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Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi

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The Centre for Cyprus Studies

The Centre for Cyprus Studies at Eastern Mediterranean University was established in 1995 for the purpose of encouraging scholarly research on the cultural history and political problems of Cyprus. The fields of research supported by the Centre range from archaeology, anthropology and economics to history, linguistics and folklore.

In collaboration with the University Library, the Centre is working to develop documentation resources on all aspects of the history of Cyprus, and, as part of its mission to establish collaborative projects aimed at the development and preservation of the historical and cultural heritage of the island, is fostering close contacts with other institutions involved in related research. As the Centre grows, its resources will include online bibliographical services; audiovisual facilities and archives such as videotapes, diapositives, photographs and microfilm; and rare book and manuscript collections.

The Centre for Cyprus Studies coordinates research projects and hosts scholars in fields of study of relevance to its mission. The Centre also organizes an annual congress on Cyprus-related studies, and issues the biannual *Journal of Cyprus Studies, JCS.*

Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi

Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi, Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi bünyesinde, Kıbrıs'ın kültürel tarihi ve siyasi sorunları ile ilgili bilimsel araştırmaları teşvik etmek amacı ile 1995'de kurulmuştur. Araştırma alanları arkeolojiden antropolojiye, ekonomiden tarihe, dilbilimden folklora uzanan geniş bir yelpazeye yayılmıştır.

Merkez, Üniversite Kütüphanesinin işbirliği ile, Kıbrıs araştırmalarını her yönüyle içeren bir kaynak arşivi oluşturmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu arşiv, olanaklar geliştikçe video-bantlar, dia-pozitifler, fotoğraflar ve mikrofilmler gibi görsel ve işitsel kaynaklar ile, arşivler, ender bulunan kitaplar ve el yazması koleksiyonlarını da içerecektir. Ayrıca, Kıbrıs araştırmaları konusunda faaliyet gösteren diğer kuruluşlarla Kıbrıs'ın tarihi ve külütrel mirasını korumak ve geliştirmek için ortak projeler geliştirmek de Merkez'in hedefleri arasındadır.

Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi araştırma projelerinin gerçekleşmesinde eşgüdümü sağlamanın yanı sıra, misyonuna uygun alanlarda araştırma yapan bilim adamlarına ve akademisyenlere ev sahipliği de yapmaktadır. Merkez aynı zamanda, Kıbrıs ile ilgili araştırmaların sunulup tartışıldığı yıllık Kongreler düzenlemekte ve yılda iki kez çıkan *Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi*'ni yayınlamaktadır.

Editorial Policy

The *Journal of Cyprus Studies*, JCS, is a refereed, international, interdisciplinary publication whose primary purpose is twofold: i) to develop an authoritative archive and bibliography of sources for the study of ideas on social, cultural, historical, political and legal matters relevant to the past, present or future of the island of Cyprus; and ii) to provide a scholarly, academic forum for the analysis, development, exchange and critique of ideas on these matters.

The *Journal* is bilingual, publishes material in English and/or Turkish. Articles submitted for consideration must focus on subject matter specific to the island of Cyprus, and may include (but are not restricted to) the following topics and areas of interest: analysis of archaeological artefacts; culture of the Egyptians, Romans Persians; the Eastern Roman Empire, the Crusades; Lusignans, Venetians and Ottomans; art, literature, music; cartography, military history and technology; trade routes, water and natural resources; the geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean, Cold War, EU and superpower concerns, contemporary developments in international law, conflict resolution, war; race, religion, ethnicity, nationhood, colonial and post-colonial perspectives, identity. Suggestions for other subject areas will be considered by the editor.

Material published in the *Journal* may include original critical essays or studies, statements of reasoned opinion, sustained critical responses to published material, book reviews, translations, photographs, reproductions of works of art or cultural artefacts, interviews, official documents, transcripts of media broadcasts, or reprints of significant texts.

Because of the unique legal and political contexts of the peoples of Cyprus, problems of ideological and methodological bias in the writing of history are a central issue for the Journal, and one of its primary objectives is to establish definitive and authoritative texts for primary source material in the history of Cyprus. Accordingly, an occasional issue of the *Journal* will contain an archive of significant historical, legal, political and cultural documents related to this history, meticulously copy-edited and authenticated, with annotations provided where significant textual variants exist. The purpose is to make these documents available to researchers, without censorship, and foregrounding problems of distortion caused by translation or other forms of interpretation.

The *Journal of Cyprus Studies* does not discriminate against contributions on the basis of the nationality, race, ethnicity, religion or gender of the contributors; nor on the basis of their points of view or conclusions, provided that they are conveyed by careful, reasoned argument and discussion. Submissions are sent anonymously for review to readers whose identities also remain confidential. The editor may, where complex issues are concerned, invite other contributors to submit critical evaluations and responses to an article, or alternative perspectives; and these may be published simultaneously.

Derginin Amacı

JCS-Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi içerik bakımından çok yönlülüğe sahip uluslararası hakemli bir dergi olup temel misyonu şöyle özetlenebilir: i) Kıbrıs adasının geçmişi, geleceği ve bugünü ile ilintili toplumsal, kültürel, tarihsel, siyasi, hukuksal konular ve sorunlar ile ilgili çalışmalara etkin bir arşiv ve kaynakça oluşturmak ii) sözü edilen konular ve sorunlarla ilgili fikirlerin geliştirilebileceği, tartışılacağı, görüş alışverişinde bulunulabileceği, bilimsel ve akademik bir forum oluşturmak.

Dergi İngilizce ve Türkçe olarak iki dilde yayınlanmaktadır. İncelenmek üzere degiye gönderilen makaleler içerik bakımından Kıbrıs adası ile ilgili olmalıdır. *Dergi*'ye gönderilen makaleler, belirtilen konularla kısıtlı olmamakla birlikte şu konuları içerebilir: arkeolojik eserlerin incelenmesi; Mısır, Roma ve Pers kültğrleri; Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu ve Haçlı Seferleri; Lusinyanlar, Venedikliler ve Osmanlılar; sanat, edebiyat, müzik; Doğu Akdeniz'in siyasal coğrafyası; Soğuk Savaş, Avrupa Birliği, süper güçlerin bölgesel çıkarları, uluslararası hukuk ile ilgili yeni gelişmeler, çözüm önerileri, savaş; ırk, din, etnik köken, ulus kavramı, sömürgecilik ve sömürgecilik sonrası yaklaşımlar, kimlik sorunu. Diğer konularla ilgili öneriler editör tarafından değerlendirilecektir.

Dergi'de yayınlanacak olan yazılar özgün eleştirel denemeler veya araştırmalar, uslamlamaya dayanan kişisel fikirler, önceden yayınlanmış yazı ve yapıtlara yönelik eleştirel yanıtlar, kitap tanıtım ve incelemeleri, çeviriler, fotoğraflar, sanat ve kültür eserlerinin baskıları, söyleşiler, resmi belgeler, medya yayınlarının kopyaları, basın açıklamaları, veya önemli metinlerin yeni baskıları olabilir.

Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan halkların kendilerine özgü yasal koşulları nedeniyle ideolojik veya yöntemsel önyargının tarihin yazılmasındaki etkin rolü *Dergi* için ana meselelerden birini oluşturduğundan, *Dergi*'nin temel amaçlarından biri, Kıbrıs tarihinde kesin ve yetkin yazılardan meydana gelen bir ana kaynakça oluşturmaktır. Bu nedenle, zaman zaman *Dergi*'nin bir sayısı Kıbrıs tarihi ile ilgili, tarihsel, hukuksal, siyasal ve kültürel belgelerden oluşan titiz bir çalışma sonucu elde edilmiş, dikkatle kurgulanmış ve doğrulanmış bir arşiv içerecek ve gereken yerlerde çeşitli ve değişik belgelerle ilgili dipnotlar verilecektir. Amaç, bu belgeleri sansürden uzak bir biçimde araştırmacıların kullanımına sunmak ve bunu yaparken çeviriden veya yorum farklılıklarından kaynaklanan sorunlara da dikkat çekmektir.

Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi, milliyet, ırk, etnik köken, din veya cinsiyet farkı gözetmeksizin, bakış açıları veya vardıkları sonuçlar itibarı ile, itinalı ve mantıklı tartışma içeren yazılara açıktır. *Dergi*'ye gönderilen bütün yazılar, değerlendirilmek üzere incelenirken yazarın olduğu kadar hakemin de kimlikleri saklı tutulur. Tartışmaya açık konular söz konusu olduğunda, editör herhangi bir makaleye ilişkin eleştirel değerlendirmeler, yanıtlar veya alternatif yaklaşımlar için başka araştırmacılardan görüş isteyebilir ve bu konudaki bütün görüşler *Dergi*'nin aynı sayısında yer alır.

Editorial

In this issue of the *Journal* we have again many valuable articles. Two are on the history of the island: one on the power of women during the Lusignan period, and another on the projects of opening a Maltese colony on the island, which gives us further clues to the island's complex past. These are followed by questions on representations of history and politics by tourist guides and another theoretical/critical article on the state of Humanities on the island. In our notes section we have an article which reminds us of three churches that have been recently been released from a military zone within the walls of the old town of Famagusta in which they have been enclosed for more then 30 years. Furthermore, as usual we have reviews of some of the latest books on Cyprus and a women studies literature/activity review that will be of great value to the field of study.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Michael Walsh, Kevin McGinley and Özge Ejder who spared their valuable time to read some of the articles. Thanks are also going, as usual, to the Centre of Cyprus Studies and the staff of the Eastern Mediterranean University Printing House. Finally, my friends in the editorial board and I would like to express our greatest debt to, and sorrow for the loss of, our dear friend and colleague William W. Kimbrel who passed away 9 November. Indeed, he was not only an invaluable and perceptive member of our team but also a very dear friend. With the significant assistance and contributions of his friends in it, we would like to dedicate this issue to him.

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Makaleler

Women and the Pursuit of Power in the Thirteenth Century: The Case of Alice, Queen-Regent of Cyprus (1218-1232)*

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Abstract

For the medievalists, the study of women's public role in medieval societies is an arduous task, because of the nature of the sources which reflected the societies' misogynistic approach to the treatment of the gender roles in the middle ages. Yet, a number of Lusignan queens challenge the public role of women. Drawing on a range of narrative and documentary sources, this article challenges the established image of the Queen Alice of Cyprus. Through such a study, we can complement our understanding of politics in the Outremer by challenging the male-centric interpretations of the thirteenth century, where women's public role is often ignored. This paper further explores Queen Alice's contribution to political events, how she pursued and exploited the means to power, and more importantly, how her challenge was encountered by the patriarchal society, particularly by the Church of Rome.

Keywords: Queen Alice, Cyprus, Lusignan, Women's history.

Özet

Kadınların kamusal alandaki rollerini çalışmak bir Ortaçağ tarihçisi için kaynakların, o dönemin toplumunun genel kadına ayrımcı yaklaşımını yansıtması bakımından çetin bir uğraştır. Ancak, bazı Lüzinyan kraliçeleri ortaçağda kadının kamusal alandaki rolü okumalarını sarsmaktadır. Bu makale, çok çeşitli anlatı ve belgesel kaynaklar üzerinden Kıbrıslı Kraliçe Alice'in literatürdeki yerleşmiş imgesini sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Böyle bir çalışma ile onüçüncü yüzyıl kadınının kamusal hayattaki yerinin hep ihmal edildiği "denizaşırı" politik yapısını anlayışımızı kolaylaşacaktır. Dolayısıyla burada Kraliçe Alice'in politik olaylara katkısı, güç odaklarını nasıl elde ettiği ve kullandığı, ve daha da önemlisi bu tutumunun ataerkil toplum ve özellikle Roma Klisesi tarafından nasıl karşılandığı üzerinde durulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kraliçe Alice, Kıbrıs, Lüzinyan, kadın tarihi.

In the historiography of medieval Cyprus, women's role in the body politic has long been overlooked in favour of the so-called august areas of study, shaped by the male-centric nature of the narrative sources, which

concentrates on the development of governments and institutions, and centres on the nature of the Latin Church and the Frankish government.[1] Whilst over the last decade there has appeared a proliferation of research into diverse areas as Lusignan art, culture and commerce, comparative study in the field of gender history continues to remains pitifully barren.[2] This paper makes women the focus of inquiry as active subjects and agents in the history of the Kingdom of Cyprus. Retracing some of the groundbreaking work on women and power in medieval societies, carried out by new crop of medievalists, it addresses women's active role in public life and their strategies for empowerment.[3] Significantly, this paper confronts the established notion that medieval political power is traditionally associated with men, and women who exercised *potesta* were anomalies. Finally, it challenges the traditional image of Lusignan queens as portrayed in the misogynistic historical interpretation, indifferent to the fact that nearly all actors were male.

Queen Alice of Cyprus and Jerusalem was an accomplished political player, whose single-minded pursuit of power exercised the combined guiles of the powerful Ibelins, the Houses of Champagne and France, as well as Honorius III, one of the cleverest minds who sat at the throne of St Peter. She is a key figure in understanding the marriage and inheritance debates that shaped the political history of western Christendom during one of the most exigent periods in the Outremer. Her struggle for empowerment highlights the range of opportunities open to queen-regents in the thirteenth century. In assessing these, certain questions needs exploring; to what extent the rule of queens in the East made more difficult by not having access to the properties in the West? What strategies did women employ for political empowerment? What was the attitude of the patristic society to female empowerment? Finally, what role did the Roman Church play when faced with a female claimant? Assessing these questions not only provides a more accurate view of gender and power in the Middle Ages, but goes a long way towards rehabilitating Lusignan women from their image as weak and officious subjects in the master narrative.

Apart from a band of Crusader historians, few people have heard of Queen Alice of Cyprus. In modern historiography, her reputation has suffered under successive academics who until recently tended to dismiss her public role and misevaluated events.[4] Sir Stephen Runciman ridiculed Alice's public role. He comments, "She offered nothing but trouble."[5]

William Stubbs ignores a corpus of evidence on young widow's crusading assistance following her husband's untimely death during the Fifth Crusade when wrongly asserting, "She maintained a hands-off approach to the expedition."[6] George Hill's aversion to Lusignan women is unmistakable in his characterization of Queen Alice. He describes her various attempts at political empowerment as "tactless!"[7] Likewise, John La Monte sees her as a feeble regent, unable to challenge the growing power of the Ibelins. He unfairly portrays the queen as "the most important pawn in the game of politics in Jerusalem."[8] In recent times, Queen Alice's image has somewhat mellowed. Commenting on her tenure as a regent of Jerusalem during 1243-1246, David Jacoby portrays her as a tragic subject of history. He argues that her authority could only be exercised as long as the Outremer's barons "interests would allow."[9] Lately, Chris Schabel has worked more then any other historian in attempting to dislodge the myth of Queen Alice as a persecutor of the Greek Church, perpetuated and developed by Archbishop Kyprianos, and which has since been part of Cypriot historiographical tradition.[10] He argues that "there is now a standard account that is so entrenched in the literature that it may be impossible to dislodge." According to Schabel, two notoriously unreliable XVI century chronicles, *Lusignan* and *Loredano,* has had a profound influence on later Greek historians as they wrongly credit Queen Alice for establishing the Latin Church on Cyprus.[11] Lusignan and Loredano did not have access to good documentary sources of the early Frankish period. "They knew that Queen Alice was somewhat involved and Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council were connected, and had a few facts but beyond that we have an opening of a new myth."[12]

The contemporary materials on Queen Alice are surprisingly rich and wide-ranging. These include narrative sources accounts, seals, charters, papal letters and correspondences that appear in French baronial cartularies.[13] Of these sources, the chronicles are both far-reaching and highly problematic, as their writers were "affected not only by the palette of images available to describe them, but more deeply by the nature of politics and structures that provided them with opportunities."[14] These structures were legitimacy, marriage, inheritance, and more specifically, the pattern of political action associated with succession disputes. The most important narrative source on Alice's life is Philip of Novara's history in a three part compendium, *Les gestes des Chyprois.*[15] It covers

the years between 1218 and 1243. He has nothing to say about her life prior to marriage to Hugh I, nor does he relate Alice's final years. Nevertheless, as the most comprehensive narrative source on the queen's life, Novara deserves close attention. He was a contemporary of Queen Alice and an eyewitness to the main events of the period. He is singularly responsible for her image of a meddlesome, avaricious and ineffective regent in later historiography, although his interpretation and accounts of events must be treated with a considerable degree of circumspection. Firstly, he was a layman with little or no interest in complex ecclesiastical issues, areas of immense disputes and power struggles under most of Queen Alice's regency. Secondly, his *History* was written as a panegyric to his paymaster John Ibelin, "The Old Lord of Beirut." As such, he displays rabid Ibelin bias against all others, including Queen Alice. In the re-construction of the events he was at times misinformed and at other times he deliberately withheld or omitted information to make events conform to his purpose in writing. La Monte observed, "His true causes are stated throughout from a partisan point of view."[16] Unfortunately there is no anti-Ibelin chronicle that could be used as counter-balance to Novara's work.[17] Other important chronicles detailing Queen Alice's career are the anonymous Continuation of William of Tyre, also known as the *Eracles; Chronique d'Amadi et Strambaldi;* and, Florio Bustron's *Chronique de l'Ile de Chypre.*[18] The French continuation of William of Tyre forms the second volume of *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hisitoriens Occidentaux.* It was written in Syria in the thirteenth century. It covers the period from1198 to 1229, then from 1229 to 1261. In its treatment of Queen Alice's regency, *Eracles* presents the queen more favorably then Novara. According to La Monte, "whilst Novara's depiction (of her removal of Philip from the bailliage) represents the tradition of the Ibelin house, *Eracles* gives the version generally accepted in Syria, possibly the version fostered by the Lusignans."[19] The Italian chronicles attributed to Florio Bustron and Francesco Amadi date from the sixteenth century. The writers seemed to have access to the earlier narratives of Novara and Eracles.[20] They describe in detail the establishment of the Latin Church on Cyprus and address the issue of tithes controversy during Queen Alice's regency. The latter is shown to have played a major part in the debate. They relate a quarrel between the queen and her uncles over the terms of the agreement.[21]

Alice was born in 1196 or 1197, daughter of Henry II of Champagne and Isabella I of Jerusalem. She was the paternal great grand-daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and the grand-daughter of Marie of France, the daughter of King Philip II. Alice had an impeccable crusading lineage that established her suitability for matrimony and maternity. She was an heiress to Jerusalem, her claim deriving from her mother, Isabella I of Jerusalem, and through her half sister, Queen Maria, daughter of Isabella and her second husband, Conrad of Montferrat. She later used these filial rights to contest the crown and the regency of Jerusalem in 1229 and in 1243. Henry II of Champagne was count-palatine of Troyes and cut a significant figure in French politics. He had followed in his father's footsteps by taking his crusading vows and eventually acting as a stabilizing influence on his nephews, Richard I of England and Philip Augustus of France during the third crusade.[22] Through his marriage to Isabella in 1192 until his death in 1197, Henry II had become an effective ruler of Jerusalem, but never assumed the royal title.[23] According to Runciman he may have been concerned with his unclear legal position in the kingdom, and the willingness of the public and the Church to accept his title, or he may have wanted to wait until the recovery of Jerusalem before crowned.[24] Isabella (1192-1205) was daughter of Amaury, King of Jerusalem, and Maria Comnena. In historiography, she is usually depicted as feeble and a pathetic figure. In fact, her public life became a series of marriages, arranged by her shrewd and politically assertive mother, to powerful regional lords. She had married Henry at the age of twenty one. This was her third marriage. On Henry's death in 1197, Isabella was married off to Aimery of Lusignan, who through her assumed the title "King of Cyprus and Jerusalem." By the time of her death in 1205, Isabella had gone through four husbands. Her marriages certainly broke the conventions of the time. The first to Humphrey IV of Toron was cynically annulled in order for her to marry Conrad of Montferrat. Her mother had argued that at the time of her wedding she was underage, and also that the marriage was forcibly arranged by Baldwin IV.[25] Yet, her marriage to Conrad was canonically bigamous, as at the time both parties were already married.[26] Also, according to canon law at least two of her marriages were incestuous. Her sister Sybilla had been married to Conrad's and Aimery's brothers. Yet in the closing years of the twelfth century, Isabella offered continuity between the old and the new

kingdoms, and the Church had become a willing collaborator with powerful regional barons in overlooking the finer points of the canon law.

For a woman who was used by the powerful as a pawn to legitimize the rules of the sovereigns, Isabella's lasting legacy to Alice would be the confusion over her legitimacy that blighted her public empowerment most of her adult life. No other queen in the Latin East had such a sustained attack on her legitimacy as Queen Alice endured during her lifetime. In 1219, despite providing her dower to marry Hugh I of Cyprus some years earlier, her aunt, Blanche of Navarre, Countess of Champagne, pleaded with the pope to block Alice's claim to her Champagne inheritance.[27] She had claimed that due to Isabella's bigamous marriages Alice and her sister Phillipa did not qualify to inherit Champagne. Pope Honorius III responded by setting up an inquiry into Alice's legitimacy and instructed her to present a deposition in her favour before the papal commission in person or through a procurator. In June 1219, he instructed the ecclesiastical and secular leadership in France not to entertain the queen's request to access her inheritance until the end of the said papal investigation.[28] From the tone of his letters, Honorius III does not seem to have taken sides, except in that Alice's legitimacy should have been clear because so many people who would have known the truth of the circumstances of her legitimacy, such as her uncles, the Ibelins and the Archbishop of Nicosia, were still alive. The Church's role as a final arbiter in legitimacy disputes frequently enmeshed the medieval papacy in regional power politics. On Cyprus, the Church's encouragement of Alice's marriage to Hugh of Lusignan was probably partly to do with the need to unify two Christian kingdoms in the East, partly with receiving valuable religious patronage by the nascent royal house of Cyprus, but also partly because of its pragmatic need to side with the strongest party most likely to further the Church's interests. In the case of Champagne, it was siding with Alice's aunt. This was because the Church had enjoyed greater ecclesiastical patronage under Blanche of Navarre in Champagne, then under a queen-regent, controlling meager resources in the East. In Champagne, Blanche heavily patronized the church by lavishing rich donations to monasteries and undertook to protect the Church property from feudal advancements [29] Alice's successful claim to the county would have created a power vacuum in Champagne resulting in long periods of feudal struggles. Nevertheless, it is essential to ask why Queen Alice repeatedly snubbed papal demands to appear before the commission

investigating charges against her illegitimacy. There are a number of possible reasons; firstly, she could have been aware that such a hearing would have almost certainly resulted in her defeat; secondly, the loss of a legitimacy case at the papal hearing would have been catastrophic. It would greatly emasculate her authority, and reduce her chances of remarriage. She may have believed that her energies would be better spent canvassing for her case in France with loyal churchmen and disenchanted barons, than arguing legal points in the papal corridors in Anagni and Lateran.

In the thirteenth century, marriage played an important role in diplomacy. It was used to foster ties between kingdoms, expand territories, and bring contiguous areas under the ownership of one family. In short, it served to increase families' economic and political power. Likewise, through a favourable marriage alliance, women were also expected to improve their ability to acquire property and better their status in society. As a sign of political expediency for their kingdoms, in 1197, Count Henry II and Aimery I of Cyprus betrothed their children, Hugh and Alice, whilst they were still in cradle.[30] Alice was expected to provide continuity in royal succession to both kingdoms. For the Lusignans, her marriage and the fate of her existence were highly important, partly because she offered permanence to the succession through her lineage, but more significantly, she and her descendants were the hereditary bailli to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Accordingly, through this marriage the Lusignans would have expected to benefit from an alliance with Jerusalem and achieve respectability for their nascent kingdom.[31] If Alice had died without an heir, her husband would have a claim to the throne of Jerusalem. For the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Cyprus offered a welcomed Christian coalition in a sea of Islam. The island was a geographical haven and a regional bread-basket. Its resources in manpower and materials would prove valuable assets to a tiny kingdom, stripped of land-space and under siege by a superior Muslim host. There were also other interested parties aiming to benefit from the union of Jerusalem and Cyprus; Maria Comnena had colluded with the papacy and Alice's aunt Blanche of Navarre to pursue Alice's marriage. Maria was an ambitious woman for her family, the Ibelins. A marriage alliance between her grand-daughter and the fledgling Lusignan kingdom presented new opportunities to a house whose rapid rise in fortunes saw its members occupy the highest echelons of government administration in

Jerusalem. Alice's aunt, Blanche of Navarre, had ruled Champagne as regent to her infant son, the future Thibaut IV, since the death of her husband, Thibaut III, and spent the entirety of her regency trying to secure her son's position. Blanche strengthened her rule over the county by forcing the castellans to sell their estates and by having a say in the nobles' right of fortification.[32] Naturally, she would have been happy to keep her niece in the East out of harm's way, even if it meant the full provision of her dowry. For the Syrian barons whose estates shrunk with gradual Muslim territorial advancement, the union between Jerusalem and Cyprus presented opportunities to gain secure fiefdoms in a neighboring Frankish realm, grateful for fresh intake of western vassals.

Alice probably married King Hugh I of Cyprus in 1208 or 1209.[33] According to Edbury, "their marriage was the first of a rapid series of events that transformed the politics of the Latin East, such as the growth of the Ibelins, the Longobard wars and the disputed regency of Jerusalem."[34] The extent of the teenage queen's political competence or her participation in royal government during her eight year marriage is not known. The lack of documentary evidence hinders our understanding of the scope of Alice's authority until 1218. She does not appear in any of Hugh I's charters, though this does not necessarily mean that she lacked authority.[35] Soon after her husband's death, however, Queen Alice successfully immersed herself in complex political issues. Indeed, papal letters of the period highlight her active role in politics.[36]. In a society within which political power was equated with manly skills, Pope Honorius III had recognised her maturity and her ability for political machination during the ecclesiastical crises of 1221, and had praised her ability to rule like a man despite being of fair sex.[37]

The period of history covering Queen Alice's Cypriot regency has received very little attention in modern historiography. It is one which needs a great deal of attention as it not only demonstrates the political power struggle between the young queen dowager and her kinsfolk, the Ibelins and Blanche of Navarre, but it also highlights the gradual rise of the baronial power at the expense of a weak central authority in the Latin East, specially when the office was occupied by a women. Queen Alice received the regency of Cyprus on the death of King Hugh in January 1218 in Tripoli. At the time, the future Henry I was eight year old.[38] In the middle ages queens were able to rise above their judicial and special status in society and enter into the public sphere which centered on the

exercise of power. Regents exercised royal authority until the heir reached majority. As such their powers were infinite: they applied grants on land, appointed office holders, assigned revenues, and directed governmental actions.[39] On the other hand, in politically fragmented societies, women succeeded to regency as a sanctioned right but more often were starved of power by their powerful vassals.[40] In order to transcend their marginalised status, women had to employ a male agency, such as a new husband, foster kinship networks, or if wealthy, exercise extensive religious patronage. Queen Alice's regency followed the customs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, where the regency went to the nearest relative, male or female, on the side which the throne escheated. Alice had become a regent at a time when in the Outremer "the principle of the royal prerogative bound by a strict feudal contract to the vassals was being manipulated by the periphery (barons) in order to advance their socio-political status at the expense of central authority."[41] There is no direct evidence that in the early 1220s the queen was dominated by advisers but it is unlikely that she would have been able to act without a champion at her court. The lack of such support would have seriously hindered her establishing effective authority. Indeed, only days into her regency, she had become concerned about the safety of her family, herself and for the future of her realm because of some barons who were bent on creating mischief, instead of employing their skills in the crusades.[42] These un-named troublemakers were probably her uncles, the Ibelins. Following the king's death, John and Philip of Ibelin who had taken the cross with Hugh I returned to the island to participate in Cypriot politics. There is no contemporary evidence to suggest they continued crusading afterwards. Instead, they seem to be active political players throughout Alice's regency, consistently sabotaging her fledgling authority for their own advancement.[43]

Queen Alice became embroiled in weighty political and economic challenges early-on in her regency. These were over the selection of the Baillie to administer the island on her behalf, and the island's continued support to the ongoing crusade. Novara's account of queen's role in the events surrounding the appointment of Philip of Ibelin to the bailliage of Cyprus differs from that in *Eracles*. According to the former, following the homage paid to their regent, her liegemen then pleaded with Philip of Ibelin to take control of the island's administration as decreed by Hugh I in his last wish.[44] On the other hand, in *Eracles,* Queen Alice is seen as

the instigator of Philip's bailliage working independently from the island's baronage.[45] Edbury argues that Queen Alice was happy with Philip's bailliage, because "as a woman without a husband, Alice was not considered capable of exercising authority by herself and so would need to appoint a man to govern on her behalf."[46] There is no evidence to support his view that the Queen was happy with Philip's administration. She had no choice but to appoint her uncle. The Ibelins were her nearest relatives in the kingdom, and their political fortunes had risen considerably during the last year of Hugh I. Their advancement in Cyprus had been breathtaking. By 1217, they had replaced the established nobility whose families had arrived on Cyprus with Guy de Lusignan as principal vassals to the king. For a queen who was thrust into a position of authority without the established power-base, her appointment of Philip of Ibelin was a necessary political expediency, at least until she had acquired sufficient power to press for his removal.[47]

The death of Hugh I in 1218 ignited two major controversies that pitted the young queen and the island's nobility against the papacy. These were over the payment of tithes by the European settlers on Cyprus to the Catholic Church, and the debate over the status of the Greek Orthodox Church and its clergy under Lusignan rule. These episodes demonstrate the political dichotomy which was prevalent in medieval Church politics. Pope Honorius III was a zealous advocate of the Church's rights over the temporal authorities. He was an accomplished administrator, who had helped to bring order to the Church's finances by compiling in 1192 a thesis entitled *Liber Censuum*.[48] It listed institutions dependent on and owing dues to the Holy See. The newly established, but centrally weak Lusignan kingdom presented a perfect opportunity to apply the Church's ambitious policy of increased jurisdiction over the laity. For the embryonic Latin Church on the island, lay religious patronage and the imposition of tithes became means for advancement. Mas Latrie sees the tithe controversy as a power struggle between a confident papacy, following the success of Lateran IV, and secular authorities' intent on retaining their temporal gains, won through the subjugation of indigenous Greeks and their church property.[49] For the Papacy, therefore, the imposition of tithes on everything that the Latins possessed was a financial and political necessity: an exercise of power over the state.[50] If an estate and its revenues were spoils of war, the lord was liable for the payment of tithes. In Western Europe tithes were frequently contested,

because this type of estate could have been in a lord's possession for a long time. But in the Latin East, no lay lord was exempt from payment. On Cyprus, the Church had acted in pragmatic opportunism to press the politically weak and fragmented central authority for the payment of tithes at militarily desperate times when the island's secular wealth was drained in support of the fifth crusade. Additionally, for the nobility, tithes were unpopular partly because, "unlike donation of property and incomes, which was rewarded by prayers for the donor's soul, tithes were a direct tax for which the crown and the barons got nothing in return."[51] The relatively sparse Frankish nobility, whose estates were far smaller and poorer then their counterparts in France, had to shoulder the burden.

Negotiations between the queen and the papacy had dragged on until 1220. The agreed text on the payment of tithes was finally ratified at Famagusta in 1222.[52] In Queen Alice the papacy had encountered a passionate defender of the state's interest, an able adversary who by now was adept at playing power politics. She employed sophisticated legal arguments in attempting to postpone the implementation of the agreement. The queen frustrated the papacy's patience through her repeated appeals against the minutiae of the agreement's language. She is seen to object to the use of a specific phrase in a papal letter confirming the agreement, such as "since it was done cautiously without reservation," because the phrase did not appear in the content of the signed agreement.[53] Additionally, the Church had to retract from its original position of demanding the return of former Greek Church properties which had passed on to the crown and the nobility after the conquest of the island by the Franks.[54] Queen Alice eventually agreed to pay tithes on all revenues of the state and those of her barons', knights' and men's possessions. Moreover, the queen acquiesced for the Church to receive total exemption from poll tax and dues that the peasants of the archbishop and bishops of Cyprus owed to her.[55] Philip of Novara is conspicuously silent over the affair, possibly because Queen Alice was not only a direct participant in the debate but also was a leading player in orchestrating secular resistance against papal ambitions, much against the wishes of his overlord, John of Ibelin. The matter found voice in papal letters. The chronicles of *Amadi* and *Bustron* also draw attention to the quarrel between the queen and her uncles over the terms of the agreement, without any reference to the tithe question. Unlike Novara, however, they identify John of Ibelin as Alice's main adversary in the Ibelin camp.[56] By

allying themselves with the papal camp and opposing Alice, the Ibelins most probably ingratiated themselves as friends of the Church. Their strategy pays off, since the papacy would later openly support the Ibelin bailliage in their struggles with Queen Alice and Frederick II.[57]

Through the generous terms offered to the Church in the 1222 agreement, Queen Alice probably was seeking to cultivate an image for herself as a friend of the Church, whose ecumenical authority she was dependant on for the success of her claim to recover Champagne patrimony.[58] She had further sought prestige in her dealings with the Church through generous religious patronage. In 1220, she had confirmed the endowment of grain mills in Kytheria to the Cathedral of Nicosia in perpetuity.[59] The grateful Pope Honorius III addressed the queen as, "dearest daughter in Christ, illustrious queen."[60] On Cyprus, political exigency during her early regency, therefore, had thrown the two parties into each others arms.

In, interpreting the papal policy towards the Orthodox Greeks, historians should be careful of not projecting their notions of religion onto the Middle Ages. The resultant approach would render the historian a polemicist. The Greek-centric interpretation of the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus, advanced by historians such as Hill and Hackett, who see the Lusignan period as nothing other then the Latin captivity of the Church of Cyprus, presents papal policy as temporal, devoid of spiritual motives.[61] Coureas rather simplistically elucidates that the Greek and the Latin Church were "institutions out for power and money and that different ideas about the true path to salvation play little role."[62] His argument suffers from a lack of emphasis on the spiritual element of ecclesiastical history. The controversy over the status of the Greek Church of Cyprus flared at the same time as the tithes debate. The indigenous Greeks, whose population is thought not to exceed 100,000 under the early Lusignan rule, were by far the largest ethnic group.[63] Queen Alice had to tread a fine line in keeping Greek grievances checked. Under Lusignan rule, their political and economic status had suffered a great deal, because, the enfranchisement of the European settlers, which included granting of lands and liberties to Syrian émigrés, came at their expense.[64] Additionally, "whereas previous conquests had aimed at strategic domination of the island and the economic exploitation of its inhabitants, the declared aim of the nascent Latin Church was to bring the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under the jurisdiction of Rome, which to Cypriot

Greeks represented not simply a move from one confession to another, but a challenge to their identity."[65] Willbrand of Oldenburg who visited the island in 1211 comments that they "obey the Franks and pay tribute like slaves."[66] The queen had to display an extraordinary knack of political astuteness in maintaining the fragile balance between the relatively small European settlers and the indigenous Greek majority. She sought to curtail papacy's expansionist agenda in order to reinforce her tenuous grasp on her administration. In 1221, Queen Alice pleaded with Pope Honorius III to allow Greek bishops to remain in Latin dioceses and continue to hold their Church properties. He not only refused her request, but also took an uncompromising line on the matter, stating that it would be "monstrous" for there to be two pontiffs in the same diocese, "as if one body had various heads."[67] Honorius III instructed Patriarch Ralph of Jerusalem and the archbishops of Tyre and Caesarea to force obedience from Greek bishops in Latin dioceses and strongly urged Queen Alice to work towards furthering the Church's mission.[68] Throughout the debate over the status of the Greek clergy, she provided a much needed political stability by carefully nurturing the aspirations of the Church and the Greeks. The queen also proved to be a tough adversary over Greek Church's status: in the 1222 Famagusta agreement, she won important concessions for the Greek clergy from an aggressive papacy. The Greek Church would continue in its pastoral role, albeit Greek bishops exiled to remote corners of the island. Whilst the number of the Greek bishoprics was reduced to four, the agreement affirmed the continuance of Greek bishoprics. Furthermore, their clergy became exempt from paying the poll tax, and the ordained Greek priests and deacons were granted freedom of movement, although this would be exercised with the permission of the Latin bishops. Long before Queen Helena's favorable treatment of her Greek subjects, Queen Alice became the first of the Lusignan house to value the relationship between the crown and its largest indigenous subjects After her departure to Tripoli in 1224, the condition of the Greek clergy under Ibelin administration reached a low ebb, resulting in the martyrdom of thirteen Greek monks at Kantara.[69] For the papacy, the terms of the Famagusta agreement were consistent with Lateran IV, because it reinforced the supremacy of the Latin Church over others', where the Greek bishops would show canonical obedience in spiritual matters to their Latin counterparts. Queen Alice's ardent support for the Greeks' case probably hides motives other then a simple desire to govern

placid subjects. Her authority competed with the Latin Church to benefit from the former properties of the disenfranchised Orthodox Church. Queen Alice's overriding concern therefore, would have been the furtherance of secular rights, whose continued support was necessary for her political longevity.

When dealing with the events of the early 1220s, both Hill and Edbury overlook Queen Alice's attempted marriage negotiations to William of Dampierre, the future count of Flanders. This affair not only highlights her lifelong preoccupation with seeking power and influence through long lasting territorial and political alliances, it also demonstrates Alice's desire to carve out an independent marriage and political path beyond the influence of her uncles. William hailed from an influential Champagne baronial house. The Dampierres were an important crusading family. [70] They had settled in Cyprus during the early days of the Lusignan kingdom and "were close to the Ibelins in terms of wealth, though not in numbers."[71] Alice's proposed marriage to William of Dampierre would present her with substantial advantages. Firstly, it offered her fresh sources of finances to exercise largesse, necessary in maintaining power. Secondly, as influential Champagne nobility, Dampierre would offer useful local support to Alice in her own territorial ambitions on the county. In August 1223, Pope Honorius III instructed Archbishop Walter of Sans and Bishop William of Chalons-sur-Marne to prohibit Queen Alice's impending marriage on the grounds of consanguinity.[72] The active role of the Papacy I in this issue needs a careful examination. This was one of many occasions when the Church impeded Alice's ambitions. The Church was an interested party in regional power politics. The marriage alliance between Queen Alice and the powerful Dampierre family could re-ignite a second civil war in the county, producing further socio-economic uncertainty. The Church could not afford another protracted dispute over the county like the one that took place soon after Phillipa's claim to the county, which lasted from 1216 until 1219. This dispute had not only destroyed feudal loyalties, but also the fortunes of the Catholic Church, who relied on the benefices and tithes collected from noble estates. Furthermore, by preventing Queen Alice's marriage, Honorius III was clearly affirming the canonical position on consanguinity. After all, the Church's *prima facie* mission was the care of the souls, especially the noble ones, since they were the

Church's most important adherents and those who provided the Church with rich patronage, such as the lords of Champagne.

