Two Walls of Lefkoşa: The Validity of Division
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Abstract

Walls are the artificial and artistic structures of urban civilization. They are symbols of protection and belonging as well as segregation and exclusion. In this study, those two faces of walls are investigated for the last divided capital of the world; Lefkoşa. Firstly, the meanings and the concepts of wall are discussed with respect to two main aspects that a wall can be a unifier and divider element of urban space. Whether the walls in cities may provide a sense of unity, they may lead to decline and obsolescence problems in social and physical urban space. In order to illustrate the validity of this perspective, the well-known cities having walls are evaluated including urban design approaches towards their decline problems. In this respect, two cities having unifier walls are firstly investigated as Bruges of Belgium and Valetta of Malta. Then two other cities known as divided cities by having divider walls as; Belfast and Berlin are discussed. Afterwards, the walled city of Lefkoşa, having both divider and unifier walls, is examined in historical manner. The interventions and proposals for the walled city of Lefkoşa are evaluated and criticized. At the end of the study, further suggestions are discussed by considering the unified values of the city.

Lefkoşa'nın İki Duvarı: Bölünmenin Geçerliliği

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Öz

Duvarlar kentin ve medeniyetin insan eliyle oluşturulmuş mimari ve sanatsal parçalarıdır. Duvarların iki yüzü vardır. Bu nedenle hem koruma, kapsama ve aidiyet sembolü olurken hem de ayırma ve dışarda bırakmayı da sembolize etmektedirler. Bu çalışmada Dünyanın son bölünmüş başkenti olan Lefkoşa'da duvarların bu iki yönü ele alınmıştır. İlk olarak duvar yapısının anlamları ve duvarlara yönelik kavramlar tartışılmış olup, duvarın kent için birleşitirci ve ayrıştırıcı bir eleman olarak rolü irdelenmiştir. Birleştirici olarak kabul edilen duvarlı-surlu kentler de dahil olmak üzere duvar elemanı beraberinde gerileme ve terkedilme gibi sosyo-mekansal sorunları da getirebilmektedir. Bu bakış açısı doğrultusunda dünya genelinde duvarlarıyla bilinen ve seçilmiş duvarlı-surlu kentler hem gerileme sorunları hem de bu sorunlara yönelik kentsel tasarım yaklaşımları kapsamında incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda birleştirici duvarlara sahip olarak değerlendirilebilecek Belçika'nın Bruges ve Malta'nın Valetta kentleri içerdikleri sorunlar ve bu sorunlara yönelik geliştirilen kentsel tasarım odaklı yaklaşımlar ışığında incelenmiştir. Benzer şekilde ayrıştırıcı duvarlara sahip olan ve bölünmüş kent olarak tanınan Belfast ve Berlin kentleri de bu çerçevede irdelenmiştir. Ardından hem birleştirici hem de ayırıcı nitelikte duvarlara sahip olan Lefkoşa-Suriçinin duvarlarının tarihsel oluşumu ele alınarak kentin ikili duvarlı yapısı ortaya konulmuştur. Bu kapsamda Lefkoşa Suriçine yönelik bugüne kadar yapılan teorik çalışmalar ve müdahale biçimleri de değerlendirilmiş ve eleştirilmiştir. Çalışmanın sonunda paylaşılan ortak değerler de gözetilerek ileriye yönelik tasarım odaklı öneriler sunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Duvarlı (surlu) kentler, bölünmüş kentler, mimari semboller, Berlin, Belfast, Bruges, Valetta, Lefkoşa Suriçi–Kıbrıs*

Introduction

Walls are generally accepted as an artificial element of human civilization. The city, the product of human *civilitias*, cannot be perceived without walls since the built-up human world is formed by them including our houses, gardens, cities and countries for centuries. Wall, as an urban structure, is an important part Lefkoşa. In recent decades, the fortification wall of the city surrounding the central core has been less remembered because of the fact that the great majority of the attention has been oriented to Green Line. In this study, the main aim is to propound a new vision by recalling unified values despite the divided structure of the city. Therefore, the traces of unity in the city are investigated in a historical and multi-dimensional perspective.

In this respect, firstly the meanings and the concepts of wall are discussed with respect to two main aspects that it is a unifier and divider element of urban space. Then, different examples of unifier and divider walls are evaluated since Lefkoşa contains both in social and physical space. According to the sole aim, the historical evolution of the two walls of Lefkoşa which are the unifier one as the Venetian fortification wall system and the divider wall as the Green Line are analyzed. Related to their historical appearance how those two walls of the city have been handled so far will be evaluated. At the end of the study, new potentials in order to enhance the unified values will be discussed with respect to revitalization and re-harmonization initiatives for the walled cities. Furthermore, conceptual suggestions will be discussed for the walled city of Lefkoşa.

What is wall and what does it mean to us

As Locke mentions "*Words are often secretly referred first to the ideas supposed to be in other men's minds (Locke, 1690)*", the definition and concept of wall is necessarily to be discussed to understand the roles in cities and in our minds. The Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary (2008) defines "wall" as;

> *"a vertical structure, often made of stone or brick, that divides or surrounds something"*,
> *"any outer part of a hollow structure in the body"*,
> *"a mass of people or things formed in such a way that you cannot get through or past them"*,

> *" feeling or behaving that completely prevents two groups of people*
> *from communicating with or understanding each other"*

The concept of wall expresses an element of separation in tangible or intangible manner. Unwin (1952, p.14) peruses walls as agents and symbolic manifestations of order and conflict. In positive manner they provide shelter and privacy by containing the "*wanted*" and excluding the "*undesired*". As a prosperious example the word "*firdaws"* is derived from the Persian word "*faradis*". It is used in Koran several times to express "*paradise*" meaning a walled place and the finest part of a garden (Hoag, 1964, pp.8-9).

As a negative aspect, walls are dividers since they have two sides in both physical and metamorphic manner. They stand as a tangible evidence of setting limit to what is inside and also outside. Therefore, they are symbols of segregation and exclusion as well.

> *"Walls are product of our minds… They make us extra skulls in which to hide… We see them as barriers to freedom and communality, but at the same time that those same barriers help us keep peace & sanity… They have two sides to them, literally and metamorphically.* (Unwin, 1952, p.13)

In urban context, walls can be seen as a socio-spatial structure. As well as being a tangible element, "wall" can also be assigned by various intangible meanings such as; division, exclusion, separation and confinement (Atun and Doratlı, 2009). Marcuse (cited in Atun and Doratlı, p. 110) categorizes walls as;

Prison walls: They define and preserve enclaves and ghettos as an element of isolation and segregation.

