgi son of Nikolo, the dragoman of the ambassador of England, *resm-i kismet* (tax) was taken from his bequest and it was demanded that this must be corrected. After an investigation, it is confirmed that tax was taken from the legacy of Yorgi son of Nikolo by the Regent of Nicosia contrary to the rules and the officials in charge were warned to give back the money to the heir of Yorgi son of Nikolo and also warned the officials not to take tax from the people serving as dragomans.³⁵⁷

The ambassador of the Austrian (*Roma-Nemçe*) Emperor in Istanbul, Baron do Benekler, notified that Sagomon son of Malkin, the dragoman of Austrian *kapikethudasi* died and he appointed Anderniko son of Prosemi who was the dragoman of Vikman, the English consul in Cyprus and the representative consul of the Austrian Emperor in Cyprus (13th October 1749).³⁵⁸ However, on 22nd November 1750, we see that Anastas son of Nicola was appointed in the place of Vikman's consul's dragoman.³⁵⁹

The ambassador of Holland in Istanbul, Albrert Albarserade Hasibet, notified that Samako son of Samayon who was his dragoman resigned his position and went in the direction of Jerusalem. Therefore, he declared that he appointed Aci Nikola son of Papa Mihail as his dragoman, who was a dragoman for the consul of Holland and areas nearby Cyprus (1st August 1750).³⁶⁰

On the other hand, this ambassador of the King of Sweden in Istanbul, De Selsin, declared in a document dated 10th December 1750, that he appointed a representative consul to Cyprus to deal with the affairs of the tradesmen who travelled to Cyprus in ships bearing the Swedish flag. Later on, he says that he appointed Zaharya son of Kapril for the afore-mentioned, as a dragoman.³⁶¹ The ambassador of Sweden in Istanbul, De Selsin, notified that Covani son of Misel who was a dragoman of the representative consul in Limassol district in Cyprus had resigned his position, and Misel son of Covani Misel was appointed in his place (9th December 1768).³⁶²

When the dragomans, who served the consuls of an ambassador of foreign states in Istanbul died their staff position could be used in other districts. When Yorgi Kondo son of Dimo who was dragoman of the representative ambassador of Sweden, De Selsin, transferred his staff position to Cyprus and appointed Salomi son of Cebrail as a dragoman for the vice-consul of Sweden in Nicosia district in Cyprus. (13rd March 1769).³⁶³ However, in a similar example, Frederiko de Viler, the ambassador of Holland in Istanbul notified that he gave the job to Artin son of Ovak, the dragoman of the consul in Cyprus, because Pavli Kiryako Yanpeli, one of the dragomans serving him had died (31st May 1772).³⁶⁴

The ambassador of Sicily-Naples, Don Konstantino Ledolk, transferred the profession of interpreter staff to Izmir because the consul of Sicily-Naples in Izmir required the services of an interpreter because İlyas son of Cebrayil who was a dragoman of the Sicilian consul in Cyprus died. The Sicilian consul in Izmir carried the post of a dragoman from Cyprus to Izmir as such a post was needed there. The Sicilian consul in Izmir appointed Yanaki son of Yorgi Arslan as an

³⁵⁷ KSS, 22/48-1.

³⁵⁸ KSS, 16/160-1; KSS, 16/160-2.

³⁵⁹ KSS, 16/189-1; KSS, 16/190-2.

³⁶⁰ KSS, 16/202-2; KSS, 16/203-1.

³⁶¹ KSS, 16/207-1; KSS, 16/208-1.

³⁶² KSS, 20/93-1; KSS, 20/93-2.

³⁶³ KSS, 19/128-1; KSS, 19/128-2.

³⁶⁴ KSS, 20/74-2; KSS, 20/74-3.

interpreter with a document dated 9th July 1779. When Yanaki died, and because of a need for an interpreter in Cyprus, the Sicilian consul of Cyprus appointed Yorgaki son of Lefterodi as an interpreter for himself on 1st September 1797.³⁶⁵

The two servants of the interpreter also had privileges. Due to these privileges, it was decided that officials in Cyprus should not be collecting anything else from Yanaki son of Yakomi, who was the servant of interpreter of Sicilian consul Lefterodi son of Yanaki, other than what was outlined by law. (21 September 1797).³⁶⁶ As it is understood at this point that the interpreter position of the foreign country ambassadors was limited and as mentioned in the aforementioned document, they could make changes in the interpreter positions.

