JCS

Journal of Cyprus Studies

Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi

37

iii

The Centre for Cyprus Studies

Director: Ülker Vancı Osam
Board of Directors: Turgut Turhan, Necdet Osam, Senih Çavuşoğlu, Altay Nevzat, Baki Boğaç, Nazif Bozatlı

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

Başkan: Ülker Vancı Osam
Yönetim Kurulu: Turgut Turhan, Necdet Osam, Senih Çavuşoğlu, Altay Nevzat, Baki Boğaç, Nazif Bozatlı

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 Kıbırıs 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

First I would like to thank all the contributors for their great endeavours to open up some rather less or even none studied aspects of the history of Cyprus. We believe that such articles shed light on the highly neglected cultural diversity and sophistication of this Island. I am glad to continue to publish articles on monuments of Cyprus which have been neglected for years and thus hope to attract some more attention to cultural heritage of Cyprus in the north. Also, we have papers on Cypriots and by-passers who have contributed to the cultural/intellectual life and diversity of the island such as Niyazi Berkes, Jewish people on their way to their homelands, and the history of Maronites. Last, but not least, we offer an interesting article on the history of communication/postal activities during a very difficult era of the islands, 1958-74. I would like to thank everyone who has contributed to the publishing of this issue.

Özlem Çaykent

Contents / *İçindekiler*

ix

Articles

Makaleler

The Architecture and Mosaics of the Basilica of Agias Trias in the Karpas Peninsula, Cyprus

Allan Langdale
University of California, Santa Cruz

Abstract

This article examines the architectural, decorative, and liturgical elements of the ruined basilica of Agias Trias in the Karpas peninsula on Cyprus. These elements include the essential architectural components of the complex, such as the atrium, narthex, and the baptistery, as well as liturgical remains such as the bema and solea. An account is given of the form and function of both the baptistery structure and the baptismal font, with consideration of how their forms reflect the rites and practice of baptism in the early Church. Attention is also given to the form and iconography of the mosaic decoration, including the two Greek inscriptions. The article concludes with thoughts on the future conservation of the site.

Keywords: Cyprus, Karpas, Agias Trias, baptistery, baptismal font, mosaics, early Byzantine, solea, ambo, bema, catechumena, basilica

Abstract

Bu makalede Kıbrıs Karpas bölgesinde bulunan Agias Trias Bazilikası kalıntısının mimarı, süsleme sanatları ve törensel eşyaları incelenmektedir. Belirtilenlerin esaslı mimarı unsurların yanında atrium (orta avlu) dış dehliz (narteks) ve vaftiz bölmesi de inceleme konusu yapılmış olup aynı zamanda bema ve solea gibi törensel eşyalar da incelemeye dahil edilmiştir. Gerek vaftiz bölmesinin yapısı, gerekse vaftiz sunağının fonksiyonu ve şekillerinin erken kilise döneminde vaftiz töreninin ne şekilde yansıttığıyla ilgili açıklama yapılmış, iki Yunan yazıtını da içerir şekilde şeklen ve ikonografik olarak mozaik süslemelerine de dikkat çekilmiştir. Makale bu alanın gelecekte nasıl korunması gerektiğine ilişkin düşüncelerle sona ermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrısö Karpaz, Agias Trias, vaftishane, vaftiz havuzu, mozaikler, erken Bizans, solea, vaaz kürsüsü, koro, katekümen, bazilika

About 5 kilometers northeast of the Karpasian town of Yeni Erenköy/Yialousa, Cyprus, is a village called Sipahi/Agias Trias.[1] At its eastern edge, tucked away in a picturesque olive grove, are the ruins of an early 5th-century basilica known as Agias Trias, or "Holy Trinity" (Figs.

1-2). The remains of the three-aisled church reveal a plan about 23 m. long and 15 m. wide, including its nave, side aisles, and narthex. An atrium, measuring about 9 by 15 m., functioned as an open forecourt in front of the west entrance to the church. Several ancillary structures surround the basilica, the most interesting of which are a catechumena attached to the southern flank of the church (also with a semi-circular apse, creating a veritable second south side aisle)[2] and the baptistery complex to the east. Agias Trias is best known for its geometric floor mosaics which date from the building's early years if not its origin. These at one time covered the entire floor surface of the basilica and a substantial amount, about 70%, remains. The mosaics have been exposed to the elements for centuries and with a surge in tourism in the region increased foot traffic is also beginning to take its toll on these rare works of art. Lack of proper maintenance has allowed plants to take root in much of the site, thus damaging both architectural and mosaic elements. This report gives a survey of the architecture of the church of Agias Trias, its mosaics, its adjacent buildings, and evaluates the urgent need for protection and conservation of the site. Proposals are made for future conservation projects which will help preserve this significant monument of the world's cultural heritage.[3]

Image 1: The ruins of the basilica of Agias Trias, near Sipahi (Agias Trias), in the Karpas peninsula, northern Cyprus (photograph by the author).