Barrcade walls: They serve to community in terms of protection by offering cohesiveness and solidarity

Aggression walls: They express domination and force. Fences, military barriers and police compounds are examples of them.

Sheltering walls: They protect privacy, privilege and wealth like observed in gated communities. They are one sided walls since entrance from the outside is limited and controlled.

Castle walls: Express economic, social and political superiority. Presidential offices are example of them.

In a physical sense, wall is a vertical structure. Nevertheless, psychological and symbolic expression of a wall can be different that both a

home and a prison can be conceptualized by walls. Under the light of this point of view, two aspects and kinds of wall can be emphasized: (i) wall as a unifier and (ii) wall as a divider (Figure 1).
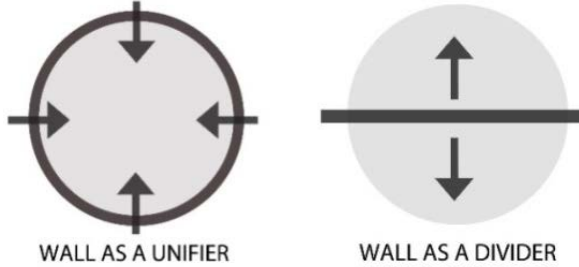
Figure 1. The two concepts of wall

Problems and Approaches to Walled Cities

The walled cities are mainly accustomed to integration problems. Since they involve a separator, they are prone to obsolescence and decline. Decline problems of walled cities, significantly the enclaved ones, have economic, social and political roots. As a result spatial interventions including urban design could not be regarded as a panacea for the decline features. However; they provide a positive contribution in terms of preventing or decelerating decline related to the isolated structure of the walled cities.

Unifier Walls

"Hang out our banners on the outward walls;
The cry is still, 'They come!'; our castle's strength
Will laugh a siege to scorn : here let them lie
Till famine and the ague eat them up:
Were they not forced with those that should be our
We might have met them dareful, beard to beard,
And beat them backward home."
William Shakespeare-Macbeth, Act V - Scene V

Unifier walls are regarded as providers of security, sense of belonging and wholeness. Towns were encircled by walls from the classical to post-medieval periods. Those walls are defined the rural as outside and the town as inside. In other words, like the walls of homes, they promise totality, wholeness and privacy. In Figure 2, two examples of fortified

cities, Bruges of Belgium and Valetta of Malta, can be observed as the cities having unifier walls.

Figure 2. Plan of **Bruges** (1750) and Present Satellite Image (Basire I. (1750) Maps of Low Countries) and **Valetta** (17th century) (Pickard, 2001, p.207)

Although they express a degree of wholeness, decline and integration problems can arise after expansion of the cities outside the walls. The inside became disjoint from the rest of the city that the walled parts of both Bruges and Valetta were subjected to functional, economic and physical decline during 20th century. Since the cities having unifier walls also have historical urban fabric, re-integration objectives may also require conservation measures including heritage management.

Every town is unique in its character, identity and background so different and varied approaches can be seen in revitalization of unified walled cities. However, some shared principles can be revealed as;

- (i) Focusing on the renovation public space as squares, streets and canals,
- (ii) Controlling infill development and change,
- (iii) Encouraging mix-use and residential,
- (iv) Enhancing local identity.

As inspiring examples the main approaches for integration in Bruges, the provincial capital of West Flanders, and in Valetta in the capital city of Malta suffering from small island economy. They are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Integration Strategies for Bruges and Valetta (Summarized from Pickard, 2001 and ICOMOS, 2010)

Bruges (Belgium)	Valetta (Malta)
Design of a new office zone between the new and old quarter,	Re-creating urban image by renovation of old busses used for public transport,
Encourage green modes of transport,	Spot design projects to increase touristic attraction and livability,
Renovation of public squares and surrounding,	Establishment of a Rehabilitation committee to control the change and make-up effect,
Improvement of streets and canals,	Preventing uncontrolled gentrification
Design Guide for landscape, facades, and materials	

Divider Walls

Every city is divided in some extent that tangible or intangible walls can exist with respect to ethnicity, religion, political view or income of the inhabitants. However, divided cites reveal a greater level of segregation. Hepburn (2004; cited in Gaffkin et al, 2010) described 'divided' and contested city as; *"a co-habited location of two or more ethnically conscious groups by religion, language and/or culture and partisan history where no side will acknowledge the ascendancy of the other.'*

In addition to Lefkoşa, examples of divided cities existed in 20th century can be listed as; Berlin, Belfast, Jerusalem and Beirut. In figure 3, two examples of them as Berlin and Belfast can be observed.
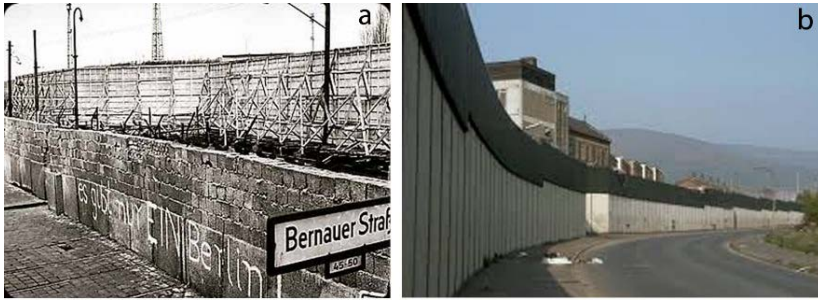
Figure 3. The divider walls of Berlin (Image-a), Belfast (Image-b),(Retrieved from, mhttp://voiceseducation.org/sites/default/files/images/berlinwall.jpg,http://ireland.siedla.c om/diary/peaceline1.jpghttp://www.biblelandpictures.com/gallery/gallery%2FJERUSALE M%2FNEW%20JERUSALEM%2F22988.%20Divided%20Jerusalem.jpg)

The main issue in revitalizing walled enclaves which are deeply divided into two or more sectors is to increase public realm. The city center's civic places are important in this respect that they provide neutral and cosmopolitan spaces for interaction. Furthermore, they display symbolic affirmation of a shared identity. The role of spatial interventions in this respect is taking a proactive role in coherent collaboration. The general aims for the revitalization of contested walled cities can be listed as (Gaffikin et. al., 2010);

(i) prioritizing of potentially integrative over potentially segregating projects

(ii) establishing effective community based spatial planning system

(iii) challenging traditional territorial claims

(iv) locating key services to bring local communities in shared spaces

(v) designing a linked system of shared and accessible public spaces from 'edge to center' of the city.