According to the treaty signed between Denmark and the Ottoman Empire, the ambassador in Istanbul could have four and the consuls could have one dragoman serving them. The ambassador of the King of Denmark in Istanbul notified that according to the treaty he appointed Yasef son of Sahbaz as interpreter in the name of Denmark, who was again an interpreter of an English consul called Timona Turner, being both the consul of England and vice-consul of Denmark in Tuzla district in Cyprus at the same time (21st January 1765).³⁶⁷ The ambassador of Denmark, Baron Heys, notified that he appointed David son of Papa Nikolov in the place of Murat son of Serbaz who was interpreter of the representative consul of Denmark in Tuzla district in Cyprus and who had died (12th April 1797).³⁶⁸

The ambassador of Sicily-Naples in Istanbul, Don Kolilmo le Dolef, notified that Petro son of Anderya, an interpreter of the consul of Sicily-Naples in Cyprus had died and he had appointed Aci Mikayil son of Konstanti Mato in his place (28th September 1767).³⁶⁹ On the other hand, on 21st January 1784, the ambassador of Sicily-Naples, Don Kolilmo le Dolef, notified that Yorgaki son of Hirsto, an interpreter of the representative consul of Drac, Avlonya and Ülgüpinar districts had died and this time Francesco son of Lefteri was appointed as an interpreter for the consul of Sicily-Naples in Cyprus and the interpreter staff of Yorgaki son of Hirsto who had died was transferred to Cyprus.³⁷⁰

However, on 1st October 1767, the ambassador of Sicily-Naples, Don Kollemold, Vlax, Drac, Avlonya and Ülküpinar transferred the interpreter staff back to Cyprus because of the death of Yorgaki son of Hirsto and appointed Francesco son of Lefteri Varde as an interpreter for the representative consul of Sicily-Naples in Cyprus.³⁷¹ Divaneoglu Ali, Seyhoglu Mustafa and Yamakoglu Omer who were Cypriots, three sailors were dealing with rebellion. Divaneoglu Ali broke forcibly into the house of Francesco Varda's who was an interpreter for the consul of Sicily-Naples and stole a horse. Seyhoglu Mustafa forcibly sold 30 *peştemal* (bath towels) valued at 20 piaster for 110 piaster to the interpreter; and, Yamakoglu Omer got 50 piaster from the interpreter forcibly. These incidents were made known to the authorities in Istanbul by the ambassador of Sicily-Naples (3rd November 1785).³⁷² The ambassador of Sicily-Naples, Don Konstantino le Dolef, appointed Yasef Hamsi as an interpreter of the consul of Sicily-Naples with the document

³⁶⁵ KSS, 21/362-2; KSS, 21/362-3.

³⁶⁶ KSS, 21/363-1.

³⁶⁷ KSS, 20/83-1; KSS, 20/83-2.

³⁶⁸ KSS, 21/363-2; KSS, 21/364-1.

³⁶⁹ KSS, 19/66-1; KSS, 19/66-2.

³⁷⁰ KSS, 18/96-1.

³⁷¹ KSS, 21/6-1; KSS, 21/7-1.

³⁷² KSS, 21/43-1.