Novara is dismissive of Queen Alice's tenure as regent. Accordingly, she had the revenues of the kingdom and disposed of them at will.[73] Proceeding from Novara, Hill called her an "inexperienced and tactless" woman who showed no interest in the kingdom and spent liberally.[74] The granting of trading privileges to Genoa in 1218 demonstrates Queen Alice's commercial acumen and astute political awareness.[75] Cyprus had no navy of its own and its trading activity was disturbed by the ongoing Fifth Crusade. The Genoese offered the economically depressed kingdom a valuable trading partner and a political ally. As Edbury observes, "seeking Genoese support in the face of the political challenges she was facing at the outset of her regency."[76]

In 1224 Queen Alice left Cyprus following an un-easy relationship with Philip of Ibelin, which can be traced back to the earlier days of her regency.[77] Novara does not elaborate on the reasons behind Alice's departure from Cyprus, only noting disdainfully that she had quarreled with Philip of Ibelin and left the island without consulting the *Haute Court*.[78] According to *Eracles,* in 1218 Alice made the mistake of having her vassals swear obedience to her uncle, the bailli, until her son reached majority. When she could not endure the abuses of the Ibelins she had left the island in shame.[79] *Eracles*' account is more plausible; Alice may have come to realize that under Philip's bailliage her lines of patronage were restricted, and she had become politically emasculated. Only an advantageous marriage alliance to a powerful lord would help her to recover her status and re-establish *potesta*. The Principality of Antioch offered such opportunity. Queen Alice married Prince Bohemond, the future Bohemond V of Antioch, in 1225 on an island off the Tripoli coast.[80] The connection between the two families extended back to Alice's father, Henry II, who in 1194 secured the release of Bohemond III from Armenian captivity. Alice expected to gain prestige by marrying Bohemond. Instead, she was drawn into the conflict that was raging between the Papacy and Antioch.[81] The Princes of Antioch were no friends of the Holy See. Bohemond IV was an excommunicant, who fell foul of the Church over the flaying of Hospitallers during a "diabolical rage."[82] The emergence of a potentially strong regional power hostile to the Papacy, allied to Honorius III's nemesis, Frederick II, would have been a daunting prospect for the Papacy. The Church had been left with a

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serious dilemma over the "clandestine" marriage of "the irresolute and mobile princes."[83] Yet alienating Queen Alice, who had become an awkward adversary to her uncles, with whom she had often argued, meant she would have been free to pursue her claim in France or becoming a magnet to anti-Ibelin faction. The union of Cyprus and Antioch before the young Henry I reached majority would have extended Antiochene influence over Cypriot politics at the expense of Ibelin interests. The prospect would have been alarming to the Ibelins, who had ruled Cyprus unchecked since Queen Alice's departure to Syria. Her marriage to Bohemond Archbishop Eustorge of Nicosia, a relative of the Ibelins and distrusted by Queen Alice and the Prince of Antioch alerted the pope to the illegality of Alice's marriage, arguing that the couple was related within the forbidden degree of consanguinity. Eustorge became a vociferous opponent of the union, possibly because of his long lasting feud with Prince Bohemond IV relating back to the latter's excommunication by the papal legate Cardinal Pelagius.[84] In 1224, Eustorge asked the pope to be excused from travelling to the lands under Bohemond's jurisdiction, as he feared he would be harmed by the Count.[85] Yet, despite the obvious knowledge of the animosity between the Archbishop of Nicosia and the House of Antioch, a year later the pope instructed Eustorge to investigate the degree of consanguinity between Alice and Bohemond, most probably in order to discharge a canonical administrative procedure then a desire to investigate the truth.[86] When the couple's pleas to Eustorge were expectantly rejected, Frederick II championed their appeal to the Holy See.[87] Alice's procurator, a celebrated knight and lawyer, William of Rivet, who attended the consanguinity hearing in Rome, insisted that they could not receive a fair hearing in the Latin East before "a suspect judge," Archbishop Eustorge, demanding that their case is heard in Rome, where their case was supported by Bohemond's powerful ally Frederick II.[88] According to de Rivet, Alice was related to her husband in the fifth degree, thus, the marriage was legal.[89] Bending to imperial pressure, the pope removed the Archbishop of Nicosia from the case and replaced him with Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem.[90] However, the alienation of Frederick II from papal favour which would eventually lead to his excommunication had diminished the couple's chances of success with the papal commission. In 1228, Honorius III finally annulled their marriage.[91] Without the support of powerful local princedom to fight her cause, and the arrival of

Frederick II in the East to recover his rights over Cyprus and Jerusalem meant Alice's chances for re-empowerment on Cyprus had been irrevocably lost. In 1229, she had no choice but to leave Outremer in order to seek empowerment in the West, through the recovery of her patrimony in Champagne.

Philip of Novara claims Cypriot barons had universally condemned Queen Alice's marriage to Bohemond.[92] This is a gross historical misrepresentation. The anti-Ibelin barons, who included Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan, Gauvain de Clenchi, William de Rivet and Hugh de Gibelet had previously appeared as regular testators on King Hugh's charters.[93] They would have welcomed such a union, because their status had been gradually eroded under Philip of Ibelin's bailliage. Through the influence of the strongest Frankish power in the Levant, they would have expected to recover their previous status. In Tripoli, Queen Alice became the fulcrum of anti-Ibelin faction. Edbury argues that there is little evidence linking Alice with these nobles. However, on the contrary, not only had the above named barons appeared on Alice's charters from Cyprus, but she had also been closely connected to at least two of the protagonists, Amaury Barlais and William de Rivet. In 1227, the queen had championed the former as her choice of bailli to replace Philip of Ibelin.[94] As already noted, the latter had acted as her procurator during the consanguinity hearing in Rome. She had endowed him with the estate of Pyrgos on Cyprus as a benefice.[95] Once her son Henry I reached majority, Queen Alice lost the support of her vassals, the anti-Ibelin barons. They switched their allegiance to Frederick II, because he would offer them better opportunity to recover their lost status then a dowager queen, devoid of *potesta*. After 1229, none would appear in her charters.

The questions of fitness to rule and legitimacy were central to medieval lordship and to succession disputes. Political claimants often resorted to propaganda and character assassination in their attempts to beat their opponents. As claimants, women had traditionally been natural targets, but as protagonists they themselves used and manipulated political arguments.[96] They overcame strict gender roles to seek and maintain power by employing all means of guile and coercion at their disposal. Amongst the queens of the Latin East, Queen Alice's selfish determination to seek *potesta* was only matched by Queen Melisende of Jerusalem in the twelfth century. Alice's claim to recover her inheritance became the single most taxing concern during her adult life. Female

claimants were shunted off to the East, not so much in exile but more as a way of giving them the least defensible properties. If Alice was to rule in the East with largesse, she would need access to the revenues from her French patrimony, which was of redoubtable importance because of its size, richness, and the respect it commanded in France. Her rule in the East was therefore hampered by not having access to such in the West.

Queen Alice's claim to inheritance in Champagne was sabotaged by relatives in favour of their family's advancement. During this episode, the Roman Church acted as a willing collaborator in latter's machinations. By blocking Queen Alice's claim in France, the Papacy had ensured that she remained in the Levant, rather then upset the *status quo* in France. A political upheaval would have put the Church's patronage and benefices at risk. In his *Vie de Saint Louis,* John of Joinville recounted Alice's visit to France in pursuance of her claim to the County of Champagne and the subsequent events that culminated in a treaty between the queen and Count Thibaut IV, brokered by Blanche of Castille and Louis IX.[97] Henry II had left the county of Champagne in the hands of his brother Thibaut III until his return from the crusade or if he had no issue. When Henry died in Acre, his daughters Alice and Phillipa became legitimate claimants.[98] In 1216, Phillipa and her husband, Erard of Brienne, mounted an armed challenge to wrest the county from Thibaut III's widow, Blanche of Navarre. Envisaging such a threat to her son's tenuous position, Blanche had secured an undertaking from the pope and King Philip II of France that Alice and Phillipa's future claims to the county of Champagne would not be heard until her son reached the age of twenty one, or unless a charge was brought by an ecclesiastical person.[99] Phillipa's and her husband's struggle with the Countess lasted three years until 1219. During hostilities, Phillipa was supported by a number of barons, mainly from the southern part of the county. Following the hostilities, rebellious barons were forced to renew their homage to Blanche and her son. In 1229, Queen Alice began imposing her will on Champagne. Yet, her methods were far subtler and more purposeful then her sister's. They show understanding of the finer points of legal arguments, particularly when dealing with complex ecclesiastical pronouncements. Papal letters highlight the Holy See's concern over Alice's diplomatic skills and her ability to attract both lay and ecclesiastical leaders to her cause.[100]. Aware of the clause in the papal edict which allowed a legal charge in support of her claim through

ecclesiastical pronouncement, she had spent considerable time canvassing support from bishoprics that had previously enjoyed benefices under her father's rule. The queen did not arrive in France until 1232. Her ability to keep alive her claim through able procurators and letters for thirteen years highlights her remarkable skills in conducting power politics. Throughout her inheritance struggle that lasted sixteen years, she had demonstrated determined stubbornness and tenacity in the face of sustained attack on her legitimacy. Queen Alice herself was not without friends; according to John of Joinville, "all the barons of France…settled to send for the Queen of Cyprus," pointing to her wide support for her cause in France.[101] Certainly, her claim to Champagne was championed by other powerful neighboring barons, such as Philip Hurepel, the Count of Boulogne, Hugh of Burgundy, Hugh of Normandy, Guy of Nevers, and Robert Dreux of Btittany, no doubt eager to advance their own territorial ambitions on Champagne. Queen Alice's claim was finally settled through the intervention of the French royal house. She received 40,000 *livres* as a one-off payment and an annual income of 2,000 *livres.* Additionally, she was given the fiefs of the County of Blois, Chartres, Sancerre and Chateaudun.[102] Through this agreement, Alice became a very wealthy woman. In return she renounced her claim to the County of Champagne. Richard points to three factors to explain Alice's failure to recover Champagne: the erosion of her support due to concerns over her legitimacy; papal influence over local baronage and bishops through the threat of excommunications; and, the death of her champion, Peter Hurepel, the Count of Boulogne.[103] However, the most important factor for the peace treaty had had been the intervention of Louis IX, who intervened in order to spare France from descending into a full-blown civil war.

This paper has aimed to revise the field of Cypriot medieval studies in three directions: by adding new information, answering old questions in new ways, and creating entirely a new research area which focuses on the public life of Lusignan women. It has argued that in patristic societies the Church in collusion with the political periphery excluded women from many of the behavioral domains in which the right to rule was exercised. Women like Queen Alice of Cyprus challenged the society's constrictions that they could be in office but not in power. She had become a regent at a time "when the principle of the royal prerogative bound by a strict feudal contract to the vassals was being manipulated by

the periphery in order to advance their socio-political status at the expense of central authority."[104] Within such a politically fragmented society, she became a regent as a sanctioned right but her authority was challenged by her kinsmen, although, she refused vigorously to be a figurehead. Alice had realized early on in her regency that if she was to realize her potential as holder of the *potesta* she would have to acquire wealth, which she conspicuously lacked. The queen repeatedly pursued a marriage strategy not linked to Ibelin interest. Despite being ignored by the most powerful in Christendom, she ceaselessly pursued her strategy of empowerment. Her career is also important because it highlights the extent of the Church's active participation in regional power-politics. For pursuing her claim to rulership with single-minded determination at a point of Latin East's history when the baronial power had reached its apogee, she deserves more credit then historians have traditionally given her. In 1246, Queen Alice died in Acre in 1246, and was buried next to her husband, King Hugh I in the Hospitallers church of St John in Nicosia.[105] She continued to style herself Queen of Cyprus until her death.

Endnotes

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[1] Peter Edbury, "The State of Research: Cyprus under the Lusignans and Venetians, 1991-1998," *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), 57-65; 57. The following material has played a major influence on shaping the nature of research on medieval Cyprus.; George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940); Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991); Nicholas Savvas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Aldershot, 1997).

[2] Some of the recent work on medieval Cypriot queens are; Benjamin Arbel, "The Reign of Caterina Corner (1473-1489) as a Family Affair," *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th-16th Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000); Christina Kaoulla, "Queen Helena Palaiologina of Cyprus (1442-1458): Myth and

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[4] Schabel, *Myth of Queen Alice*, 21.

[5] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1954), 163-4.

[6] William Stubbs, *Medieval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia. (October 26 and 29, 1878). Seventeen Lectures on the study of Mediaeval and Modern History and kindred subjects ... with two Addresses given at Oxford and Reading*, 3 ed. (Oxford, 1900), 198.

[7] Hill, *History*, 84.

[8] John La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge (Mass.), 1932), 69-70.

[9] David Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of the Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* (401986), 83-101; 96.

[10] See, Schabel, *Myth of Queen Alice,* also, Chris Schabel, "The Status of the Greek Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus," in *"Sweet Land..." Lectures on the*

History and Culture of Cyprus, eds. Julian Chrysostomides, Dendrinos Charalambos (Camberley, 2006), 165-170.

[11] *Estienne De Lusignano's Description De Toute L'Isle De Cypre* (Nicosia 2004 [Paris, 1580]), 273-274; *Giovanni Francesco Loredano's Historie De" Re Lusignani* (Venetia, 1653), 33.

[12] Schabel, *Myth of Queen Alice*, 7.

[13] Complete corpus of papal letters on Queen Alice will appear in the *Bullarium Cyprium: Papal Letters Involving Cyprus 1196-1316* eds. Chris Schabel and Jean Richard (Nicosia, forthcoming); On Alice' charters, see, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI),* ed. R. Rohricht, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1893-1904). On her seals, see, Gustave L. Von Schlumberger, *Sigillographie De L' Orient Latin* (Paris: Geuthner, 1943), and references to Queen Alice' Champagne campaign can be found in, Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284* (Baltimore, 1975), Theodore Evergates, *Littere Baronum : The Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne* (Toronto, London, 2003).

[14] Pauline Stafford, *Portrayal of Royal Women*, 144.

[15] "Les Gestes Des Chiprois," in *Recueil Des Historiens Des Croisades, Documents Armeniens*, ed. L. Mas Latrie, G. Paris, C. Kohler (Paris, 1906), 653-872. For an English version of Novara's history, see, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus by Philip de Novare*, ed. J. La Monte (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). For more up to date modern critical edition of Novara's work, see, *Guerra Di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)*, ed. Silvio Melani (Napoli, 1994)

[16] La Monte, *Wars of Frederick II*, 17.

[17] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 49.

[18] *"L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer,"* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux,* 2 (Paris, 1844-1895); *Chroniques d'Amadi et Strambaldi,* ed. R. de Mas Latrie, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891); *Florio Bustron's Chronique de l'Ile de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, (Paris: 1886).

[19] La Monte, *Wars of Frederick,* 25-6, note 1; *Eracles,* 362-3.

[20] For Edbury's assessment on the value of Amadi, see, Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 49, note 38.

[21] *Amadi,* 120; *Bustron,* 60-1.

22

[22] Henry II was the grandson of King Louis VII of France and his first wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. As such he was related to both the Capetian as well as the Angevin royal houses.

[23] La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*. 42; Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*. (Cambridge, 1999), 230.

[24] Runciman, *Kingdom of Acre*, 69. Henry II married Isabella one week after the death of her husband Conrad of Montferrat. This was considered illegal and against the customs of the kingdom. The issue had later surfaced when Queen Alice"s pursued her claim to Champagne.

[25] Runciman, *Kingdom of Acre*, 26-7.

[26] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), 116.

[27] Hill, *History*, 36.

[28] *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum Inde Ab Anno Post Christum Natum 1198 Ad Annum 1304*, ed. August Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874-1875), 6091; *Regesta Honorii Papae III,* ed. Pietro Pressutti, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888-1895), 2121, 2231.

[29] Evergates, *Feudal Society*, nos. 56-8, 60.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Jean Richard, "Le droit et les institutions franques dans le royaume de Chypre" in *Croises, Missionnaires et Voyageurs: Les Perspectives Orientales du Monde Latin Medieval* (London, 1983), 18.

[32] Evergates, *Feudal Society*, nos. 25, 31.

[33] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 49. Edbury argues that the marriage took place in 1210, before the expiry of the Muslim truce, whilst accepting that there is some confusion regarding the date of marriage. See also, *Eracles*, 308-309. On the other hand, "Annales De Terre Sainte," in *Archives De L'Orient Latin,* eds. R Rohricht and G Raynaud, 2 (Paris, 1881), 427-61, 436, places the marriage to 1211. Presuming Alice married Hugh at a marriageable age of twelve, the union would have taken place sometime in 1209. The following year she was accompanied with her uncles to Cyprus.

[34] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 44.

[35] Despite ruling France in her son Louis IX's absence whilst he was on a crusade, Blanche of Castille does not appear in royal charters at all.

[36] *Regesta Honorii III,* 4998; Louis De Mas Latrie, *Histoire De L'Ile De Chypre Sous Le Regne Des Princes De La Maison De Lusignan*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1860-1861), 47.

[37] *Regesta Honorii III,* 3663; Mas Latrie, *Historie,* II, 44-5. "Cum in sexu fragili virile robur induas…"

[38] *Eracles,* 325, 360.

[39] La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy,* 53.

[40] La Monte, *Wars of Frederick II,* 199.

[41] Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 94-5.

[42] Mas Latrie, *Historie,* II, 610; *Regesta Honorii III,* 1524; *Regesta Pontificum,* 5871-2.

[43] *Eracles,* 361.

[44] *Gestes*, 2 (98)

[45] *Eracles*, 360-1.

[46] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 35-36.

[47] *Regesta Honorii III,* 5824*;* W. Edbury, "John of Jaffa and the Kingdom of Cyprus," in *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot, 1999), 39.

[48] *Le Liber Censuum De L'Eglise Romaine Compiled by Honorius III*, eds. Fabre and L. Duchesne (Paris, 1952).

[49] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 122-124.

[50] Ibid. 45.

[51] Coureas, *Latin Church*, 17.

[52] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 45; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4212. English translation in, *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196-1373*, ed. Chris Schabel (Nicosia, 2001), no. 11.

[53] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 47; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4998-9.

[54] *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, eds. Nicholas Coureas and Chris Schabel (Nicosia, 1997), no. 80; *Synodicum Nicosiense,* no. 10.

[55] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* III, 45; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4212; *Synodicum Nicosiense,* no. 11.

[56] *Amadi*, 120; *Bustron,* 60-61.

[57] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 5824.

[58] *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. 84; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 612-4; *RRH,* 938.

[59] *RRH,* no. 929.

[60] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 610. *Karrisime in Christo filie illustri regine.*

[61] John Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus from the Coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation (A. D. 45-A. D. 1878) Together with Some Account of the Latin*

and Other Churches Existing in the Island (London, 1901); Hill, *History of Cyprus,* II.

[62] Nicholas Coureas, *Latin Church in Cyprus*, 251.

[63] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 14-5.

[64] Leontios Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, Entitled "Chronicle,"* ed. R. M Dawkins, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1932), 25, 29.

[65] Nicholas Coureas, "The Cypriot reaction to the establishment of the Latin Church. Resistance and collaboration," in *Sources Travaux Historiques* 43-44: 75-84; 76.

[66] *Excerpta Cypia: Materials for a History of Cyprus,* trans. Claude Delaval Cobham (Cambridge, 1908), 13.

[67] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 3663; Mas Latrie, *Histoire,* II, 44-5. For English translation, see *Synodicum Nicosiense,* no. 8.

[68] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 3687; Mas Latrie, *Histoire,* II, 45; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no.7.

[69] *Eracles,* 361.

[70] Janet Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with Part of the Eracles or Acre Text* (Aldershot, 1999), 138. William would later take the cross with St. Louis and suffer incarceration with the French king after the battle of Mansoura.

[71] W. Edbury, "Franks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374*, eds. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel (Boston, 2005), 91.

[72] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4471. "…quod licet Wilelmus de Donnapetra (Dampetra) et (Allais) regina Cypri se in eo gradu propinguitatis attingat ut negueant matrimonialiter copulari, nihilominus tamen tractatus de contrahendo matrimonio inter eos."

[73] *Gestes*, 31 (127); *Amadi,* 125-9.

[74] Hill, *History*, II, 84.

[75] *RRH*, 912.

[76] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 110.

[77] Ibid.; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4561.

[78] *Gestes*, 19 (115).

[79] *Eracles,* 361-2.

[80] "*Annales De Terre Sainte,*" *AOL,* II, 438; Mas Latrie, *Histoire,* II, 47.

[81] Chris Schabel, "Frankish Pyrgos and the Cistercians," in *Report of the Department of Antiquities* (2000), 349-60; 351.

[82] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 5593; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 47.

[83] *"Historie des Archeveques Latins de L'Ile de Chypre"* in *AOL,* II, 221.

[84] *Regesta Pontificum,* 7524a.

[85] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 5182.

[86] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 5593; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 47.

[87] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6271; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 48.

[88] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6272; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 48. "…,ad prosequendam apellationem interpositam ad nostrum presentiam destinarint, et ipsi apud nos diu institerint ut, cum illis nimis periculosum existeret super hoc sub suspecto iudice litigare, providere super hoc misericorditer dignaremur."

[89] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6272.

[90] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 48; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6271.

[91] *Amadi*, 123-4; *Bustron*, 63.

[92] *Gestes*, 19 (114).

[93] *RRH,* nos. 912, 929, 938.

[94] *Gestes*, 114; *Amadi*, 120.

[95] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6272.

[96] Pauline Stafford, *Portrayal of Royal Women*, 146.

[97] Jean Joinville, *Vie De Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1995), 158.

[98] Ibid., 42.

[99] Evergates, *Littere Baronum*, docs. 36, 61.

[100] *Innocentii III,* II, 844; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 2121.

[101] *Vie de Saint Louis*, 155-6.

[102] Ibid., 158.

[103] Richard, *Saint Louis*. 46.

[104] Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 94-95.

[105] *AOL,* II, Docs 426-61; *Amadi,* 198.

Mr. Fenech's Colony: Maltese Immigrants in Cyprus 1878-1950[*]

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Abstract

British Colonial Office documents describe negotiations beginning in 1878 between Cyprus administrators, the Colonial Office, and the Maltese government for several, separate schemes to bring colonies of agricultural workers to Cyprus. Then, beginning in 1879 the documents describe in detail and at length the existence of a Maltese colony of agricultural workers managed by Vicenzo Fenech, a land surveyor from Malta, as well as other schemes proposed by other entrepreneurs and Maltese governors through the turn of the century. However, a 1928 official report claims the earliest schemes "never crystallized." The purpose of this article is to demonstrate, in a case study of three Maltese immigration schemes in Cyprus between 1878 and the 1950s, how officials did indeed negotiate such schemes, sometimes in secret, and how these schemes ultimately failed.

Keywords: Cyprus, Malta, immigration, development, agriculture, settlements.

Özet

Britanya Kolonyal Dairesi belgeleri, 1878'de başlamak üzere, Kıbrıs İdaresi, Kolonyal Dairesi ve Malta Hükümeti arasında Kıbrıs'a tarım işçisi kolonileri getirilmesinin çeşitli yollarının görüşüldüğünü ortaya koymaktadır. 1879'dan yüzyılın sonlarına kadarki belgelerde, uzunca ve detaylı bir şekilde, toprak müfettişi Vicenzo Fenech yönetiminde Maltalı küçük bir işçi kolonisinin ve Maltalı vali ve yatırımcılarının buna benzer projelerinin bahsi geçmektedir. Ancak 1928 tarihli resmi bir rapor bu erken projelerin hiç bir zaman gerçekleşmediğini öne sürmektedir. Bu makalenin amacı, 1878-1950'ler arasında Malta'dan Kıbrıs'a gerçekleştirilmesi planlanan üç adet göç projesi özelinde, iddia edilenin tersine memurların kimi zaman gizlilik içinde de olsa nasıl bu türden görüşmeleri yürüttüklerini, ve bu projelerin başarısız olma sebeplerini gözler önüne sermektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs, Malta, göç, gelişme, tarım, yerleşim.

Britain occupied Cyprus in 1878 according to the agreements of the Congress of Berlin, then annexed the island in 1914 and made it a Crown

Colony in 1925. Yet Colonial Office documents explicitly outline British attempts to develop the island's resources immediately in 1878 as if it were already a colonial possession. By early 1879, High Commissioner Sir Garnet Wolseley could proclaim:

> suffice it to say that Cyprus is going to be a great success; I shall have a surplus this year… Next year I hope to embark upon some more important public works. Laugh at any one who tells you Cyprus is not going to be a complete success.[1]

Wolseley's idea of success was to have an economic surplus and to complete important public works like ports, buildings, irrigation, roads, and so forth.

Coincidentally, officials on another British-ruled island in the Mediterranean, Malta, saw the acquisition of Cyprus as a golden opportunity to relieve their own problems of overcrowding and impoverishment.[2] In the early years of the occupation, they petitioned the new Cyprus Government for numerous government-sponsored immigration schemes, including colonies of agricultural workers ranging from a group of 50 families to thousands of laborers. Governor Dingli of Malta hoped new colonies in Cyprus would attract "a continuous stream of Maltese emigrants."[3] Although a continuous stream never materialized, Colonial Office documents show that some groups did migrate to new Cyprus settlements. However, a 1928 official report claims the earliest schemes "never crystallised."[4]

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate, in a case study of three Maltese immigration projects in Cyprus how Cyprus administrators, the Colonial Office, and the Maltese government did indeed negotiate to bring colonies of workers to Cyprus between 1878 and the 1950s. The first of the negotiations began when the British occupied Cyprus in 1878. The slow pace and inability of the governments to reach agreement, however, left the door open for independent, private schemes. Documents for 1879 describe in detail and at length a colony of agricultural workers managed by Vicenzo Fenech, a land surveyor from Malta. Fenech bought property for himself in Cyprus and then solicited financial assistance from both governments to bring a small colony of Maltese families to Cyprus to live on his land as agricultural workers. This project succeeded initially but eventually failed for reasons to be discussed.

A second period of Maltese immigration to Cyprus spans the years 1909 to 1923, when, after another unsuccessful wave of governmental negotiations between Malta and Cyprus, Lt.-Colonel Harman J. Grisewood proposed the emigration of an agricultural colony of 320 families to be settled on land in Cyprus acquired by a private syndicate. His project attracted attention from both governments, who finally in 1927 carried out an official study of Maltese settlement in Cyprus through the office of the Minister of Migration. This study, however, declared emigration to Cyprus to be impractical and all official schemes were abandoned.

The third period begins around 1950, when the British government became alarmed at the plight of several groups of aged and destitute Maltese still languishing on Cyprus, as well as a more recent group of so-called "Maltese" refugees from Turkey and Greece, all of whom had become a drain on the island's financial resources.

These case studies show, first, how the British embraced private enterprise when it served to fill certain needs the government was unable or unwilling to finance in order to help settle and develop new imperial acquisitions, or as in the case of Malta, in order to relieve a particular imperial territory of excess population in times of depression and unemployment. Second, the example of Maltese immigrants in Cyprus demonstrates the desire of British administrators to settle their new territories with socially acceptable British citizens drawn from other parts of the Empire, that is, those who embodied a certain sense of "Britishness."

The Need for Labor on Cyprus

Britain had eyed Cyprus as a potential strategic link in her chain of Mediterranean possessions, Gibraltar and Malta, before she militarily occupied it in July, 1878.[5] At the same time, the British consuls on the island — the men-on-the-spot — urged agricultural and mineral development. Vice-Consul White's report of March 1863 describes "harvests, trade, revenue and the general prosperity of the island." Consul Riddell insisted in both 1875 and 1876 that the island could indeed become highly productive and that trade in agricultural products, especially wheat, barley, cotton, madder roots, silk, wine, raisins, olive oil, locust-beans, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables, might be increased "under an enlightened government."[6] Consul Robert Hamilton Lang, writing for *MacMillan's*

Magazine in 1878, called for efforts to make the island prosperous, devoting seven pages to the potential agricultural and mineral wealth of the island.[7] When Lang imported English ploughs and harrows and found that the "natives could not give him effective aid with these implements," he replaced them with the best models of the native plough. He reported in August 1878 that "…the results of his efforts in the way of agriculture surpassed all his expectations."[8]

Then, beginning with the first High Commissioner, Sir Garnet Wolseley, subsequent administrators followed these efforts with development programs of their own.[9] By 1888, despite a drought season in 1887, wheat production rose from an average of 1,568,580 kiles for the period 1882-1886 to 1,930,720 kiles, and barley at 2,279,856 kiles in 1888 exceeded earlier averages of 1,689,040 kiles.[10]

Both consuls and administrators record difficulty in finding skilled, industrious labor. White notes in 1863 the "ignorance of the native cultivators, who would have to be taught the proper use of European implements, and…the want of skilled workmen to keep them in repair." By 1875, there was an even greater and increasing scarcity of field laborers, "even at comparatively high wages", and a lack of animal power for agricultural purposes, which had left much of the land insufficiently worked, according to Consul Riddell.[11] And Wolseley complained in 1878:

> At present, although I am paying a high rate (1s. 3d. a day) for labour, I get very little work out of the lazy, idle fellows who are good enough to accept our money, and frequently they bolt to their villages. I can never count upon having the same men for many days together, and sometimes the working parties are reduced to small proportions from the number of absentees.[12]

Wolseley noted that under Turkish law every man was obliged to work a certain number of days on the roads during the period from May through the end of October every year. Salisbury authorized Wolseley to implement the Turkish law, but "we think punishment in default should be a fine on village, and not fall on individuals; otherwise we shall be charged with setting up slavery."[13]

By 1881, Cypriot peasants continued to disdain regular work. Andrew Scott-Stevenson, District Commissioner of Kyrenia, reported:

Although the demand for labour exceeds the supply, a great number of men, as soon as they have made sufficient money to provide for themselves with such food as is absolutely necessary and a few *paras* to spend on tobacco and coffee, refuse to work again until they have spent their last coin.[14]

This attitude perplexed British administrators, whose enthusiasm for new programs probably baffled the peasants in turn. Peasant work habits, that is, working in a variety of short-term seasonal jobs, which seemed lazy and less than ambitious to the British, actually enabled them to control their own working lives, a freedom more valuable than money.[15] One solution to the labor problem was to import other workers, preferably with the "British" work ethic. Thus Cyprus administrators found the idea of Maltese colonies worth consideration.

Maltese Emigration and the British Empire
First, to understand Maltese emigration to Cyprus, it is helpful to consider the background of Maltese emigration in general. The island of Malta, governed by the British since 1813, enjoyed and suffered variously periods of prosperity and economic depression, to a great extent fluctuating according to the level of British military action that required basing naval troops on the island that in turn provided local jobs and bolstered the economy. A more enduring problem, however, lay in the tendency of Maltese to have large, close-knit families, encouraged by the Catholic Church. Prosperity meant even larger families, while economic depression led to greater unemployment. Schemes to encourage Maltese men to find employment elsewhere and thereby relieve the island's overpopulation generally failed partly because the Maltese refused to move far from their community, or if they left, they often returned in a few years.[16]

In the broader scheme of the British Empire, an excess labor force in one area might have provided workers for more deprived areas. A few independent Maltese did take advantage of that opportunity on their own initiative, although most either returned when their purses were full or languished destitute in the new territory when the work ran out. A government-sponsored project to take whole communities of workers and their families to other territories seemed more pragmatic. But by 1880, all government organized schemes to take colonies of Maltese to other parts

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of the Empire had failed for numerous reasons. This occurred in the West Indies, Algeria, the Ionian Islands, and Egypt, from around 1825 to the 1870s.[17]

Not surprisingly, by the late 1870s the Maltese government began to favor private enterprises, not least because in 1870 the Foreign Office prohibited official migration to Ottoman territories. Sir Adrian Dingli, the Crown Advocate on Malta, sought ways around the veto by involving himself and his office in joint ventures with private business, in particular the Maltese Emigration Society which proposed to buy land in Africa to establish small Maltese peasant communities. But even that project progressed slowly and finally ended completely with the 1876-1878 economic depression in Malta and growing public antagonism toward the British government. The answer seemed to be in fully private projects, an idea which found support from the next governor of Malta, Sir Arthur Borton, who served from 1878 to 1884.[18]

After 1890, Maltese migrations shifted from the Mediterranean, that is, from close to home, to further reaches of the British Empire, especially to Australia, where between 1890 and 1938, the Maltese population increased from a few hundred to a few thousand, and to the United Kingdom, and France[19], as well as the United States, Canada, and Brazil.[20] It should be noted that both government- and privately-organized schemes for sending groups of Maltese to other territories intended that these groups should be entirely voluntary, although contracts sometimes suggest indentured servitude, and given the tendency of Maltese to stay close to home, there had to be substantial incentives. It must be assumed, however, that had economic conditions at home been better, the Maltese would resist leaving under any circumstances. Therefore these enterprises generally operated under less than ideal conditions in regard to the enthusiasm of the workers. The ever-present possibility of workers giving up and returning home put these schemes on tenuous ground. The hope was that private enterprises could be more successful, and certainly less expensive to the government, than the earlier government schemes.

Maltese Government Emigration Schemes in 1878

As the Maltese government struggled to find relief for its overpopulated island, a new, exciting opportunity arose in July, 1878, when the British occupied Cyprus under the tenets of the Congress of Berlin. Wolseley

sought to redevelop that island's devastated agriculture and infrastructure, both of which required more willing labor than could be found on the island. The Maltese in government expressed great approval for individual Maltese emigration to Cyprus, and unemployed laborers made their way to Cyprus hoping to find work. By the end of July the Passport Office was receiving as many as 50 applications a day for passage to Cyprus, and the Port Department removed 20 to 30 stowaways every day from each ship headed for Larnaca.[21]

Some stowaways actually slipped through to Cyprus and found work. For example, Wolseley wrote to his wife in July, 1878 about importing a Maltese washerwoman who could starch his shirts properly,[22] and in 1879, an "illiterate Maltese" could be seen painting street signs.[23] Mrs. Scott-Stevenson, the wife of the British Civil Commissioner of Kyrenia, wrote in her journal in 1880 about a faithful Maltese house servant, Don Pasquale, who arrived in Cyprus as a stowaway.[24]

Therefore, the Maltese government, while not proposing necessarily a government-sponsored colony scheme, felt confident in their petition to the Cyprus government to accept Maltese workers. In a memorandum to the Governor of Cyprus in October 1878, Dingli requests free land, tax assistance, and materials for Maltese workers, arguing for the mutual benefit of both islands:

> Our emigrant is not a man of capital seeking investment for it; nor a man whom bad laws or bad rulers drive to other lands, for peace or protection. He is simply a laborious, industrious, working man, asking for employment which at home, he looks for in vain. In Cyprus all is to be repaired, and a great deal to be demolished, and reconstructed on a better system, to become really useful for the object for which it is intended…
>
> The population of Cyprus is too small to furnish all the labour that will be required; and contractors for great works will soon find out, that, of all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the best supply of labour, for employment in Cyprus, is to be looked for in Malta.[25]

Dingli wanted enough land on Cyprus to settle at least 1,000 Maltese workers. This shocked Cyprus governor Wolseley, who wrote in his private journal on 26 November:

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His scheme is simply preposterous. He wants 25 square miles of
land for nothing and that no taxes should be charged upon it for
ten or twelve years. It is the coolest and most silly project I have
ever read over. It is thoroughly Maltese in all its lines, goes in
for priests etc. It ought to have emanated from the "propaganda"
at Rome.[26]

Wolseley's outrage apparently softened by late December, when he
inspected a site in Kiti "for a Maltese colony and for eucalyptos
plantations."[27]

But he was not going down without a fight! By the following June,
1879, correspondence flew fast and furious between Dingli and two other
British administrators, Hicks Beach and Colonel Greaves. Dingli
apparently visited Cyprus while Wolseley was in London and meeting
with Greaves instead, noted Greaves' opinion "that emigration from
Malta would tend greatly to the benefit of that island…" Wolseley,
however, saw Malta's proposal as a scheme "to relieve itself of a portion
of its redundant population against any benefit accruing to Cyprus..."
When he finally agreed to a compromise, he insisted that the Maltese pay
for land which they had requested *gratis* and without taxation.[28] This
negated the Sultan's Decree of 1855 that offered to immigrants into the
Asian Turkish dominions fertile lands in healthy localities *gratis*, with
exemption from taxation for a period of 12 years.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies informed Sir Arthur Borton,
that Her Majesty's Government would not accept the Sultan's Decree as
binding on the British administration of Cyprus.[29] Dingli agreed to this
but complained that,

No part of the lands pointed out by Sir Garnet Wolseley to the
agents of the Malta Government (Messrs. Testaferrata Olivier
and Galizia) for inspection is of the best quality, or irrigable by
running water; no water on them can be had in the dry season,
except by works of a costly nature; and a considerable portion of
them is of very inferior quality, hardly saleable in Cyprus for 5*s*.
an acre.[30]

While the Maltese delegation hardly thought 5 shillings an acre for poor unimproved land acceptable, Wolseley asked 30 shillings an acre for partially inhabited land that required compensation to the owners, and offered one year of relief from taxation rather than twelve. Dingli suggested a compromise of 15 shillings for entirely unoccupied land and no taxation for five years.[31] The question remained unsettled during Wolseley's tenure as High Commissioner on Cyprus, although he proposed the Taxation Ordinance of 1879 which passed Council on 28 April. The ordinance forbade any right of exemption from payment of "any tax, impost, duty, or obligation, except where expressly stated and allowed."[32]

Wolseley left Cyprus in June 1879, succeeded by Robert Biddulph as High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in Cyprus. Biddulph, just as ambitious as Wolseley, continued the process of agricultural revitalization, as well as currency reform, new administrational structure for justice and taxation, anti-locust campaigns and public works.[33] The subject of workers remained on the table.