(vi) rebranding and displaying of antagonistic public art

(vii) removing of defensive walls and barriers in long-term

As the first example, Belfast, the largest and the capital city of Northern Ireland, suffered from high level of segregation having religious and nationalistic roots. Many peace lines were constructed after 1960s to eliminate the tension between British Protestants and Irısh Catholics. By collaboration of government agencies and local authorities, the divider walls have been trying to be eliminated by the vision of 'shared future'. With respect to the vision, urban design projects were prepared and implemented (Figure 4) (Gaffikin et al., 2011).
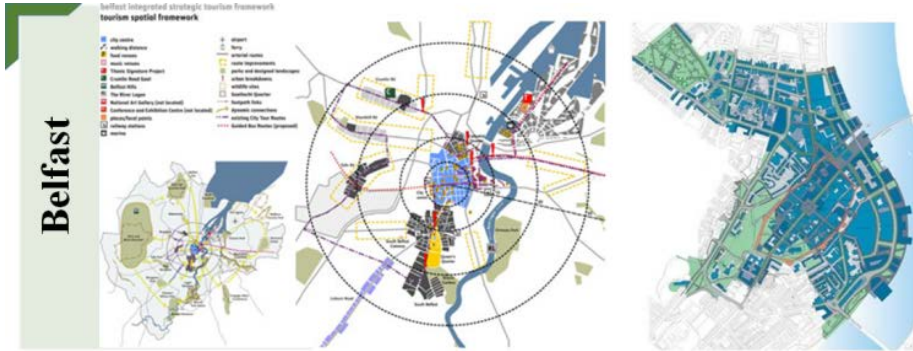
Figure 4. Belfast Integrated Strategic Tourism Framework and City Center Public Realm Plan (Retrieved from; https://www.williemiller.com/belfast-integrated-strategic-tourism-framework.htm)

The well-known divider wall of Berlin propounds political and ideological roots between the socialist and the capitalist regimes. Revitalization of Berlin for re-integration began in 1987 before breaking down the Wall. The destruction of the divider wall, which is regarded as the symbol of division with its all negative meanings, became a symbol of liberty. The re-integration projects which are mainly focused on Potsdamer Platz still continue. Two examples of urban design projects for physical and social unification of Berlin are illustrated in Figure 5.
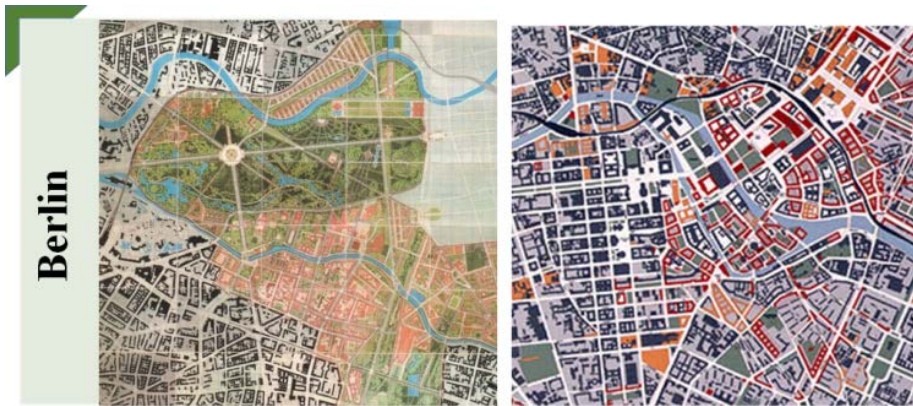

Figure 5. Urban Design Project of Central Berlin in 1987 and 1996 (Retrieved from, http://studioberlin.org/2013/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/IBA-Masterplan.jpeg and http://static.nai.nl/regie_e/new/berlin1_e.html)

The main design approaches conducted in terms of integration issues in Belfast and Berlin are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Integration Strategies for Belfast and Berlin (Summarized from Gaffikin et al., 2011 and EFL, 1997)

City	Period Reason	Level of Segregation	Integration in Time	Urban Design Approaches
Berlin	1948-1989 Politic	Divided politically for 13 years and separated by a wall in 1961	Re-united in 1989	Enhancing public spaces Spot urban design projects
Belfast	Since 1969 Ethnic and Religious	Divided by 99 peace walls creating vacant spaces or non-residential uses	In 2011 City Council agreed to develop a strategy for the removal of peace walls	-Detailed master plans based on public realm -Rebuilding distressed areas -Infill design schemes

A wall whether it is unifier or not rises as a barrier. As a result, it can leads to some integration problems as observed in Bruges and Valetta. However, only in physical manner the cities having divider walls have more complex integration problems since urban space is not divided only in physical manner. On the other hand, some successful initiatives have been accomplished both in Berlin and Belfast to erase traces of segregation. The main focus of the study, Lefkoşa, has both unifier and divider walls which giving the city a dual structure by representing unity and segregation at the same time.

Two Walls of Lefkoşa

Lefkoşa as the last divided capital of Europe has been subjected to human inhabitance for 2500 years. As a result of the impact of the different civilizations, the island has become a melting pot of different cultures in both cultural and socio-spatial manner. The traces of the Lusignan, Venetian, Ottoman and British Periods can be observed in the city both in individual structures and urban tissue. Although the divider wall, *Green Line*, has become popular in last 40 years, the city had been known by its unifier wall for centuries. Although both two walls still exist, the emergence, history and evaluation of unifier and divider walls of the city are quite different.