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dated 29th November 1799, because Francesco son of Lefteri Varda, who was an interpreter for the representative consul in Cyprus, died.³⁷³

The Minister ambassador of the King of Spain in Istanbul, de Polini, notified that Civani Geyeri, an interpreter for the representative consul of Spain in Cyprus, was appointed as an interpreter (30th March 1788).³⁷⁴ Although the name of the representative consul wasn't given, it is the first document concerning the consul of Spain. Andonyo son of Kostoni was appointed as an interpreter for the representative consul of Spain in Cyprus on 28th March 1791, but he died so Yanaci Laberti son of Francesko was appointed in his place on 9th January 1793.³⁷⁵

In 1615-1616, the dragoman of Venetian consul in Cyprus, named Silvester son of Alver was in debt for 3311 riyal kurush (piaster) to a certain Venetian merchant called Petro Korilyeri.³⁷⁶ The other dragoman of consul of Venice in Cyprus was Biyeri, son of Petro Korla. He was appointed on 19 September 1761 and his berat was renewed by the new sultan, Abdülhamid I in 1774 and by Selim in 1790.³⁷⁷ The ambassador of the Republic of Venice in Istanbul, Pavlo Vertiler, notified that Haci Stefan son of Vavos was employed as an interpreter in the place of Francisko Lebirni, dragomans of the consul of Venice in Cyprus. When the treaty between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice expired, the dragomans of the consulates in the Ottoman provinces were also abolished on (20 August 1773).³⁷⁸ Therefore, the privileges of the dragomans of the consul of Venice, Piyeri son of Tirlokora and the privileges of those who were the citizens of the Ottoman Empire were abolished and they started to pay taxes dating from 8th March 1799.³⁷⁹ The naib of Larnaca called the authorities of city to the Larnaca court after this document delivered to Nicosia. After, it was reported to the court in which the dragoman of Venive in Cyprus called Piero had passed away two years before. His berat had been given to the Venetian vice-council in Larnaca, which was named Dr. Varlem. According to the statement of Dr. Varlem, the berat had been sent to the bailo of Venice in Istanbul.³⁸⁰

The ambassador of the state of Dubrovnic in Istanbul, Federico Grigo, appointed Simolyasi as an interpreter on 5th August 1800, because the consul from Dubrovnic didn't have an interpreter of his own in Cyprus and an interpreter was needed.³⁸¹

Antonyo Tomazo Lefkokilo, the ambassador of the Republic of *Cezair-i Seba* in Istanbul notified that he appointed Yorgaki son of Kristo Dole Abeyito as an interpreter of the consul who was in Cyprus (2nd December 1802).³⁸²

The survey that run in 1806 by the Ottoman Empire revealed a dragoman of the Russia's consul Kostantino Piristiyani, Yosef whom was the son of Semali Karci. Yosef had two people working under his name, Konoda whom was the son of Ilyas and David, the son of Saliye.³⁸³

³⁷³ KŞS, 22/90-1; KŞS, 22/90-2.

³⁷⁴ KŞS, 21/100-1; KŞS, 21/100-2.

³⁷⁵ KŞS, 21/237-1; KŞS, 21/238-2.

³⁷⁶ Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations", *op.cit.*, p. 240.

³⁷⁷ Demiryürek, *ibid.*, p. 248.

³⁷⁸ KŞS, 20/94-1; KŞS, 20/94-2.

³⁷⁹ KŞS, 22/25-3; KŞS, 22/26-3.

³⁸⁰ Demiryürek, "The Commercial Relations", *op.cit.*, p. 248; BOA, C.HR, Dosya No.94 Gömlek No. 4678.

³⁸¹ KŞS, 22/128-2; KŞS, 22/128-3.

³⁸² KŞS, 24/21-1.

³⁸³ KŞS, 24/142-1; Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri Defter No: 88/6, hüküm No: 1539; Demiryürek, "The Consulate of Russia", *op.cit.*, p. 4.

It is obvious that the USA had consuls and their interpreters in Cyprus. One of these interpreters was Panayodi Antonya who had a court case over a debt with Cypriot Karalambi. Apparently, Karalambi showed Panayodi a mill and borrowed 12,000 kurush.³⁸⁴

In conclusion, we see that in order to enliven the trade, the Ottoman Empire gave a lot of qualifications to the interpreters who were the main assistants of the consuls, as much as the Empire gave to its own citizens. On the other hand, the Ottoman state didn't hesitate to control or even punish the dragomans in the course of time.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

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 A.DVN.MHM. Dosya No: 27 Gömlek No: 92.
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 C.HR. Dosya No: 114 Gömlek No: 5686.

B. National Archives of North Cyprus in Kyrenia

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