Mr. Fenech's Colony

The insistence of emigration supporters that Maltese were good workers was tempered by complaints by those who had failed, such as Charles James Napier, who, after a scheme under his governorship of Cephalonia, a British protectorate in the Ionian Islands, complained to Westminster after the colony's failure in 1833 about the incompetence and feebleness of the Maltese labourers. Ironically Napier had decided in 1826 to improve Cephalonian agriculture by importing a colony of Maltese farmers "because their well-known industry and skill would inspire the lazy and indifferent Cephalonians to exploit properly their agricultural resources."[34] In the West Indies from 1839 to 1841, Maltese laborers had complained of being overworked and underpaid in comparison to indigenous workers; they disliked Caribbean food yet demanded larger rations when they discovered they could make money selling the extra amounts; and they finally stopped working when their demand was ignored, despite their contracts with the British government.[35] Perhaps Fenech felt similarly about the Maltese in Cyprus, but certainly he was aware of the previous problems.

Thus, when Fenech, a land surveyor in the Land Revenue Department in Malta, submitted a petition to Sir Arthur Borton, Governor

of Malta on August 26, 1879, requesting government assistance in an emigration scheme to Cyprus, he clearly wanted to avoid similar problems and attempted to solicit certain guarantees. These problems and his suggested remedies, while interesting in regard to Fenech's scheme, should be analyzed here more importantly because they exemplify some of the problems with colonization that plagued the British government throughout the Empire.

To begin his petition, Fenech explained that he intended to settle in Cyprus "in order to carry on farming with the aid of Maltese labourers or colonists" and promised to dig wells, construct water wheels, lay out water-channels, and cultivate the land. Already in the process of acquiring some 500 acres from several Cypriot landowners, Fenech intended to erect cottages as well as a small church "to be furnished with all the necessary sacred utensils."[36] The construction of a church was intended to help allay Maltese feelings of isolation and potentially rough and lawless behavior away from home. Government documents demonstrate the reputation of the Maltese—in the eyes of British administrations—as prone to such behavior, and also the "civilizing" capabilities of the church in such circumstances. As for civilizing the badly behaved Maltese, Cyprus High Commissioner Robert Biddulph, referring to rumors being circulated among the Cypriots themselves, in July 1880 insisted that Maltese of "bad character" not be allowed to come to Cyprus with the colony:

> The Maltese of bad character have the reputation of being exceedingly troublesome, and the prospect of the arrival of a colony from Malta has already attracted attention. It is stated that the merchants and bankers who have hitherto been in the habit of sending groups of money about the island in charge of a muleteer and without any escort will no longer be able to do so; and there is some apprehension that the criminal ranks of the population will be swelled by the addition of a more daring and adventurous class than have hitherto found their way here. I have therefore considered that it is only fair to the inhabitants of the Island that the Government should restrict this official immigration to men of good character.[37]

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Biddulph's opinion reflects the impressions of other administrators who reported earlier on the Maltese as "horribly dirty" with "exceedingly filthy habits."[38]

But Fenech apparently felt confident of taming such behavior and habits in a productive, economic enterprise. Suggesting that his project benefited the Maltese government by relieving that island's overpopulation but also benefited the Cypriot government by redeveloping fallow land in Cyprus, the next section of Fenech's petition solicited five conditions from the Maltese government in exchange. First, Fenech points to the fact that his enterprise is a civilian scheme independent of previous failed government schemes, but he insists that the Maltese as British citizens should be privileged with British rights in Cyprus. Fenech clearly was aware of the failures of Maltese colonies sent to other parts of the Empire without this guarantee.

In the next two items in the petition, Fenech tries to strike an economic deal, that is, that the Government of Malta should provide free passage to Cyprus for the emigrants, their baggage and agricultural implements, and that they should receive government aid in the way of animals, seeds, and food, the cost of which would be repaid from the sale of the first crops. In item four Fenech suggests that the church should be supplied with a priest. In Item five he covers his own needs, that is, he requests his own leave of absence from Malta for two years "in order that he may be enabled to prepare what is necessary for and give a good start to his undertaking", and "should his efforts be crowned with success, a pension for the time employed by him in the service of the Local Government since 1862."[39]

At the same time, the enterprising Fenech made certain guarantees to the Maltese in his colony. Colonial office correspondence published in 1882 details the "Conditions of Agreement made by Mr. Fenech with the Emigrants whom he took out to Cyprus:"

1.   Portions of land to be granted on lease to the emigrants for a period of four years, renewable, at the option of the tenant, for another four years. Mr. Fenech receiving for rent half the amount of the yearly profits.
2.   Mr. Fenech to grant free passage from Malta to Larnaca to the emigrants and their families, and to furnish the implements, animals, seeds, manure, and other necessaries required for the

cultivation of the lands, the expenses incurred being reimbursed to Mr. Fenech out of the receipts for the crops of the first year.

3.   Mr. Fenech to furnish also food to the emigrants and their families on condition that they will toil daily in the said lands and cultivate the whole extension of them; Mr. Fenech being repaid of the amounts so incurred from the profits of the first year previous to any other sum due to Mr. Fenech being paid to him.

4.   In the event of any of the emigrants neglecting the portion of lands assigned to him Mr. Fenech to be relieved from the obligation of supplying money for food or otherwise and to have a claim to compensation for damages, expenses, and interests.[40]

In every instance, Fenech made sure to cover his own expenses and profits. It was clearly a commercial venture.

On March 8, Fenech reported his acquisition of land between the villages of Kuklia and Kalopsida, within the limits of Messaorea and about ten miles from Larnaca, measuring about 800 tumoli (200 acres), with rural buildings and running water, and that he had "commenced their cultivation by means of Maltese colonists."[41] This came as somewhat of a surprise to Lord Salisbury in London, who requested more information from Biddulph, who as a somewhat more astute negotiator than the temperamental Wolseley, and governing more independently, had reached a final compromise with the Maltese government. Finally, at the end of April, 1880, Fenech received a leave of absence to go to Cyprus to settle a colony.

The Maltese colony of nine families (42 persons) brought to Kuklia in March 2, 1880 by Mr. Fenech under a contract with the British government settled into ordinary peasants' cottages in the village of Kuklia and the Daoud chiftlik, on which they were employed by Mr. Fenech. Over the next few years they suffered from malaria, as well as the inability to withstand "heavy drinking and fruit." The latter killed one man the first summer.[42] Some of the malaria-stricken fled to Larnaca, where they squeezed into four small rooms in the Poorhouse. These were transferred to a public hospital and repatriated to Malta in October.[43] Other malaria-stricken moved to Maccrassica, a village two miles away. Colonial Office documents, however, explain that the colony managed to plant cotton, maize, and vegetables each on their allotted land of 500

dönüm, for which they received one pair of oxen and a cart, and they found water near the surface for irrigation. Then another plight beset them—locusts—which destroyed the vegetables. The listing of sufferings of the Maltese colonists continues in the documents, as well as problems between the Maltese, native Cypriots, and British society on the island. A file by the Chief Secretary of Malta notes that a malaria-stricken group in "a nearby village" stuck it out until 1881 but returned to Malta in March and April.[44]

Maltese Emigration in the Twentieth-Century

On November 12, 1903, the British governor of Malta, Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke, warned the new Legislative Assembly in Valletta about a "major headache" that was troubling the administration, that is, the expanding population of the Maltese islands which in 1901 had reached the total of 184,742. From 1900 to 1914, the government worried about too many civilians crowding the restricted space of these small islands, which had become an important base for the British navy.[45]

Indeed, the British presence increasingly affected the island's economy. By the turn of the century, Maltese prosperity depended not on trade in the Mediterranean but on British investments in naval and military defensive ports. Maltese private enterprise fluctuated relative to the ups and downs of British naval activity on the island, with the result that when the Imperial naval and military garrisons were reduced by six battleships and two battalions in 1911, Maltese industries were set to lose upwards of £400,000 a year. Malta's position as a significant trading port in the Mediterranean also lost ground as new long-distance steamships passed by the coaling stations on Malta. Other Mediterranean cities like Algiers, Tunis, Alexandria, and Port Said now provided ports superior to Malta's Grand Harbour, the last two in Egypt, coincidentally, built largely with the help of thousands of Maltese immigrants. All of this created unemployment and increased emigration out of Malta.

This new wave of emigration meant a reconsideration of colonial and private schemes for labor immigration to Cyprus. In 1928 the Malta legislative assembly requested an assessment of the situation from the Minister of Migration, in response to an offer made by a Lt.-Colonel Harman J. Grisewood to establish a Maltese settlement in Cyprus. The question particularly required a comparison of Cyprus with Australia, Canada, and other states within the British Empire, "which may be more

fully developed", and outlined what *prima facie* hopes there were of a successful settlement of Maltese.[46]

The exhaustive analysis written in response by the emigration officer, Henry Casolani, details Maltese settlement in Cyprus beginning with the British occupation in 1878, suggesting that some proposals were forwarded but none completed. Curiously, the report makes no specific mention of Fenech's colony. In 1909, the report continues, the question of emigration to Cyprus was revived, but "for various considerations, the then High Commissioner strongly deprecated any immigration of Maltese into the Island."[47] In 1915, a contingent of Maltese militia, who had been stationed in Cyprus for almost a year and struck down by malaria and other diseases, returned home with "a very sinister impression." Then, in response to a Government inquiry in 1921, the High Commissioner of Cyprus, Sir Malcolm Stevenson, announced that conditions in the island definitely were unfavorable to such immigration.[48]

Yet in 1922, Stevenson suggested that while a large scale settlement was not practical, perhaps a small concession, namely two large farmsteads accommodating several "selected" families with their own priests and schools, might be made available. This plan also was rejected, however, after a Maltese representative, Cassar Torreggiani, in July 1923, examined the proposal and with the Government decided that Cyprus was not, at the time, "a place to which the Maltese could emigrate with any success." At the same time the Emigration Committee on Malta excluded Cyprus from its enquiries "as a land of small opportunities."[49]

Colonel Grisewood would not be so easily dissuaded. In October 1927, Grisewood proposed a scheme to settle a Maltese agricultural colony of 320 families, about 2,000 people, on an equivalent number of farms on land to be acquired by a private syndicate, under the Limited Liability Company Acts of Great Britain. The colony would include an administrative staff made up of a manager, assistant manager, engineer, assistant engineer, doctor, and chaplain, as well as butchers, cooks, motor-drivers, mechanics, clerks, draughtsmen, and storekeepers. The immigrants would be given free transportation, machinery, board and lodging and 12 shillings to 14 shillings per week each. The farms would be cultivated communally and after thirty months become the property of the colonists. At the end of five years, Grisewood calculated, the estate should produce gross revenue of at least £100,000 a year, or an average of

£312 per farm. The initial period of two and a half years would require around a £220,000 investment by the Government.[50]

As might be expected, Grisewood's scheme was rejected by the Cyprus Government. But on February 22, 1928, Grisewood circulated a leaflet on Cyprus referring to what he now called the Margo Estate, with a revised offer to sell 80 small farms to Maltese farmers. The advertisement included a letter from the Chief Medical Officer of Cyprus assuring the Government that if the marshy land on the Margo Estate, which lay near the river, was drained and filled in, the danger of malaria would be practically diminished. In July, three Maltese farmers went to Cyprus to inspect the Margo Estate and gave a favorable report, which was published in August. Subsequently farmsteads were offered to Maltese farmers on cash or easy installment terms. However, although the Honourable C. Mifsud Bonnici announced in the Legislative Assembly on August 11 that about 200 Maltese families would be established on the Margo Estate within two months (with money advanced to them from the Cyprus Government), no farmers responded.[51]

At this point it should be remembered that the official report describing these events had omitted events concerning Fenech's colony in 1879, so its bias in favor of the Government should be considered cautiously. Nevertheless, it is apparent that Grisewood pursued his scheme persistently, which understandably would cause concern. The report continues that Grisewood further advertised his offer to farmers in the *Daily Malta Chronicle*, with no response, and that it soon came to light that the Margo Estate had remained uncultivated for a long period, being abandoned by Jewish settlers before the war principally because of the problem of malaria. Grisewood attacked this criticism with a new scheme called "Pioneer Farms", which offered a "repairing lease" on 12 farms at Margo Estate at £60 per year, with the option to purchase after five years. He promised that cases of malaria would be treated *gratis* or repatriated to Malta. Supposedly, by November 19 four young men from Naxaro had accepted the offer, but apparently Grisewood's scheme was never realized.[52]

The press and annual governmental Cyprus Reports continued to detail the problems of malaria, as well as influenza and dysentery.[53] But Casolani suggested another cause of the failure of Maltese colonies in Cyprus:

Careful observation…have convinced me…that while such settlements should be successful in Australia—and, in a lesser degree, in Canada—with nuclei of specially trained public school boys, around which peasants and others would later gather—they are doomed to failure if they are established elsewhere, and with elements other than those I have just indicated.

The Maltese agriculturist and rough labourer is, in every respect, a truly superb *independent* migrant, but he completely loses his grit and his pioneer spirit when he comes under any kind of tutelage or control. I have no hesitation to say that for any form of group of community settlement, in any country, he is at present, temperamentally unfit.[54]

Casolani believed that the temperament of the Maltese predisposed him to be unable to function in the manner expected if controlled by superiors. Only by independently running their farms, or at least with the influence, but not under the control, of others of the same class in already established groups, would there be a possibility of Maltese immigrants maintaining successful colonies.

It seems more likely, however, that many other factors were at fault, not the least the prevalence of disease and the lack of medical treatment for peasants and immigrants. Dingli noted in October, 1878, that men of the lower classes usually slept in the open air and often contracted cases of ague (like malaria), while well-to-do people generally kept a supply of quinine on hand, which put them right immediately after the first sign of illness. Dingli also noted stagnant waters; the "great, all-pervading, accumulation of filth" in the towns; and polluted water. In Nicosia, the public water flowed into houses through open channels in the streets where dogs defecated. Indeed, sanitary public works to alleviate these problems could have employed Maltese immigrants as easily as agricultural projects.[55] But such projects failed to materialize.

Maltese Camp at Dekhelia
A third case of Maltese immigration to Cyprus involves people from Malta living in Greece and Turkey, who, as British subjects were evacuated to Cyprus or India in 1941 when the Germans advanced through the Balkans. In 1949, a camp was opened at Dekhelia, Cyprus, to

house some 400 British subjects from India who were unable to return to their home after the war. They still were labeled "Maltese" and therefore British citizens, because they descended from Maltese in Malta, although none spoke that native language. By December, 1950, 70 of the original 400 had settled in other countries with guaranteed maintenance of employment, and the Cypriot government hoped to relocate the rest.[56]

The main concern of the British government was the continued expense of maintaining the refugees (almost £92,000 in 1949), who were slow to be educated "after many years of enforced idleness" in various refugee camps, that fell to the British Government, not the Cyprus government. The discovery of this expense by the British newspapers prompted the *Cyprus Mail Reporter* to print the "whole scandalous story:"

> Everyone is accommodated rent free. Everyone is fed. Hot water is available for baths and family washing three times a week. Everyone "on the staff" gets a salary. And that is in addition to the allowances, from 3s. a day for bachelors to as much as £20 a month for families, which all get, whether they work or not. [57]

The writer explains that Maltese in the camp were on the dole, a scandalous story indeed.

The reason given for providing asylum for the refugees was, in an official statement from the Cyprus government, that

> they are British subjects… of Mediterranean origin, descendents of Maltese who had long ago abandoned their mother tongue to speak Greek or Turkish… Their language and background make it probable that they will find a readier chance of returning to normal life in Cyprus than in any other territory available in them and in these circumstances the Government of Cyprus has agreed to give them asylum in the Island.[58]

If the Cyprus government felt that this group of "Maltese" descendents might be another source of labor, this is not indicated in the documents.

The camp made no pretensions of being an agricultural work camp, although one large building had been set aside as a workshop. That workshop was used only by a few middle-aged men building an

occasional table, and a partly-assembled truck motor lay "neglected and rusty." Tellingly, two families of carpenters had left the camp for Australia, where they were known to be doing well, and about 50 to 70 Maltese were rumored to be leaving for Australia by Christmas. But the *Cyprus Mail* reporter claims it would take an atom bomb to move the rest. It seems that those from Turkey, at least, resented evacuation from their own country, where they were "comfortably situated" and had property, and insisted that Britain must continued "to be their fairy godmother."[59]

On December 8, 1950, Cyprus governor Sir Andrew Wright telegrammed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that Cyprus had initiated relocation and/or employment plans for the remaining 340 in camp, which now included eight babies. 70 persons had already left to settle in various countries that guaranteed their maintenance or employment, with the hope of another 38 persons to leave soon under the same conditions. Additionally, negotiations with the Australian government to emigrate 66 persons to Australia looked hopeful. Those who remain were encouraged to take up local employment, and many were being moved to live closer to the employment centers. It was also decided to reduce by one-third the maintenance allowance as of March 31, 1951, for all persons "capable of work", in order to make continued residence in the camp less attractive.[60]

Various letters and telegrams between the colonial office, the treasury, and Wright discuss how the expense of the proposed resettlement schemes was met from United Kingdom funds, not from Cyprus revenues. This would be relieved when the total of some £91,800 was reduced to about £30,500 in 1951-2 when "there will be fewer in the camp and certain economies can be made." The real problem, however, and one that seemed to have no solution, was that the United Kingdom would undoubtedly be saddled with the eventual "nucleus of the aged and infirm" that would be in permanent need of relief, as Wright had suggested earlier.[61] To this point, this writer has found no further documents to explain the plight of the aged Maltese on Cyprus.

Cyprus had served as a safe haven for refugees of many sorts, separate from any specific labor enterprise, during various stages of British rule. For example, in 1896 a British activist, Emma Cons, on the return journey from observing atrocities in Armenia and Constantinople, rescued a small number of Armenian refugees and arranged for their passage to Cyprus. There she organized work parties according to refugee

capabilities—tobacco sorters, coppersmiths, silk weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, dressmakers, block printers, porters, and so forth—to be distributed in various locations on the island. Another humanitarian, Mrs. Sheldon Amos, had already established a silk factory in Cyprus for Armenian widows and orphans when Cons arrived.[62] Further research needs to be done to discover the effect of these refugees, if any, on the local labor force. Other examples are the German Templers who lived in Cyprus as refugees from April through October, 1948, and Jewish refugees who arrived beginning in August 1946. Some Templers found local work such as housekeeping, but the Jewish lived in detention and refugee camps, only passing through Cyprus on their way to Palestine.[63] As the Secretary of State for the Colonies noted in March, 1941, Cyprus was a "magnet for refugees."[64] By that time, in these cases and in the case of the Maltese refugees at Dekhelia, the need to satisfy the humanitarian mission overshadowed any question of real or perceived need for labor that might be lacking in the local population.

Conclusions

It is clear that the British government in 1878 supported development schemes in Cyprus but found independent financing to be more practical and desirable. Cyprus at that time still fell under Ottoman suzerainty, and "official" colonial development projects could not be sanctioned without extreme justification. Maltese immigration in the early decades of British rule in Cyprus was acceptable because the new development programs of the first administrators required workers and agricultural laborers, the immigration schemes were self-supporting, and Maltese were, after all, British, whereas the quality and number of able Cypriot workers seemed inadequate for the task.

By the early 1950s, however, when the Maltese schemes had clearly failed, the remaining immigrants became a burden rather than an economic advantage. Thus the viability of the three schemes in the three periods can be compared. In the case of a group of agricultural workers brought to Cyprus in 1879 by the independent entrepreneur Vincenzo Fenech, the British government struck a deal that would support the plan without much initial investment from the government. Fenech's scheme relied on support from the Maltese government, Malta being governed at the time by the British, but the Cypriot government would not be held liable. Grisewood attempted to persuade private Maltese to buy into his

scheme independently, and at the same time petitioned the government, although it was never clear what he expected from the government specifically. And by the 1940s and 1950s, immigration rested mainly on humanitarian responses. The government accepted the responsibility of "new" Maltese immigrants, even after government-sponsored work programs failed. This article shows, then, that the Cypriot government did end up with the burden of the expense of the Maltese immigrants but, even while attempting to disperse them to more suitable parts of the Empire, accepted the responsibility to provide for them as British citizens.

Endnotes

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[1] "Letter from Cyprus," in *MacMillan's Magazine* 39 (Nov. 1878-April 1879), 96.

[2] Malta consists of three inhabited islands, Malta (the largest), Gozo, and Comino, and two uninhabited islets, Comminotto and Filfla, located on a small archipelago south of Sicily in the Mediterranean Sea. Its area is 122 sq mi (316 sq km). British sovereignty was ratified in the 1814 Treaty of Paris. Malta became self-governing in 1921 but reverted to a colonial regime in 1936. (EBritannicareadyreference, 2001, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.)

[3] Colonial Office [CO hereafter] 883/2, National Archive of the United Kingdom, Dingli in "Maltese Emigration to Cyprus," Report by Sir Adrian, October 17, 1878, notes 20 and 87.

[4] "Report on the Subject of a Maltese Settlement in Cyprus," by the Minister of Migration, 17 Dec. 1928, Malta Government Printing Office, 1928.

[5] G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1979), 4-6.

[6] The consul reports were discussed in WO 106/6112, "Report on Cyprus, compiled in the intelligence branch, quarter-master-generals department" by Captain A. R. Savile, 31 Aug. 1878, 2-3.

[7] R. Hamilton Lang, "Cyprus," Parts I and II, in *MacMillan's Magazine* 38 (May 1878-October 1878) (London: Macmillan and Co., and NY 1878), 325-347.

[8] WO 106/6112, "Report on Cyprus, compiled in the intelligence branch, quarter-master-generals department" by Captain A. R. Savile, 31 Aug. 1878, 98.

[9] Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley served as High Commissioner of Cyprus from 1878 to 1879.

[10] Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the second half of the nineteenth century* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996), 107.

A *kile* is a dry measure roughly equal to a bushel. See *The Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (Istanbul: Redhouse, 2000), 531.

[11] The consul reports were discussed in WO 106/6112, "Report on Cyprus, compiled in the intelligence branch, quarter-master-generals department" by Captain A. R. Savile, 31 Aug. 1878, 2-3.

[12] Letter from Sir Garnet Wolseley to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sept. 29, 1878, in FO 78/3373, "Correspondence respecting an Ordinance enacted in Cyprus, providing for the Execution of Public Works," No. 1.

[13] Letter from the Marquis of Salisbury to Sir G. Wolseley, Oct. 25, 1878, in FO 78/3373, "Correspondence respecting an Ordinance enacted in Cyprus, providing for the Execution of Public Works," No. 2. The twenty-two mile Limassol-Platres road opened in mid-June 1879 at a cost of £11,900, built with the forced labor of up to 6,000 Cypriot men and women. The government required surrounding villages to contribute working parties, with each person paid a paltry one shilling per day. See Anne Cavendish, ed., *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (Nicosia: Cyprus Popular Bank Cultural Centre, 1991), note at 166. Esmé Scott-Stevenson, the wife of Andrew Scott-Stevenson, Commissioner of Kyrenia, observed men, women and boys working in gangs on the new road under construction from Limassol to Kyrenia. She counted over one thousand employed on the road, "every batch of a hundred having an overseer, who, when they lagged, cried out, and threatened their backs with a light whip." Esme Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus, with illustrations and a map*, 3rd ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd, 1880), 231.

[14] Report by Andrew Scott-Stevenson, Commissioner of Kyrenia, to Falk Warren, Chief Secretary, January 27, 1881, 41, cited in Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the second half of the nineteenth century* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996), 134.

[15] Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics*, 134.

[16] Charles A. Price covers this problem at length in *Malta and the Maltese, A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1954).

[17] Price, *Malta and the Maltese*, 230.

[18] *Ibid.*, 168-172.

[19] Barry York, "Maltese Migration: Historical Statistics, 1890-1938," In *Working Paper No. 14, Department of Demography*, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, 2600 (1996), 1.

[20] *Ibid.*, 20-46.

[21] Price, *Malta and the Maltese*, 12-3

[22] Lord Wolseley to Lady Wolseley, July 18, 1878, in Sir George Arthur, ed., *The Letters of Lord and Lady Wolseley 1870-1911* (London: William Heinemann, 1922), 30-32.

[23] K. W. Scharr, M. Given, and G. Theocharous, *Under the Clock: Colonial Architecture and History in Cyprus, 1878-1960* (Bank of Cyprus, 1995), 23.

[24] Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus, with illustrations and a map*, 3rd ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1880), 69.

[25] CO 883/2, "Maltese Emigration to Cyprus," Memorandum to Governor of Cyprus from A. Dingli, Oct. 1878

[26] Anne Cavendish, ed., *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Popular Bank Cultural Centre, 1991), 150.

[27] *Ibid.*, 159-60.

[28] CO 883/2, Enclosure 2 in No. 1, Letter dated May 26, 1879, from Sir A. Dingli at the Latin Monastery in Nicosia, to Colonel G. R. Greaves, in "Correspondence relating to Projects of Maltese Colonization in Cyprus," Colonial Office, Aug. 1882.

[29] Borton was Governor of Malta from May 1878 to May 1884. See R. H. Vetch, "Sir Arthur Borton," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-7)

[30] CO 883/2, "Financial Administration of Cyprus: Sir Biddulph's Reply to Mr. Fairfield's Memorandum" (continuance of Mediterranean No. 5), Colonial Office May 1883.

[31] CO 883/2, Enclosure 2 in No. 1, Letter dated May 26, 1879, from Sir A. Dingli at the Latin Monastery in Nicosia, to Colonel G. R. Greaves, in "Correspondence relating to Projects of Maltese Colonization in Cyprus," Colonial Office, Aug. 1882

[32] CO 883/2, Enclosure 2 in No. 6, Cyprus, No. XXIII, 1879, Biddulph to Lord Granville, July 1880.

[33] C. V. Owen (rev. James Lunt), "Sir Robert Biddulph," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: University Press, 2004-6). Biddulph served as High Commissioner of Cyprus from 1879 to 1886.

[34] Price, *Malta and the Maltese*, 41.

[35] Ibid, 80-83.

[36] CO 883/2, Enclosure 1 in No. 7, August 26, 1879, Fenech to Sir Arthur Borton, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Malta, "The Petition of Mr. Vincenzo Fenech, Land Surveyor No. 4 in the Land Revenue Department."

[37] CO 883/2, Report from Robert Biddulph, Cyprus High Commissioner, to Earl Granville, July 10, 1880.

[38] CO 883/2, Report by Commissioner James Inglis, Famagusta, 19 August 1880.

[39] CO 883/2, Enclosure 1 in No. 7, Sir Arthur Borton, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Malta, Report on "The Petition of Mr. Vincenzo Fenech, Land Surveyor No. 4 in the Land Revenue Department," August 26, 1879.

[40] CO 883/2, Enclosure in No. 10, "Correspondence relating to Projects of Maltese Colonization in Cyprus," Colonial Office, August, 1882.

[41] CO 883/2, Letter from Mr. V. Fenech to the Chief Secretary to Government, from Larnaca, Cyprus, dated March 8, 1880, Enclosure in No. 3 in "Correspondence Relating to Projects of Maltese Colonization in Cyprus," Colonial Office, Aug. 1882.
Four tumoli equal approximately one English acre; 800 tumoli would be 200 acres, according to R. Montgomery Martin, *History of the British Colonies, Vol. 5 Possessions in Europe* (London: James Cochrane & Co., 1835).

[42] CO 883/2, Enclosure 1 in No. 7, "Correspondence relating to Projects of Maltese Colonization in Cyprus," CO, August, 1882 Letter to Sir Arthur Borton, Governor of Malta, from Mr. Vincenzo Fenech, Land Surveyor No. 4 in the Land Revenue Department (Naxaro, August 26, 1879)

[43] Chief Secretary's Files (Malta) 6558, 6633 (1880) noted in Price (1954*)*, 175.

[44] Chief Secretary's Files (Malta) 6876 (1880) noted in Price (1954), 175-6. A dönüm in the Ottoman Empire was defined as "forty standard paces in length and breadth," but varied from place to place. At this time in Cyprus the dönüm was 919.3 square metres, or 9,895 sq. ft., but the metric dunam adopted in 1928 is 1,000 meters. Roza I. M. El-Eini, *Mandated Landscape* (Routledge, 2006), xxiii, cited in [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dunan].

[45] Fr. Lawrence E. Attard, *Early Maltese Emigration, 1900-1914* (Valletta, Malta: Gulf Publishing Ltd., 1983), 1.

[46] "Report on the Subject of a Maltese Settlement in Cyprus," to the Legislative Assembly from the Minister of Migration, Dec. 17, 1928, Malta Government Printing Office (1928), 5.

[47] *Ibid.* Sir Charles Anthony King-Harman was the High Commissioner of Cyprus from 1904-1911. See "Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in Cyprus," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004-7).

[48] *Ibid.* Sir Malcolm Stevenson was acting High Commissioner of Cyprus 1918-1920, High Commissioner 1921-1925, and Governor 1925-1926. (See "Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in Cyprus," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004-7).

[49] "Report on the Subject of a Maltese Settlement in Cyprus," to the Legislative Assembly from the Minister of Migration, December 17, 1928, Malta Government Printing Office (1928), 5.

[50] *Ibid.*, 5-6

[51] *Ibid.*, 6.

[52] *Ibid.*, 7. Danny Goldman, in "Jewish Settlers in Cyprus During the British Rule, 1880s-1940s" in *Journal of Cyprus Studies* [*JCS* hereafter] 12 (2006): 21-38; 27, describes the Margo Settlement established by a Jewish immigrant group in 1897, "next to the road connecting Nicosia and Lanarka," on land purchased from the Greek Cypriot, Georgio Papadopoulu. The Margo settlement was successful for a time, but failed due to the summer heat, malaria, lack of running water, and social problems arising from feelings of cultural isolation. The settlement was abandoned in 1912.

[53] Cyprus High Commissioner's Annual Report, 1927

[54] "Report on the Subject of a Maltese Settlement in Cyprus," from the Minister of Migration, Dec. 17, 1928, Malta Government Printing Office, 1928, 8.

[55] CO 883/2, "Maltese Emigration to Cyprus," Memorandum to the Governor, from Crown Advocate Dingli, Oct. 1878, 6.

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[56] CO 67/372/7, "Scandal of the Maltese Camp at Dekhelia: British Taxpayer Still Keeps 339, Passport as Soup Ticket for the Idle," in the *Cyprus Mail*, Nov. 17, 1950

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] CO 67/372/7, "Inward telegram," from Sir A. Wright, Cyprus, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Dec. 8, 1950.

[61] CO 67/372/7, letter from Mr. Griffiths to Mr. Harris, Jan. 1, 1951.

[62] Cons, Emma (Dec. 1896). "Armenian Exiles in Cyprus." In *Contemporary Review* December 1896: 888-895.

[63] Danny Goldman, "Famagusta's Historic Detention and Refugee Camps," *JCS* 11 (2005): 29-54; 48. See also D. Goldman, "Jewish Settlers in Cyprus:" 21-38. After 1943, Jews escaping to Turkey became eligible for transportation to Palestine where they would be placed in camps and gradually released as legal immigrants, but Jews in Cyprus would remain there. (WP (43) 277, CAB 66/38, cited in George H. Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion, British Policy in Cyprus, 1939-1955* (NY, London: Greenwood Press, 1990), 58, note 95.

[64] CAB 66/15, Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies, March 28, 1941, cited in Kelling, *Countdown*, 57, note 94.

A Little Bit of History and a Lot of Opinion: Biased Authenticity in Belfast and Nicosia

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Abstract

Tourism has become a significant feature of contemporary capitalist society and the phrase "ethnic tourism" has emerged to account for the increasing ways in which individuals seek to escape the homogenisation of cultures by seeking out new and different "others" within globalisation. In conflict societies, tourism provides an opportunity for visitors to not only be, entertained but to be educated as well. The interest expressed by outsiders allows insiders to preserve but at the same time revisit and perhaps reinvent collective memory. Producers of tourist artefacts have to decide whose history is depicted and in what ways. The purpose of this paper is to explore how these processes are played out in Belfast and Nicosia. Specifically the paper will address how the realities and complexities of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast and Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Nicosia are presented by tour operators to tourists visiting each region.
Keywords: Authenticity, Belfast, Nicosia, Tourism,

Özet

Turizm, çağdaş kapitalist toplumun öne çıkan bir öğesi haline gelmiştir. "Etnik turizm" terimiyle ise, bireylerin kültürel homojenleştirmeden kaçmak için küreselleşmede yeni ve değişik "ötekiler" arayışlarının iderek artan yollarından birisi karşılanmaktadır. Sorunlu toplumlar turistlere sadece eğlenme değil aynı amanda eğitilme olanağı da sunar. Dışardan gelenlerin gösterdikleri ilgi, yerlilerin ortak belleklerini muhafaza etmesine olduğu kadar, onu ziyaret etmelerine ve yeniden yaratmalarına da sebep olur. Turistik dokunun yaratıcıları kimin tarihinin nasıl anlatılacağına karar vermek zorundadır. Bu yazının amacı, bu süreçlerin Belfast ve Lefkoşe özelinde nasıl yaşandığını incelemektir. Bu yazı özellikle, Belfast'da Katolik ve Protestanlar ve Lefkoşe'de de Kıbrıslı Türkler ve Kıbrıslı Rumlar arasındaki sorunların gerçekliklerinin ve karmaşıklıklarının tur operatörleri tarafından bu bölgeleri ziyaret eden turistlere nasıl sunulduğuna bakacaktır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Hakikilik, Belfast, Nicosia, Turism.

Introduction

We live in an era of mass tourism where the world is increasingly becoming an accessible global village. Rising "western" affluence, the increase in statutory paid annual leave and growth in low budget transportation, make overseas travel a viable option for more and more of the world's workers and their families. This democratisation of tourism has enabled hoards of tourists to board ships, planes and trains in search of brief encounters with unfamiliar places and cultures.[1] However, the age of mass travel has not produced undifferentiated mass tourists. Despite earlier academic representations, there is now an acknowledgement of the complexities of tourists' motivations for travel suggesting the need to classify them into separate categories seeking varying experiences within the broad tourism market. One particular type of tourist that has emerged in the burgeoning literature is the tourist in search of authenticity. The notion of authenticity was introduced into sociological accounts of tourism in the 1970s by MacCannell;[2] who regarded the modern tourist as similar to the traditional religious pilgrim in that each is seeking authentic experiences. Each is involved in a quest for meaning to counteract the shallowness of everyday life. However, often the search for authenticity proves fruitless. Instead the modern tourist often encounters "staged authenticity" deliberately manufactured by host societies in their efforts to attract tourists in an increasingly competitive market. Rather than gaining entry into the "back" regions of the host society where authenticity is likely to be found, modern tourists are often presented with "false backs" which parody authenticity.[3] While MacCannell laments this state of affairs and argues that when tourists become victims of staged authenticity then their experiences cannot be defined as authentic even if they themselves might think they have achieved authenticity, Boorstin argues that this is exactly what the modern tourist wants.[4] He argues that tourists seldom question the authenticity of contrived experiences. Rather they prefer the comfort and security of "pseudo-events" or "genuine fakes" which often back up their pre-existing provincial expectations.[5] This view is supported by Ritzer & Liska who state "we would argue, in contrast to MacCannell, that many tourists today are in search of inauthenticity".[6]

The increasingly contradictory usage of the concept of authenticity has led Urry to suggest that "the search for authenticity is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism".[7] However, while

acknowledging the many criticisms of the concept, Wang argues that "authenticity is relevant to some kinds of tourism such as ethnic, history or culture tourism, which involve the representation of the other or of the past".[8] Hence, authenticity is a particularly useful concept for exploring the potential for political tourism in divided cities such as Belfast and Nicosia. This form of niche tourism rather than mass tourism is the subject matter of this paper.

Divided cities form part of an emerging "dark tourism" whereby areas emerging from protracted ethnic conflict become sites of alternative tourism.[9] In their book on "Dark Tourism", Lennon & Foley include North Cyprus as an example of this phenomenon and argue that the island's "darker" history which remains unresolved is a potential tourist attraction.[10] In particular they suggest that the border points in the Demilitarised Zone "exerts a "dark" fascination for many visitors on both the southern and northern sides of the island". This is because it is one of the last remaining national military borders left in the post cold-war period. Yet which sites or countries qualify as "dark" is open to debate. Stone for example questions whether it is possible or justifiable to collectively categorise sites associated with war, conflict and death together under a neat umbrella term such as "dark tourism".[11] He asks whether some sites may be "darker" than others. In this vein, while acknowledging that Northern Ireland, has a well developed range of atrocity sites, such as the wall murals often commemorating sectarian murders that dot Belfast, Ashworth and Hartmann question whether Cyprus should be included as an example of a "dark tourism" location.[12] They specifically criticise Lennon and Foley for their inclusion of Cyprus as a case study for "dark tourism" arguing that the majority of visitors to beach resorts in the North and South of Cyprus are unlikely to be aware of the intensity of the ethnic conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and suggest that these deep seated ethnic divisions are likely to "make no contribution to their holiday experience."[13] Yet at the same time some tourists actively seek out "dark" experiences.[14] Hence, in relation to Nicosia, some tourists specifically visit the capital and actively seek out walking tours of the city to differentiate themselves from the "sun, sand and sea" type who may visit Nicosia as part of the itinerary of tour companies. It is clear that Belfast and Nicosia, with their deep-seated cleavages based on competing nationalisms and arguments over state legitimacy, provide a different and unconventional type of tourist

experience from the increasing homogenising experiences emanating from globalisation.[15] Both Belfast and Nicosia allow tourists to see first-hand the physical manifestations of segregation in relative safety. They enable tourists to visit flashpoints of former violent relationships and gain some insight into the highly emotive events that spawned the turbulent history of both cities.

I wish now to develop the insights provided by Wang on *Rethinking Authenticity*.[16] His approach emphasises existential authenticity as the way forward, but I want to develop his notion of "constructive authenticity" and its potential application to touring disputed spaces. In his usage, constructive authenticity refers to "the authenticity projected onto toured objects by tourists or tourism producers in terms of their imagery, expectations, preferences, beliefs, powers etc". In this vein, authenticity is a social construction. In other words there may be various versions of authenticity. Rather than assuming that an authentic reality is something "out there", this approach assumes that reality itself is socially constructed, often by people during their everyday encounters with one another.[17] While Wang focuses mainly on tourism objects I want to focus instead on discourse. In doing this, I want to highlight the core role played by local tour guides in presenting what I call biased authenticity. I use this term to acknowledge that in divided societies in particular there are competing versions of the past and of the "other". These versions are rarely based on objective knowledge or truth. Indeed I would claim that no such version is possible. Rather multiple and plural interpretations of past and current history are constructed by tour guides from a variety of different perspectives and these often reflect wider political discourses where competing powers are involved in an ongoing struggle to have their version of history accepted. I intend to illustrate this through a focus on Belfast and Nicosia. In the former, local tour guides compete with each other to coax tourists to accept their competing interpretations of history while in the latter, tour guides claim that their tours are non-political. However, as Hollinshead points out, historical truth is always a problematic concept involving biased choices and judgements about which aspects of the past to remember and which to forget.[18] Moreover, the telling of history often entails the transmission of untruths.[19] By validating certain versions of the past and invalidating others, I will demonstrate how tour guides in both cities demonstrate biased authenticity.