The Unifier Wall of Lefkoşa

Despite of the negative and strong image of the Green Line, Lefkoşa has been conceptualized in minds for centuries by its unifier wall. After Romans and Byzantine periods, the first city wall of Lefkoşa was built during the reign of Lusignans (Gürkan, 1989). Unlike the existing fortification system, the rectangular wall of Lusignans had a perimeter of four miles (der Parthog, 1994; cited in Paşaoğulları & Doratlı, 2009). Eight gateways were located on the walls that two of them were opened for the Pedios River which was passing through the West-east axis. The fortification system of Lusignans was re-designed three times (Alpar, 2001). The possible layout system of Lusignan walls could be observed in Figure 6.
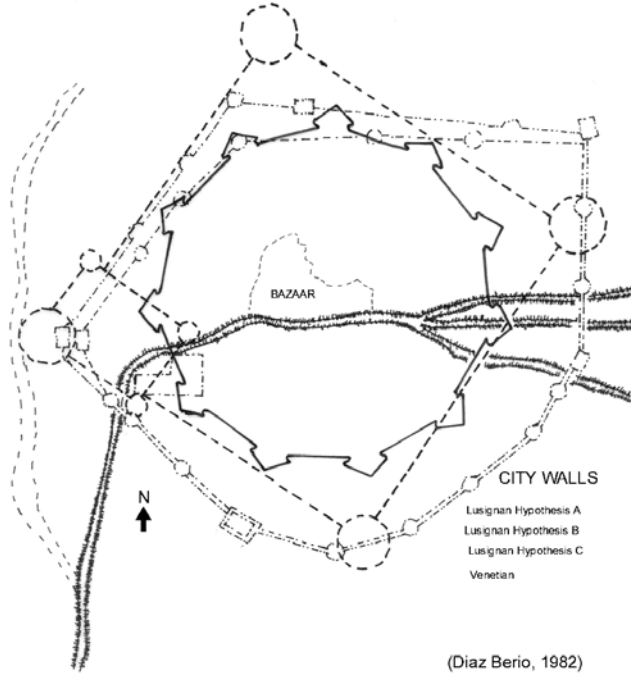

Figure 6. Possible Fortification System of the Lusignan Period (Diaz Berio, 1982 cited in; Doratlı, 2000)

Then, the island was passed to Venetians in 1489 as a result of a politically arranged marriage (Alpar, 2001). Venetian domination of the island lasted in a century despite their remarkable influence on the city by their round shape fortification system. In order to protect the city from

Ottoman attacks, the Lusignan fortification system was pulled down and a round shaped fortification system was built by encircling the city.

The plans of an idealized diagrammatic wall system were prepared by Guilio Savorgnano who is the architect of Palma Nova as well. The three diagrammatic ideal cities of Renaissance can be observed in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Layouts of three Ideal City Models (Sforzinda, Palma Nova and Lefkoşa (EBİ, 2012)

During Venetian Period, the direction of the Pedios River was also altered due to strategic reasons (Figure 8). The old axis of the river was used for commercial activity that many facilities including housing of craftsmen, workshops, bazaars, hostels and warehouses were attached to west-east axis till the erection of divider wall (Demi, 1991; cited in Paşaoğulları & Doratlı, 2009).
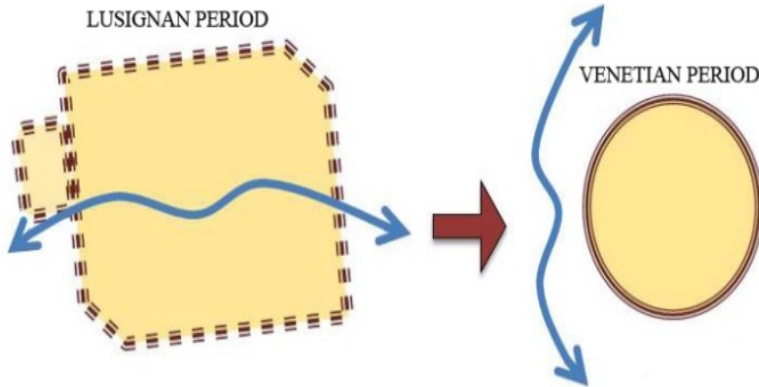

Figure 8. Change in the macro form of Lefkoşa during Venetian Period (Reproduced from EBİ, 2011)

Paşaoğulları & Doratlı (2009) asserted that during Venetian period, the town outside the walls was totally cleared and all kinds of buildings were demolished. Then the fortification system was encircled by a deep moat which is about sixty meters wide. In other words, the urban area was purely

defined by the wall. Like Bruges and Valetta, the fortification wall of Lefkoşa defined the borders of the city which can observed in Figure 9.
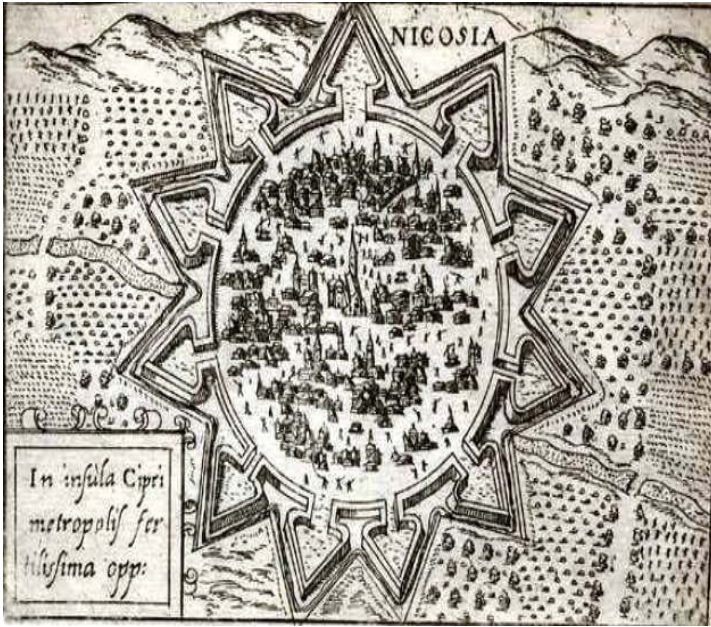

Figure 9. Map of Lefkoşa in 1562 (Akçay, 2006)

During Ottoman Period, the pure distinction of the city from the outside by its star-shaped fortification wall continued. Distinction from the surrounding can be observed from the illustrations of the travelers in Figure 10.
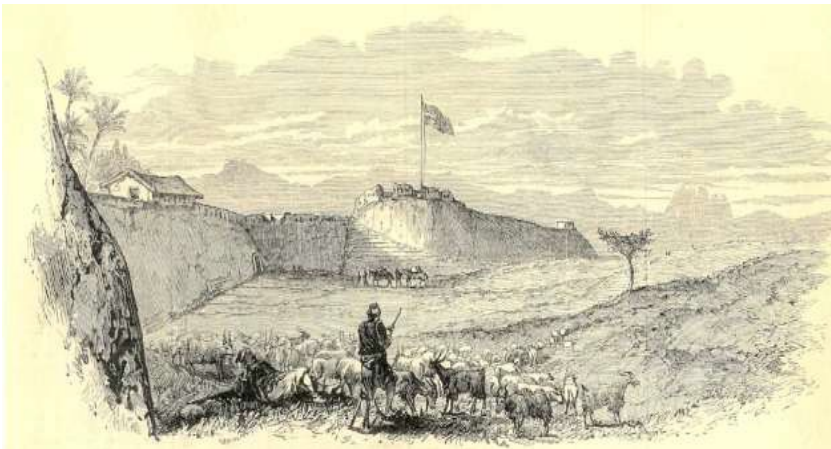

Figure 10. The Outer side of the Walls in 1878 (Illustrated London News, August, 17, 1878, vol.LXXIII, No.2045, p. 229;

However, after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Cyprus became an interest of the British Empire due to critical geographical location of the island. It was ruled as a crown colony between the years 1878 and 1925. During British period, Lefkoşa firstly expanded out of the wall. The expansion was supported by the government due to two sole reasons as; the unhygienic conditions of the walled city and the increased importance of Larnaca (Atun, 2002), (Akçay, 2006).

Lefkoşa was subjected to some problems in terms of integration since the old urban fabric could not be easily adapted to new demands during 20th century. Like Bruges and Valetta, some degree of physical and functional decline occurred since new suburban settlements and administrative areas were created out of the walls. However, the walled city remained as the center. In fact, the main integration and decline problems started after the appearance of the divider wall.

The Divider Wall of Lefkoşa

The physical segregation was firstly emerged in 1956 as a voluntary segregation. After 1956, a socially perceived border began to be reflected. Then, it turned into a physical border called as "Mason Dixon Line". During conflicts, church leaders like archbishop Makarios gained a great political power and strengthened the demand of Enosis, union with Greece. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots reacted by organizing and supporting division (Taksim) of the island into Greek and Turkish sectors. The pro-Enosis group EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) clashed with the Pro-taksim Group known as TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization). By 1963, a large-scale conflict occurred and the divider wall, Green Line, emerged. The United Nation Forces settled between two communities for peacekeeping purposes. Masses of Turkish and Greek Cypriots living in different parts of the island moved into their sectors. (Hocknell, et al., 1998; cited in Alpar, 2001).

Between 1962 and 1967 interaction between two communities was limited since the whole island was segregated by an ethnic line. All street and place names were changed accordance with line by each group's ethnic roots. After 1968, people slowly began to interact such that Turks started to work and trade with Greeks. As a result, negotiations started between two communities to heal the existing political situation. However, in July 1974, EOKA rebelled against Makarios, the president of Cyprus Republic, to unite

the island with Greece. The Turkish military intervened in Cyprus afterwards. As a result two sectors were completely created (Figure 11).
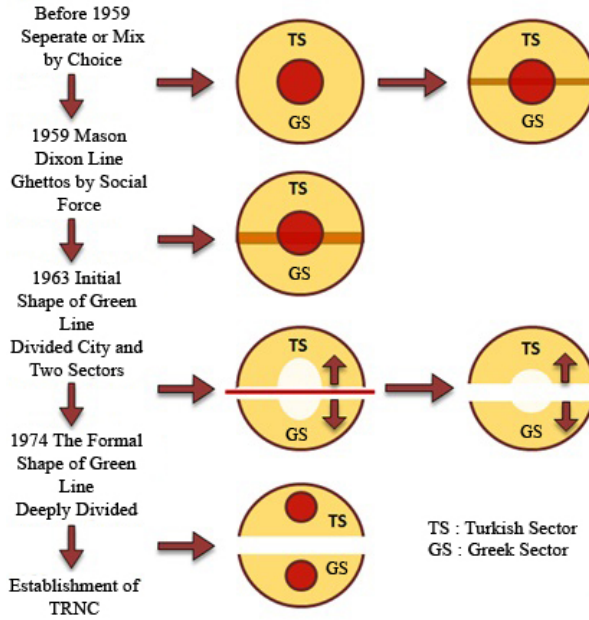

Figure 11. Evolution of the Divider Wall of Lefkoşa (Reproduced from Alpar, 2001:58 cited in EBİ, 2011)

After the erection of the divider wall, the island and the capital city of Lefkoşa were totally divided through the east-west direction (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Buffer Zone and Green Line in Lefkoşa (UNDP, 1984)

In present time the buffer zone, which was controlled by the United Nations' peacekeeping forces, is wide at some points that it can reach more than one kilometer. Nonetheless, at some points it is as narrow as a thin fence. The Unites Nations' Report (1984) explains that 10% of the area of the walled city stays in the buffer zone (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Divider Wall inside the Unifier Walls (Bakashi, 2008)

The streets in the buffer zone had been mainly composed of retail and production areas since they had formed the main retail axis of the Walled City for centuries. After the erection of the divider wall, all were closed and abandoned. The central activity was shifted to north in Turkish sector and to south in the Greek sector that the core of the city was destructed. The empty and abandoned main axis can be observed from the land-use map of UNDP prepared in 1985 (Figure 14).

Today, buffer zone is only open to access of United Nations Forces. In the walled city, entrance is only possible through Ledra Check Point. The gate is less frequently used by Greek Cypriots than Turkish Cypriots and tourists.
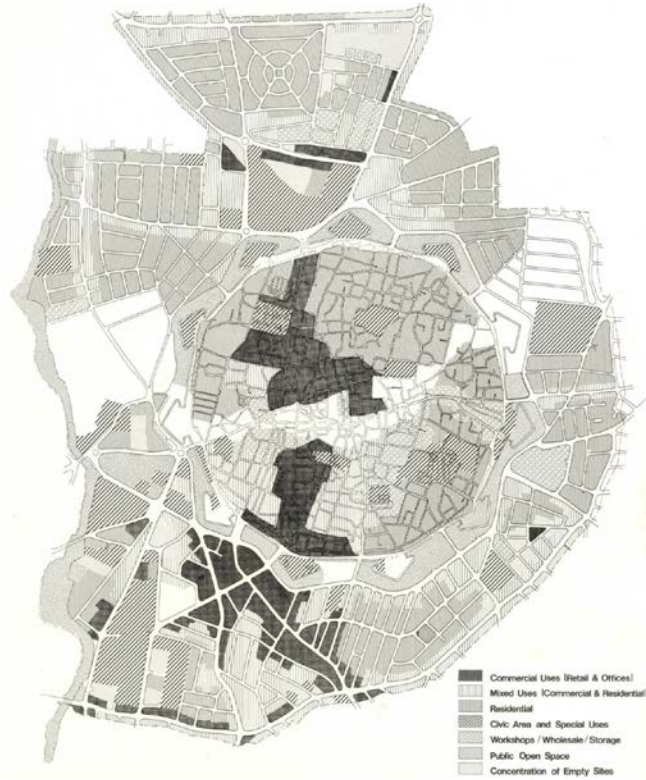
Figure 14. Land-use map of walled city in 1985 (UNDP, 1984)

The divider wall has been continuously detoriating the walled city by an increasing trend of locational and functional obsolescence. In 1995 (NMP) the vacant shops and offices are declared to be 12.22% in the walled city. On the other hand, it was announced to be 25.3% in 2011 (EBİ, 2012). Due to decreased in central activity; inappropriate uses increased, the middle-income residents moved and structures were ruined. The quarters close to Green Line have been more heavily experiencing the decline features.