Methodology

This is a small scale exploratory study involving analyses of the discourses produced by tour guides in Belfast and Nicosia and their responses to questions asked by tourists. I undertook each of these tours on two separate occasions (except for the North Nicosia tour where the walking tours are no longer in operation). In two cases, once in Belfast and once in Nicosia the tours were taken by separate guides while in the other cases, the same tour guide was present on both occasions. The Belfast tour involved a combined bus and walking tour of "peace lines" from the perspective of an ex-republican and ex-loyalist prisoner. In Nicosia, two walking tours were undertaken. The first related to the Turkish part, and the second related to the Greek part, of Nicosia. Both of these tours were organised by the respective official Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot municipalities in Nicosia. The discourses produced by the tour guides were transcribed in full as were their answers to questions asked by other tourists on the tours. The Nicosia data is supplemented by interviews with two representatives whose work is connected with the Nicosia's Masterplan[20] and an interview with a representative of the Peace Museum at the Ledra Street (Greek side) lookout point.

Tour guides have been described "as information givers, sources of knowledge, mentors, surrogate parents, pathfinders, leaders, mediators, culture brokers and entertainers."[21] They act as memory managers or memory sieves. Interpreting what is seen and experienced is a core aspect of what tour guides do. This interpretative work enables visitors to better understand the destination that they visit and the wider culture in which it is immersed.[22] However, according to Cohen this sometimes involves presenting fake information as if it were genuine or true.[23] Or at the very least, it involves some element of subjectivity on the part of the tour guide.[24] At the same time, tour guides often follow set scripts. Indeed, since most of the tours described in this paper were taken on two occasions this enabled me to witness set scripts in operation. Moreover, unlike Belfast, the tours in Cyprus were organised under the auspices of the municipalities of both parts of the island. In these circumstances, as Dahles points out, formal guides may be encouraged (or indeed compelled) by the Government to provide politically and ideologically approved narratives.[25] This may influence which sites are visited, what information is transmitted and more importantly, what is left out. However, if tour guides are themselves products of the history which is

being revisited then their personal opinions may impinge on the interpretations offered. At times this subjectivity may support the dominant narrative but on other occasions this personal opinion may reflect personally lived history. While interpretations of history are likely to always reflect some bias, it is the contention of this paper that where this bias is based on the authentic, real, genuine experiences of tour guides, this provides potent memories of a lived history which may have a greater impact on tourists than that provided by professional guides without such "authentic" backgrounds.

Touring "Peace Lines" in Belfast

The signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 opened up the North of Ireland for an influx in tourism. Prior to 1998, the ongoing, often violent, confrontations between Catholics and Protestants dissuaded tourists from visiting the region in significant numbers. The ongoing peace process has removed the perceived danger associated with visiting Northern Ireland even though statistically throughout the period of the "troubles", tourists were never specifically targeted. The popularity of Northern Ireland as a tourist venue is evident in the recent Lonely Planet's elevation of Belfast as one of the top ten cities to visit in the world. Part of Belfast's attraction is its "peace lines" which continue to residentially segregate Catholics from Protestants at varying points in the city. Along with "peace lines", these areas are visibly marked by flags, graffiti and wall murals displaying each respective community's allegiance to either an Irish or British identity. Rather than shying away from visiting such locations, the Lonely Planet guide and other tourist guides specifically single out "peace lines" and political wall murals as significant tourist attractions. Capitalising on this growing interest in the political history of the city, a multitude of tour options are now available whereby tourists from the comfort of open top buses, tour coaches and black taxis can visit some of these sites and receive a commentary on the political conflict that paved the way for the urban divisions. Some of these tours resemble the type of tourism first criticised by Boorstin in the 1960s.[26] The tours are packaged in such a way that the tourist avoids any real contact with locals. The history of struggle in Northern Ireland is not told by those who experienced this struggle but by employed tour guides who have never lived in or directly experienced the intense ethno-sectarian divisions of the enclaves they bring tourists to visit. In order to

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challenge the perceived false authenticity of these experiences, a number of local tour options have been made available. These local options claim to provide "authentic" tours of the divided city.

This section of the article will focus on one such local enterprise and that is the tours organised by Coiste na n-Iarchimi (referred to forthwith as Coiste) which is an organisation aimed at integrating former political prisoners into the community mainly via employment. The organisation is financially supported by the European Union Peace 11 Programme. It also receives funding from Combat Poverty Agency, Co-operation Ireland and the Department for Social and Community and Family Affairs, Dublin. The organisation was quick to recognise the economic potential in developing political tours. However, apart from this economic incentive and subsequent employment opportunity, a primary motivation for embarking on the political tours was to provide tourists with an authentic tourist experience. As the republican tour guide put it:

> We saw the taxis and the buses coming up here doing the tours and we wondered what they were doing. And we decided we would do our own tours to tell others what we have lived through, how we had experienced the conflict….We are presenting a people's history from the eyes and voices of the people who lived through that history. They are the true experts of this city.

The tours guides are drawn from republican and loyalist ex-political prisoners who tell the history of the conflict from 1969 from each of their competing perspectives. Indeed the title of this paper is drawn from the opening comments from a republican ex-prisoner who after introducing himself stated:

> What I am going to give you is a little bit of history and a lot of opinion. I am going to tell you about the struggle here from the perspective of republicanism and I make no apologies for this because this is my history. This is the history of my area.

The tour focuses specifically on one of the "peace lines" which divides Catholic West Belfast from Protestant West Belfast. The Catholic side of the peace line is toured with a republican ex-prisoner and the

Protestant side of the peace line is toured with a loyalist ex-prisoner. The tour is taken mainly by bus with various stop-offs entailing short walks to visit memorial sites on each side of the wall and take photographs of wall murals. The same bus is used for both parts of the tour. The swap over of tour guides takes place at the edge of one of the interfaces connecting both sides of West Belfast and is referred to by both guides as "Belfast's Checkpoint Charlie".

While both tour guides refrain from demonising the "other", both portray themselves and their respective communities as victims rather than perpetuators of the conflict in the North of Ireland. The first stop on the republican leg of the tour is Bombay Street which in 1969 witnessed one of the worst scenes of communal violence. Between 13th-17th August 1969 bloody rioting broke out in many parts of Belfast during which seven people were killed, many more were wounded and hundreds of families were either driven from their homes or left because of fear of sectarian attacks. On 15th August Protestant mobs set fire to houses in Bombay Street and some houses occupied by Catholics in adjoining streets. The incident left 1,800 people homeless and sparked off a major population movement throughout Belfast where people living in mixed religion areas left their homes to move to the perceived safety of "living among their own kind". The events of August 1969 are widely regarded as the beginning of the "troubles" in Northern Ireland with Bombay Street being regarded by the local priest as the first significant incident of "ethnic cleansing" in Northern Ireland. Scenes of the burning street are encapsulated in the first wall mural that forms part of the tour. In the foreground of the mural a mother comforts her son while both watch aghast as the street disintegrates in flames. At the top of the mural is a picture of Gerard McAuley, a fifteen year old boy who was shot dead by a Protestant gunman during the attack. He was a member of Fianna Eireann, the youth section of the IRA and is considered as the first republican activist to be killed during the current troubles. The republican tour guide emotively recreates the scenes for tourists:

> I want to bring you back to 15th August 1969, to Bombay Street where we are standing now or to what use to be known as Bombay Street. Try and imagine it in your mind's eye. The wall wasn't there. In the late 1960s the civil rights movement was formed. If you were a Catholic you were likely to be

> discriminated against in housing and employment. People decided to form the civil rights movement. They saw the riots in Paris and the civil rights' movement in the United States and they decided to form their own movement. Bombay Street was burned to the ground. All over the city, Loyalist mobs came into districts and burnt Catholic homes down. Imagine you are a young child. You are dragged from your bed in your pyjamas. You are in your pyjamas and as you flee for your life your home is burned to the ground.

Following the night of burning and shooting, the army began putting up corrugated iron panels to form a dividing wall between the two communities and this represented the start of the building of separation barriers between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast known colloquially as "peace lines".[27] The corrugated iron and barbed wire gradually evolved into brick structures. By 1982 the height of the barricades proved insufficient to prevent opposing sides from throwing debris at each other including petrol and nail bombs. In 1983, the Department of the Environment replaced the corrugated iron barricades with wall containing 80,000 bricks.[28] The wall remains in place today and effectively separates working class Catholics from their working class Protestant neighbours although other parts of the city remain accessible by both sides and many other neighbourhoods remain unaffected by "peace lines".

Later in the tour, tourists return to the wall and stand on the other side to where they previously visited with the republican tour guide. The loyalist guide proudly proclaims that around a quarter of a million tourists visit the walls each year. The same history is then retold from the loyalist perspective. In this version, the burning of Bombay Street is glossed over and is utilised primarily to illustrate the re-emergence of the IRA. As the loyalist tour guide put it:

> Protestants in Belfast charged down and attacked Catholics and put out many of the people who lived on the other side of this wall......When the Protestants attacked, there was no IRA to defend them. The IRA was re-born out of that conflict like a Phoenix rising from its ashes.

The dialogue then concentrates on the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The guide discusses what he interprets as the Marxist ideology of the IRA. He tells of how the British Army were initially welcomed by the Catholic population on the other side of the wall but as the IRA re-grouped and re-armed they began to press for a united Ireland and use colonialism and its associated ideology as a justification. However, the guide is keen to point out that while the British Army became the new enemy, sectarian hatred continued to influence IRA operations. He claims:

> Republicans like to portray the conflict as one against the British state, as a colonial conflict. They see the army as an occupying force and they see the enemy as the British state and they imply that loyalists are by and large out of their picture. But the conflict degenerated into a sectarian war and many ordinary Protestants were killed just to get land.

To support this view, tourists are brought to a political wall mural which states: '30 years of indiscriminate slaughter by so called non-sectarian Irish freedom fighters'.

The mural provides the backdrop for a discussion of the Shankill bombing which took place on 23rd October 1993. The tour guide discusses how the IRA/Sinn Fein (the Political Wing of the IRA, the term's literal translation is 'ourselves alone') placed a bomb in a fish shop on the Shankill Road which subsequently killed nine Protestants along with one of the two bombers. The guide indicates that the motivation of the IRA/Sinn Fein was to murder innocent civilians. The bombing was one of the worst atrocities in the history of the Northern Ireland conflict. Among the casualties were a married couple, a man with his common law wife and nine year old daughter and another thirteen year old girl. The guide emphasises how the victims were ordinary working class people and discusses the outrage that was subsequently experienced by the community when Gerry Adams, leader of Sinn Fein, carried the coffin of one of the bombers during a funeral procession one week later. However, essential elements are left out of the memory. A meeting was due to take place in an upstairs room where the shop was located between senior loyalist faction leaders including Johnny Adair whose "C" company of the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) had been involved in the random killing of Catholics. Adair had openly bragged about the role of his "C"

company in killing Catholics and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (Northern Ireland's police force at the time) believe that his unit may have killed up to forty people. Details of what happened are open to interpretation. In some accounts the meeting was relocated. In others, the meeting was due to take place but the bomb went off prematurely before delegates had arrived. The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF: a loyalist paramilitary organisation) retaliated with a random attack one week later on a bar in Greysteel thought to be frequently by Catholic civilians. Eight civilians were killed in the shooting including two Protestants. While of course these additional facts do not justify either incident but they demonstrate how the partial presentation of history can be utilised to gain sympathy for one side or the other.

The discourses also serve to reinforce a notion of tit-for-tat killings where each side is as much to blame as the other. It also enables each tour guide to distance themselves from their personal involvement in the conflict. Both tour operators indicate that they are former political prisoners who have engaged in "terrorist" acts to support their opposing ideological positions. However, they draw on various discourses of denial in terms of denying the occurrence, and seriousness, of certain atrocities.[29] They allocate responsibility elsewhere and then admit personal involvement, which they claim, justifiable, given the previous actions of the "other", and in so doing distance themselves from personal responsibility. This reminds us of the need to consider under what conditions and under whose terms authenticity is presented to the tourist.[30] Tour guides in politically sensitive places may present a skewed version of the past but one that is considered authentic to them and the tourists they interact with.

Touring the Green Line in Nicosia
While the "peace lines" form the backbone of the Belfast tours, the Green line forms only, a small part of walking tours in Nicosia. Moreover while the tours in Belfast are shared between locals, albeit holding very different entrenched ideological political opinions, tours in Nicosia are totally separate with the Greek side and Turkish side by and large doing their own thing. Indeed during an interview with one of the Greek Cypriot tour guides she purported to be unaware that there were any walking tours of the Turkish part of Nicosia claiming "I don't know anything about what goes on over there". Moreover, while the tours in Belfast are overtly

political, the tour guides in Nicosia claim that they are historical tours rather than political ones seemingly ignoring the possibility that heritage sites representing a country's past are often an important element in the construction of a national identity.[31] Moreover, as Allcock points out, to speak of heritage is to speak of politics as "to designate any object, practice or idea as a component of heritage (or equally to exclude any item from this designation) is to participate in the social construction of a reality which is contested".[32] While the walking tour in South Nicosia was undertaken on two occasions, in North Nicosia only one walking tour was undertaken on 11th April 2007. By the time I returned to Nicosia in June 2007 to undertake a second tour, the walking tours of North Nicosia had been cancelled due to a perceived lack of interest. This issue will be returned to later in the paper.

The walking tours in North Nicosia commenced in September 2006. They are provided free by the Ministry of Tourism and operated three days per week. Each tour lasted approximately two and an half hours with a break for refreshment in between. The Turkish Cypriot tour guide, at the outset, points out that the tours are "historical not political" and indeed the first part of the tour focuses on a history stretching back to the sixteenth century and begins at Kyrenia Gate which is one of three gates that mark entrances to the old walled city of Nicosia built by the Venetians to unsuccessfully avert an attack by the Ottomans in 1570. The guide states that the walls around Nicosia contain eleven bastions with five located in the Greek side, five in the Turkish side and one on the Green Line controlled by the UN. Hence almost immediately history and politics are brought together through references to the divided nature of the city and the role of the UN in managing the divide. Within a short period of time, tourists are brought to Ataturk Square where the site is presented as if it has always been called Ataturk Square and no mention is made of how Greek place names were replaced with Turkish ones after 1974. According to Kliot and Mansfield references to Ataturk are a major component in the Turkification of the north.[33] A short walking distance away the Green Line is reached. However, the section visited is a small section where the Turkish Cypriot side began removing barbed wire and sand bags from a small part of the Line. The guide also refers to the demolition of a footbridge over Ledra Street but the controversy over the building of this bridge is not referred to.[34] By focusing on the partially dismantled section of the Line, the guide implies that the block to the

unification of Nicosia lies with the Greek side rather than residing with both Governments. The guide uses the location to discuss the Annan Peace Plan which was supported by 65% of Turkish Cypriots but rejected by 75% of Greek Cypriots in a referendum in April 2004. There is no mention of the events leading up to the physical reinforcement of the Green Line by the Turkish army in 1974 and the dialogue provided by the guide suggests that only for Greek-Cypriot resistance to the Annan Plan, the Green Line would no longer exist. This contrasts with the check-point at Ledra Palace where visitors crossing from South Nicosia into North are met with a sign stating "TRNC Forever". Of course, those tourists familiar with the Annan Plan will be aware that the proposed solution was for a bi-communal state. Under the Annan Plan, a United Republic of Cyprus would have become a member of the European Union as an indissoluble partnership with a federal government and two equal constituent states, divided between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. One of the tourists' questions why the Greek-Cypriots rejected the Plan and the guide's explanation was:

> They have too big a slice of the pie. They do not want to share their tourist industry. They are frightened of the economic competition.

An article in the *Irish Times* (24th April 2004) suggests that such a view is shared by some EU representatives.[35] Gunther Verheugen, the EU Enlargement Commissioner, argued that many Greek Cypriots voted against the Annan Peace Plan because they did not want to damage their tourist revenue by allowing greater competition from a revamped North. Some research suggests that when different political groups are located in a single destination, this results in a power struggle among entrenched stakeholders.[36] In a qualitative study comprising interviews with key stakeholders in the North and South of Cyprus, one Greek Cypriot tourism expert stated:

> The South part has recorded a decrease in terms of the number of tourists visiting the country in recent years. We are aware of the tourism potential of North Cyprus and we don't want them to compete with us once the political embargoes are lifted if the solution is found.[37]

These embargoes and general non-acceptance of the legitimacy of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC) has negatively affected the marketing and promotion of tourism in the North. For example there are no direct flights to TRNC without a stop-over in Turkey making the travel time too lengthy for some tourists to contemplate and adding to flight costs given the absence of a competitive aviation market. Yet, the South has also experienced a downturn since the massive drive to promote tourism in the aftermath of 1974 aided by a number of European countries. This has resulted in ill planned tourism with many areas characterised by unsightly architectural pollution accompanied by the widespread destruction of indigenous flora and fauna.[38] By contrast, the North has been able to escape the ravages of mass tourism and its unspoiled natural environment is gradually becoming a major competitive advantage.[39]

The remainder of the tour is devoted to core historical sites in North Nicosia such as the Great Inn and St Sophia mosque. However during a scheduled coffee break, the guide discusses his own history after being asked to do so by one of the tourists. He discusses how his family had to leave their homes in Paphos in 1974 and move to the North of the island. He poignantly discusses how in the aftermath of the opening up of the Ledra Palace checkpoint, he revisited his former home which had subsequently been demolished with a Greek house being built in its place. His brother and sister also owned separate properties and their homes were still standing but were now occupied by Greek Cypriots. He presents an account of a shared victimhood whereby the Greek-Cypriot occupiers of his former home allowed him inside and then prepared refreshments while they each engaged in a mutual sharing of unhappy memories whereby both had lost former homes.

The Greek Cypriot walking tours of Nicosia commenced in 1987. Similar to the ones in North Nicosia they typically last around two and a half hours with a break for refreshment. The Nicosia Municipality which organise the tours state on their website: "The Nicosia Walk aims to provide to the visitor the opportunity of having a general image of the city within the walls and its development from medieval times until today through buildings, monuments and churches that are located in the old city. The visitors also have the chance to visit workshops and stores where craftsmen continue working in the traditional manner, such as candle makers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, chair-makers, coppersmiths and

tailors."[40] Like the tours in North Nicosia they are provided free of charge. While this bland description is devoid of any overt political content; the language of division permeates the discourses provided by both tour guides. In the opening speech explaining the format of the tour, one of the Greek Cypriot guide states:

> We will in a very short time see the occupied part because as you know half of the city is illegally occupied.

This usage of terms such as "occupation" permeates the discourse provided by both tour guides throughout the duration of the tours although one tour guide seemed to provide a more entrenched political view than the other suggesting that although a common script is provided tour guides themselves have leeway for introducing personal opinion or bias into the descriptions on offer. For example, a substantial element of both tours involved visiting various Christian Churches. This is not surprising since religion is one of the most fundamental components of Greek Cypriot identity and is expressed physically and culturally through the Greek Orthodox Church.[41] In one tour, the main discourse around visiting the Churches was to point out the differences between Greek Orthodox Churches and other forms of Christianity particularly Catholicism. However, the other tour guide tended to focus on differences between Christians and Muslims. This is exemplified in both tour guides references to St Sophia Cathedral/Selimiye Mosque located in the Turkish part of Nicosia. In the first instance, the guide discusses how the structure was built by the Lusignans during the 13th century but then was later turned into a mosque by the Turks. She stated that the mosque resembles Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris and although it is now located in the "occupied North", she advised people to visit and see its splendour. The second tour guide began her description of the structure by saying:

> This is another example of a Christian church being turned into a mosque. Look at the minarets. This was one of the most beautiful of all Catholic churches. You can cross and see it but it certainly will not be as beautiful as when the French had it as it will now have the atmosphere of a mosque.

The building was converted into a mosque during the Ottoman period in 1571 but no date is supplied by the tour guide and it is possible that uneducated tourists may equate the transformation with the events of 1974. At other times the Ottoman period is specifically and repeatedly referred to. For example we visit the house of dragoman which has been restored as part of the Nicosia Master Plan. The position of dragoman was one of the most powerful given by Ottoman authorities to local Christians and enabled them to amass enormous wealth and power. The house came into possession of Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios who was dragoman from 1779 until 1809 when his jealous enemies cunningly managed to have him beheaded in Istanbul. The event is again turned into an encounter between Christians and Muslims:

> Here is the house of the dragoman. The Ottomans tricked and
> killed him. He was a philanthropist. He was helping Christians
> but the Turks forced him out and killed him.

Again this suggests that there are irreconcilable differences between Muslims and Christians, a discourse made all the more powerful since the events of 9/11. It also serves to underline a position that given the long history of Turkish invasion and their subsequent actions, they can never be trusted.

The first sighting of the Green Line is behind a café called the Berlin café. This immediately makes connections in the minds of tourists between the North/South divide in Nicosia and the East/West divide in Berlin. Some tourists discussed among each other the similarities in terms of imposed walls. Both tour guides point out differences in the construction, in that while the Berlin wall was a specifically built structure, the Green line is a haphazard structure. As the second tour guide remarked during a personal conversation with me:

> Tourists are very much interested in the wall and certainly one
> of the key things that they want to see is the wall but often they
> think that it is a wall that you can walk along but as you can see
> it is not that kind of wall. It is an uneven wall. It is made up of
> barriers and blocks that cut off streets rather than a running wall.

Both tour guides reminisce about how the streets surrounding the wall were once full of shops and people but are now largely deserted although there have been recent attempts to revitalise the area. In the remainder of the tours, other aspects of Greek history are referred to, particularly its colonial struggle with Britain. However, the pre-existing economic, social and cultural divisions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and their physical manifestations into ethnically divided communities which paved the way for ethnic violence during the enosis (a political movement of Greek Cypriots aimed at securing union with Greece) campaign and the subsequent military intervention of Turkey is not alluded to and the general impression given is that spatial divisions were created by the Turkish army in 1974. However, as Kliot and Mansfield point out, the creation of the Green Line was first carried out by British troops to separate fighting Greeks and Turks during inter-communal conflict in 1963.[42] As with the Turkish Cypriot tour guide, the Greek Cypriot guides claim that their tours are historical, however the over-emphasis of certain historical events and neglect of others is a deeply political act enabling guides from both sides of Nicosia to present a partial view of history favourable to a specific biased interpretation of the conflict. Hence both Greek and Turkish Cypriots hope to gain more political sympathy with their struggle by exposing tourists to certain dimensions of the conflict. Moreover, as with the Turkish Cypriot guide, during informal conversations, both Greek Cypriot guides draw poignantly on their personal history of losing their former homes in the North adding credibility to their subsequent interpretation of the contested nature of their country. As Lennon and Foley point out, dark tourism is all the more potent when people still living can validate dark events.[43]

Biased Authenticity in Contested Spaces

Tourists visiting divided spaces in Belfast and Nicosia are presented with competing versions of history by tour guides who overtly or covertly present visitors with contrasting narratives based on difference and division. However, this is not to suggest that tourists are passive recipients of the information that they receive. Rather tourists are themselves products of particular socio-economic, political and cultural systems and bring a range of pre-existing views into their encounters with tour operators. Hence tourists pre-existing assumptions and prejudices may be reinforced rather than challenged by visits to places of conflict

and division. A number of studies have outlined how some tourists may exhibit a pre-existing, albeit weak, support for one or other of the parties in a conflict and that their views are by and large unchanged through encounters with the "other".[44] At the same time, there are a growing number of more politically "neutral" tourists who are simply curious to learn more about ethnic conflict and its manifestation in high-profile places.[45] These tourists seek to separate themselves from the banal mass tourist market and seek short-term encounters with cities demonstrating a volatile political situation, which are at the same time, safe places to visit.[46] Of the two cities discussed here, Belfast has gone further in recognising the economic benefit of political tourism. A wide range of options are now available, with political wall murals in particular attracting specific marketing attention. According to Lisle, while the potential for the development of political tourism in Nicosia has been strengthened by the opening up of the Ledra Palace crossing in 2003, both sides remain uncertain about how to deal with a growing conspicuous number of political tourists who want to find out more about the recent conflict and the ongoing stalemate.[47] She argues that some of the tourist sites in the North are characterised by "outdated propaganda" while in the South, they reflect "nostalgic erasure". While she concludes that parts of the Dead Zone should be preserved to enable each side to reflect on how to represent over three decades of conflict and the legacy of partition, she suggests that as the desire for peace gains momentum, incompatible representations of Cypriot history will become increasingly obsolete.

However, this is not what has happened in Belfast. While some political tours in Belfast emerged within a framework designed to exploit their economic potential, others go further and are just as concerned with capturing the "hearts and minds" of visitors. The tours in Belfast provide tourists with straight-talking, no holds barred political messages. Their aim is to encourage tourists to accept their version of events and to potentially return to their respective communities as bearers of specific political messages. Rather than a "post peace" phase obliterating the need for such messages, such a framework provides the impetus for these types of memories to flourish. It is not just that tourists should be allowed to forget what happened - the local community should not forget either. Commemoration builds cohesion and strengthens group identity. Propagating the continuation of entrenched political positions is a way of dealing with the legacy of messy political conflicts. It is a way of

convincing local communities and outsiders that the struggle was not in vain, that it was, and indeed is, justifiable. Brin outlines a range of case studies including Cuba, the Philippines, Indonesia, Albania and North Korea where tourism was harnessed not just as a means of earning hard currency but as a means of propagating a certain political position.[48] In Belfast, tourists are provided with two entrenched opposing views with each guide attempting to win converts to their specific political outlook.

The walking tours in Nicosia are subsidised by the municipality of each side of the demarcation line and are provided free of charge to tourists. This means that their economic benefit is indirect rather than direct. They are a means of drawing people to both sides of the city and encouraging them to spend money during their visit. Each tour includes short visits to local crafts-shops where tourists are encouraged to return to and buy something to commemorate their visit. The tours also purport to be historical rather than political although as I have demonstrated earlier, each is imbued with selectivity and partiality. At one level, this is unproblematic. Tourists can obtain both versions of history and come to an understanding of the underlying contested nature of the information on offer. However, the Greek Cypriots are likely to be more successful in this regard. This is due to a number of factors including the substantially higher numbers of tourists visiting the South compared to the North. While since 2003, tourists can cross at Ledra Palace, the crossing involves a very long walk across the Dead Zone which acts as a disincentive for many visitors. Moreover, the tours in the North of the city are very badly publicised and indeed have stopped operating due to a lack of demand, without a thorough investigation of the underlying reasons accounting for this low take-up. There is also some evidence to suggest that Greek Cypriots are aware that economic factors are only one consideration and that tourists can potentially be won over to propagate desired political messages. As one Greek Cypriot tour guide told me:

> We will keep doing the tours even when there are only a few people to take them, we still will keep doing them. We do them even if only one person turns up. We want as many people as possible to know about our divided city.

Conclusion: Divided Cities and the Search for Authenticity

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the role of tour guides in Belfast and Nicosia as disseminators of biased political opinions either covertly or overtly. Of course there are many differences between Belfast and Nicosia as examples of divided cities. For example, a political resolution of sorts has been arrived at in Belfast but not in Nicosia and this fundamentally impacts on the type of tourism strategies employed in both cities. There is also a striking difference in terms of the depth of history that Cypriots draw on going back to the Ottoman period and beyond whereas tour guides in Belfast draw on more recent history confining their dialogue to the 20th century. The differences between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast are also much less stark than those between Greek and Turk Cypriots. The latter are divided by language and religion and indeed there is much controversy over the extent to which it is possible to talk about a Cypriot identity. Hence divisions in Nicosia are much more extensively reflected in the total division of the city into two distinct municipalities. By contrast, there is only one municipality in Belfast and while parts of the city are divided other parts are shared between the two main communities as are tours of the city. Catholics and Protestants speak a common language and their religious differences are confined to sub-divisions within Christianity. However, the core division between Catholics and Protestants is not related to religion but to power differentials between majority and minority groups with religion being used as a convenient marker to justify unequal power relationships. In this sense, Belfast has some similarities with Nicosia whereby at the core of the divisions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots are relationships between majority and minority groups with the majority group favouring policies which perpetuate their majority status.

While tourists are not passive recipients of dominant discourses, for a short period of time, they provide a captive audience which can be influenced, persuaded, cajoled and deceived into accepting the legitimacy of certain interpretations of events over others. There has been "meagre academic attention given to perceived political instability as a tourist draw."[49] Yet the increased growth of the curious tourist in search of authenticity provides an expanding market for cities that reflect political instability. The Green Line in Nicosia and the "peace lines" in Belfast were not created as tourist attractions. They reflect on-going mistrust between competing groups. Hence they are not just features of the past

but they exist in the here and now and reflect ongoing, not past, tensions between divided groups. They symbolise the extent to which the past reflects the present. In such places, "tourists are more often than not, still safe from harm, yet they can experience a reality that is still troubled."[50] Apart from the physical manifestations of divided spaces embodied in walls, barriers and demarcation lines, the discourses provided by tour guides who have been personally affected by political instability provide further opportunities for tourists to experience brief encounters with the authentic "other". The "perpetuators" of the conflict in Belfast and the "victims" of the conflict in Nicosia through their personal discourses can draw tourists in to the everyday reality of their daily lives through their reminiscences. Their recollections reflecting hostility, mistrust, pain, anguish, positive and negative opinions on the future are exactly what the tourist in search of authenticity wants to hear. Heartfelt stories encourage sympathy and understanding and expose tourists first hand to the volatile political realities of divided cities. They also open up tourists to biased versions of a shared history where certain discourses are privileged at the expense of others but since the account emerges from real experiences, its authenticity is enhanced. The discourses illustrate how the past is fundamentally connected to the present and how tour guides can simultaneously reshape the past as well as the present. Through these discourses, "authentic" tour guides recreate and reconstruct the troubled political environment in which their lives are embedded. Their real life memories validate the accounts produced and have the potential to evoke a greater level of empathy than accounts provided by more "neutral" commentators.

North Cyprus' current tourism strategy is based on a fundamental paradox. It advertises itself to the potential mass tourist market as a "sanctuary of unspoiled beauty" or as a "corner of the earth touched by heaven" (North Tourism, June 2007).[51] Tourism companies advertise North Cyprus ironically as "the Mediterranean's best kept secret". Hence the commercial marketing of North Cyprus depends on broadcasting its non-commercial nature as a place untouched by mass tourism. Maintaining this potential tourist advantage, while simultaneously attracting more and more tourists to the region, is likely to be highly problematic over the next decade. It has been slow to recognise another paradox and that is the potential of political tourism especially in the wake of fragile political settlements. Peace processes, rather than

allowing people to forget, provide the framework to enable them to remember. In this vein tourism can contribute to the process of identity formation. The success of Belfast in capturing the tourist market over recent years through the exploitation of the recent political conflict illustrates the potential economic payoff associated with political tourism. It also illustrates tourism's potential for capturing the hearts and minds of visitors by allowing entrenched political groups to articulate, and in the process come to terms with, their past. Tourism becomes a vehicle through which the process of remembering and forgetting becomes constructed and legitimised. While South Cyprus is slowly wakening up to the empathetic benefits of political tourism, North Cyprus continues to see political tourism in narrow economic terms and as such fails to recognise its other important facets.

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Humanities in a "Postmodernist" Cyprus[1]

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Abstract

This paper explores the role of the humanities in Northern Cyprus. The enquiry takes as its starting point the crisis in the humanities of the 1920s – 1940s and the subsequent transformation of the humanities in the 1970s under the rubric of postmodernism. While the way the humanities function in Northern Cypriot society—both in terms of education and civil society—is of immense interest and has determined its trajectory, this paper is not an empirical study. Rather it sets out to place theoretical representations of the humanities in general in relation to theoretical characterizations of identity structures in Northern Cyprus.

Keywords: humanities, humanism, legitimation, sciences, narrative, paradox, paralogy, identity, postmodernism.

Özet

Bu makale Kuzey Kıbrıs'da beşeri bilimlerin rolünü incelemektedir. Başlangıç noktası olarak 1920-ve 40'lardaki krizi ve bunu takiben beşeri bilimlerin 1970 lerde postmodernizm başlığı altında geçirdiği dönüşümü almaktadır. Bu çalışma, Kuzey Kıbrıs toplumunda – hem eğitim hem sivil toplum anlamında - beşeri bilimlerin işleyişini kendisine bir yörünge olarak belirlemekle ve son derece önemli bulmakla beraber, bu konuda empirik bir inceleme ortaya koymaktan uzaktır. Bu anlamda bu daha çok, beşeri bilimlerin çok genel bir teorik temsilini, Kuzey Kıbrıs'daki kimlik yapılarının nitelendirilmesi ile ilişkilendirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Beşeri bilimler, hümanizm, meşru kılma, bilimler, anlatı, paradoks, paraloji, kimlik, postmodernism, Kuzey Kıbrıs.

> *My village is paradise! One wakes in the morning looking through the trees out over the plains to the sea below. There is no need to do much; everything has already been done. There is no need to think; everything has already been thought. My village is hell!*
> Halil Karapaşaoğlu, Unpublished Essay

In *The Order of Things* Michel Foucault takes up the old idealist thesis that the world we find ourselves in has no (knowable) reality in itself, but

exists for us as the representation of cognitive, sensuous and imaginative faculties. It is a position that has found expression in many cultures both ancient and modern. As far as contemporary intellectual culture is concerned the most exhaustive treatment of this notion comes from Immanuel Kant in the late eighteenth century with the argument that our representations of the world are determined by certain categories of knowledge like cause and effect, quality and quantity, categories derived from Aristotelian logic. Supplementing this thesis with materialist insights, Foucault, influenced by the "linguistic turn" in philosophy, argued that representational knowledge is determined not only by certain logical conditions, but also by historical, economic and linguistic conditions, all of which, embedded deeply in the psyche, come to determine the a priori character of knowledge at any given time. Moreover, in a rhetorical flourish towards the end of his seminal work, Foucault asserts, without argument, that the representational nature of knowledge applies not just to objects—things we might think about or things in the world—but also to the subject of knowledge; that is, the individual human being considered in the abstract: "As the archeology of our thought easily shows, man is an invention of recent date. And one perhaps nearing its end."[2] The claim is that the knowing subject, the one that represents a world to itself is itself a representation structured according to the same processes as objects of knowledge. The individual with its psychological variability and epistemological prowess is then, according to Foucault, just a bundle of concepts, metaphors and words, tricked out, of course, with a body.

Foucault's comments have become emblematic of a crisis in the humanities. If the subject of knowledge is itself the "effect" of a linguistic and cultural process, if "man" is a symbol like any other symbol, then the humanities, based as it is on notions like liberty, understanding and ethics, must forgo the very agency that validates it in its own eyes. The crisis of course does not emerge with Foucault's claims. In the first half of the twentieth century Ludwig Wittgenstein argued that philosophy no longer possessed the authority to make truth statements as they had come to be defined by the natural sciences, considered to be "discourses of truth". Anything falling outside the natural sciences was strictly speaking unknowable and therefore was to be "passed over in silence."[3] This leaves out of consideration, as Wittgenstein pointed out, ethics, religion and aesthetics, all of which encompass the vast bulk of what is of real

significance to society and individuals. Neither positivism nor the scientific models of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were able to provide a basis for the human or social sciences. But as the sciences themselves were solving their legitimation problems by reference to linguistic pragmatics so too the humanities turned towards linguistic analysis to gain self understanding. In a similar way in the 1940s Martin Heidegger argued that it was an historical mistake to orient philosophical discourse to the discovery of essential qualities in phenomena that may be said to remain the same throughout change. Moreover, it is a mistake to suppose that the subject of knowledge, the "knower", somehow constituted a receptacle for the laws that governed knowledge. Rather, the question of the being of knowledge must be posed in terms of an impersonal force—so-called *Dasein*—which later came to be construed as language.[4] Again, the central defining category of the humanities, as defined by the historical humanist movement, simply dissolved. René Descartes in the seventeenth century supposed the (skeptical) subject of knowledge—the *cogito*—to be the indubitable point upon which modern scientific knowledge was to be based. He supposed too, in a paranoid fantasy, that this self-certainty might be an illusion devised by some evil demon out there somewhere in metaphysical space. With the crisis in the sciences and humanities of the twentieth century the fable comes full circle; now the evil demon of deception has become identical with the much heralded subjective principle of the *cogito*.

Under discussion in this essay are the strategies that have been deployed to staunch this gap at the heart of the human sciences in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. I propose an historical analysis of the legitimation crisis that has come to afflict both the sciences and the humanities. Pertinent to this debate is the concept of "postmodernism", a much maligned and equally much celebrated concept that defines for some the *zeitgeist*, for others a method, and still for others an aberration. My argument will be that however this concept is defined, what is important are the questions its proponents put forward concerning the nature of linguistic, cognitive and political-social agency. I will argue that the humanities is as little tied to one form and one set of assumptions (those of classical humanism) as the sciences are, and that its validation in general emerges from the exploration of social agency, which of course aligns it with the social sciences, the differences being a matter of method, content and historical contingency.

It is the aim of this paper to localize this rather general debate in the context of cultural life of Northern Cyprus, exploring, at the pedagogical level, the way in which a so-called international curriculum functions within the cultural and educational parameters of this society. The majority of universities in Northern Cyprus offer humanities curricula drawn, directly or indirectly, from an international body of literature. Curricula largely, but not entirely, are generated by intellectual events that occur in centres where the bulk of the world's research resources are located; namely, North America and Europe. However, the debates that surround intellectual crises and revolutions in these cultures do no exist in a vacuum. The unbridgeable schisms that opened up between the sciences and the humanities in the twentieth century were intricately linked with changing political, social and economic conditions in Europe and the USA. The extension of these crises, debates and consequent models to cultures outside these concentrations of international power involves intricate processes of selection and interpretation and integration into already existing educational and societal practices. At worst of course the dissemination of a revised body of knowledge may involve a kind of cultural imperialism or worse still the kind of strategies characterized by Edward Said as "orientalism".