How two walls of Lefkoşa have been handled?

Before the emergence of the divider wall, the only wall to be mentioned was the unifier wall of the city. The main reference can be regarded as The "Antiquities Law" (Cap.31.) which was firstly enacted in 1935, amended in 1949 and 1959. On the other hand, the unifier wall of the city was not precisely mentioned in that Law. Furthermore, it could not be

well practiced. "The Street and Buildings Regulations"- Cap 96' was also enacted in 1946 despite it does not have a definite focus on the character and development of the walled city of Lefkoşa (Doratlı, 2000).

During the division period, in 1969, Southern Cyprus conducted a research with University of Nottingham. As a final product of this research, preparation of a master plan was firstly announced. However, Turkish Sector did not participate in the planning process (Doratlı, 2000). Despite the segregation attempts the impact of the inducement of a unified sewage system encouraged the UNDP Plans. Those were prepared by a committee involving scholars and planners from the north and south in addition to international participants.

As the first phase of UNDP Plans, a Master Plan was prepared in 1984 proposing mainly decisions on housing development. A special effort did not spend for the walled city so a Conservation Plan was not studied. However, partial decisions for Arab Ahmet Area, Selimiye Area, the Moat and Girne Avenue, which are in the walled city, were taken. Those proposals could be partially implemented.

In Volume I Central Area Scheme Report (1985) land use, transportation, housing and open spaces were handled in a detailed and comprehensive manner considering the whole walled city by a holistic perspective. Moreover, all planning decisions were proposed both for the scenarios of union and the segregation. However, the alternative scenario based on the continuity of division also covers strategies to prepare city for a possible integration by determining spot project areas. Those spot project areas mainly located close to the buffer zone and on continuous commercial axis from north to south. (Figure 15).
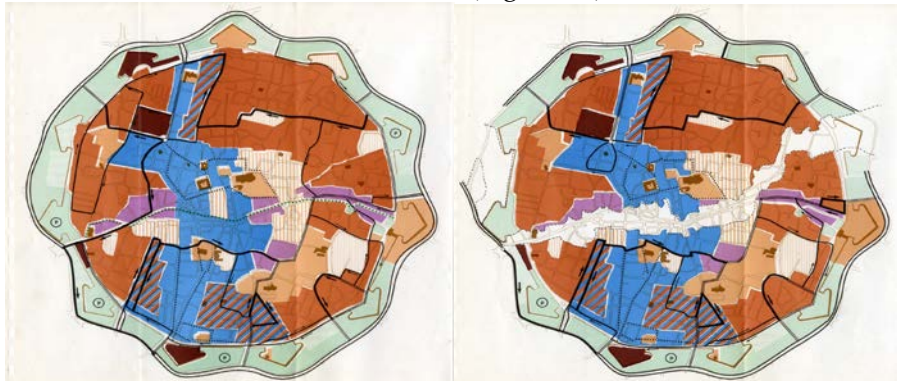

Figure 15. Two alternatives of integration and pre-integration (UNDP, 1985 pp.78-79)

In addition to holistic approach to the divider wall, the second phase of UNDP Plan (1985) included detailed design proposals for the spot project areas (Figure 16), (Figure 17). Those projects covered the design of fortification walls and bastions in both northern and southern parts. The unifier wall system was designed as an open recreational network area to create urban green around the organic tissue. In other words, UNDP Plans created strategies about the two walls, the unifier and the divider, of Lefkoşa.
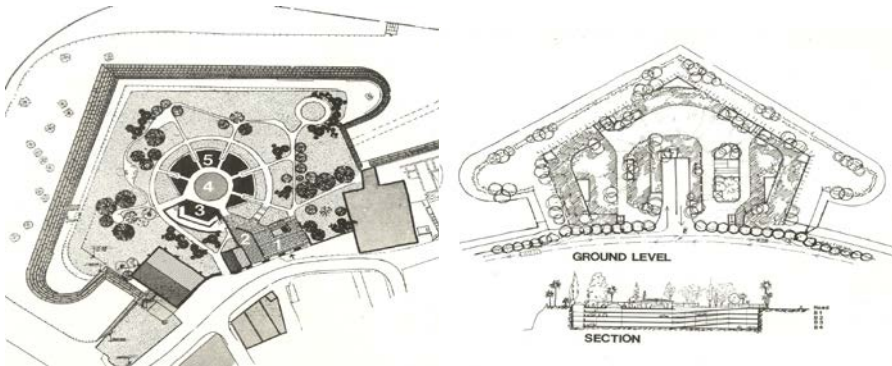

Figure 16. Detailed Design Schemes for Bastions (UNDP, 1985)

In 2005, an Outline Plan for the Nicosia Master Plan was prepared as the second phase of the study. The second phase much more concentrated on the walled city since the focus of the plan was the core area of Lefkoşa. In the second phase, development of the Turkish and Greek sectors by taking into consideration of union and continuous segregation scenarios were again both studied separately (Figure 18).
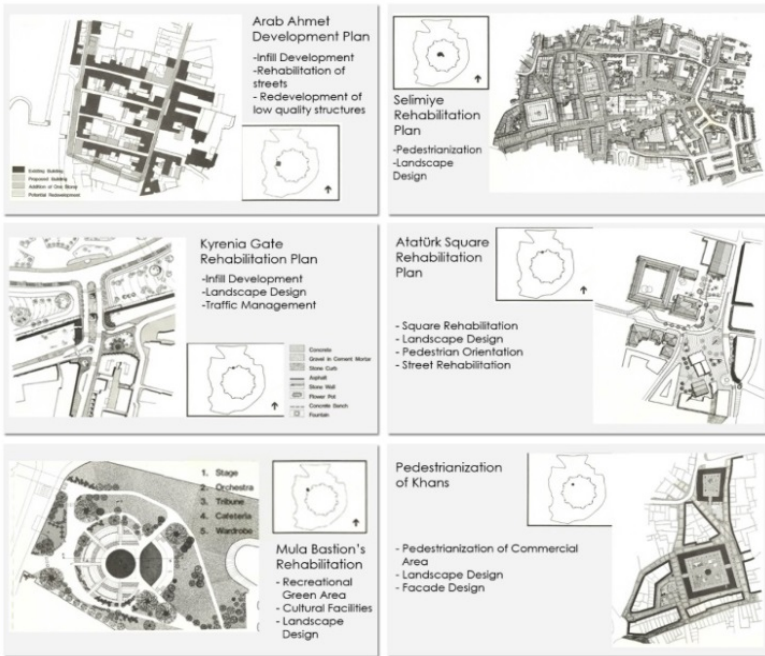
Figure 17. Design Proposals for Spot Project Areas and Bastions (UNDP, 1985)

Moreover, some districts around and inside the walled city were determined as "Special Development Areas" both in Turkish and Greek Sectors. Besides, revitalization of the commercial axis from Kyrenia (Girne) Gate to Larnaca Gate was also proposed to increase interaction between two sectors. Redesign of the İsmet İnönü, Sarayönü, Eleftherias Squares and pedestrianization of the Girne Avenue are the examples of proposed "Special Development Areas". A continuous walking route was suggested between the northern and southern gates in order to enhance the secondary main axis of the city. In addition, a landmark design in joint point was proposed to increase interaction via creation of a shared symbol.
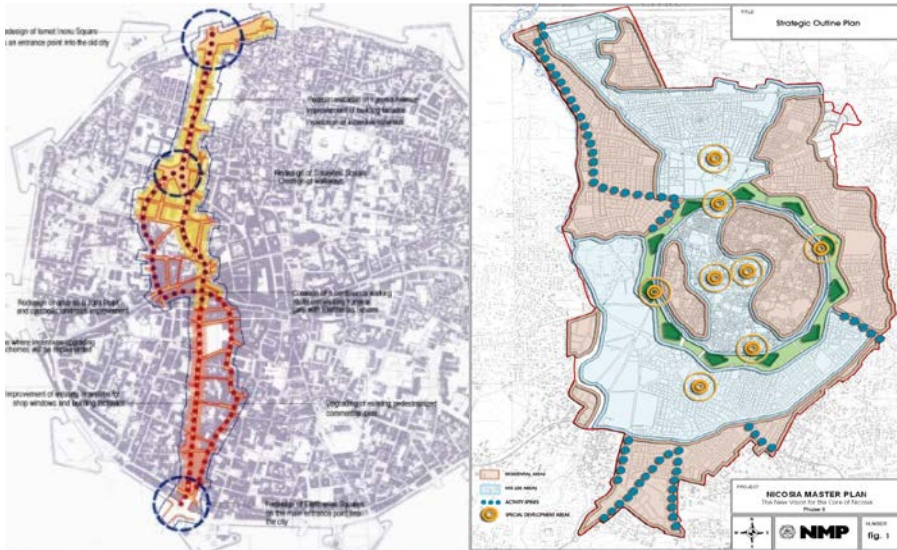
Figure 18. Strategies for re-integration (UNDP, 2005)

Although three plans of UNDP cover comprehensive analysis, synthesis and strategic decisions they could not be fully implemented. Nonethless, successful implementations of the rehabilitation of Chrysalinotissa and Arab Ahmet Quarters were conducted by Nicosia Master Plan Team and United Nations High Commission. The Project was completed in 2007 and won the Aga Khan Award of Architecture.
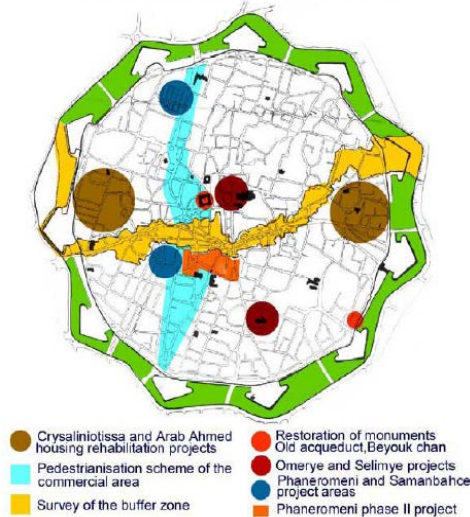

Figure 19. Bi-communal priority incestment projects by Nicosia Master Plan Team
(Bakshi, 2008)

Similar to the vision of UNDP Plans, the project focuses on the bi-communal priority investment projects in the Walled City. It provided a positive contribution to the image since it emphasizes the wholeness of the city including the unifier wall (Figure 19). Despite the vision on a possible unification of the city, a master plan study prepared for Northern Lefkoşa by Town Planning Department in 2009 ignores the previous approaches of UNDP Plans (Figure 20).
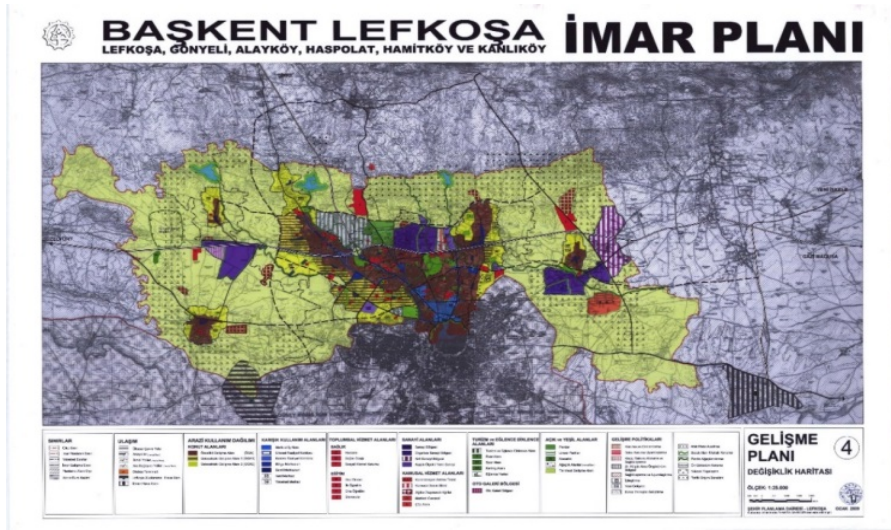

Figure 20. Development Plan of Capital City Lefkoşa (Başkent Lefkoşa İmar Planı)**, (**Town Planning Department, 2009)

In Capital City Lefkoşa Development Plan (BLİP), the whole northern sector of the Walled City is labeled as; "Conservation and Revitalization Area" under the heading of "Development Policies". Moreover; the residential areas on the eastern and the western parts of the area are labeled as "Prior Development Area" under "Residential Areas" as well. Appropriate to the current functions, the vicinity of the Girne Avenue and Selimiye District are depleted as "Central Business District" under the heading of "Mix-use Areas" (LİPR, 2009). The plan does not cover the unifier wall unlike the detailed design approach of UNDP Plans except a decision about creating an open space system by the moat as a green buffer. The main policies of the plan have similarities with the United Nations' plan scenarios of non-unified walled city alternative.