The self-image of the humanities, especially the form in which they operated in the early to late twentieth century, is normally expressed in abstract principles such as universalism of knowledge, reason, and the necessity of emancipation, principles as will be discussed below, that have come in for critical treatment in recent times. However, the humanities are also intimately bound up with cultural identity, most often at the level of the nation state. This is the case mainly with disciplines like literature, history and archeology. The same applies in contemporary practice despite the multiculturalist claims of postmodernism; the humanities constitue a space of discussion, contestation, interpretation, repository and experiment. Also, in one way or another, the dissemination of knowledge aims to produce a certain kind of citizen, whether critical or compliant. At the same time, the contemporary humanities channel diverse forces and currents: economic, social, sexual, political, all of which operate according to conditions that extend far beyond the parameters of the nation state. Just as the crises in the sciences and humanities do not take place in a vacuum in cultures where international power is concentrated, so elsewhere the cultural and cognitive mappings

that take place as part of the dissemination of knowledge bring about, often profound, social and psychological transformations, often desired, equally as often resisted in culture.

Regarding questions of justice, desire, desire, knowledge and identity, the humanities appear then to be in a state of constant upheaval, by contrast at least with the backward glance, which as will be discussed below, is often as not mediated through the proverbial rose-tinted spectacles. What will be argued in this paper is that this apparent upheaval simply exhibits the openly contested nature of the contemporary humanities and that, to use an unfashionable term, is their essential quality.

The university environment in Northern Cyprus is unique. In the past, national revolutions have been followed by a flurry of university-building activity, thus cementing the status of nation state, as well as fulfilling the economic, scientific, political and psychological demands of modernity. Moreover, these newly established or newly nationalized institutions consolidate exclusive social-economic structures of elitism. In Northern Cyprus the same was the case. The university building of the past 20 years corresponds to a period of intense nation building. The difference from other such projects elsewhere is that the capacity of the universities in Northern Cyprus far outstrips the demand coming from within the local population. Universities draw of course the bulk of the student population from abroad. From the outset of their educational history, universities in this country have found themselves firmly ensconced in the market place, one of the consequences of which, is that fragile institutions experience the full blast of the contradictions that rise up between globalising market forces and the conflicting trajectories implicit in the sciences and humanities. While it is not my intention to enter into a discussion of these contradictions, it is enough to point out the conflict inherent in the demands for the rationalization of learning according to an input/output model on the one hand, with the perceived imperatives of humanistic and scientific pedagogy and research on the other hand. Thus the university in Northern Cyprus is the preeminent point of convergence for all the forces that shape, consolidate and disrupt the national culture. It is then of the utmost importance that the university forge not only ways of "managing" such convergence, but devise strategies whereby the "life" of the university devotes itself to social transformation by harnessing these forces. Moreover, it may not be

assumed that the aim of the university within both national and international parameters is oriented exclusively towards the term "transformative" model. The contest, if the term be permitted, also involves an orientation towards social reproduction. Implicit in the debates taking place at present is at least a modicum of dialectics, which need not necessarily refer to the life and death struggles of the Hegelian and Marxian dialectic. There need neither be a winner in this struggle nor an eventual consensus, but the consolidation of a creative "parliamentary" form, where discussion is infused with all the creativity, rigour and accumulated knowledge of the intellectual disciplines themselves.

What follows is an attempt to open a discussion on the provision of a conceptual model for this "parliamentary" form, the latter deriving from the gerund form of *parler*—to speak. Ostensibly this paper is concerned with the humanities component of this modeling process. However, it must be noted that the key concept of "paralogy" put forward by Jean-François Lyotard as a legitimation strategy for the humanities derives, according to his analysis, from the sciences and so may equally apply across the disciplines. Furthermore, the paralogical discourse is not necessarily one of consensus, but rather the open ended constestation of categories.

The term "humanities" functions primarily as a distinction in educational institutions. By contrast, at a broader social level the subject matter of the humanities is covered by the designation "culture". In the university curriculum, departments that teach something called the humanities normally teach histories, literature, philosophy, languages and variations thereof. In much of the postmodernist literature on the transformation of contemporary humanities there is expressed a rejection of humanist values, a term which may mean anything from the Enlightenment values of emancipation to an education based on the reading of "the classics", an educational approach that hasn't really been a contender since the collapse of European empires in the early twentieth century.

"Humanities" derives from the "humanism" of the Renaissance, where, most notably in Italy, scholars looked to ancient Greece and Rome for what may termed a secular literature. Scholars like Petrarch revived an interest in the methodologies of history and moral philosophy as well as the techniques of lyrical poetry of the ancient period. In this backward glance there thus emerged a distinction between *studia humanitatis* and

studia divinitatis.[5] This period saw the inauguration of philological studies and a revival of rhetoric, which directly involved studies of ancient Greek and Latin and also Hebrew, where the old Testament was read as a piece of literary and linguistic history. In a limited way, mainly through scientific and economic developments, a certain set of values came to be associated with Renaissance humanism; namely those of the homocentric or man-centred world where individual psychology came to be seen as part of the larger configuration of forces of creation and destruction; Shakespeare's *Macbeth* is a tragedy wherein the acute and irresolvable contradictions of the political and psychological subject lead to insanity and death. By contrast, the tragedy of Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex* occurs in a space between the gods and the social institutions which in a rough and ready way they preside over. Oedipus may be the victim of tragedy, but as a symbolic and not psychological subject.

Thus humanism comes to be associated with a system of knowledge that has at its centre the psychological and epistemological subject. However, this position is not fully theorized until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is only at this time that humanism comes to be thought of in terms of humane values and the orientation towards emancipation.[6] During this period, especially in Britain, France and Germany, humanist values became linked with "culture". In Britain under the influence of thinkers like S. T. Coleridge and the Romantics the culture of the arts arraigned itself against what were perceived as the ravages of industrial capitalism, wherein economic and technological advancement were being promulgated as indicators of moral progress. This oppositional determination of culture continued on, albeit in various forms, into the twentieth century in the guise of the avant garde. In addition to this, humanist values came to be associated with the ambitions of the Enlightenment project of emancipation, to be achieved through the organization of society along rational lines, a project opposed by the English Romantics. At the same time, cultural achievement in the late eighteenth century was used as an instrument in the imperialist projects, spreading what they deemed to be the values of "civilisation", and so humanism landed itself in a contradictory state wherein liberation was experienced by its beneficiaries as oppression.[7]

It was during this period that science was gradually decoupled from the notion of practical knowledge and came to be seen as a desirable model for the organization of society as well as a model for knowledge.

This development, ironically, came about through the qualification of science by the humanities. Scientific propositions on their own make no prescriptive or evaluative statements. They do not on their own tell us how to live or what is desirable. According to French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard the sciences came to occupy a position of prominence, both socially and epistemologically, in part through the endorsement of humanist values. On the one hand, and particularly in Germany, science was seen as an historical unfolding of the self-consciousness of the "Spirit" (*Geist*); not exclusively the human spirit, but the spirit of life itself viewed as the evolution of a system of knowledge that would combine, without overt divine agency, the scientific, the ethical and the metaphysical. Thus the individual in this epochal flowering, considered in the abstract as a subject of knowledge, could consider him or herself as the point of synthesis in the dialectic of knowing and willing, denotation and prescription, is and ought—the embodiment of the zenith of historical development. Knowledge came to be seen as a self-legitimating practice and being so, reflected back onto the self and society the imperatives of being:

> In this perspective, knowledge first finds legitimacy within itself, and it is knowledge that is entitled to say what the State and what Society are. But it can only play this role by changing levels, by ceasing to be simply the positive knowledge of its referent (nature, society, the State, etc.), becoming in addition to that the knowledge of the knowledge of the referent—that is, by becoming speculative. In the names "Life" and "Spirit," Knowledge names itself.[8]

It was a powerful prescription wherein the pursuit of knowledge in educational and research institutions could be equated with the "meaning of life"—a source of unmatched arrogance but also extraordinary intellectual achievement. A second and related legitimating discourse was related directly to humanism, wherein the pursuit of science was seen to lead to the emancipation of humanity from the shackles of superstition and religious belief. Hence would be brought about a situation where all citizens of a society could be considered equal and political mechanisms could be put in place, or not put in place, to optimize liberty.[9] In a later development Max Weber extended the rationalization project to the

individual subject laying the foundation for contemporary legalistic concepts of right and equality.

Although it is science that is championed here, it is important to note that the legitimating discourses themselves are not scientific but philosophical: science can not speak of itself scientifically, but only its object, a fact that allowed Hegel gleefully to describe science as the "handmaiden" of philosophy and the nonspeculative sciences as "dismal", a state of affairs that many philosophers today look back on with wondrous but qualified nostalgia. The humanistic discourse continued well into the twentieth century with the Marxists, liberals and conservatives alike adumbrating the capacity of literary and philosophical studies, augmented by science, to bring about a state of personal and social emancipation. Historically it was on the back of humanist and philosophical discourses that science came to be associated with "freedom." There is implicit in this a deep irony; science predicates itself on observation and the controlled experiment as well as certain rational processes. It rejects the kind of knowledge that is based on narrative, narratives that are not amenable to empirical verification at each stage. Psychoanalysis, for example, is such a narrative and is emphatically rejected by science. Yet, because science can never be entirely self legitimating, because its propositions cannot address the philosophical nature of propositions, it is always reliant on some form of narrative to render it into a form by which its value may be conceived and disseminated.

The causes of the collapse of the grand historical narratives of humanism and "the life of the spirit" in relation to the sciences were manifold. Lyotard cites the end of Keynesian economics with its distributive and protectionist ethos and controlled economic development. He also cites conditions that emerge from within science itself. The grand historical meta-narratives of philosophy and the humanities come into conflict with the pragmatics of the sciences' self understanding. The sciences found themselves legitimated and justified according to a discourse that was not amenable to their own methods of verification. Combined with the imperatives of specialisation, sciences, most notably in the early twentieth century, loosened themselves from the "encyclopedic net" of the traditional metanarratives and there took place a proliferation of disciplines and institutions.[10]

In the course of the twentieth century, according to Lyotard, several discourses vied to fill the gap of scientific legitimation. On the one hand, with the privatization of funding in the late twentieth century, "efficiency" came to determine the kind of directions research projects would pursue. Under this model it is imperative that it be known in advance whether or not the outcomes are going to conform to a particular set of economic circumstances. The technological revolution stipulates that research be oriented towards the market place. In a similar vein, political power comes to determine the kind of propositions that find their way into the public sphere.[11] This may be seen in the relation between political institutions and scientists on the vexed subject of climate change, for example.

Undoubtedly such forces certainly place constraints on the sciences and push research in unfavourable directions and block off other avenues. It is often said that the "pure" sciences suffer under this regime. Lyotard does not share this pessimism and disagrees that political and economic forces constitute a viable and lasting legitimating narrative. Rather, he believes legitimating narratives emerge from the sciences themselves, from the pragmatics of scientific language and discovery. They might be called micro-narratives as befits the fragmented state of scientific research. The decisive point in contemporary science, the feature that differentiates it from the practices of the nineteenth century, is "uncertainty". Science no longer makes things known, but also, unknown. He cites the centrality of undecidables, variable and open systems, and paradox to contemporary science. Werner Heisenberg's paradox whereby the observer is always part of the observed comes to mind.[12] Likewise Schrödinger's experiment where a cat may be said to be dead and alive at the same time or the claims of parallel universes in modern physics, claims which are not amenable to empirical observation, but are nonetheless accepted as "true" in the community of sciences.[13] Lyotard characterizes these developments as "paralogy", that is, logical form that extends beyond the logic of reason with its insistence on the law of the excluded middle. This is to say, contemporary sciences operate at the outer limits of reason and amongst other things extend knowledge into the unknown through what Lyotard sees as genuinely radical acts of imagination.

These are by no means claims that are accepted across the sciences. In a sense it is a provocation awaiting argumentation, which of course has

come in the arguments of Alan Sokal and Jean Bricomont who accuse French and North American philosophers and literary theorists of playing fast and loose with scientific concepts.[14] If it is the case that Lyotard's science is bogus then indeed his claims of a legitimation crisis must be questioned. But it must also be noted that Lyotard's claims for science are not themselves scientific. If anything they concern philosophical and social theory as applied to the sciences—a small victory for the humanities and cause for satisfaction on Lyotard's part.

Certainly what cannot be disputed is the historical falling off of the influence of the humanities over the sciences and indeed a diminishing of influence of the traditional domain of the humanities: politics, education, social identity and justice. This was first remarked by Wittgenstein in the 1920s. Moreover, the claim that knowledge, whether scientific or "narrative", is no longer seen to serve the utopian ideal of emancipation is not controversial. The evident vulnerability of humanities departments in many countries is enough to convince many that the humanities are in terminal decline.

What I would like to argue here is that Lyotard's notion of "paralogy" has the potential to reorient the humanities in a dramatic and radical way. In fact it has already done so; Lyotard's arguments are thirty years old. But before following up on the paralogical component of the humanities, I would like to explore briefly the options open to the humanities since the 1970s, the advent of so-called postmodernism.

The best known of the (self-avowed) conservative remedies for the malaise afflicting the humanities comes from North American thinker Alan Bloom, who argues for the return of the classical curriculum. Bloom believes that the postmodernist insistence on the political nature of knowledge has destroyed the historical project of liberal arts education in the United States and, by implication, everywhere else. The situation would be remedied by reinstating Plato, Aristotle and the canon of received literary works.[15] In addition, students and scholars would rediscover the virtues of a kind of close reading of the text and a few approved influences. The most obvious criticism of Bloom's position is that the classical canon has not departed from humanities curricula. It is the case that material has been introduced that was not traditionally considered eligible for university studies; for example, detective novels, local histories and "non-literary" narratives. Moreover, given the critical spirit of the liberal arts model, a critical approach to the classics should be

welcomed. It is hard to imagine that the reinstatement of a curriculum from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would have the desired effect of exciting and educating young minds, let alone those of the professorial profession. To be sure, the contribution of classical literature, philosophy and languages to contemporary society is invaluable and in dire need of vindication. But at the same time the contribution of North American "Slave Narratives", Carlo Ginsberg's study of the unorthodox religious practices of fourteenth-century cheese-makers in Italy, E. P. Thompson's localized and working-class histories in Britain, or Mehmet Yashin's Turkish-Greek, Greek-Turkish folksongs of Cyprus detract not at all from knowledge of self and society. On the contrary, the fragmented and localized nature of the humanities holds out the possibility of a critical "other-centred" grasp of cultures, as opposed, for example, to a self-centred abstract universalist understanding. The demands placed by society on young people, intellectuals and university educated professionals is today of a greater internationalization, creativity and moral awareness than that of the generations of 1950s North America. It thereby remains uncertain how narrowing the curriculum would help.

A more serious contender is that of the self-styled pragmatists. Here the humanities would spread out and join with the sciences and professional training faculties, like law and education, for example. Thus literary and historical studies would become an adjunct of the natural sciences and help train more Richard Dawkinses and Stephen Jay Goulds. Philosophy and literature would attach itself to medicine and the neuro-psychological sciences addressing ethical issues and hopefully spawning a new generation of writers like Oliver Sacks. The stated idea behind such a proposal is that the humanities never at any time fulfilled its humanist vocation to create a better and egalitarian society. The political claims of left leaning academics are considered particularly deceitful and pretentious in this view. Elitism is entrenched in the universities and may be addressed by dispersal through a radical interdisciplinarity driven by the market: "The humanities must become service providers in a free market climate…Our problem is precisely that the view from above is too blurry and too dark, and that no one below can hear us, or could understand us if they did."[16] For Kurt Spellmeyer, the antidote to intense specialisation of the humanities is the shift to a technical vocation. Students would no longer be trained in literature, history or philosophy

but in developing analytical skills applied to texts. Such skills once learned would be transferable from academic contexts to bureaucratic, pedagogical and commercial functions elsewhere in the university and the economy.

Over-specialisation is a questionable pretext for dispersing the humanities. It is the case generally and has been since the nineteenth century that individual intellectuals are not able to master fields other than their own. The reasons for this derive not just from the imperative of in-depth knowledge but also from the proliferation and complexity of knowledge, disciplines and innovation. It is also said that the development of specialised languages within a discipline precludes interest from the outside. Certainly, tendencies towards conceptual jargon limit the scope for a discipline, both within and without, but jargon should not become shorthand for the activity and drive that generate concepts that address real empirical, theoretical, philosophical or historical problems arising in environments of intensive study. For example, the average layperson, whoever that is, may understand a lecture on the use of clay bricks and mortar in neo-lithic architecture, but theses on such a topic are never purely empirical. At some stage archeology—the preeminent inventor of narratives in the humanities—must reflect on the nature of language and narrative meaning, and while this is indeed likely to alienate the interested layperson as well as the practioner, it in no way entitles them to a veto. The charge of elitism is important and must be taken seriously in the light of its implicit injustice. However, specialised training in the humanities is not in itself elitist. If popular cultural artifacts and performances are going to be considered viable cultural expressions, part of a discursive and political reality, then it is well to train intellectuals in the art of subtle hermeneutics, deconstruction and conceptual analysis. And humanities departments, with their histories of autonomous development, are well placed to perform this task. The argument for a technical revolution in the humanities seems, from this perspective, self defeating and even bloody-minded.

It is possible to argue that in fact it is the much maligned but widely practiced postmodernist project that has been most successful in reorienting the humanities in the wake of the crises identified in the 1920s by Wittgenstein, the 1940s by Heidegger and the 1970s by Lyotard. As well as a specialised deepening of analytical and interpretative

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instruments in the form of theoretical reflection, there has taken place a proliferation of knowledge in the humanities. Literary studies, drawing on philosophy, linguistics, psychoanalysis and sociology have developed theoretical understandings of the language of literature that has allowed it to extend its models not only to cultural artifacts in general but also to various cultural practices. Semiotic theory, derived from theories of language, posits social meanings and practices as "signification", a field which is amenable to linguistic form; thus the world may be read as if it were a text.[17] History, gender and the demarcations that organize society may, according to semiotic theory, be elaborated according to the "language games" through which they are represented. Hence the proliferation of cultural studies, a phenomenon which has both energized literary studies from within and also introduced new possibilities across the humanities.[18]

Lyotard's concept of "paralogy" is descriptive and not prescriptive, meaning that it may be used to characterize certain theoretical developments in the humanities. Lyotard also intends that such characterization performs a legitimating function. In the fields of semiotics, cultural studies and literary studies the key development of the last thirty to forty years involves the elaboration of the paradoxical nature of the epistemological and moral subject. It is said that the traditions emanating from the Enlightenment presuppose the unified subject of knowledge and action. This is evident in the philosophy of Kant where what may be called the point of convergence of knowledge is the transcendental (abstract) subject. Simply the question of knowledge becomes that of "how do I (we) know this? how should I (we) act in such and such a situation? Language-based philosophies like semiotics propose that the question of knowledge, or signification in its parlance, begin with the field of language, where language is seen as the symbolic element out of which reality is structured. This view may be opposed to one that would see language as a communicative medium for already formed ideas and thoughts. In the semiotic view, it is in fact language that structures the subject of knowledge, where the latter is seen as an effect of language. Thus arises a paradox; the subject is both produced by the symbolic structures of society, while at the same time, it is believed that the subject produces meaning or, for a weaker formulation, is a nexus of meaning. This paradox has had enormous influence on the activities the humanities as well as the raging polemics that pit calls for a return to an idealized

liberal past against calls for an idealized future where suffering has magically disappeared because of the emancipation of the libido, for example. Indeed, Michel Foucault's proclamation that "man is an [disappearing] invention of recent date", with which this essay began, serves as a kind of "gospel" for the claims that the humanities now find themselves in a "posthumanist" world. In fact, as mentioned at the outset, Foucault's claim is largely rhetorical, but at the same time, the paradox of subjectivity warrants careful consideration.

It may be asked then how in fact a modern humanities curriculum largely developed on the international stage according to the parameters of the above debate fits into the intellectual life of Cyprus. Here, however I would like to limit the discussion to the relation between identity—personal and social—and the paralogic legitimation discourse that I have argued drives much of the humanities.

In the context of Northern Cyprus, students often rightly point out that what is being taught them is culturally specific and that it does not immediately match their way of thinking. Yet, there are also problems with this claim, despite its validity. Or at least, it opens up the question as to the nature of thought in Turkish Cypriot society; is it homogenous? if so, whence the consensus and who presided over it and when? Ironically enough, such questions provide a timely opening to an international curriculum insofar as their pursuit implies something like intellectual agency, a concept that is not well developed amongst postmodernist writers. On the other hand, there is a tendency to embrace postmodernist discourse with enthusiasm. Very often this may be due to the fact that, despite the concentration of resources in Europe and the North America, many key authors in the field come from diverse ethnic, national, intellectual and gender orientations, especially in the context of postcolonial studies. However, this uptake of the radical elements in postmodernism, directed towards a critique of the way ideas follow the economic and political concentration of power, may often be accompanied by the reluctance to direct critical apparatuses inwardly towards one's own society. As a paradigm, in fact, this is quite normal in liberal culture, where the liberal self's complicity in the exercise of power remains problematic. It is not the aim of this paper to the force the resolution of this contradiction, but rather to suggest that it contains critical and creative tensions that characterize the field of involvement of the humanities in contemporary culture.

Greek Cypriot anthroplogist, Vassos Avgyrou, has even, in a limited way, defended the existence of such a contradiction, while at the same time providing a way out of it. In a discussion of the way relatively small communities like Greek Cypriots and Greeks fit into the international discourse of anthropology, Avgyrou perceives a kind of unconscious imperialism in the postmodernist claim that subjectivity exists in a paradoxical and decentred state. He notes that while it may in fact be quite exhilarating for Europeans and North Americans to speak of identity as decentred, contingent on all manner of power interests and "fictions", there are significant differences for cultures susceptible to the whims of the major powers. While an American can thrive on the deconstruction of national identity, the story is different for a culture of few and hard-won cultural resources. So, for example, when the eighteenth century European romanticisation of Greek identity is revealed by deconstruction to be a projection of European interests rather than the true origins of European culture, Greeks and Greek Cypriots might be slow to climb onboard due to the fact that these more of less vulnerable cultures do not really have that much to pin their identities on. The psychological consequences of relinquishing national identity in a region with malleable national borders may in fact be debilitating, whereas for the cosmopolitan New Yorker there is much else to attach one's sense of personal and collective self to.[19] Avgyrou's response is that while such discourses may indeed be traceable to the major centres of power, in fact they function in a genuinely international environment through participation and not decree. As such local cultures must augment their sense of identity with elements from within the culture while at the same time taking the international discourse seriously, which for them is an instrument of the critique of power and not only self critique.[20]

I would like now to present a similar example taken from Turkish Cypriot society. The example is taken from an interview with Turkish Cypriot psychiatrist and writer Vamık Volkan by Yael Navaro-Yashin. In response to Navaro-Yashin's probing the relative nature of collective identity Volkan acknowledges that myth is a key component of collective identity:

> What makes a large group's identity specific depends on the large group's history. But history per se is not exactly correct in this sense. It is not historical facts, but the mental representation

of historical events that are used to define a large group's identity. A group's history is often as much myth as fact, and the representation of historical events that are shared by all members of the group are passed down from generation to generation.[21]

In the follow up question Navaro-Yashin probes Volkan's response by pointing to a current theoretical position in anthropology that traces out the agencies by which the "discursive constructions" of identity established. Volkan replies by pointing out that

> Every group has horrible things happen to it, and sometimes the group can successfully adapt and mourn a great loss, but sometimes it cannot, so the mental representation of the tragedy is passed down over generations in hope that somewhere down the line the feelings of loss, helplessness and humiliation can be reversed and overcome.[22]

It is an instructive conversation, mainly because it involves two discourses that in a sense speak past each other, while at the same time speaking directly to each other, if such a contradiction is permitted. Volkan speaks of the necessity that history vindicate identity and that identity strive to maintain its unity. In cases where it has been injured in a way that is unbearable, the necessity of the preservation of the unity of identity becomes even more acute than it normally would, so that, in the future, the injury might in some way be attenuated. Navaro-Yashin, on the other hand, seems to be driving at a different point. Her discourse implies that the mental representation is not just something that is passed down through history but that it is constructed through the historical dynamic of being passed down. Underlying her question is the thesis that identity is a narrative, and narrative is the logic of the mental representation. It exists in a different temporal continuum to the mental representation passed from generation to generation. Narrative is constructed from any point in the continuum; often events of the past are constructed from the present in a retroactive glance. And the job of the narrative is to ensure that competing narratives fall by the way and the main narrative is one of unity. Navaro-Yashin's discourse is that of deconstruction, while Volkan's is that of phenomenological psychology

and Freudian psychoanalysis. And at the intellectual level, this fascinating discussion between the psychiatrist and the anthropologist plays out the formative and preservative dynamics of identity: deconstruction the threat; phenomenology the compounding of identity.

There is no intention here to stage a dialectical competition. It must be added too that I am in no position to comment on clinical aspects of the psychology of identity. What becomes apparent, in my opinion, is the paradoxical logic of identity. On the one hand, identity is formed through competing interests, selective narratives and by concealing in the narrative it contingency; that is, the fact that it is symbolic. On the other hand, identity functions by congealing around a central ideal or a set of more or less coherent ideas. It functions, as Volkan says, by expunging extraneous elements. Thus identity is hinged on a double logic: that of being (fixed identity) and that of becoming (the process of identity).

It is the same logic that drives innovation in the contemporary humanities. The subject of knowledge produces meaning in his or her utterances, yet, of course, that meaning has always already been established. Rebecca Bryant argues that education during the British period in Cyprus was seen by Turkish Cypriots as the transformation of the self and society from the traditional to the modern: "The cultural type to be molded in Turkish schools was the 'enlightened' individual, and the aesthetics of self-fashioning was one of 'enlightenment,'" where enlightenment (*aydınlatmak)* referred to a kind of clarificatory knowledge suitable for a ruling class. [23] In this context the values of enlightenment and progress were bound up with the introjection of a universlist discourse into ethnic identity. By contrast, the central discourse of the humanities now concerns the symbolic construction of meaning, which encompasses the cognitive, social, linguistic and psychological tensions that construct signification, whether the object of the study is literature, history, philosophy, science and technology or popular culture. With the collapse of the universalist legitimation strategies of both the sciences and the humanities, and of course, the development of computer technology, there is no support for such a thing as "correct' knowledge of the type that would provide a social paradigm, from which might be derived moral prescriptions. More accurately stated, it is no longer viable to characterize "correct" knowledge according to a fixed and noncontingent paradigm. Lyotard even envisages that the "professor" as a repository of received knowledge is an endangered species. What is certain is that any claim that

the humanities is the accumulation of knowledge towards a utopian goal has become redundant. Any computer can to that. And utopia it seems has become a commodity.

Contemporary humanities study the construction of meaning—its logic of becoming in addition to its logic of being. This characterizes the humanities in Cyprus as well as places as far apart as New York and Delhi. It is also, it must be conceded, one amongst a variety of competing discourses. Yet it is flexible enough to avoid the pitfalls of the universalism of the classical humanist inspired humanities, chiefly I would argue, because of the formal flexibility of the open logic of paralogy.

By way of postscript I would like to say a few words on the rhetorical excesses of postmodernism. It is often claimed that postmodernism is an epochal phenomenon; we have moved into a new era free of the neurotic certainties of the past. In cultural studies there is talk of "posthumanist" humanities.[24] Indeed, Lyotard speaks of postmodernism as the sloughing off of the grand narrative of the humanities, of the centred subject.[25] But others have pleaded for its reinstatement. Jean-Paul Sartre in the 1960s spoke of the necessity of a reformed humanistic orientation:

> We have no right to believe that humanity is something to which
> we could set up a cult, after the manner of Auguste Compte. The
> cult of humanity ends in Comptian humanism…in Fascism. We
> do not want a humanism like that. But there is another sense of
> the word, of which the fundamental meaning is this: Man is all
> the time outside of himself: it is in projecting and losing himself
> beyond himself that he makes man to exist.[26]

In a similar vein but a different kind of language, Edward Said pleads that contemporary theoretical ideas in the humanities are meaningless unless accompanied by a humanistic project:

> I have called what I try to do "humanism", a word I continue t
> use stubbornly despite the scornful dismissal of the term by
> sophisticated post-modern critics. By humanism I mean first of
> all attempting to dissolve [William] Blake's "mind-forg'd
> manacles" so as to be able to use one's mind historically and

rationally for the purposes of reflective understanding. Moreover, humanism is sustained by a sense of community with other interpreters and other societies and periods: strictly speaking, therefore, there is no such thing as an isolated humanist.[27]

Said maintains that the postmodernist concern with contingency has been misinterpreted by large numbers of postmodernists. There is a kind of triumphantism in the way structures of meaning are deconstructed and simply left at that. From other of Said's comments, this triumphantism many also be seen as a variety of "hooliganism". There is no concern to articulate the nature of political and psychological agency in the face of the deconstructionist claim that all signification is a fiction. Politics continues to oppress people with violence and injustice and postmodernism does not seem to be able to respond to that in Said's view. He advocates a reformed humanism, one that uses the paralogical strategies of the postmodern to further the cause of justice.

On this subject, Lyotard has something to say. He does not claim that postmodernism is the expression of an epochal change. Postmodernism, according to this view, is not the time that comes after modernism. Rather, it comes before. He argues for a return to the well springs of modernism, the pivotal notions of justice and the desire to understand the unknown. The difference is, in his case, that the dynamism of the paralogic strategy prevents knowledge from hardening into ossified and dogmatic forms. His is a project not just of permanent critique, but of enquiry into the permanent change of phenomena, a model that finally does justice to Hereclitus's assertion that the world exists in a state of flux: "Postmodernism … is not modernism at its end but in the nascent state, and this state is constant."[28] The humanities are gradually coming to be based on the analysis and interpretation of the construction of reality by symbolic systems like language; that is, the contingency of human life and its variable values. At the same time, and I personally feel that this is where intellectual and ethical challenges lie, that systems of meaning are constructed by societies does not render them arbitrary; such constructions come into existence through some kind of agency in some kind of material environment: often that of brute power; sometimes that of dialectical processes that involve disturbances to the preeminence of instrumental reason; and often accident. To insist that only power has the

force necessary to cement the bond between signifier and signified, a word and its meaning, is immediately self-defeating. The humanities have been struggling with this contingency for at least one hundred and fifty years in the works of thinkers like Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Said, amongst (many) others, in addition to the work of a host of contemporary thinkers, even Kant if one accepts that he never tied his thought to natural or historical necessity. This is the empirical basis for Lyotard's claims that postmodernism involves a return to modernism. Postmodernism, ironically, turns out to have a history after all.

Endnotes

[1] This article is dedicated to the memory of William Kimbrel, my close friend and confidante, in discussion with whom the thoughts laid out here were originally conceived:

> Cast a cold eye
> On life, on death.
> Horseman, pass on!
> (W. B. Yeats)

[2] M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archæology of the Human Sciences* (London, 1994), 387.

[3] L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (London, 1961), 5.

[4] M. Heidegger, *Being and Time,* trans. By J. Macquarrie & E. Robinson (Oxford, 1962).

[5] N. Mann, "The Origins of Humanism," *Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism,* edited by Jill Kraye (Cambridge, 1996), 1-2.

[6] Mann, *Ibid.,* 2.

[7] These variations on the term "humanism" as they applied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries more or less conform to contemporary usage: "There is an ethical sense of the word, meaning the belief that human beings should be accorded compassion and respect; a sociological sense, meaning that social structures are best viewed as the products of human agents; and an historical sense, denoting periods such as the Renaissance in which 'man' becomes the centre of scholarly attention." T. Eagleton, *The Illusions of Postmodernism* (Oxford, 1996), 128-29.

[8] J. F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge,* Trans. Brian Massumi (Manchester, 1984), 34-35.

[9] *Ibid.,* 35-36.

[10] *Ibid.,* 39.

[11] *Ibid.,* 44 – 47.

[12] W. Heisenberg, *Physics and Philosophy: the Revolution in Modern Science* (Harmondworth, 2000), 114–128.

[13] P. C. W. Davies & J. R. Brown, *The Ghost in the Atom: Discussion of the Mysteries of Quantum Physics* (Cambridge, 1999), 28-31 & 83-106.

[14] A. Sokal and J. Bricomont, *Intellectual Impostures: Postmodern Philosophers' Abuse of Science,* trans. Sokal and Bricomont (London, 1999).

[15] A. Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York, 1987), 13 -21.

[16] K. Spellmeyer, *Arts of Living: Reinventing the Humanities for the Twenty-first Century* (New York, 3003), 20.

[17] This is of course an overstatement and one that many self-professed postmodernists make. The claim that reality is symbolically constructed is one thing, but that all symbolic construction occurs according to the order of language is another and leads to unsupportable claims by individuals about on subjects about which they have no knowledge or experience, The seminal texts in semiotics are U. Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* (London, 1984); J. Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language,* trans. M. Waller (New York, 1984); R. Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies,* trans. A. Lavers (London, 1972); and J. Derrida, *On Grammatology,* trans. by G. Chakravorty Spivak (London, 1974).

[18] P. Fluery and N. Mansfield, *Cultural Studies and the New Humanities* (Oxford, 1998), 47-55.

[19] V. Avgyrou, "Postscript," *Divided Cyprus,* edited by Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis & G. Welz (Bloomington, 2006), 222-23.

[20] *Ibid.,* 223.

[21] Y. Navaro-Yashin, "Layer upon Layer: Politics, Psychology and Language in a Changing World," *Step-MotherTongue: From Nationalism to Multiculturalism,* edited by Mehmet Yashin (London, 2000), 184.

[22] *Ibid.,* 185.

[23] R. Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: the Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London, 2004) 152.

[24] Fluery & Mansfield, *Cultural Studies and the New Humanities,* 16.

[25] Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition,* 37, 41.

[26] J. P. Sartre, *Existentialism is a Humanism* (Harmondsworth, 1973), 28.

27 E. Said, "Preface to *Orientalism*," reprinted in *Al-Ahram Weekly* 4th – 13th August, 2003, No. 650.

28 Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition,* 79.

Notes
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A Short Report on Three Newly Accessible Churches in the Syrian Quarter of Famagusta

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The northwest corner of the walled city of Famagusta was known in the middle ages as the Syrian Quarter as many refugee communities from Syria, such as the Maronites, Jacobites, and Nestorians lived and founded their churches in that sector of the town (Fig. 1). The presence of these groups was precipitated by an exodus of Levantine, non-Latin Christians which began, more or less, in 1291 after the fall of the crusader city of Acre to the advancing armies of Saladin.[1] The Syrian Quarter is also the location of the small Armenian church, the Latin Carmelite church, an underground church called St. Mary of Bethlehem, and the scant remains of a small medieval Orthodox church excavated by the Department of Antiquities in the 1930s. Until November of 2007 three of these—the Maronite church of St. Anne, the small Orthodox church, and the Jacobite church (also known as the "Tanner's Mosque" or "Tabakhane")—were inaccessible owing to their integration into a military base in 1974. However, this area has now been opened to the public after thirty-three years and the attendant opportunity to visit justifies an assessment of the historical architecture of these previously restricted buildings. This report gives a brief account of the three churches now accessible to the public but also includes a brief description of the nearby church of St. Mary of Bethlehem which is one of Famagusta's most interesting yet least known ecclesiastical edifices.

The church of St. Anne (Figs. 2-3) is well preserved with its vaulting intact.[2] Although originally a Latin, Catholic church (probably Benedictine) it was given over to the Maronites at some point in the 14th century. The interior consists of a single hall with two groin vaulted bays and a polygonal apse with a ribbed vault over it (Fig. 4). Two transverse arches springing from corbels at the clerestory level demarcate the bays of the vaulting. In its general plan it has similarities to the now ruined St. George of the Latins in Famagusta.

The façade has a simple doorway which has been augmented with additional masonry. Perhaps there were structural concerns about the integrity of the very large lintel which may have threatened to fail under

its own considerable weight. Today the door is completely filled with concrete. In the tympanum, however, some pigments from a fresco survive and the subject matter was similar to the frescoed tympanum of St. Mary of Carmel nearby: the Virgin and Child flanked by angels. Mary's large halo and her purple shawl (the *maphorion*) are discernable, though very faded (Fig. 5). Above the portal are a row of corbels and post holes for the timber-roofed porch which was originally appended to the facade. Above this level is a single lancet window and, above that, three corbels which once carried a small, shallow wooden porch in front of the double bells which hung in the two arches of the belfry. At the top of the belfry is a flagstaff holder. Remnants of similar flagstaff holders can be found on the north and south sides of the belfry at the same level, just around the corner from the façade. More of these can be found at the top of the roof line of the north and south sides. The church must have presented a very impressive spectacle with its many richly coloured flags and banners flying in the persistent winds of Famagusta (Fig. 6). The only other decoration on the exterior is a cross carved in relief on the north wall on the west side which recent research suggests might represent good will to the Greek community or indicate the presence of a relic of the True Cross housed inside.[3]

The interior had an interesting contraption, where a pulley was stored in a shed-like room on the roof and it raised and lowered either a reliquary or candelabra through a hole in the ceiling. Whatever it was, it must have added a dramatic element to the liturgies. George Jeffery suggested that it may have lowered a model of the dove of the Holy Spirit on to the altar, though a chandelier of some sort seems more likely.[4]

There were also, at one time, significant frescos inside the church. Some indications of the original decorations are found in a photograph from the Conway Library at the Courtauld Institute in London, taken c. 1936, which shows what currently lies hidden or lost (Fig. 7).[5] Six panels depict *The Descent from the Cross*, *The Entombment*, *The Death of the Virgin*, an image of a Bishop, *The Presentation of Christ at the Temple* and *The Baptism of Christ*. This is what Enlart saw in 1896 and what was also described by Jeffery in 1917. Both complained of the advanced state of disrepair of the frescoes, not least because the church had been used as a stable until 1907.

Enlart and Jeffery both criticized a *Pentecost* scene, now lost, which the former described as "absurd" and the latter, "deplorable". Other

panels were admired, however, and their eclecticism enjoyed, where a "western" style of image-making was employed for principal characters (i.e. Christ in *The Crucifixion*) and a "Byzantine" style for other peripheral characters.[6] Such stylistic juxtapositions within a single painting might lead art historians to questions concerning cultural exchange in Cyprus from the 14th to the 16th centuries. Jaroslav Folda, for example, has made the point that Greek craftsmen were called upon to paint in Latin churches, and so represented local hands guided by foreign masters.[7] *The Crucifixion* and *The Death of the Virgin* in the church of St. Anne demonstrate strong similarities with the chapel at Pyrga which Enlart could confidently date to 1421.