Furthermore, The Council of Monitoring, Coordination and Guidance for the Walled City Lefkoşa (for Turkish sector) prepared a strategy document for the Conservation and Tourism District of the Walled City. The Strategic Document includes comprehensive analysis of the problems and produced focused strategies for them. However, an implementation or action plan was not offered that the aims, visions, strategies and policies suggested in the document could not be reflected in socio-spatial and physical terms. Furthermore, the document ignores the other half of the walled city as well.

Proposals for a unified vision

Not only due to a possible unification preparation but also for supporting dilapidated areas, focusing on the revitalization of spot areas close to the divider wall may provide a positive impact. Furthermore, as a main strategy observed from world examples, creating public realm via enhancing public spaces could be seen as another important strategy as well.

For considering integration in case of unification and to enhance attractiveness of the areas close to Green Line, a design scheme of a free-trade area can be perused for the walled city. The existing commercial

areas close to Green Line like the Arasta Street and its vicinity or the quarter of Bandabulya can be evaluated in terms of such a design issue. Furthermore, urban design projects for open spaces and public uses close to Green-Line can provide a similar positive contribution to present pattern and a unified future pattern. In Figure 21, a conceptual urban design sketch for Armenian Church and its close vicinity is presented. The area is very close to Green Line.
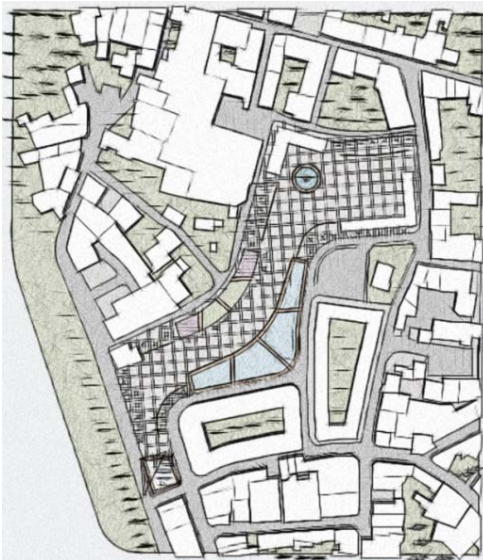
Figure 21. Design Scheme of Public Open Space around Armenian Church close to Buffer Zone

As a macro-scale perspective, preparing a master plan like observed in Valetta and Bruges may intervene in decline problems of the walled city by a macro-perspective. Controlling and discoursing urban sprawl can be regarded as the first suggestion of such a scheme.

Furthermore, re-evaluation of the relationships between the shifted center of the city and the walled historical center can be the other issue. The concentration of inappropriate uses in certain districts which is the strategy of Capital City Lefkoşa Development Plan can lead to further abundance in the area so the revitalization and refunctioning may also be studied as an alternative approach by appropriate design schemes.

The other issue can be discussed is determining the spot-project-areas in terms of renovation and sustaining public realm observed in other divided walled city examples such as; Belfast and Berlin as well as unified ones like Bruges and Valetta. It can be argued that a man-agement plan, design guide or a comprehensive conservation plan is needed to be prepared by focusing on listed or valuable buildings and architectural identity.

In addition to renovation of some plot-project areas, revitalization of some paths which have potential to attract people and qualified uses can put a positive contribution. By this way, further investments for renovation can be attracted. Since the walled city of Lefkoşa suffers from over-crowded structure in daily hours and discharge at nights, creation of public realm and attractive places can contribute to make the quarter a 24 hour lived place. In Figure 22 a conceptual sketch for Yenicami District is presented which aims to transform an open vacant land into a public square.

Figure 22. Plot Project Area Design around Yenicami

To sustain attractiveness the other commend can be suggested is an attempt to increase the accessibility and ease of

movement both inside the walled city as well as the surrounding. Furthermore, traffic calming measurements can be obtained. As observed in Bruges case, parking facilities in the area can be organized. Furthermore, as observed in Valetta, public transport facilities having positive image values can be exercised.

Not only the open spaces produced in organic urban tissue, but also the bastions can be designed to increase attraction and livability of the walled city. The open spaces embedded in urban tissue can be benefited as urban squares. In addition, the moat and the fortification system can also be designed as a large open network by small interventions. Such a design proposal can increase the integration of the walled city with its surrounding. By Figure 23 a three dimensional sketch for the revitalization of green areas in and around the fortification walls is presented as a conceptual scheme.

Figure 23. Hypothetical Design Sketch of Walls and Bastions

In sum, the general urban design proposals to intervene in the decline problems of the walled city created by its walls and to prepare to a possible integration of the two sectors of Lefkoşa can be summarized as;

(i) Preservation and further rehabilitation of existing attraction areas such as Samanbahçe, Bandabulya and Selimiye Districts,
(ii) Creation of new urban design areas by enhancing cultural facilities and public uses in key areas such as main paths and areas close to the divider wall,

(iii) Design of the walls and the moat as an active open green system providing circulation where possible,

(iv) Renovation of streets and squares,

(v) Design of the existing gates by providing orientation and sense of continuity.

Conclusion

This paper elaborated a different point of view that addresses the unified values of Lefkoşa in addition to a consideration of its divided structure. Like Berlin, Lefkoşa has been largely remembered by its divided wall particularly. In this study the two different faces of walls as unifier and divider were investigated to create a new perspective. The divider wall and the dead buffer zone still exist there. However; there also persists a feeling of unity in the walled city of Lefkoşa. The perspective of observing the city as a unity rather than a divided enclave is not a new wisdom starting with UNDP Plans. Some precious researches and projects have this wisdom. On the other hand, more special efforts are needed to handle the walls of the city since walls are blind when we cannot see the back of them.

> *"One day, I stumbled upon the two [slogans] confronting each other in capitals across the Dead Zone. "I DON'T FORGET" in Greek was inside Lefkosia, while in Lefkosa the reply in Turkish went: "WE WON'T FORGET THE SLAUGHTER EITHER." They were meant to be read by those on the other side, but since each was written in a language which the other side no longer understood, the effect was largely lost. Two desperate screams that remained unheard. A wall reflected them back. (Yiannis, 2005; cited in Bakshi, 2008)"*

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