The decorations were divided into at least 3 horizontal registers (Fig. 8). The top register was painted white, onto which red masonry outlines were painted. A trace of an architectural detail remains on the eastern section of the south wall, similar to a detail in *The Flagellation* in the nearby Armenian Church. A photograph taken in St. Anne's in December of 2007 (Fig. 9) shows the red painted masonry (top left), the exposure of ashlar masonry under plaster (top right), modern graffiti (bottom left), and the level of the whitewash.

The first register, at ground level, has been concreted over. The first impression is that whatever once lay beneath must now been lost. There are reasons for optimism, however, as it seems the walls were tiled before the concrete was applied. In short, the concrete does not lie directly on the painted surface. Elsewhere, a wooden protective barrier was constructed before the application of cement. One can also see, barely, the remains of *The Assumption* over the founder's tomb on the north wall. Opposite this, in the western portion of the southern wall, images of Saints Catherine and Ursula are framed within a pair of arches with an ornate and colourful vine decoration (Figs. 10-11). Their faces have gone, as has the orb that Catherine held in her left hand.[8] The palm leaf in Ursula's hand, symbolic of her martyrdom, has also vanished. Yet we can be certain of their identification, despite the loss of their attributes, as their names are painted beside their heads. On the west wall two male saints are visible, with halos in relief. Gone are the heraldic shields of Italy, the cross of Malta and the useful inscription which told Enlart not only the name of the church but also (mistakenly) the patron of the artistic work within.[9]

Though the paintings are in an advanced state of disrepair, there is yet a lot to be learned from what remains. Cyprus, and Famagusta in

particular, was a historical nexus for western and Byzantine traditions. The continual interaction with Venice, Mistra, Pisa, Constantinople and the Levantine ports of the east, must have had artistic impact.[10] S. H. Young wonders how the western influences in paintings got to Cyprus in the first place. Were they direct or filtered through Syria, Palestine and Lebanon?[11] Issues such as this led the leading scholar of Cypriot Byzantine painting, Annemarie Weyl Carr to ask:

> what was the art of the western minority: how much was it the product of western Europe directly; how much was it the product of an eastern Mediterranean cultural mélange; how much did it respond to the local, Orthodox artistic production?[12]

Another tragic loss, architectural this time, is of a lovely apsidal chapel photographed by Enlart in the 1890s which was located about 12 meters off the northwest corner of St. Anne's (Fig. 12). This elegant example of medieval architecture was still extant in 1918 when Jeffery wrote about it in his survey of the historic monuments of Cyprus.[13] How and when it was destroyed is unknown.

A hundred meters north of St. Anne's is the medieval church often referred to as the 'Tanner's Mosque' because it was used in the Ottoman period as a prayer hall for the leather tanners in that quarter of the city (Fig. 13). But the building's original function was as a church for the Jacobite community. The Jacobites were a sect from Syria that believed Christ had a single nature (that is, they rejected the notion of the Trinity) and they thus were considered heretics by the Roman Catholics. But the Jacobites, like the Nestorians and Maronites (also Arabic speaking Christians), found refuge and some degree of prosperity in Famagusta by the 14th century. Records indicate substantial Jacobite presence as early as the mid-13th century when, for example, in 1264 they are recorded as having a Bishop named Athanasius. It is likely that the other Syrian communities were also present at this earlier time. These Syriac communities, with their own religious traditions, were often at odds with their Lusignan, Catholic overlords and the papacy. Still, they found some degree of sanctuary in medieval Famagusta.

The church consists of two groin-vaulted bays, separated by a transverse rib, with a semi-circular apse with a semi-dome on top of it (the divisions are clearly demarcated by the rise and fall of the rooflines

along the north side). A 19th century drawing by Enlart gives a good sense of the interior space and its mural articulation (Fig. 14). On the exterior, the west portal has slender colonnettes in its jambs. The voussoirs consist of a distinctive zigzagging moulding—similar designs are found on the nearby Nestorian church—followed by a register of flower motifs and a row of what look like sprays of slender leaves. This leaf motif is visible on the capitals of all three of the building's portals. Framing all of this is the gothic hood mould typical of the Lusignan period. A large stone lintel has a square, raised section which may have been carved in relief— possibly a patron's coat of arms or a cross—but was chipped away when the building was converted to a mosque. At the very top of the façade is a little arch for the church's bell with flagstaff holders on either side. Two rainspouts also survive on this north side, sporting dog-like faces with their ears sticking out and their spout-mouths open.

In 1936 the remains of a small three-apse church, about 15 by 10.5 meters in size, were uncovered about 100 meters southeast of the Jacobite church. These were excavated by Mogabgab in that same year.[14] Excavation photographs from the Mogabgab Archive of the Famagusta Department of Antiquities show work proceeding in an almost empty quarter of the city (Fig. 15). The three semi-circular apses are visible today and sheltered under makeshift roofing. The boundaries of the structure are visible (Fig. 16) but otherwise the site has been obscured by a monument to Atatürk directly on the church's foundations. Mogabgab found remains of four column bases at the center of the structure, thus indicating the columnar supports for a small dome over the center of the nave (or perhaps a timber-framed construction—stone merchants were said to have ravaged this site, thus robbing architectural historians of the building materials which could have resolved the issue of the building's superstructure[15]). Two of these bases are octagonal and two more were originally circular but roughly carved to match the others. Mogabgab thought that they originated, as do so many marble fragments of Famagusta's churches, from Salamis' ruins. Several burials were found under the church's pavements, indicating that the church may have been used by an important family as a kind of funerary chapel.
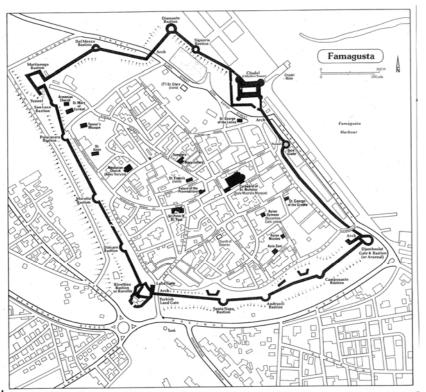
The most remarkable feature of the church is a large rock-cut cavern about 4 meters below ground level and a few feet to the south of the actual church structure (Fig. 17). Access to the grotto was from a trap door set into the flooring of the west aisle. This led down a narrow

vaulted and stepped corridor about 7 meters long. The stairway, in turn, opened up into a spacious cave over 13 meters long, 5 meters wide and about 2.5 meters high (Fig. 18). A rectangular shaft light-well, now blocked up, helped illuminate the interior. Mogabgab discovered a mass burial of numerous detached skulls. Bronze coins from the reigns of the Lusignan kings Henry II (1316-24) and James I (1382-98) helped indicate the date of the cavern. If the church was built over the grotto in the 14th century, as the coins indicate, it would place the church firmly in Famagusta's most prolific era of ecclesiastic construction. During the 1936 excavation campaign, the thin wall of stone at the south side of the grotto was broken through to facilitate the clearing of the cave. In 1974, the cave was used as a command bunker for the Turkish Army. Today, one can still gain access to the cavern by entering that lower door in a depression a few meters south of the site of the church.

Another fascinating church lies about 70 meters to the southeast of the apse of St. Anne's, just outside the fence of the former military base. From the street the building looks quite uninteresting and small, with a single door in the center of a low, arched stone façade (Fig. 19). This door, quite against expectations, opens to a flight of steps that, like the Orthodox Church just described, leads down into an underground cavern. However, this underground church is half constructed with a large pointed barrel vault and part quarried out of the solid rock (Fig. 20). At the back of the quarried section, on the left, are a couple of niches carved into the wall, supposedly a focus of devotional exercises, maybe even containing an icon or a sacred statue. Perhaps one of the niches functioned as a prothesis for liturgical preparations. On the corbel of the north strainer arch is carved the double cross associated with the Lusignans, thus indicating a medieval date consistent with the pointed vaulting of the nave. A Genoese map published by Catherine Otten-Froux, in which a church called St. Mary of Bethlehem is marked on the spot of this underground church, is the only reference which helps with an identification.[16] Otherwise, virtually nothing is known of this church and it appears in none of the standard references. Even Enlart, normally thorough, neglected it. On current tourist maps of Famagusta there is a shrine called 'The Underground Church' (located across from the football field in the northeast part of the old city) but this is merely a medieval cellar of the nearby nunnery which in later years was turned into a shrine to St. Fitou. The other two underground churches just mentioned, as well

as the church of Our Lady of the Golden Cave—the largest and most impressive of all—which is located about 100 meters off of the point of the Martinengo Bastion behind a low stone wall, form a triad of much more remarkable subterranean monuments.
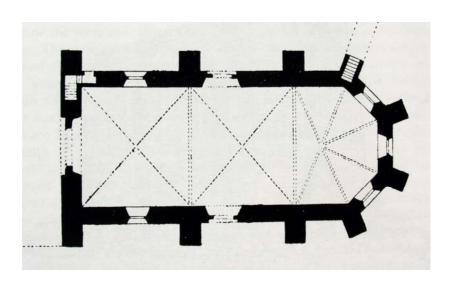
The freeing up of these monuments has been anticipated by historians of architecture and the new openness is a welcome development. However, many other important architectural monuments in North Cyprus are still inaccessible behind the fences of military installations, including such notable monuments as the church of St. John Chrysostom in the foothills just north of Güngör, the Acheiropolitos Monastery by the sea below Lapta, and the church of St. Spyridon at Erdemli. Hopefully these works of architecture will also become more accessible to the public and to scholars in the not too distant future.

Fig. 1: Plan of Famagusta's walled city with the North West corner top left.
Source: Enlart, Trigraph Edition

Fig. 2: The Maronite Church of St. Anne, Famagusta.
Photograph by Allan Langdale

Fig. 3: Plan of the Maronite Church of St. Anne, Famagusta.
Source: Enlart, Trigraph Edition

Fig. 4: Vaulting of apse of the Maronite Church of St. Anne, Famagusta.
Photograph by Wilbert 'Skip' Norman

Fig. 5: Tympanum of the Maronite Church of St. Anne, Famagusta.
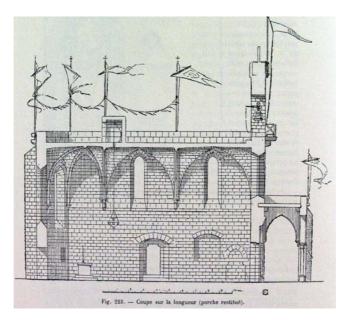Fresco of Mary and Infant Christ. Photograph by Wilbert 'Skip' Norman

Fig. 6: Drawing by Camille Enlart, c. 1890, of the Maronite
Church of St. Anne, Famagusta, with banners in flagstaffs. Source: Enlart,
Trigraph Edition

Fig. 7: Photograph taken c. 1936 by Mrs. Bardswell.
Photograph Conway Photo Archive, Courtauld Institute

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Fig. 8: Interior of Church of St. Anne, Famagusta, 2007.
Photograph by Wilbert "Skip" Norman

Fig.9: Architectural and figural elements in some surviving frescoes in the church
of St. Anne, Famagusta, 2007. Photograph by Wilbert "Skip" Norman

Fig. 10: Frescos depicting SS. Ursula and Catherine, the church of
St. Anne, Famagusta, 2007. Photograph by Wilbert "Skip" Norman

Fig. 11: Decoration of arch between SS. Ursula and Catherine,
Church of St. Anne, Famagusta, 2007. Photograph by Wilbert "Skip" Norman

Fig. 12: Photograph of lost chapel near St. Anne's.
Photograph Enlart, c. 1890

Fig. 13: The Jacobite Church ("Tanner's Mosque"), Famagusta.
Photograph by Allan Langdale
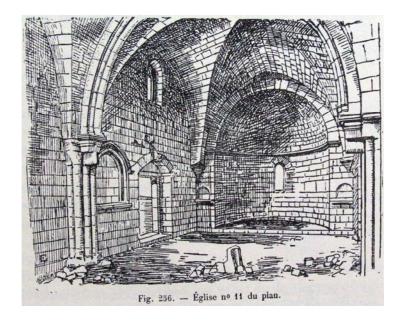
Fig. 256. — Église n⁰ 11 du plan.

Fig. 14: Drawing by Camille Enlart, c. 1890
Interior of the Jacobite Church ("Tanner's Mosque").
Source: Enlart, Trigraph Edition

Fig. 15: Excavations of the Unidentified Orthodox Church, Famagusta, 1936.
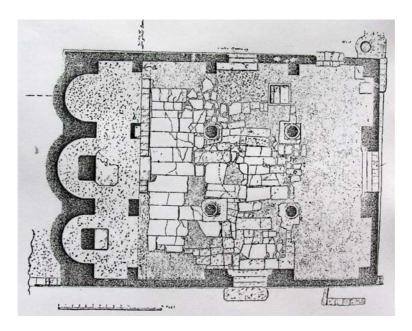Photograph Mogabgab Archive, Department of Antiquities, Famagusta

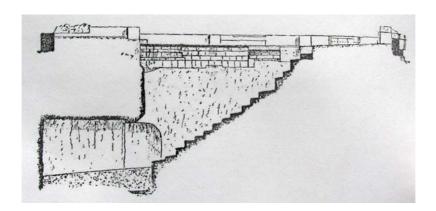Fig. 16: Plan of the Unidentified Orthodox church.
Source: Mogabgab, 1936

Fig. 17: Cut-away view of the grotto of the Unidentified Orthodox church.
Source: Mogabgab, 1936

Fig. 18: Grotto of Unidentified Medieval Orthodox church, Famagusta.
Photograph by Allan Langdale

Fig. 19: Façade of the Underground church of St. Mary of Bethlehem,
Famagusta. Photograph by Allan Langdale

Fig. 20: Interior of Underground Church of St. Mary of
Bethlehem, Famagusta. Photography by Allan Langdale

Endnotes

[1] See David Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean:
Famagusta in the Late 13th Century," in *Studies on the Crusader States and
Venetian Expansion* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1989), 145-179. See also
Peter Edbury, "Famagusta in 1300," in *Cyprus and the Crusades* (Nicosia,
1995), 337-353.

[2] Each of the standard surveys of Cypriot historical architecture contain entries on
this church, including Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in
Cyprus*, trans. David Hunt (London: Trigraph & the Leventis Foundation,
1987, [1899]), 274-280; Rupert Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus: A Guide to its Town
and Villages, Monasteries and Castles* (London: K. Rustem & Bros., 1936),
100; and George Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*
(London: Zeno Press, 1983, [1918]), 140-142. More recently, Philippe
Plagnieux and Thierry Soulard, "L'Eglise Sainte-Anne," in *L'Art Gothique en
Chypre, Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, edited by

Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plangnieux, vol 34 (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2006), 261-265. This volume also has an introduction to medieval Famagusta by Catherine Otten-Froux, 109-118

[3] Plagnieux and Soulard, 261-265.

[4] Jeffery, 140.

[5] The photographs in the Conway Archive were taken by a Mrs. Bardswell who was invited by Theophilus Mogabgab, the Director of Antiquities for the Famagusta District, to help with the documentation of Famagusta's frescoes. Bardswell also photographed frescos in Saint George of the Greeks, the Armenian Church, and the Church of St. Mary of Carmel.

[6] Enlart, 279 and Jeffery, 141.

[7] J. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus c. 1275-91," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, edited by N. Coureas & J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995). See also the issues discussed in M. Emmanuel, "Monumental Painting in Cyprus during the Last Phase of the Lusignan Dynasty, 1374 – 1489," in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, edited by N. P. Ševčenko and C. Moss (Princeton, 1999).

[8] A beaded sleeve is still clear, similar in appearance to one in the Nestorian Church on the image of Menas, whose open left hand carries a ship graffito. At St. Anne's too there is a ship graffito on the exterior wall on the south west side which bears stylistic similarities to one on the interior of the destroyed Orthodox Church of Agios Nikolaus in the Greek Quarter of Famagusta. For Ship Graffiti in Famagusta see: M. J. K. Walsh, "On of the Princypalle Havenes of the See: The Port of Famagusta and the Ship Graffiti in the Church of St. George of the Greeks," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* (Forthcoming).

[9] Enlart believed that Corands Tarigos was a Greek of Famagusta who had paid for the interior decoration of the church, but recently this has been questioned by Plagnieux and Soulard who suggest strongly that he was Genoese. Plagnieux and Soulard, 261-265.

[10] The same point was made for painting in Genoa at this time, see: Robert S. Nelson, "A Byzantine Painter in Trecento Genoa: The Last Judgement at S. Lorenzo," *The Art Bulletin* 67, 4 (December, 1985): 548 - 565.

[11] S. Hatfield Young, *Byzantine Painting in Cyprus During the Early Lusignan Period* (Unpublished PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1983), 11.

[12] A. Weyl-Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," in *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades* (Ashgate Var., 2005), 240.

[13] Jeffery, 142.

[14] Theodore Mogabgab, "An Unidentified Church in Famagusta," in *Report of the Department of Antiquities 1936*, Part II (Nicosia, 1936), 86-96.

[15] Mogabgab thought that the church may have initially had a dome supported by sturdier piers, but that the dome may have collapsed and been replaced by the columns and a lighter, timber roofing.

[16] Reproduced in Catherine Otten-Froux, "Notes sur quelques monuments de Famagouste à la fin du Moyen Age," in *Mosaic: Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, edited by J. Herrin, M. Mullett, C. Otten-Froux (London: British School at Athens Studies, 2001), 145-154.

Literature Review

Literatür Taraması

Kıbrıs'ta Kadın/Toplumsal Cinsiyet Çalışmaları ve Kadın Hareketi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme

Hanife Aliefendioğlu
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Özet

Bu çalışma kadın hareketi ve kadın çalışmaları bağlamında Kıbrıs'taki sürecin tarihine göz atarak, son dönem gelişmelerine odaklanır. Buna göre varolan kadın hareketindeki yenilikler, akademik alandaki kadın çalışmaları grup, merkez ve insiyatifleri, Birleşmiş Milletler ve Avrupa Birliği'nin ülke gündemlerine taşıdığı toplumsal cinsiyet bakış açısı kabul görmüştür. İki toplumlu görüşmelerde kadınların edindikleri deneyim ise Kıbrıs sorununun toplumsal cinsiyet bileşeni olmadan artık ele alınmayacağına dair tartışmaların önünü açmıştır. Bu gelişmeler ışığında, adada özellikle kuzey kesiminde kadın hareketinin kalıcı ve kapsayıcı bir feminist harekete yol açabileceğine ilişkin bir oluşum umut vericidir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Toplumsal cinsiyet, Kadın Çalışmaları, Feminist hareket, Kıbrıs sorunu, uyuşmazlıkların çözümü.

Abstract

This article deals with women's movements and studies in Cyprus, focusing on the latest developments in these fields. In Cyprus women's movements, academic women study groups, centres and initiatives have adopted the views of social gender that has been put forward by European Union and United Nations in their member states. The experiences in bi-communal meetings and discussions with social gender components and formations point out that, especially in northern Cyprus, there is a hope for a lasting and incorporating feminist movement.

Keywords: Social gender, women studies, feminist movement, Cyprus Problem, conflict resolution.

Kadın çalışmaları olarak bilinen alan genç bir alandır. Feminist hareketin akademik dünyadaki yansıması ya da feminist hareket içindeki akademisyenlerin hareketin felsefesini üniversitelere taşımaları, özellikle sosyal ve beşeri bilimler içinde başlangıçta erkek egemen bir epistemolojinin teksesliliğini sorgulayarak saygın bir yer kazandı. Kadın çalışmaları, hem farklı çalışma disiplinlerinden gelenlere birlikte çalışma zemini oluşturuyor, hem de eleştirel düşüncenin akademide kazandığı önemin ciddi bir ayağını oluşturuyordu. Bu alan ilk olarak bireyi erkek ve kadın yapan sürecin biyoloji ve fizyolojiden çok az etkilendiğini ve

cinsiyetler arası eşitsizlik yaratan bu farkın ideolojik ve söyleme dayalı olduğunu, dolayısıyla değişime açık olduğu fikrini işledi.[1]

İkinci dalga feministler kadın sorunlarının kökeninde ataerkilliğin yattığını savundular. Ataerkillik kapitalizmden ayrı bir özerk üretim tarzı olarak, kadınların hem özel hem de kamusal alanda hem üretim hem de yeniden üretime harcadıkları emeğe erkekler tarafından el konulması anlamına geldiği gibi, kadınlar üzerindeki tüm baskı mekanizmalarının en eskisi olan sistematik bir baskıyı ifade ediyordu. İkinci dalga feminizm, bugünkü kadını erkeğin ardılı olarak gören anlayışın ataerkilliğin bir uzantısı olduğuna, eşitsizliğin kökenlerinin burada aranması gerektiğine işaret eder.

Liberal düşünceden bu yana kadınların ve erkeklerin eşit, vazgeçilmez ve devredilemez haklarla donatılmış olduğunun kabülü, 1980li yıllara gelindiğinde sarsılarak uluslararası dokümanlarda "kadının insan hakları" kavramının gündeme gelmesiyle son buldu. Buna göre kadın hakları diye bilinen şey kadınların insan haklarından kendi paylarını talep etmelerinden başka birşey değildi.

Yeni feminizm, kadın ve erkek arasında eşitlik konusunun ötesine giden bir ufukla farklılık politikalarının önemini vurgular. Geleneksel eşitlik anlayışı erken liberal dönemin eşitlik anlayışıdır: "Erkek ve kadın aynı şekilde yaklaşılması" demek kadının erkek gibi görülmesi demektir. Farklı davranıldığında da, erkek bir norm olarak durmaktadır; bu durumda erkekteki özellikler kadındaki eksiklerdir.[2] Farklılık politikaları ise kadınların erkeklerden farkılıkları kadar, kadınların kendi aralarındaki başka ölçütlere göre ayrışmalarını dikkate alan bir anlayış getirmiştir.

Feminist hareketin bir başka başarısı özel alanla ilgili tartışmaları bir kamusal sorun haline getirmesinde yatmaktadır. Buna göre, modernite ile giderek büyüyen özel ve kamusal alan arasındaki uçurum kapanmalı ve kadının özel hayatını güvence altına alan, ona seçme şansı veren anlayış benimsenmelidir. Özel alana ilişkin sorgulamalarla ortaya çıkarılan bilginin politikleştirilmesi süreci birçok ülkede kadın hareketine güç vermiştir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramı toplumsal olarak belirlenmiş cinsiyeti, biyolojik olandan ayırmak için önerilmiştir. Cinsiyet insanların doğuştan biyolojik olarak belirlenmiş dişillik ve erillik özelliklerini tanımlarken, toplumsal cinsiyet ise toplumsallaşma süreci ve kültürün içinde edinilen kadın ve erkek olma özelliklerine işaret eder. Kadınların ve erkeklerin toplumsal olarak üstlenmiş oldukları işlerin, yerine getirdikleri rollerin,

doğal ve kendiliğinden bir iş bölümünün sonuçları olmaktan çok genelde kültürel olarak belirlenmiş ve zaman içinde değişebilir olduklarını gösterir. Kadınla erkek arasındaki farklılık kültürel deneyimden ve kültürel beklentilerden kaynaklanır. Buna göre kadınların biyolojik cinsiyetinden kaynaklanan doğurma ve emzirme gibi davranışları dışında bütün davranışları sosyaldir, öğrenilmiş ve değişmeye açıktır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ulusları kuruluşların gündeminde de çoktan yerini aldı. 1995 yılında Pekin'de gerçekleştirilen 4. Dünya Kadın Konferansı'ndaki temel değişim "toplumsal cinsiyet" kavramının kadın gündemine girmesi oldu. Kadın erkek arasındaki tüm ilişkileri yeniden değerlendirmeye olanak tanıyan bu kavramın benimsenmesi ve tanıtımı kadının insan haklarının yeniden ve güçlü bir şekilde gündeme getirilmesini sağladı.

Kıbrıs'ta Kadın

Kıbrıs'ta kadınların kamusal yaşama katılmasının hiç de kısa olmayan bir tarihi ve öyküsü var. Hadjipavlou son çalışmalarından birinde Kuzey Kıbrıslı kadınların daha çok sendikalar içinde aktif olduklarını gösteriyor. Ancak biraz daha geriye bakıldığında kadın örgütlerinin etkinliklerinin oldukça geniş bir perspektife uzandığı görülüyor. [3]

Kadınların 20. yüzyıl başında elde ettikleri orta okula devam hakkı, zamanla kadınları çeşitli toplumsal sorunların etrafında topladı ve ilk kadın dernekleri 1930'lu yıllardan başlayarak kuruldu. Uzman-İnan ve Atalay'ın çalışması, dönemlerine göre dernek çatısı altında yer alan kadın örgütlerinin tarihleri ve etkinliklerini işleyen bir başvuru kaynağı.[4] Örneğin Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti döneminde 1962'de kurulan ve 1964 yılına dek faal olan Limasol Yardım Sevenler Derneği'nin daha çok bölgedeki çatışmaların kurban ve mağdurlarına sağlık ve gıda desteği sağladığını görüyoruz. Bu dernek aynı zamanda 1974 yılına dek görülen son kadın derneğidir.[5] Adada yaşayan halkların ortak örgütleri 1950lerde başlayan gerginlik ve çatışmalar nedeniyle çalışamaz duruma gelince, kadın kuruluşları açısından uzun süren bir sessizlik başlar. 1969 yılında sadece Türk kadınlarının faaliyet gösterdiği Beyarmudu Türk Kadınlar Birliği, Kıbrıs Türk Kız İzci Örgütü gibi örgütler, askerlere, evsizlere yardım sağlayan, moral veren yardım kuruluşları olarak faaliyet göstermeye başlar.

1975 yılından başlayarak sayıları hızla artan kadın dernekleri güneyden kuzeye göç eden ailelerin uyum sorunlarıyla ilgilenir. Birleşmiş Milletler'in Dünya Kadın Yılı ilan ettiği 1975 yılında kadın eylemlilikleri

artık Kıbrıs'ta da kendini gösterir: 20 Nisan 1975 tarihinde Rum kadınları dünya kadınlarından da aldıkları desteklerle Derinya ve Frenaros bölgesine bir yürüyüş düzenler. Bu eylemden haberdar olan Kuzeyde Türk kadınlarının kurduğu Kıbrıs Türk Kadınlar Komitesi, Mağusa ve Lefkoşa'da geniş katılımlı eylemler düzenler.[6] Bu oluşum aynı zamanda Kıbrıs Türk Kadınlar Konseyi Derneği'nin de kuruluşuna zemin oluşturur. Dernek yardım faaliyetlerinin yanı sıra konferans ve toplantılar düzenleyerek eğitim ve bilinç yükseltme çalışmaları da yürütür. 1977 yılında kurulan Yurtsever Kadınlar Birliği sosyalist hareketten aldığı esinle ilk kez anneliğin sosyal bir görev olduğunun altını çizer, kadının emeğinin ve ekonomik özgürlüğünü gündeme getiren yeni bir ses olur.[7]

1960lı yıllar etnik gerginlik ve çatışmanın etkisiyle yardım ve destek amaçlı çalışan ve faaliyetlerine son vermek zorunda kalan kadın kuruluşları, 1974 sonrasında doğan benzer ihtiyaçların sonucunda aynı ya da farklı adlar altında yeniden faaliyetlerine başlar. Bu dernekler arasında yerel nitelikte olanlar (Lapta Alsancak Karşıyaka Kadınlar Birliği, Yeni Boğaziçi Kadınlar Derneği) kadar ulusal olup şubeler ağıyla çalışanlar da vardı. Bu dönemde örgütler çatışma ve göç sonrası yaraların sarılması kadar, kadın konulu bir gündemin yaratılması gibi yeni bir etkinlik içindedirler.

1990lı yıllara gelindiğinde Kıbrıs Türk Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği, Kıbrıs Türk Çalışan Kadınlar Birliği yüksek eğitim görmüş kadınları biraraya getirerek ve çalışan kadınların sorunlarını ve onlara ilişkin çözüm önerilerini dile getiren yeni gündemleriyle Kuzey Kıbrıs sivil toplumundaki yerlerini alırlar. 1995 yılında kurulan Kıbrıs Kadın Platformu, kadın kuruluşlarının birlikte etkinlik düzenleyip, imza attıkları, çağrılar yaptıkları bir zemin olması bakımından önemlidir. Sevgül Uludağ'ın çalışmasında, Platform'da Kıbrıs Kadınlar Birliği, Kadınlar Konseyi Derneği, Yurtsever Kadınlar Birliği, Federal Çözüm ve Barış İçin Kadın Hareketi, Kadın Araştırmaları Merkezi, Çalışan Kadınlar Birliği ve Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği'nin bulunduğunu ve bu ortaklıkla seslerini birleştirerek başarılı lobi çalışmalara imza attığını görürüz. Uzman-İnan ve Atalay'ın da belirttiği gibi bu başarıların arasında, 1985 yılında Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından ülkelerin imzasına açılan, Kadınlara Karşı Her Türlü Ayrımcılığın Önlenmesi Sözleşmesi'nin Türkiye tarafından imzalanmasının ardından, Kıbrıs Türk kadın dernekleri de ayrımcılık konusunu gündemlerine alırlar. Ayrıca birçok ortak çalışma, toplantı, yayın ve bildiride aktivistler daha sonra milletvekili veya aday

olarak ortaya çıkar. 1995 yılında Birleşmiş Milletler Kadınlara Karşı Her Türlü Ayrımcılığın Önlenmesi Sözleşmesi'nin imzalandığını ve Devlet Bakanlığı bünyesinde, Kadın ve Aile Sorunları Birimi'nin kurulduğunu görürüz.[8]

Uludağ çalışmasında kadınlarda özgüven eksikliği, kadın dayanışmasını yetersizliği, kadınların ekonomik bağımlılıkları, sivil toplum örgütlerinde kadınların sayısal ve oransal azlığı ve buna bağlı olarak karar verme düzeylerindeki azlığını kadınların kamusal alanda var olmalarının önünde engel olarak sıralarken, tüm dünyada olduğu gibi Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini ortadan kaldırmaya yönelik destek mekanizmalarının yokluğuna dikkat çeker.[9]

Lisaniler ve Uğural (2001) ise kadınların Kuzey Kıbrıs işgücü pazarındaki yerlerini irdeledikleri makalenin başında yasalar karşısında kadın ve erkek arasında eşitliğin varlığından söz ederler. 1998 Ocak ayında kabul edilen Aile Yasası bunların başında gelir. İş yaşamında aktif olarak yer alan kadınların %80'i hizmet sektöründedir.[10] Bütün dünyada olduğu gibi bu temsil üst düzey karar alma mekanizmalarına gelince kadınların aleyhine işleyen diğer mekanizmalar nedeniyle kırılır. 2001 yılında KTÜKD tarafından gerçekleştirilen ve sonuçları yine dernek tarafından kitaplaştırılan "Eğitim ve İstihdamda Cinsiyet Profili" araştırması emek piyasası sonuçları açısından kadın ve erkekler arasındaki eşitsizliklerin yanı sıra Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine de ışık tutmaktadır. Çalışabilir yaştaki 100 kadından sadece 40 tanesi işgücüne katılır. Kadının ev dışında ücretli bir işte çalışmasına ilişkin, ancak ev dışındaki bu uğraşlarını aile düzenini bozmayacak, aile içi sorunlara neden olmayacak ve çocuğun/ların eğitimini olumsuz yönde etkilemeyecek şekilde düzenlemesi halinde toplumsal bir kabül vardır.[11]

Kadın Çalışmaları

Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta, kadın ve toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları Türkiye'de 1990larda gelişen eğilimi izledi[12] Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Kadın Araştırmaları ve Eğitimi Merkezi (DAÜ-KAEM) Kasım 1998 tarihinde kuruldu. Kuruluş amaçları arasında, DAÜ'de ve kamuoyunda, akademik ve idari ortamı toplumsal cinsiyete duyarlı hale getirmek yer alır. KAEM kamouyunda çeşitli alanlarda başarılı olmuş kadınların ödüllendirilmesi, sayısız sergi, birçok TV programı, aile içi şiddet, politikada kadın gibi konularda paneller, film gösterimleri, kitap basımı gibi birçok işe

imzasını atar. KAEM ayrıca KKTC'de kadın profili araştırması gerçekleştirir. Basılmayan araştırmanın sonuçları koordinatör Aysel Aziz tarafından 8 Mart 2001'de kamuoyuna duyurulur. DAÜ-KAEM kuruluşundan bu yana iki uluslararası konferans düzenler: 29-30 Nisan 2004 tarihleri arasında I. Kadın Araştırmaları Kongresi'ne 63 katılımcı 50 bildiri ile katılır. 27-28 Nisan 2006 tarihleri arasında 'Tabuları Aşmak' temasıyla düzenlenen II. Konferansta 24 ülkeden 97 bildiri sunulur. Kadın/Woman 2000 adlı akademik dergi kısa bir süre sonra KAEM'in yayın organı olur ve halen bu konudaki tek akademik dergi olarak yayına devam eder.

Bu alandaki yeni bir gelişme olarak Girne Amerikan Üniversitesi Toplumsal Cinsiyet Çalışmaları yüksek lisans programının Kasım 2006'da açılmış olmasıdır. Aynı şekilde DAÜ-KAEM de hem yeni mezun öğrenciler hem de halen çalışan profesyonlere yönelik bir yüksek lisans programı açma hazırlıkları içindedir.

Güney Kıbrıs'a bakıldığında, güneyin en büyük akademik kuruluşu olan Intercollege ile yakın bağları olan Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, bir sivil toplum projesi olarak güçlenme eğitimleri, uluslararası barış inisiyatifi, basım ve yayım çalışmalarıyla dikkat çeker.[13]

Ulusal Fırsat Eşitliği Mekanizması

Uluslararası karar, sözleşme ve dokümanlar toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği konusunda kamu kuruluşlarının ve ulus devletlerin adım atmasına yönelik önemli bir yaptırım çerçevesi oluştururlar. Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta hem Birleşmiş Milletler hem de Avrupa Birliği dokümanları çerçevesinde bu yükümlülükler altına girmiştir. 1995 yılında imzalanan ve Pekin Eylem Platformu bu konuda en yetkin ve kapsayıcı dokümandır. Bu belge aynı zamanda feminist söylemin resmi dokümanlara girmesinin bir kanıtıdır. Bu dokümanlar birçok kadın grubunun kurulmasına, var olanların hareketlenmesine yol açtı; birçok grubunun rengini ve sesini değiştirdi onlara cesaret verdi ve meşru dayanak sağladı. Birçok ülkenin ve etnik grubun gündemine taşınan sosyal sorunlara toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifiyle bakma anlayışı bu Eylem Platformu'nun büyük etkisi olduğu gibi yine birçok ülkede fırsat eşitliği mekanizmalarının kurulması da bu belgeleri imzalayan ülkelerin bir görevi oldu.

KKTC de yukarıda belirtilen uluslararası yükümlülükler çerçevesinde yakın tarihte Meclis bünyesinde Cinsiyetler arası eşitlik komitesini kurmuştur. Siyasal parti grupları temsilcilerinden oluşacak

olan Komite'nin görevleri, cinsler arası eşitliğin sağlanması için cinsiyet ayrımcılığı içeren yasaları saptamak ve düzeltilmesi yönünde yasa önerileri hazırlayarak Meclis Başkanlığına sunmak veya yasa taslakları hazırlayarak ilgili Bakanlıklara iletmek yer alır. Uluslararası mevzuatı izleyip uluslararası kuruluşlarla bu konuda işbirliği yapmak da Komite'nin görevleri arasında yer alır.[14]

Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Cumhuriyet Meclisi'nin 26 Şubat, 2002 tarihli birleşiminde kabul edilen Kadın Çalışmaları Dairesi'nin kuruluş amaçları arasında, "kadın haklarını korumak, geliştirmek;" "kadınların sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel ve siyasi yaşamdaki işlevlerini güçlendirmek;" "kadının sağlık, sosyal ve hukuki güvenliğini sağlamak;" "eşit haklara sahip bireyler olarak kadınların toplumsal yaşamda yer almalarını ve kalkınma sürecine etkin katılımlarını gerçekleştirerek çağdaş aile yapısının güçlenmesini sağlamak;" kadını korumak ve desteklemek olarak belirtilir.[15]

Mayıs 2004'te Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin Avrupa Birliği (AB) üyesi olması AB'nin her alanda olduğu gibi toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği alanında da çalışmalarını izlemeyi gerektirdi. Bu konudaki etkinlik ve kararların hem devlet hem de sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından ülke gündemine girmesi kaçınılmaz olacaktır.[16]

Kıbrıs Sorununa Kadın Bakış Açısından Yaklaşım

Güney Kıbrıslı Rum antropolog Peter Loizos *Buruklaşan Yürek* başlıklı kitabında önceki çalışmalarındaki bir eksiklik olarak toplumsal cinsiyeti analizine katmadığını not ederek, bundan sonraki araştırmaları için "kadın çalışmalarının çanlarına kulaklarının açık" olduğunu belirtir.[17] O günden bu güne Kıbrıs'ın her iki yakasında kadınlar konusunda yazan kadınların (ve erkeklerin) sayısı ve sesleri arttı.[18]

Heryerde olduğu gibi Kıbrıs'ta da kadınlar neyi kaybettiklerini ya da neye hiç sahip olmadıklarını bilmediklerinden toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin bir sorun olması zorlaşıyor. Kıbrıslı kadınlar da çoğunlukla statüko ile bir sorunları olmayan yaşamlarının eskisine göre daha iyi olduğuna inanırken, bireysel kimliklerini değil topluluksal kimliklerini öne çıkarıp, kendilerinden bahsetmek yerine dinlemeyi tercih ediyorlar. Kadınların kendi ihtiyaçları ve gelişimleri onların başkalarına hizmet etme görevinden sonra geliyor.[19] Cockburn kitabındaki görüşmesinde Maria Hadjipavlou, kadınların iktidarla kurduğu ilişkileri sınıflar ve Kıbrıs'ta kadınların "potansiyel olarak iktidar" değil 'tahakküm olarak

iktidar' alanında yaşadıklarını ve hatta bunu içselleştirmiş olduklarını belirtir.[20] Buna göre Kıbrıs'ta kadınların iktidarla ilişkisi daha çok erteleme, baskı ve sessizleştirme süreçleir üzerinden yürüyor.

Bryant (2004), Peristiany (1965), Loizos (1980)'un da belirttiği gibi Kıbrıs bir Akdeniz ve yakın doğu coğrafyası olarak özellikle antropolojik çalışmalarda "utanç ve namus" kompleksi içinde yer alır. Bu örüntü içinde kadınların namusu erkekler üzerinden temsil edilir. Dolayısıyla erkeğin toplumsal prestiji üzerindeki etkisi nedeniyle kadın, toplumsal kontrol ve baskı altında tutulur.[21] Akdeniz kültürlerinde herhangi bir şiddet olayı kişinin ve o kişinin şahsında cemaatin prestijini zedeleyen ağır bir saldırı olarak görülür.[22] Bunun en uç hali, en yaralayıcı olanı cinsel saldırıdır. Bu durumda en kolay hedef olan kadınlara saldırı, o topluluğun erkeklerini ve erkekliği en çok zedeleyen bir saldırı haline gelir.[23]

Güneyde ve kuzeyde kadın örgütleri veya kadınlar tarafından oluşturulan gruplar ataerkil kurumların milliyetçi gündemlerine toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifinden bakmakta başarılı oldular. Hadjipavlou'nun belirttiği gibi iki toplum arasındaki heyetlerde üst düzey bir tek kadın bürokrat bulunmaması, yirmi beş yıldır adanın her iki tarafındaki yönetimlerin çözüm uğraşlarında kadınların bakış açılarını görmezden gelmelerinin bir kanıtı olmalıdır.[24]

1990ların ikinci yarısında başlayan iki toplumlu grup çalışmaları, adada birçok oluşumun ilk adımını attığı gibi kadın gruplarının da oluşmasına yol açtı. Güneyli ve kuzeyli kadınları biraraya getiren iki toplumlu etkinlikler, kadınların barış ve birarada yaşama konusunda söyleyecekleri olduğunu kamuoyuna duyurduğu gibi, kadınların da kendi güçlerinin farkına varmalarını sağladı.[25] En önemli adım hiç kuşkusuz Kıbrıslı kadınların içinden geldikleri ve içselleştirmiş oldukları ataerkil söylemi sorgulayabilmeleri oldu. Çatışmayı ve bölünmeyi cinsiyetsiz bir olgu sayan erkek sesine muhalefet, aynı dönemlerde oluşan iki toplumlu kadın gruplarıyla daha çok duyulmaya başladı. "İki Toplumlu Uzlaşmazlıkların Çözümü Kadın Grubu," 1997'de Brüksel Kadın Grubu olarak anılan yirmi beş Türk ve yirmi beş Rum kadından oluşan grup "Barışa Bir Şans Verin: Kıbrıslı Kadınlar Konuşuyor'' konferansına katıldılar.[26]

Cynthia Cockburn adanın her iki tarafındaki kadınların kendi toplumlarını ataerkil bulduğunu aktarır. Militarize olmuş ve taraflı söylemler arasında kamusal hayata damgasını vuran ataerkillik, hem

güneydeki ve hem de kuzeydeki kadınlar "cam tavanın" ve ataerkil/militarist kültürün kendilerini dışladığının, politikanın erkeklerin başarısı üzerine kurulmuş olduğunu ve işlediğini belirten kadınlar, siyasilerin kadınların katkılarına değer vereceğine inanmıyor.[27] Maria Hadjıpavlou da *Kıbrıs Topuluklarında Kadınlar: Kadınların Hayatını Yorumlamak* başlıklı kitabında Kıbrıs'ta kadınların çoğunun erkeklerden farklı bir kimlikleri olduğunu kabul ettiklerini aktarırken, kendilerini birinin eşi, kızı, kızkardeşi veya annesi olmaktan öte bağımsız kişilikler olarak gördüklerini belirtir.[28]

Yuval-Davis and Anthias çatışma bölgelerinde askeri ve güvenlikle ilgili önceliklerden dolayı toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği sorunlarının çok ihmal edildiğini ve dikkate alınmadığını söyler.[29] Kadınların devletin kök salmasında ulusun oluşturulmasında çok özel yerleri vardır.[30] Kandiyoti'nin belirttiği gibi kadınlar, kültürel bütünlüğün sağlanmasında öne sürülen aktörler olduğu gibi, etnik gerginlik arttığında ya da etnik çatışma durumunda vatandaşlık hakları ellerinden ilk alınan ya da dondurulan kesim oluyorlar. Hadjipavlou'nun çalışması da Kıbrıslı kadınların çoğunluğunun kadın erkek eşitliği sorunlarının Kıbrıs sorunun gölgesinde kaldığını teslim ediyor.[31] Aynı saptama Cockburn'un çalışmasında da destekleniyor. Bu aslında kadın sorunları için iktidar sahiplerinin hep öne sürdüğü bir eylemsizlik gerekçesi. Militarizm konusunda çalışan feminist teorisyenler ise çatışmanın veya çatışma olasılığının toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği sorunu ve mücadelesinin önünü kapattığını kabul ediyor. Kuzey ve Güney Kıbrıs arasındaki yeşil hattın "sadece toprakları değil düşünceleri, anıları, söylemi ve tarihi de böldüğü''nü dile getiriyor.[32]

Örneğin Hadjipavlou iki Toplumlu Kadın Grubu'nun atölye çalışmaları sırasında tanımlanan sorun kategorilerinden biri olarak tanımlanan kimlik ve yapısal koşullar altında bir ulusal bütünlük oluşturmak için yine erkekler tarafından yaratılan düşman, erkekleri, kurtarıcı ve koruyucu haline getiriyorken, kadınlar bu ulusallığın yeniden üreticileri ve aktarıcıları olarak kalırlar.[33] İki toplumlu kadınlar grubu eğitim sisteminin gençleri ataerkil çatışma fikriyle büyüttüğü ve ulusal duruşların hep karşı tarafın saldırganlıklarına karşı olmak yönünde kurulduğunu gördüler. Tarihsel/politik koşullara bakıldığında, iki toplumlu kadın grubu, geçmişteki benzerliklere vurgu yapmak ve güvenliği insanların güvenliği ile sınırlı tutmak, güvenliği karşılıklı güven ve işbirliği olarak görmekteydi.[34]

Kıbrıs'ta kadın hareketi, Kıbrıs sorununa toplumsal cinsiyet analizi gerektiğinin farkındalar. Sınırları Aşan Eller (SAE) 2001 Mart'ından bu yana aktif olan hükümet dışı ve gönüllü bir kadın kuruluşu. Kadınların bakış açısının değişime katkısı olacağına inanan her iki toplumun kadınlarını bir araya getiren kuruluş, milliyetçiğin iflas etmiş bir söylem olduğunu dile getirerek, kağıt üzerinde kalan anlaşmalar değil, toplumsal cinsiyeti de içeren yeni bir bakış açısı değişikliği ve işleyen bir eşitlik istediklerini anlatıyorlar.[35]

Feminist Harekete Doğru

Kadınlar feminizmi de bugüne kadar erkeklerin dilinden öğrendiklerini keşfeden Kıbrıslı kadınlar feminist kimliği benimsemenin faturasının ağır olduğunu biliyor. Cockburn, feminist akademik teoriden beslenmeyen kadınların da, Gramsci'nin organik entellektüelleri gibi, baskıya ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalmaktan dolayı, bir farkındalık ve bilinç geliştireceklerini söyler.[36] Hadjıpavlou ise feminist çatışma-çözüm yaklaşımının etnik milliyet kimliğinin toplumsal cinsiyet kimliği değişmedikçe değişmeyeceğini belirtir.[37]

Cockburn ve Hadjipavlou'nun çalışmaları başta olmak üzere bu konuda oluşan yeni literatür adada erkek egemen toplumsal cinsiyet düzenine karşı meydan okuyacak bir kadın hareketinin varlığına işaret eder. Cockburn bu hareketin güçlü olmamasını Kıbrıs'taki bölünmüşlüğün diğer sorunları gölgede bırakması; kimlik politikasının Kıbrıs solunun gündemine hiç girmemiş olması ve coğrafi konumuna karşın Kıbrıs'ın dünyadaki alternatif politik hareketleri barındırmıyor olamsı gibi nedenlere bağlar. Cockburn, bir adım daha ileri giderek bu güçlü kadın hareketini feminist harekete dönüşmesi üzerine bir öneri ve/ya öngörüde bulunur: Bu hareket bütün baskı biçimlerine karşı ve dolayısıyla *bütüncül* olmalı; kadınlarda ve erkeklerde yarattığı farkıdanlıkla *dönüştürücü* bir feminizm olmalıdır. *Geleceğe dönük* ve kadınları ve erkekleri içeren *kapsayıcı* olmalıdır. En önemlisi bu hareket kadınalr arasında başka baskı biçimleri üretmeyen kadınların arasındaki farklılıkları gören ve tanıyan bir hareket olmalıdır.[38]

Sonuç Yerine

Kadın ve toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları alanı yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi çok çeşili kollardan Kıbrıs'ın gündemine girmiştir. Adadaki eğitim alanındaki liberal anlayış, kadınları kamusal alana çekmede elverişli bir

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altyapı oluşturur. Öte yandan adanın çatışmalı tarihi kadınları yardım faaliyetlerine çekerek ilk kadın örgütlenmelerinin yolunu açar. Bu örgütlenmelere kısa süre içinde Yurtsever Kadınlar Birliği gibi daha politik ve Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği gibi akademik örgütler katılır. Kadın örgütleri birlikte çalışma deneyimlerini uluslararası toplantı ve etkinliklerin verdiği ivmeden de alırlar. Dördüncü Dünya Kadın konferansı ve Pekin Eylem Platformu[39] ve Pekin+5[40] dokümanları merkezi otoritelere uygulama yükümlüğü getiren belgeler olarak kadın hareketinin duruşunu güçlendirerek, taleplerini haklı zemine dayandırmalarına olanak sağladı. Kıbrıs sorununda üst düzey bürokratlar dışında, sivil toplumun katkısını ve taleplerini gündeme taşıyan iki toplumlu görüşmeler Kıbrıslı kadınlar için de bir platform oluşturdu. Bu görüşmeler yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi Cynthia Cockburn gibi uluslararası akademik isimlerin ilgisini çekti ve yeni bir literatür oluşturdu.

Kısaca Kıbrıs'ta hem sivil toplum, hem kadın hareketi hem de Kıbrıs sorunu etrafında odaklanan tartışmalar bağlamında, hızı ve tanınınırlığı giderek artan bir hareketlenme vardır. Kıbrıs'ta resmi söylemin dışında bir söylem yaratacak olan bu yolda kadınların sesinin daha çok duyulacağını söyleyebiliriz. Kıbrıs'ta kadınların barışı kurabilme gücünü tanıyan uluslararası bir konsensusun varlığına dikkate çeken bu yeni politik sesin adadaki hak arama hareketinde akademik ve akademik olmayan bileşenleriyle feminist bir yapılanmaya gideceği öngörülebilir.[41]

Dipnotlar

[1] H. Afshar ve M. Maynard, "Gender and Ethnicity at the Millennium: From Margin to Center," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23 (2000): 805-819; 805.

[2] A. Philips, *Democracy and Difference* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), 45; Scott ve Walby alıntıları R. Lister, "Dilemmas in Engendering Citizenship," *Gender and Citizenship in Transition,* derleyen Barbara Hobson (London, Routledge, 2000), 51. Daha fazla bilgi için bkz. Ruth Lister.

[3] M. Hadjipavlou, Women in the Cypriot Communities: Interpreting Women's Lives (Nicosia: Peace Center, 2003), 91.

[4] B. Uzman-İnan ve M. Atalay *Kıbrıs Türkünün Değişim ve Gelişiminde Kıbrıs Türk Kadın Dernekleri.* Cilt II (Gazimağusa: Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1998).

[5] *Ibid.*, 170.

[6] *Ibid.*, 26-27.

[7] *Ibid.*, 39-43.

[8] *Ibid.*, 118.

[9] S. Uludağ, *Politikada Strateji ve Planlanma* (Lefkosa: Kadın Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayını, 1998), 41-42.

[10] F. Güven-Lisaniler & S. Uğural, "Occupational Segregation: the Position of Women in the North Cyprus Labor Market," Kadın/Woman 2 (2001): 117-131.

[11] F. Güven-Lisaniler, *Kadının Statüsünün Tesbiti: Kadın Erkek Eşitliğine Doğru Bir Adım. KTÜKD Yayını* (Gazimağusa: DAÜ Basımevi, 2003).

[12] Türkiye'de ilk olarak İstanbul Universitesinde Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi açıldı. Bu merkezi Ankara, Çukurova, Marmara, Gazi, Ege, Gaziantep, Mersin, 100. Yıl, Çankaya, 9 Eylül ve Atılım Üniversitelerinin kadın araştırma ve uygulama merkezleri takip etti. Bunun yanı sıra ODTÜ, Istanbul, Ankara ve Ege Üniversitelerindeki merkezler kadın çalışmaları yüksek lisans programları açtılar.

[13] Bakınız http://www.medinstgenderstudies.org/wp/.

[14] KKTC Meclisi, *Tutanak Dergisi,* 2066/2. http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:9ha4MFkwM80J:www.cm.gov.nc.tr/ftp/tutanak/D6Y2/b42.doc+Yasalardaki+Cinsiyet+Ayr%C4%B1mc%C4%B1l%C4%B1%C4%9F%C4%B1n%C4%B1+%C4%B0zleme+Komitesinin+kurulmas%C4%B1na+ve+bu+komitenin+olu%C5%9Fumunun,+g%C3%B6revlerinin+ve+%C3%A7al%C4%B1%C5%9Fma+esaslar%C4%B1n%C4%B1n+a%C5%9Fa%C4%9F%C4%B1da&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1.

[15] Bakınız http://www.mahkemeler.net/mahkeme-web-t/birlestirilmis/12-2002.doc.

[16] 12-15 aralık 2006 tarihleri arasında AB Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Fırsat Eşitliği konularındaki çalışmaları izlemek üzere düzenlenen gezi ekibine eşitlik ilkesi zedelendiği için bazı Kuzey Kıbrıs kadın örgütleri katılmadı ve AB Kıbrıs Temsilciliği'ne protesto mesajı gönderdi.

[17] Loizos bu kitabında o zamanlar Morphou'nun bir köyü olan Argaki'deki yaptığı alan çalışmasını aktarır. Çalışma 1974 çatışmalarından adanın bölünmesinden sorna Argakililerin mülteci durumunda yaşadığı yerleşke de

devam eder. P. Loizos, *The Hearth Grown Bitter* (Cambidge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 191.

[18] Son dönemde Kıbrıs sorununa toplumsal cinsiyet analizi perspektifinden yaklaşan akademik makaleler ve edebiyat eserleri başka bir analiz gerektirdiği düşünüldüğünden bu çalışmanın kapsamı dışında tutulmuştur. Ancak Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta 1990lı yıllarda Hanımeli ve Kadın Dünyası adında kısa süreli iki feminist derginin çıktığı not edilebilir.

[19] S. Thomson, "You've Come Along Way Baby," *Gender and The Media Handbook: Promoting Equality, Diversity and Empowerment* içinde (Nicosia: MIGS: UNOPS, 2005), 28-43.

[20] C. Cockburn, *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus* (London: Zed Books, 2004), 103-104.

[21] Daha fazla bilgi için bkz. J. G. Peristiany, *Mediterranean Family Structures*, (Cambridge University Press 1976); ve ayrıca J. G. Peristiany, *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London: Weindenfield and Nicholson 1965).

[22] R. Bryant, *Imagining the Modern. The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: L.B. Tauris, 2004), 61.

[23] Bryant, 2004, 61; ve Loizos, 1980, 109. Daha fazla bilgi için bkz. V. Volkan, "Turks and Greeks of Cyprus: Psychopolitical Considerations," *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in Unimagiable Community, 1955-1997*, derleyen Vangelis Calotychos (Boulder, Colo.: Westview House Press, 1998).

[24] Hadjipavlou, 2003, 28.

[25] Uzman-İnan ve Atalay, 1998, 124-125; Cockburn, 2004; Hadjipavlou, 2003 ve 2005.

[26] Uzman-İnan ve Atalay, 1998, 125.

[27] Cockburn, 2004, 103.

[28] Hadjipavlou, 2003, 59.

[29] N. Yuval-Davis ve F. Anthias, *Women Nation State* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 23.

[30] D. Kandiyoti, "The Politics of Gender and the Conundrum of Citizenship," *Women and Power in the Middle East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 52.

[31] Hadjipavlou, 2003, 124.

[32] Y. Papadakis, *Echoes From the Dead Zone. Across the Cyprus Divide* (London, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 198.

[33] M. Hadjipavlou, "No Permission to Cross: Cypriot Women's Dialogue Across the Divide," *Gender, Place and Culture* 13 (2006): 329-351.

[34] *Ibid*., 342-344.

[35] *Ibid*., 345.

[36] Cockburn, 2004, 190-191.

[37] Hadjipavlou, 2006, 334.

[38] Cockburn, 2004, 202-203.

[39] http://www.un.org/esa/gopher-data/conf/fwcw/off/a--20.en.

[40] http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm.

[41] BM Güvenlik Konseyi 31 Ekim 2000 tarihinde kadınların barışın inşası sürecinde her aşamada yer almasına ilişkin bir kararı aldı. Hadjipavlou, 2006, 28 ve Cockburn, 2004, 7.

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Book Review

Kitap Tanıtımı

Nurşin Ateşoglu Güney (ed.), *Contentious Issues of Security and the Future of Turkey* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007) ISBN: 978-0-7546-4931-1; xvii, 197 pp; $ 99.95.

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This is a valuable book that enables the reader to acquire an extensive view of the security affairs of Turkey and to familiarize with the Turkish foreign-policy experts' predictions mapping out the course that these affairs will take in the future. Under the editorial hand of Güneş, twelve topics, all very central to Turkey's strategic stability and international security, have been assessed skillfully. To the reader whose interest lies specifically in the Cyprus problem, the book offers Mustafa Türkeş's 'Cycles of Transformation of the Cyprus Question'. Also, H. Sönmez Ateşoğlu's 'Mediterranean Fault Line- the Future of Greece and Turkey', partially but inevitably, touches the topic as an integral part of the enduringly problematic relations between the two coasts of the Aegean. The scattered information on the background to the Cyprus issue permeating the rest of the volume comes as a bonus. In an attempt at understanding the current state of affairs, it appears essential to focus on the legal tools through which Turkey prevents Cyprus's access to the defense assets of NATO. This exceptional leverage seems to be what is remaining in Turkey's hands to attract the Greek side back to the negotiation table, especially after the accession of Cyprus to the EU, which has evidently rendered the Greek Cypriots more reluctant than ever to agree on a final satisfactory solution to the lingering problems. The articles by Thomas S. Mowle and Eduard Soler i Lecho serve the purpose of informing the reader of the significance of the Berlin Plus agreement and the complications which surround it.

Overall, from Transatlantic relations to Middle Eastern politics, the Eurasian dynamics to the EU accession, all thorny questions that exert influence on the security policies of Turkey, have been unwrapped by the authors in this book. In elaborating on the defense and stability related subjects originated from Turkey's unique geographical characteristics, the book mostly follows an explicative principle and, thus, proves to be accessible and useful to the non-specialized reader. Nevertheless, at times, it tends to reduce to a mere chronicle of events and hence the

assessment of certain issues remains rather elementary. Still, the variety of topics covered by the essays in this volume provide a wide understanding of the contemporary dynamics challenging or stimulating the security quest of Turkey in its neighborhood and beyond. Within this variety, of course, the chapters dealing with Cyprus-related matters of security will be of particular interest to us.

To the reader exclusively concerned with the background and current state of the Cyprus issue, Ateşoğlu extends an overview of the matters at hand through the perspective of relations between Turkey and Greece. Establishing that security has been and will be the foremost driving force behind this problematic neighborly interaction, the author magnifies the role attributed to Cyprus in this interminable competition of security. The commonplace suggestion that any development influential in the future of the island will result in an inevitable shift in the Greek-Turkish balance of power posits Cyprus as a very crucial element in the competition. Sönmezoğlu has sufficiently elaborated on this point. The solution he proposes indirectly, however, rather falls short of the capacity to break the deadlock on the island. According to the author, the economic and political advantages of Turkey's possible membership to the EU may convince Greece to put an end to all conflicts between the two states as well as exiting the impasse of Cyprus. As is well known, Turkey's accession has recently experienced a major setback and the negotiations will not be back on track until Turkey concedes to open its air and sea ports to the Greek Cypriot government. Therefore, in this article the proposition insinuated for a settlement in the Cyprus dispute is grounded in an almost dead-end process whose relaunch heavily depends on the solution of the Cyprus problem itself.

The second chapter that deserves our attention is written by Türkeş and is exclusively concerned with the Cyprus question, which, in the author's words, has evolved in continuous cycles of transformation. These cycles have been shaped by the continuities and transitions in the Cyprus policy of the Turkish and Greek sides as well as the changing hegemonic role of the EU. The author holds that the basic tenet of the Greek strategy has been to overturn the rights enshrined in the 1960 Treaty, especially those partaking of the guarantors' status and power-sharing principal. As a response to this challenge, the Turkish negotiating team has insisted to retain the 1960 Treaty intact and remained firm in its cause of preventing any attempt that could lead to Cyprus's unification

with Greece. In that sense, Türkeş claims that Turkey's stance in the question of Cyprus has been determined in the first place by the constantly, or rather arbitrarily, changing attitude of the Greek side. Such was the case in the first two cycles of transformation that took place in 1964 and 1974. Following the post-1974 era, the Cyprus issue was internationalized at the hands of the Greek Cypriots and Turkey's role in the process was deliberately distorted into a mere occupying force. Against this background, the accession of Cyprus to the EU in 2004 and the EU's consequent involvement in the question, have constituted the third -and the last for now- cycle of transformation.

In elaborating on the realities of the third cycle that has transformed the nature of the Cyprus problem, the author probes into the ways the EU has conducted the adhesion of the Greek Cypriot part as the representative of the entire island and aptly questions the (mis)handling of the Annan Plan by this new inexperienced hegemonic power. Undoubtedly, the story of the Annan-Plan referendum, implemented by the EU, recounts a failure. And, how this gross failure has gone unnoticed within the EU or very conveniently faded away from the spotlight (whereas it deserves an inquiry in depth) is the question Türkeş urges the EU to answer. He does a very good job of reminding the reader of the EU's bad record in facilitating a permanent settlement in Cyprus. The fact that the EU has avoided self-criticism on the referendum, as the author concludes, is "understandable but not acceptable."[1]

Endnotes

[1] Mustafa Türkeş, "Cycles of Transformation of the Cyprus Question," in *Contentious Issues of Security and the Future of Turkey*, ed. Nurşin Ateşoğlu Güney (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 159-176, 171.

Tanıtan Nizyazi Kızılyürek
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Yard. Doç. Gül İnanç'ın kaleme aldığı "Büyükelçiler Anlatıyor: Türk Diplomasisinde Kıbrıs" adlı kitap, 2007 yılında Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınlarından çıktı. Gül İnanç bu kitabında 1970–1991 yılları arasında Kıbrıs'ta görev yapan Türk Büyükelçilerle yaptığı söyleşileri bir araya getirdi ve okuyuculara belgesel tadında bir çalışma sundu. Kitapta yer alan büyükelçiler Asaf İnhan, Candemir Önhon, İnal Batu ve Ertuğrul Kumcuoğlu'dur. Türk Dışişleri Bakanlığında Kıbrıs arşivine girmenin ve belge taraması yapmanın olanaksız olduğu düşünülürse, Büyükelçilerin Kıbrıs anlatısının önemli bir kaynak oluşturduğu daha iyi anlaşılabilir.

Genellikle açık konuşmaktan kaçınan Türk hariciye mensuplarının zihniyet yapısını anlamak, Kıbrıs sorununa ve Kıbrıslı Türklere dönük algılamalarını kavramak bakımından kitap oldukça ilginç ipuçları sunuyor. "İpuçları" diyorum, çünkü hariciyecilerin çoğu açık ve net olarak görüşlerini bildirmiyorlar ve Gül İnanç'ın somut sorularına genel yanıtlar vermekle yetiniyorlar. Yine de söyledikleriyle değerler sistemini, olayları algılama biçimlerini ele veriyorlar.

Genellikle Kıbrıs konusunda görüş bildirmekten çekinen büyükelçilerin Kıbrıs'ı konuşmayı kabul etmeleri bile kendi başına önemlidir diye düşünüyorum. Bunda belki de yakın geçmişte Türkiye'nin yoğun olarak Kıbrıs sorununu tartışmak zorunda kalmasının ve günümüzde de Türk-AB ilişkileri bağlamında Kıbrıs sorununun hala Türkiye'nin çıkarlarını etkilemeye devam ediyor olmasının rolü olmuştur. Nitekim büyükelçilerin değerlendirmelerinde de çok yakın geçmişte yaşanılan Kıbrıs tartışmalarının ağırlığı net biçimde görülüyor. Hatta anlatılarını yakın geçmişin etkisi altında yaptıkları bile iddia edilebilir. Örneğin Annan Planı karşısında takındıkları tavırların geriye dönük olarak yaptıkları değerlendirmelere de yansıdığını söylemek mümkündür.

Büyükelçilerin anlatılarında belli başlı konuların öne çıktığı dikkat çekiyor. Bu elbette Gül İnanç'ın yönelttiği sorulardan kaynaklanıyor. Örneğin, Kıbrıslı Türklere bakış, Türkiye'den getirilerek/gelerek Kıbrıs'a yerleştirilen/yerleşen nüfus ve Kıbrıs sorununun genel seyri bu konuların

başında geliyor. Bir de sorulmadığı halde her Büyükelçinin bir Denktaş anlatısı vardır. Bu da kendi başına bir konu başlığı olarak okunabilir. Burada dikkat çekici olan şey, büyükelçilerin adı geçen temel konulara değinirken kendi aralarında ciddi görüş farklılıkları sergiliyor olmasıdır. Bu bir bakıma doğaldır. Emekliliğe ayrılan büyükelçiler kendi şahsi değerlendirmelerine daha fazla yer verebiliyor, meslek hayatlarının aktif dönemlerinde kendi kendilerine koydukları bazı sınırlamalardan arınmış olabiliyorlar. Diğer boyut ise Kıbrıs sorununun yakın geçmişte Türkiye'de ciddi bölünmelere ve görüş ayrılıklarına yol açmış olmasıdır. Daha bir kaç yıl öncesine kadar adeta "milli tabu" sayılan Kıbrıs sorunu, Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği yolunda ilerleyebilmesi için ortadan kaldırılması gerek bir engele dönüşünce, o tarihe kadar sadece hariciyecilerin el attığı Kıbrıs konusu, adeta bütün Türkiye'nin görüşüne sunuldu ve Türkiye uzunca bir süre Kıbrıs tartıştı durdu. Bu durumun hariciyeye de yansıdığı ve hariciye içinde de Kıbrıs konusunda farklı görüşlerin olduğu sır değildir.

Gül İnanç'ın çalışmasını elbette farklı şekillerde okumak mümkündür. Ancak, pek çok açıdan Kıbrıs Rum toplumunda hüküm süren başat anlayışın adeta tersten bir yorumu olarak da okunabilir. Örneğin, Kıbrıs Rum toplumunda hüküm süren yaygın anlayışa göre "çok iyi olan Kıbrıslı Türklerin" varlığına karşılık adeta "olumsuz olan her şeyi temsil eden bir Rauf Denktaş" vardır. Türk Büyükelçilerin anlatısında ise durum bunun tam tersi gibidir: Kıbrıs Türk toplumu aslında ne yaptığını, ne istediğini pek bilen bir toplum değildir ama "Türklük bilinci gelişmiş, iyi olan her şeyi temsil eden bir Rauf Denktaş" vardır.

Benzer biçimde, Yunan ve Kıbrıs Rum hariciyesi nezdinde Kıbrıs sorunu, "Türkiye'nin yayılmacı emelleri sonucu ortaya çıkmış bir sorun" olarak gösterilirken, Türk Büyükelçilerine göre bu sorunun kaynağında "Yunan yayılmacılığı" vardır. Burada da anlatı aynı, sadece aktörler cümle içine dizilirken "Türk" yerine "Yunan" sözcüğü konuyor.

Bu girişten sonra kitaptaki anlatılara daha yakından bakabiliriz. Söyleşileri ayrı ayrı değerlendirmek yerine, belli konular açısından değerlendirmeyi daha uygun buldum ve bu konuları dört başlık altında ele almaya karar verdim: sırasıyla Rauf Denktaş'a bakış, Kıbrıslı Türklere bakış, Türkiye kökenli nüfus ve Kıbrıs sorununda yapılan hatalar. Ayrıca, bu konulara değinirken sadece Büyükelçilerin görüşlerini özetlemekle yetinmedim ve Gül İnanç ile Büyükelçiler arasında geçen diyaloğa ben de aktif olarak katıldım.

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Büyükelçilerin Rauf Denktaş'a Bakışı

Büyükelçiler için adeta bir tarafta Rauf Denktaş, diğer tarafta da Kıbrıslı Türkler vardır ve bunlar "iki ayrı dünyayı" temsil ediyor. Kıbrıslı Türkleri tanımlarken, hemen hemen hepsi de "ferdiyetçi" tanımlamasına başvuruyor. Asaf İnhan şöyle diyor mesela: "Birey olarak Kıbrıs Türkü, yaşamında ve ilişkilerinde kapalı ve ihtiyatlıdır. Dışa dönük yaklaşımlarında zekâsını ve tutumunu kendisine ve ailesine öncelik verme yönünde kullanmayı bilir ve bireyci davranışları sever." Bunun, "milli çıkarlar" bakımından çok büyük bir tehlike oluşturduğunu ima eden İnhan, "bu gibi bireyci yaklaşımlar yeni nesillerde daha belirgin bir görüntü veriyor" diyor (s.9) ve arkasından, herkesten daha farklı olan bir Rauf Denktaş'tan söz ediyor. İnhan'a göre, Denktaş'ın, "Türkiye'yi daima anavatan olarak düşünen, her zaman bağlantılı kalmanın bilincini derinlemesine taşıyan bir konumu ve siyaset çizgisi dikkat çeker." (s.18)

İnhan'ın anlatısında doğru bir saptamayla Denktaş sadece Ankara'nın direktiflerini yerine getiren bir lider değil, aynı zamanda, olayları bir dereceye kadar yönlendiren bir şahsiyettir: "Ada'da ve Türkiye'de yapılan değerlendirmelerin her kademesinde Denktaş'ın etkisi ve yer yer yönlendirme çalışmaları vardır." (s.19)

Candemir Önhon da "ferdiyetçilik Kıbrıslı soydaşlarımızın müşterek bir özelliğidir" dedikten sonra, bazı "istisnaların" varlığına dikkat çekiyor ve bu "istisnaların" başına Rauf Denktaş'ı koyuyor: "Rauf Denktaş'ın gayet açık Kıbrıslı tarafı olmakla birlikte, muteberiz şahsiyeti şuydu: Rauf Denktaş her şeyden evvel 20.yüzyılda doğmuş en büyük Türk milliyetçilerinden biriydi. *Kıbrıs'ta doğmuştur ama Türk dünyasıyla doludur* (vurgu NK). Türk dünyasını çok iyi inceler, kendisine ideal olarak da Türkiye'yi seçmiştir. Türkiye'nin menfaatlerini, arzusunu, Türkiye yaşam tarzını kendine bir ideal olarak almıştır." (s.72)

Bu sözler, bana, Niyazi Berkes'in yıllar önce yaptığı bir değerlendirmeyi hatırlattı. İkinci Dünya Savaşı esnasında "dış politikada Turan tutkusu ve Nazi Almanyasından medet umulmasının yanı sıra, içerde de ırkçı bir anlayışın yaygınlık kazandığını" söyleyen Berkes, "günlük olaylarda bile siyah derili olan kişilerin, Rumelili, Selanikli, Giritli, Kıbrıslı, Kürt, Arnavut, Boşnak kökenli kişilerin yalnız orduda değil, sivil işlerde bile ırkçılık ayırımlarına uğradıklarını" belirtir ve bizzat Alparslan Türkeş'in Kıbrıslı olduğu için askeri okula girmekte güçlük çektiğinin altını çizer. Berkes, Türkeş'in Kıbrıslı olduğunu sakladığını da vurgular. (Niyazi Berkes, Unutulmayan Yıllar).

Önhon'un anlatısından da öyle anlaşılıyor ki, Kıbrıslı olmak "gerçek Türk" olmanın önünde bir engel olarak görülüyor ve Rauf Denktaş büyük bir "istisna" olarak sunuluyor. "Ferdiyetçi kimseler" derken de aslında kast edilen "milli bilinci eksik kimseler" oluyor ve bu duruma istisna olarak "Türklük dünyasıyla dolu olan Rauf Denktaş'tan söz ediliyor.

İnal Batu ise toplumun çeşitli kesimlerinden söz ederken Rauf Denktaş ve ona bağlı insanların temel özelliklerini şu isabetli sözlerle özetliyor: "Denktaş ve ona bağlı insanlar anavatana çok bağlı, keşke Türkiye bizi ilhak etse de biz de onun 82. ili olsak diyorlar." (s.95)

Büyükelçi Ertuğrul Kumcuoğlu da "Kıbrıs'ta Sayın Denktaş'ın izlediği Kıbrıs Politikası Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs politikasıyla üst üste örtüştüğü müddetçe Türkiye'nin Denktaş'ı ve Denktaş'ın gösterdiği siyasi partiyi desteklemesi normaldir" diyip, şu ifşaatta bulunuyor: "Gizlisi saklısı yok bunun (...) Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimlerinde de genel seçmen tabanına Türkiye'nin tercihinin, örneğin Sayın Denktaş'tan yana olduğu mesajı verilir; Türkiyeli göçmenlere gidilir "oyunuzu Denktaş beye verin" denir. Son seçimlerde Türkiye büyükelçiliği sessiz kaldı." (s.147)

Bu, dünyanın en "doğal" şeyi gibi gösterilmek istenen durum, aslında, Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun siyasi yaşamında büyük çalkantılara yol açan dış karışmacılıktan başka bir şey değildir. Kumcuoğlu, Denktaş'ı desteklemeyi "milli dava" gereği sayıyor olmalı ki, bunu dış karışmacılık olarak idrak etmiyor. "Bunun dışında Kıbrıs'ta sandığa Türkiye tarafından hiç bir zaman, kesinlikle müdahale edilmemiştir" diyebiliyor. (s.148)

Kıbrıslı Türklere Bakış

Büyükelçi Asaf İnhan bir soruya yanıt verirken şöyle diyor: "Kıbrıs Türk toplumunda yeni nesil, genel tarih eğitiminden uzak, muhtemelen kendi ailesinin de yaşadığı acılarla ve ezikliklerle dolu çok yakın tarih bilgisinden habersiz, geleceği günlük yaklaşımlar içerisinde değerlendiriyor. Bu durum, Kıbrıs Türklüğü ve KKTC bakımından çok endişe verici bir gelişme görüntüsü vermektedir." (s. 9) Bu sözlerin hedefi, kuşkusuz, sokaklara dökülerek Annan Planına destek veren binlerce Kıbrıslı Türk gencidir. Kıbrıslı Türklerin çözüm için neden dinamik bir hareketlenme içine girdiklerini anlamaktan uzak olan Büyükelçi, hamasete sarılıyor ve genç nesillerin "tarih bilmediğini" iddia ediyor. Oysa sokaklara dökülen gençler Rauf Denktaş'ın okullarında en milliyetçi tarih yorumlarıyla yetiştirilmek istenen bir kuşağı temsil ediyor

ve reddettikleri şey de, kendilerine gelecek yerine hamaset vaat eden politikalardı.

Asaf İnhan, devamla, "Kıbrıs Türkünün "Biz Kıbrıslıyız, biz farklıyız" yaklaşımı ne kadar manasız ve cahilce ise, Türkiye'den gelenlerin "Biz ne kadar kan akıttık demeleri o kadar yersizdir" diyor, çünkü her şeyin üstünde "milli dava vardır." (s.43) Burada organik bir ulus anlayışından hareket edilerek Türk ulusu karşısında Kıbrıslı Türklerin farklılıklarının hiç bir önemi olamayacağı iddia ediliyor ve Kıbrıslı Türkler arasında 1974'ten sonra ortaya çıkan kimlik hareketinin tam da böylesi bir inkârcı yaklaşıma karşı bir tepki olarak geliştiği görmezlikten geliniyor. Farklılıkların inkârının, inkâr edilen farklılıkların siyasallaşmasına yol açabileceği anlaşılmıyor. Nitekim geçtiğimiz yıllarda Kıbrıs Türk toplumu içinde Kıbrıs-Merkezli kimlik arayışları baş göstermişse, bunun temel nedenlerinden biri de Kıbrıslı Türklerin kendilerine özgü bir özden değil ama durumsallık sonucu ortaya çıkan özelliklerinin yadsınmasıdır.

Asaf İnhan, Kıbrıs sorununun geldiği son aşamayı da şu sözlerle özetliyor: "Annan Planı sürecinde, KKTC ve Türkiye'de iktidarda olan hükümetlerin plana yatkın bir eğilim göstermeleri, hem Türkiye'de hem de Kıbrıs Türk toplumundaki milli dengeleri ve Kıbrıs sorununun milli dava niteliğini sarsmış bulunmaktadır." Son 3–4 senedir, Türk tarafındaki yeni iktidarlar, Kıbrıs sorununu milli dava niteliğinden soyutlamış, tarihi bilinci karartmış ve en önemlisi "uysal" davranışlı yaklaşımlara yönelmiştir. "Uysallık" en gizli düşmandır." (s.66)

Yukarıdaki cümlelerden de anlaşılacağı gibi, çözüme yönelik politika geliştirmek "uysallık" olarak değerlendiriliyor. Belli ki, Büyükelçi eskiden sergilenen "çözümsüzlük çözümdür" siyasetini özlüyor. Oysa asıl "uysal politika," "atak" politika olarak sunulan ama özü itibarıyla statükoyu korumaya dönük olan eski Kıbrıs politikasıydı. Ayrıca, Türkiye bugün AB ile üyelik müzakerelerini sürdürüyorsa, bunda Kıbrıs konusunda çözüme dönük olarak ortaya konan iradenin çok büyük rolü olmuştur.

Bu noktada Büyükelçinin söylemi, Kıbrıs Rum milliyetçilerinin söylemleriyle tamamen örtüşmektedir. Kıbrıs Rum toplumunda da çözüme açık olan kesimlere karşı kullanılan en yaygın slogan, onların "uysal" ve "teslimiyetçi" oldukları, oysa örneğin, Tassos Papadopoullos'un "atak" politikalar geliştirdiği yönündedir.

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Şimdi de Candemir Önhon'nun söylediklerine bakalım: "Kıbrıs Türklerinin temelini araştıracak olursak, Kıbrıs'ın yerli halkı, Arap ülkelerinden, Mısır'dan, Cezayir'den vb. gelenler ve onların etkisiyle İslamiyet'i kabul etmiş bazı kimselerden oluşur. Bir de, asıl önemlisi, Kıbrıs Osmanlı idaresine girdikten sonra Osmanlı topraklarından Kıbrıs'a göçler vardır." (s.72) Önhon, konuya böyle bir giriş yaptıktan sonra, şöyle devam ediyor: "Bir kere burada yaşayan Türkler bizimle aynı kanı taşıyan insanlar, Anadolu'da yaşayanlar ile burada yaşayanların kanı aynı." (s.73) Ayrıca şu görüşlere de yer veriyor: "Türkiye'deki halkın günlük yaşantısıyla Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan soydaşlarımızın arasında bazı farklar vardır. Dünya meselelerine bakış, birbirleriyle olan münasebetlere bakış açısından değişik, iki farklı toplumuz bir noktaya kadar." (s.73) Burada bir yandan "ortak kan" bağı gibi, modern ulus ve ulusçuluk kuramları bakımından hiç bir anlam ifade etmeyen bir kavrama vurgu yapılarak ortak bir "biz" kavramı kurgulanırken, diğer yandan da, sosyolojik sayılabilecek farklılıklara dikkat çekiliyor.

Ertuğrul Kumcuoğlu ise, Rum olsun Türk olsun bütün Kıbrıslıların ortak özelliğini şöyle ifade ediyor: "Ada'yı, bulundukları yeri dünyanın merkezi sayarlar. Dünyanın nüfusu 6 milyar ve onların nüfusu 1 milyonun altında; ama bunu görmezler veya görmezden gelirler. Bir de Kıbrıslılar korsan geleneğinden geliyorlar. Yani, Kıbrıslılar uyanıktırlar, atılgandırlar, risk alırlar, fırsat beklerler, fırsatları değerlendirmeye çalışırlar." (s.128) Ertuğrul Kumcuoğlu, CTP'nin "Gölge AKEL" olduğunu da iddia ediyor ve hiç bir kanıt ve veriye dayanmadan, bu partinin "AKEL'in ve Moskova'nın onayı ile kurulduğunu" iddia ediyor. Oysa CTP'nin kuruluşunu üstlenen kadrolar kendilerine "Atatürkçü" diyen kadrolardı ve ne Sovyetler Birliği ne de AKEL ile en küçük bir ilişkileri bile yoktu. CTP'nin sola kayması kuruluşundan daha sonraya rastlar. Bunda da Türkiye'de okuyan ve Türk solundan etkilenen Kıbrıslı Türk öğrencilerin büyük katkısı olmuştu. Kumcuoğlu, bir adım daha ileri giderek, CTP'nin Annan planının reddedilmesinden sonra yaşadığı düş kırıklığını da bu yanlış varsayıma dayandırıyor ve "zamanında kendilerini AKEL'in kardeşi olarak gördüler, şimdi de AKEL'in kendilerine ihanet ettiğine inanıyorlar" diyor. (s.139)

Kıbrıs Türk solunun AKEL'in referandum döneminde takındığı tavırdan ötürü düş kırıklığı yaşadığı bir vakıadır. Ancak, 2004 yılına gelindiğinde CTP içinde ön plana çıkan kadrolar, kendilerini "AKEL'in kardeşi" olarak görmekten çoktan vazgeçmiş, bu partinin Kıbrıs

sorunda takındığı tavırları kuşkuyla izlemeye başlamışlardı. Belli ki, Kumcuğlu, Kıbrıs'ta çözüm isteyen Kıbrıslı Türkleri "Türkiye karşıtı" veya "Rumcu" olarak gösteren anlayışı benimsemiştir. Nitekim Kıbrıs Türk siyasi yaşamında önemli bir yer tutan ve Kıbrıs'ta barış için ortaya ciddi çabalar koyan Mustafa Akıncı için "Kıbrıs'ta tanıdığım en Türkiye karşıtı politikacı" yakıştırmasını yapabiliyor. Kumcuoğlu, Mustafa Akıncı'nın uzun yıllar başkanlığını yaptığı TKP'nin istikrarlı bir politikası olmadığını ve Türkiye'ye mesafeli duranların oylarına oynadığını iddia ederek, bu yüzden "CTP'yi daha dürüst" bulduğunu söylüyor. Öyle anlaşılıyor ki, Kumcuoğlu, Kıbrıs'ta görev yaptığı dönemde Mustafa Akıncı ile şahsen takışmış ve Akıncı, Büyükelçinin dayatmacı tavırlarına karşı çıktığı için, böyle bir suçlamayla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Nitekim Gül İnanç'ın kitabı piyasaya çıktıktan sonra, Mustafa Akıncı bu konuda bir açıklama yapmıştır.

Sonuç olarak, Kıbrıslı Türkleri değerlendirirken başvurulan temel kıstasın "Türkiye karşıtı" olup olmadıkları olduğu anlaşılıyor ve bundan da kast edilen şey, Ankara'nın resmi Kıbrıs politikası ile hemfikir olup olmadıklarıdır. Denktaş ve Ankara'nı Kıbrıs politikasına karşı çıkanlar, görüldüğü üzere, kolaylıkla "Türkiye karşıtı" olarak damgalanabiliyorlar.

Kitabın kanaatime göre en ilginç, en açık ve samimi röportajını İnal Batu vermiştir. İnal Batu, ısrarla Kıbrıslı Türkleri genel bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutmayı reddediyor ve "toplumun kolektif fotoğrafında çok keskin ayrılıkların" olduğunu doğru biçimde tespit ediyor. Batu, toplumun çeşitli kesimlerinden söz ederken de Rauf Denktaş ve ona bağlı insanların temel özelliklerini şu isabetli sözlerle dile getiriyor: "Denktaş ve ona bağlı insanlar anavatana çok bağlı, keşke Türkiye bizi ilhak etse de biz de onun 82. ili olsak diyorlar." (s.95)

İnal Batu, Kıbrıs Türk muhalefetini yıldırmak için Türkiye'nin izlediği dışlayıcı siyasetleri büyük bir açıklıkla ortaya koyuyor: "Sistem içi muhalefet, yani Türkiye'ye bağlı Denktaş'a ve onun arkadaşlarına karşı muhalefet 1970'lerin sonunda, 1980'lerde başladı ve bir sol muhalefet olarak gelişti. İşte o dönemde CTP ile bizim kurumlar arasında çatışmalar başladı. Nitekim Özker Özgür, Alpay Durduran gibi Kıbrıslı liderler Genelkurmay, Büyükelçilik ve Denktaş'ı üzecek, kızdıracak çıkışlar yapmaya başladılar. Onlara karşı bir şiddet kullanılmadı, radikal tedbirler alınmadı, ancak onlar dışlandı. Seçimlerde bütün kurumlar açık bir şekilde mevcut hükümetin ve Denktaş'ın yanında yer aldı, bu şekilde sol muhalefete karşı konuldu." İnal Batu, bu önemli itiraftan sonra, çok

önemli bir de saptama yapıyor. Şöyle: "Bu tür muhalefet eğer TMT döneminde yapılmış olsaydı, iş şiddete dönüşmüş olabilirdi**.**" (99–100) İnal Batu'nun bu sözleri, Kıbrıs Türk tarihinin karanlık olaylarına da ışık tutacak niteliktedir. Batu, bu söyledikleriyle, dolaylı olsa da, TMT'nin muhalifleri susturmak için şiddete başvurduğunu dile getirmiş oluyor.

Türkiyeli Nüfus Konusu

Büyükelçilerin Gül İnanç'ın sorularını yanıtlarken Türkiye'den gelip Kıbrıs'a yerleşen nüfus konusuna büyük önem verdikleri görülüyor. Bu konuyla ilgili değerlendirmeler oldukça ilginçtir. Örneğin, Asaf İnhan nüfus aktarımının devlet eliyle başlatıldığını itiraf ederek, bunun aslında demografik bir mühendislik projesi olduğunu kabul ediyor. "Nüfus aktarımı aceleye getirildi ve plansız yapıldı. Bu, doğrudan Ankara'nın girişimiydi. Kıbrıs'tan bu doğrultuda bir talep gelmemişti" diyen İnhan, bu konu etrafında ciddi sorunların oluştuğunu söylüyor. İnhan'a göre Kıbrıslı Türkler, Türkiye'den gelen nüfusu küçümseme eğilimi içinde iken, Türkiye'den gelenler de "biz bu topraklar için kan akıttık" diyerek Kıbrıslı Türklere karşı tutum alıyorlar. "Göç ile gelenleri küçümseme eğilimleri zamanla toplum yapısı alışkanlığına dönüştü" (s.59) diyen İnhan, Kıbrıslı Türklerin kendi farklılıklarını ortaya koyma eğilimi içine girdiklerini ve "biz Kıbrıslıyız" demeye başladıklarını ileri sürüyor. İnhan'a göre bu sorunların çözümü için, bir yandan Kıbrıslı Türklerin "Kıbrıslıyız" demekten vazgeçmeleri gerekiyor, diğer yandan da Türkiyeli nüfus "kan akıttık" gibi söylemlerden sakınmalıdır.

İnal Batu'ya göre, Kıbrıs'a "çok dar gelirli insanlar gitmiştir. Kıbrıslıların kafasındaki Türkiyeli imajı da büsbütün darbe yemiştir." Bu yaklaşım, bir bakıma, Almanya'ya giden Türk işçileri için söylenenleri çağrıştırıyor. Almanya'ya giden göçmenlerin Avrupa'da "Türk imajına" zarar verdiğine dayanan bu anlayışın Kıbrıs bağlamında da devreye sokulduğunu görüyoruz. Oysa bu yaklaşım kendi içinde bir tür "oryantalizm" barındırdığı gibi, Kıbrıs'ta Kıbrıslı Türkler ile Türkiye kökenli nüfus arasında iki zaman zaman yaşanılan gerginlikleri kavramaktan uzaktır. İnal Batu devamla, "geçmişte Türkiye kökenlilerin parti kurma girişimi olmuştur, biz de Büyükelçilik olarak bu girişimleri destekledik. Dönemin UBP hükümeti de bu girişime destek vererek adayları listelerde öne çıkardılar ama tercihli oy nedeniyle seçilemediler" derken, aslında, sorunların, en azından bir kısmının kaynağını da göstermiş oluyor. Kıbrıslı Türklerin bu konudaki temel kaygısı,

Ankara'nın yönlendirmesiyle kendi siyasi iradelerinin zaafa uğratılmasıdır ki, İnal Batu'nun anlattıklarından, bu yönde çabaların olduğu ortaya çıkıyor. Ayrıca, bu konu günümüzde de son derece aktüel olmaya devam ediyor. Bugün de Türkiye'den bazı çevrelerin yönlendirmesiyle özellikle Türkiye kökenli nüfusu hedef alan siyasi parti girişimleri dikkat çekiyor ve bu doğrultudaki tartışmalar Kıbrıs Türk basınında geniş biçimde yer buluyor.

İnal Batu, devamla "Anadolu'dan gelen insanlara karşı ayırımcılık yapılıyor, en çok onlar eziliyor. Bu yüzden kaynaşma olamamıştır" diyor ve entegrasyon sorunlarının Kıbrıslı Türklerin uyguladığı ayırımcılıktan kaynaklandığını iddia ediyor. Bu tespit kısmen doğru olsa da, resmin bütününü ortaya koymaktan uzaktır. Kıbrıslı Türklerin büyük çoğunluğunun Türkiye kökenli nüfusa karşı oryantalist bir tavır içinde olduğu ve kendilerini "Batılı ve medeni" olarak görürken, Türkiye kökenli nüfusu "doğulu ve cahil" buldukları bir gerçektir. Ancak, diğer yandan da Kıbrıslı Türklerin kendi ülkelerinde azınlığa düşme korkusu içinde oldukları ve siyasi iradelerinin zaafa uğratılmasından korktukları da bir vakıadır. İnal Batu bu konuyla ilgili yorumlarını, çok önemli bir konuya dikkat çekerek noktalıyor: "Bugün itibarıyla Denktaş, yakınları ve Anadolu'dan gidenler ile Kıbrıs aydınları iyice bölünmüş durumdadır." (s.97)

Ertuğrul Kumcuoğlu'na göre ise "Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a gidenler üç gruba ayrılırlar. Bunlardan birincisi 74 Barış Harekâtına katıldıklarından dolayı, Kıbrıs Türkü için yapmış oldukları fedakârlıklar karşısında kendilerine bir cemile olarak Kıbrıs'a yerleşme hakkı verilmiş olanlardır. İkincisi, 74'te Ada'nın kuzeyi ile güneyi arasında yapılan nüfus mübadelesi sonrasında ortaya çıkan boşluğu kapatmak için Türkiye'den sistematik olarak gelmiş göçmenlerdir. Üçüncüsü, kişisel olarak gidenler...(s.133) Kumcuoğlu'na göre, ikinci grubun eğitim ve gelir düzeyi düşük olduğu için uyum sorunları olmuş, bunları çözmenin en iyi yolu da "çapraz evlilikleri teşvik etmektir." (s.134)

Bir kere Kıbrıs'ta nüfus mübadelesi anlaşması hiç bir zaman imzalanmamıştır. Türk askeri harekâtı esnasında Kıbrıs'ın kuzeyinden güneyine doğru kaçmak zorunda kalan Kıbrıslı Rumlar söz konusudur. Yapılan bir takım insancıl anlaşmalar da "parçalanmış ailelerin birliğini" sağlamak için yapılmıştır. Bunu belirtikten sonra, şu "çapraz evlilik" fikrine bir göz atalım. Nereden bakılırsa bakılsın kabul edilmez bir görüştür bu. Evlilik, insanların bireysel kararlarıyla gerçekleştirdikleri son

derece özel bir şeydir. Bunu, kamu veya milli politikalar adına enstrümentalize etmek, toplum mühendisliğinin hangi boyutlara varabileceğini gösteriyor ancak. Ayrıca, bu, son derece asimilasyonist bir yaklaşımdır. Nitekim buna benzer görüşler 1930'lu yıllarda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti hükümetleri tarafından Kürtleri asimile etmek için ileri sürülmüştü. Örneğin, Kürtleri Türkleştirme siyasetini tasarlamak ve yürürlüğe koymakla görevli kurumların başında gelen Umumi Müfettişlik, 1936 ve 1937 yılında Müfettiş Abidin Özmen'e bu türden raporlar hazırlatmıştı. Müfettiş Özmen, bu raporlarda Türkiye'nin batısından görev yapmak üzere Kürtlerin yoğun olarak yaşadıkları bölgelere giden memurların Kürt kızlarıyla evlenmeye özendirilmelerini, bunlardan bölgede yerleşmek isteyenlere arazi verilmesini, bölgede yerleşik Türk, Kürt ve Aleviler arasında kız alıp vermenin teşvik edilmesini öneriyordu.[1]

Kıbrıs Sorunu Konusunda Yapılan Hatalar

İnal Batu Kıbrıs sorununda yapılan hatalar ve kaçırılan fırsatlardan da söz ederken şu noktalara dikkat çekiyor: "Kıbrıs sorununun tarihi, biraz da diyorum tamamen değil, Türkiye açısından kaçırılmış fırsatlar tarihidir. Bakın en son fırsatı Kofi Annan Planı'nı geç kabul etmekle kaçırdık. Anında kabul etseydik, Rumlar AB'ye tek başlarına "Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti" olarak giremeyeceklerdi. Bugün başımızı ağrıtan o protokol de, tanıma tanımama ikilemi de yaşanmayacaktı." (s.103) Batu'ya göre, 1990'lı yılların başında Güven Artırıcı Önlemler paketi çerçevesinde Maraş'ın açılması ve Lefkoşa Havaalanının iki toplumun hizmetine girme önerisi de reddedilmişti. İnal Batu, bu noktada "bunun sorumluluğunun en fazla Sayın Denktaş'ta, biraz da o zaman Türkiye'deki DYP- SHP koalisyon hükümetindedir" diyor. (s.103)

İnal Batu, CHP'den henüz daha ayrılmadığı bir dönemde Gül İnanç'a verdiği mülakatta CHP'nin Kıbrıs politikalarına da değinmek gereğini duyuyor ve CHP'nin Kıbrıs meselesinde "MHP'ye yakın" olduğunu söylüyor.

Ertuğrul Kumcuoğlu'na göre ise başlıca hatalar şöyle sıralanabilir:
1) 1974 Harekâtından sonra Harekâtın sonuçlarının hukuki bir metne bağlanmamış olması büyük eksikliktir.
2) Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs sorununu BM dışında ve BM'ye rağmen yürütmemeye dikkat etmesi gerekirdi.

3) Pek çok Türk diplomatı, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin AB'ye üye olacağına ihtimal vermemiş ve bu yüzden de zemin ve zaman kaybedilmiştir.

4) Önemli bir siyasi figür olarak Süleyman Demirel'in de sorunun çözümü doğrultusunda inisiyatif alması gerekiyordu. (s.161)

Gerek İnal Batu'nun gerekse Ertuğrul Kumcuoğlu'nun yaptığı "hata tespitinin" son derece aydınlatıcı olduğunu düşünüyorum. İnal Batu Türkiye açısından Kıbrıs sorununun tarihini "kaçırılmış fırsatlar tarihi" olarak değerlendirmesi, uzun yıllar Yunanistan'ın Dışişleri bakanlığını yapmış Evangleos Averof'un Kıbrıs için yazdığı ve *Kaçırılmış Fırsatlar Tarihi* adını verdiği iki ciltlik kitabını çağrıştırıyor. Bu görüşün bütün zamanlar için geçerli olup olmadığı elbette tartışılabilir ama 2002 yılında birinci Annan Planını reddederek Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin çözüm bulunmadan AB'ye üye olmasına zemin sağlanmasının gerçekten kaçırılmış bir fırsat olduğu bugün daha iyi anlaşılıyor.

Kumcuğolu'nun "pek çok Türk diplomatı, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin AB'ye üye olacağına ihtimal vermemiş ve bu yüzden de zemin ve zaman kaybedilmiştir" yollu sözleri, kanımca Türk hariciyesinin Kıbrıs sorunu imtihanında sınıfta kaldığının en açık ifadesini teşkil etmektedir. Nitekim Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin çözüm olmadan AB üyesi olmasın diye İngiltere ve ABD'nin başını çektiği girişimde önemli bir rol oynayan ve İngiltere'nin Özel Kıbrıs Koordinatörlüğünü yapan Lord David Hannay de yazdığı Kıbrıs kitabında, Kumcuoğlunun gözlemlerini doğruluyor. Bu noktada David Hannay'nin gözüyle Türk diplomasisine ve Kıbrıs konusundaki performansına bakmakta yarar vardır.

Lord David Hannay'nin, 2005 yılında yayınladığı, *Cyprus: The Search For a Solution* adlı kitabında, göreve geldiği 1996 yılından 2003 yılına kadar yaşanan diplomatik gelişmeleri ve çözüm arayışlarını ayrıntılı biçimde ele aldı ve göreve başladığında Ankara'ya yaptığı ilk ziyarette dönemin dışişleri Bakanı Gönensay, İnal Batu, Çevik Bir ve Bülent Ecevit ile yaptığı görüşmelere de yer verdi. Bülent Ecevit, görüşmede, daha sonra Başbakan olunca da sık sık dile getirdiği bir görüşü tekrarlamış: "Kıbrıs sorunu 1974 yılında bitmiştir. Dünyanın bunu anlaması lazım." İnal Batu ise hiç bir Türk hükümetinin ve Denktaş'ın çözüm sürecine gireceğine inanmadığını söyleyerek, Rum tarafına biraz toprak verip, ayrı Türk devletinin tanınması doğrultusunda öneriler yapmış. Çevik Bir, Garanti Anlaşmasının olduğu gibi kalması koşuluyla,

tam siyasi eşitlik temelinde bir çözümün olabileceğini, Türkiye'nin ancak çözümden sonra asker çekebileceğini ifade etmiş ve adada çözümden sonra da güçlü bir Türk askeri varlığının bulundurulması gerektiğini ileri sürmüş. Türk hariciyesi ise olayların seyrinden habersiz bir şekilde, Kıbrıs Rum tarafının AB'ye giremeyeceğine inanmak istiyor, bu yönde görüş belirtiyordu. Lord Hannay, Kıbrıs Rum tarafının AB'ye gireceğinin kesin olduğunu, Türkiye'nin Gümrük Birliği Anlaşması imzalarken bunu zaten kabul ettiğini vurgulayarak, hele çözümsüzlükten Türk tarafının sorumlu olduğu bir ortamda bunun hayda hay gerçekleşeceğini anlatınca, Türk hariciyesi öfkelenmekle yetinmiş. Annan Planını 2002 yılında kabul etmekle büyük bir fırsatın kaçırıldığını anlatan Lord David Hannay, Türk tarafının Kıbrıs politikasını da "İntihar Diplomasisi" olarak adlandırdı.

Gül İnanç'ın ilginç kitabını okurken, aklım birdenbire Lord David Hannay'nin dediklerine kaydı.

Dipnotlar

[1] Mesut Yeğen, *Müstakbel Türk'ten Sözde Vatandaşa* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay, 2006), 61.

Activity Report

Etkinlik Raporu

8 Mart 2007'den Etkinlik Notları

Kadın Araştırmaları ve Eğitimi Merkezi
Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Kuzey Kıbrıs

Bu yıl 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Gününü DAÜ, Kadın Araştırma ve Eğitim Merkezi ve Gazimağusa Belediyesi ile ortaklaşa olarak 5-10 Mart tarihleri arasında "Her Yerdeyiz" sloganıyla, Kadın(lar) Haftası olarak kutladı.

Etkinlikler Gazimağusa halkının katılımının da sağlanması ve üniversite ve belediye işbirliğinin güçlendirilmesi için Gazimağusa Belediyesi'yle birlikte düzenlendi. Bu çerçevede hem üniversitenin hem de kentin kamusal alanları kadınlar günü etkinliklerine ev sahipliği yapmış oldu. Gazimağusa Belediyesi Meclisi'nin iki kadın üyesi hazırlıklar ve etkinlikler sırasında KAEM üyeleri ve asistanlarıyla ile birlikteydi.

İlk etkinlik Belediye Sarayı'nda gerçekleşen basın toplantısı oldu. Aynı akşam "Kadın Olmak Barışı Yoğurmak, Barışı Çizmek" başlıklı serginin açılışı yapıldı. Sergiye Ayhatun Ateşin "Barışı Kadınlar Yapar" başlıklı seramik yerleştirmesiyle ile katıldı. Yine aynı salonda Şömineli Ev'de Kıbrıslı Türk ressam İnci Kansu'nun "Doğanın ve Yaşamın Sembolü: Tulipa Cypria" başlıklı resim sergisi yer aldı. Serginin açılışını Yurtsever Kadınlar Birliği başkanı Oya Talat gerçekleştirdi.

Etkinliklerin ikinci gününde kolaylaştırıcılığını Aysu Basri'nin yaptığı "Kadın ve Politikacı Olmak" konulu söyleşinin konuğu KKTC Meclis başkanı Fatma Ekenoğlu idi. Yine yanı gün kolaylaştıcılığını Perihan Aziz'in üstlendiği "1950-1960'larda Kıbrıs'ta Çalışan Kadın Olmak" konulu söyleşiye o dönemde hemşire olarak çalışmış Gülter Muhtaroğlu ve hala esnaf olarak çalışan Melek Fahri katılarak, çalışan kadın olma deneyimlerini aktardılar. Aynı gün öğleden sonra daha önce DAÜ TV tarafından çekilmiş olan ve Kıbrılsı Türk besteci Kamuran Aziz'in konuk edildiği bir söyleşi programı yeniden sunuldu.

8 Mart günü DAÜ Kütüphane sergi salonunda "Kıbrıslı Türk Kadın Portreleri"nin yer aldığı bir fotoğraf sergisi açıldı. Sergide yer alan fotograflar evlilik ve nişan törenleri, okul yılları, kız arkadaşlar arasında, çalışma hayatı, gündelik yaşam, göç ve portreler gibi kategorilere ayrıldı. Aşağıda yer verilen iki fotoğraf 20. yüzyılın ilk

çeyreğinde Leymosun'da yaşayan Hasibe ve Nafî çiftinin kızları, 1913 doğumlu Emine Nafî Hanım'a aittir. [1]

Emine Nafî Hanım, 1932

Emine Nafî Hanım, 1930

DAÜ Kütüphanesi Kıbrıs köşesinde daha sonra Kıbrıslı sanatçıların eserlerinin toplanacağı bir bölüme Kıbrıslı Türk kadın şair Pembe Marmara'nın (25.12.1955-01.01.1984) adı verildi. Bölümün açılışını yapan gazeteci ve yazar Neriman Cahit anma konuşmasında Pembe Marmara'nın şiirdeki özgün yerinden bahsetti. Kütüphane'deki ilgili bölüme Pembe Marmara'nın fotoğrafı altına üzerinde şu metin olan plaka yerleştirildi:

Hayat ne, ölüm neden
Hem öldükten sonra da yaşarım belki..

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8 Mart öğleden sonra "Meydanlar Bizim I" adıyla duyurulan etkinlikte, Atatürk Meydanı'nda DAÜ Rektörü Prof. Dr. Halil Güven bir kokteyl verdi. DAÜ Müzik Kulübü'nün düzenlediği canlı müzik eşliğinde ağırlıkla DAÜ'de çalışan tüm kadın idari ve akademik personelin katılımı gerçekleşti. Aynı öğleden sonraki diğer bir etkinlik "Kamusal ve Özel Alanda Kadın" konulu panel ile sürdü. KAEM yönetim kurulu üyesi Nurten Kara'nın kolaylaştırıcılığını üstlendiği panele konuşmacı olarak KAEM danışma kurulu üyesi Hanife Aliefendioğlu, KAEM yönetim kurulu üyesi, Netice Yıldız, Lefkoşa Belediye Tiyatrosu oyuncularından Aliye Özersay, KAEM danışma kurulu üyesi Türkan Uraz katıldılar. Hanife Aliefendioğlu Kuzey Kıbrıs medyasındaki cinsiyetçiliğin boyutlarından ve etkilerinden söz etti. Netice Yıldız plastik sanatlarda kadın çerçevesinde tarihsel bir Kıbrıs resmi çizdi. Aliye Özersay tiyatro oyunculuğunda kadınların aktif olarak yer alabilme serüvenini çeşitli isimler ve dönemler vererek aktardı. Türkan Uraz ise kadınları mekan kullanımı ve tasarımındaki konumlarını irdeledi.

KAEM başkanı Fatma Güven Lisaniler'in kolaylaştırıcılığında Kıbrıs'ın iki tarafından barış akitivistleri Maria Hadjipavlou ve Fatma Azgın "Kadın Olmak ve Barışı Dokumak" konulu söyleşinin konuğu oldular.

Belediye Bora Atun salonunda 9 Mart gecesinin konukları Kıbrıslı yazarlar Filiz Naldöven ve Neşe Yaşın, Türkiye'li romancı İnci Aral okurları ile buluştu. "Kıbrıs'ta ve Türkiye'de ve Kadın Olmak, Kadın(ı) Yazmak" konulu söyleşide yazarlar kadın ve yazar olmak deneyimlerini eserleri ve özyaşam öykülerinden kesitlerle aktardılar. Etkinliklerin son günü Venedik Sarayı/Namık Kemal Meydanı'ndaki satış standları ve Işık Kitabevi'nin kitap standı eşliğinde Kıbrıslı ve Türkiyeli yazarlar buluştu ve kitaplarını imzaladı. Etkinlikler boyunca feminist sinemacıların oluşturduğu inisiyatif Filmmor'un küçük girişimci kadınlar, aile içi şiddeti ve kadın cinselliğini konu alan "Avcılar, Aracılar, ve Kadınlar", "Şiddetin Ötesine Yolculuk" "Klitoris Nedir?" adlı belgesel fimleri gösterildi.

Etkinlikler Namık Kemal meydanındaki Nazan Öncel konseri ile son buldu.

DAÜ-KAEM ile Gazimağusa Belediyesi'nin ortaklaşa düzenledikleri 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü etkinlikleri yerel basında da yankı buldu. Basın toplantısının ardından yerel basından özellikle Kıbrıs, Yenidüzen, Afrika ve Halkın Sesi gibi gazeteleri bu etkinliklere etkinlik programının

duyurusu ile sınırlı kalmayan bir ilgi gösterdiler. Yapılan panel, sergi, konser gibi etkinliklerin içerikleri gazeteelrde yer buldu. Öyle görünüyor ki, DAÜ-KAEM'in öncülüğünde yerel yönetimle işbirliği içinde gerçekleşen 8 Mart etkinlikleri, hafta boyunca basın aracılığıyla kamuoyuna ulaşırken, kadın sorunlarına, kadının toplumdaki yerine ve rolüne dikkati çeken bir kadın gündemi oluşturulmasına da önayak oldu.

<div style="border:1px solid">

KAEM'in 8 Mart 2007 Bildirisi
"Her Yerdeyiz"

Dünya nüfusunun yarısını kadınlar oluşturuyor. Buna karşılık, coğrafyadan coğrafyaya, ve kültüre, eğitim durumuyla, ten rengine, etnik kökene bağlı olarak değişen derecelerde de olsa kamusal ve siyasal alandan dışlanmaya, yeterince temsil edilmemeye devam ediyorlar; ayrımcılıklara maruz kalıyorlar; giderek daha da yoksullaşıyorlar, ev içi, sokak ve işyerindeki şiddetin, tacizlerin, tecavüzlerin, "namus" ya da "töre" cinayetlerinin nesnesi oluyorlar. Yani, Simon de Beauvoir'in "kadın doğulmaz, kadın olunur" deyişini haklı çıkaracak şekilde, farklı kadın olma hallerinin içinden gelseler bile, bütün bunları çapraz keserek, kendilerini ortak bir mücadele vermek durumunda bırakacak şekilde, ataerkil sistem(ler)in söylem ve pratiklerinin hışmına uğramaya devam ediyorlar. Ancak elbetteki, kadın hareketinin yüzyıllara yayılan tarihi içerisinde elde edilen kazanımlarla kadınlar güçlenmeye, bilinçlenmeye, kendi aralarındaki farklılıklara saygı duyarak, birlikte mücadele etmeyi öğrenmeye de devam ediyorlar. 8 Mart ise, bütün politik önemi yokedilerek, kadınlara bir çiçek, hediye vererek gönüllerini alma gününe indirgenme çabalarına rağmen, dünya kadınlarının birlik, mücadele ve dayanışma günü olarak sembolik bir öneme sahip.

DAÜ, Kadın Araştırma ve Eğitim Merkezi ile Gazimağusa Belediyesi'nin ortaklaşa düzenledikleri ve 5-10 Mart 2007 tarihleri arasında gerçekleşecek *Kadınlar Günü* etkinliklerini, aralarımızdaki olumsuz ayrımcılıklara konu olan farkların ortadan kalktığı ya da ayrımcılık konusu olmaktan çıkarıldığı, zenginliğimiz sayılması gereken farklarımıza sahip çıkılıp, saygı duyulmasının sağlandığı günler getirmesi için düzenliyoruz. Bunun için mesajımız "Her Yerdeyiz" oldu. Etkinliklerimiz süresince de; hem siyasal ve kamusal alanda, barışı yaparken, ekonomik yaşamda, sanatta, evde, sokakta, meydanlarda

</div>

olduğumuzu göstereceğiz, hem de "her yerde" daha onurlu koşullarda var olmaya devam ettiğimiz sürece, hayatın bütün cinsler için daha güzel, daha yaşanılır hale geleceği mesajını vereceğiz. Siz de bize katılın....

Dipnotlar

[1] Fotoğraflar, Hasibe Şahoğlu Albümü'nden alınmış olup, KAEM sergisi için Dr. Küçük Müzesi Müdürü Fazıl Sayıl tarafından verilmiştir. Kendisine tekrar teşekkür ederiz.

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7. The Manuscript should be properly formatted. The entire manuscript (including notes, quotes, and formulae) should be double-spaced. The entire manuscript should be in 'Times New Roman' font, 12pt. All pages must be numbered. Notes should be placed at the end of the manuscript. Manuscripts should conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style,* 15th ed. See our style sheet below.

8. **Style Sheet**
   a. Use endnotes, not footnotes.
   b. Use *italics*, not underlining, for book and journal titles.
   c. For well-known cities, omit state/country name from facts of publication.

d. Omit the abbreviations 'p.' and 'pp.' for page numbers.

e. See the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition, for detailed information; examples of reference types are shown below.

Journal article

Stephen Yablo, "Mental Causation," *Philosophical Review* 101 (1992): 245-80.

Book

Samuel Scheffler, *Human Morality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 25-30.

Article in a book

John W. Houck, "Stories and Culture in Business Life," in *A Virtuous Life in Business: Stories of Courage and Integrity in the Corporate World*, ed. Oliver F. Williams and John W. Houck (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992), 129-38.

Note:

For repeated references, do not use 'op. cit.' - use a short title instead (e.g., Yablo, "Mental Causation").

You may use 'ibid.' (not italicized) where appropriate.

If you make many references to a single work, you may (and are encouraged to) give bibliographic information in a note at the first such reference, and then, for subsequent references, give page numbers only, in parentheses, run into the main text.

The subsequent references are run into the text, enclosed in parentheses, like so: (Yablo 1992, 248-52). The author's name may be omitted if it is clearly implied by context.

Note the distinction between 'Yablo 1992', which refers to a work, and 'Yablo (1992)', which is a reference to Yablo the person, followed by a parenthetical reference to one of Yablo's works.

Abbreviations. Most abbreviations should be spelled out and rendered in English.

Emphasis. Use italics, not underlining.

Quotation marks. Use double quotation marks for quoted material run into the text, and for irony and other literary purposes. Use single quotation marks for quoted material *within* a quotation and to mention linguistic expressions.

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1. *Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Derginin Amacı bölümünde belirtilen ilkeler doğrultusunda Türkçe ve İngilizce makaleler yayınlar. *Dergide* basılacak yazı ve makalelerin içeriğinin özgün olması, daha önce hiçbir yerde yayımlanmamış, hali hazırda başka bir dergide değerlendirme aşamasında olmaması ve yayın haklarının verilmemiş olması gerekmektedir. *Dergide* yayınlanan makalelerde ifade edilen inanç, görüş ve fikirler tamamen yazar veya yazarlara ait olup, Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi veya Doğu Akdeniz Universitesi'nin görüşlerini ve genel politikasını yansıtmaz. Yazının içindeki malzemelerle ilgili telif haklarının elde edilmesi yazar veya yazarların sorumluluğundadır.

2. Bir yazı ancak editör, yayın kurulu ve hakemler tarafından uygun görüldüğü takdirde yayınlanacak.

3. Yazılar editöre ya Microsoft Word, ya da Microsoft Word uyumlu bir programda yazılmış olarak i) cd üzerinde, ya da ii) e-posta bağlantılı gönderilmelidir.

4. Yazarlar adlarını, yazının başlığını, hangi kurumda çalıştıklarını, posta adresi, telefon ve faks numaralarını ve e-posta adreslerini yazıdan bağımsız olarak ayrı bir sayfada göndermeliler. Bununla birlikte 200 kelimeyi aşmayacak şekilde İngilizce ve Türkçe (mümkünse) özetler ve altına 3-8 kelimeden oluşan anahtar kelimeler yazıya eklenmelidir.

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7. Değerlendirmeye göderilen yazılar aşağıdaki belirtilen format ölçütlerine uygun olmalıdır: Ana metin**:** 12 punto, "Times New Roman" karakterde, iki (2) aralıkla yazılmalıdır. Kaynaklara göndermeler dipnot olarak makalenin sonunda velilmelidir. Yayın için göderilen makaleler *Chicago Manuel of Style*, 15inci Basım, uygun olmalıdır. Bütün sayfalar numaralandırılmalıdır.

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   b. Kitap ve dergi isimleri için *italik* kullanılmalıdır.

c. Basım bilgilerinde bilindik şehirler için eyalet ve devlet isimleri yazılmamalıdır.

d. Bibliyografik notlar için aşağıda verilen bazı örneklerde olduğu gibi *Chicago Manuel of Style* (15. basım) kullanılmalıdır.

Süreli yayınlar:

Stephen Yablo, "Mental Causation," *Philosophical Review* 101 (1992): 245-80.

Kitaplar:

Samuel Scheffler, *Human Morality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 25-30.

Kitap içinde makale:

John W. Houck, "Stories and Culture in Business Life," *A Virtuous Life in Business: Stories of Courage and Integrity in the Corporate World*, der. Oliver F. Williams ve John W. Houck (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992), 129-38.

Not:

Tekrarlayan referanslar için 'op. cit.' kullanılmamalı, bunun yerine kısa isim kullanılmalı (örneğin, Yablo, "Mental Causation"). Eğer aynı kaynağa birçok kez atıfta bulunuyorsanız bibliyografik bilgileri ilk sefer bir notta verdikten sonra ayraç içinde sayfa numaralarını ana metnin içinde vermeniz tavsiye edilir. Ayraç içindeki sıra şöyle olmalıdır: yazar(lar)ın soyadı, kaynağın yılı, sayfa numaraları. Karşılaşılabilecek farklı durumlar şöyle örneklenebilir: (Yablo 1992, 248-52). Eğer yazarın ismi açık bir şekilde geçiyorsa metnin içinde yazarın ismi yazılmayabilir. Burada dikkat edilmesi gereken nokta 'Yablo 1992' (bir esere referans verir) ve 'Yablo (1992)' (bir yazara ve parantez içinde onun bir eserine referans verir) arasındaki farktır.

Kısaltmalar. Kısaltmalar ilk açık halleriyle yazılmalıdır.

Vurgu. İtalik kullanılmalı**.**

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