Owing to its proximity to the Holy Land and its prosperity during the late Roman and Early Byzantine period (and, indeed, through the Middle Ages), Cyprus is particularly blessed with historical architecture.
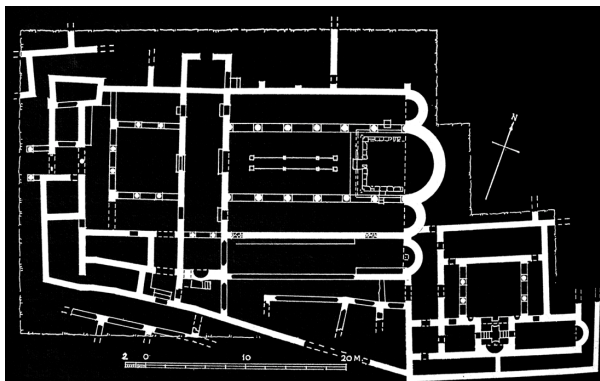
Image 2: Plan of Agias Trias basilica and baptistery (lower right).

Several Christian basilicas can be found, mostly as part of the ruins of the ancient Greco-Roman cities which flourished into the Christian era. These include, for example, the basilicas at Kourion, Paphos, Soli, and two at Salamis (later named Constantia): the basilicas of Campanopetra and Epiphanios.[4] These basilicas were mostly large scale metropolitan edifices and some, as in the case of Soli, had substantial floor mosaics which survive to this day. Unlike these urban basilicas Agias Trias was a smaller rural church which may have served a small local community and/or been a regional cult site. Its sumptuous mosaic decorations and substantial associated buildings suggest generous patronage. Chroniclers often make mention of the many small and remote churches scattered in the Cypriot hinterlands and this church is one of the finest and earliest examples. The Karpas peninsula, in particular, was dotted with small timber-roofed basilicas in the 4th to 7th centuries such as Agias Trias and those at Afendrika, Agios Philon, Sykha, and the Kanakaria church at Lythrangomi (Boltaşli).[5] Some of them fell into ruin during the 7th to 9th centuries but their remains were incorporated into newer vaulted basilicas some time in the 10th century.[6] Agias Trias is somewhat unique, having never been reconstructed or built over, and thus offers an exceptional opportunity to study a reasonably well preserved exemplar of its architectural type.

Little of the church's elevation survives though there is more than enough to clearly determine the building's plan. Some of the columns which held up the timber framed roof were found during initial excavations and these fragments were re-erected on their bases and today give some sense of the building's vertical organization. In the central apse is a bema which is elevated about 40 cm above the floor level of the rest of the church. At the bema's center, facing the nave, are three steps, possibly symbolic of the Trinity (Fig. 3). At one time a screen or templon probably helped demarcate the bema from the body of the church.[7] The bema almost completely fills the apse of the church, but not quite. As in other basilicas, such as the larger and more famous basilica of Campanopetra in Salamis (Constantia), also on Cyprus, there is a narrow corridor between the bema and the wall of the apse. At the basilica of Campanopetra there is a synthronon in the apse, but no such remains were found at Agias Trias. Yet the presence of a substantial baptistery on the site suggests frequent visits by a local bishop and thus some arrangement of a synthronon in the central apse (where the bishop was situated during liturgies) is very likely. Perhaps it was a modest one such as the one at the Asomatos church at nearby Afrendrika.

Image 3: The bema of Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

One of the most striking features of Agia Trias is the scant but significant remains of its solea, which ran down the center of the nave from the bema steps almost to the church entrance (Fig. 4). The solea consisted of a low fence with stone posts which had grooves to support the openwork panels

(Fig. 5). Only fragments of these posts and panels survive, but there is enough to give an idea of the original configuration. One panel, the best preserved, shows the bottom curve of a geometric circular motif with a flower in the corner (Fig. 6).

Image. 4: The solea of Agias Trias running down the center of the nave towards the bema (photograph by the author)

Image 5: Post with slots for the panels of the solea, Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

The solea was used by the officiating priests as a sacral space extending into the body of the church such as a processional route during ceremonies. At times, a solea was coupled with an ambo or pulpit and it is possible that some kind of ambo, offering a slight elevation for the priest, could have been located at the center of this solea. At least one author claims that the remains of an ambo were found during excavations.[8] The solea's construction closely resembles the stone barriers put in many early Byzantine churches which divided the side aisles from the nave.[9] These barriers, too, like the solea, segregated distinct spaces for clergy and laity.

Image 6: Remaining lower section of one of the solea panels, Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

Although the solea more or less follows a path indicated by the mosaic decorations along the spine of the nave, it seems likely that the solea was added later as it is slightly offset from the lines indicated by the mosaic's composition. The nave mosaics are organized in three rectangular frames around the solea, and include the mosaics of the solea itself, which run in a consistent geometric design along its length (Fig. 4). Two mosaic inscriptions can be found just beyond the solea's ends: one running in a strip along the front of the bema and another in a small rectangular panel immediately inside the central entryway of the church. The first records

the donation of Heraclius the deacon who paid for the decorations in that part of the church (Fig. 7), while the second tells of the brothers Aetis, Euthalis, and Eutychianos who made similar donations (Fig. 8).

Image 7: Portion of the Deacon Heraclius's dedication inscription mosaic, Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

Image: Dedication inscription at the entrance to the basilica of Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

The side aisles, narthex and catechumena are also filled with geometric mosaics, much in keeping with late antique and Early Christian designs. Though more rustic, they are reminiscent of the decorative borders and geometric floor mosaics found in Antioch, Syria, which is only 90 km away across the water to the east.[10] The designs of the flooring display a splendid range of variations including wave patterns, chevrons, meanders,

key designs, and myriad stellate, rectilinear, and curvilinear designs (Figs. 9-10). Their exuberance and vitality are among their most compelling attributes. Although much faded by time, the tesserae were richly coloured stones of black, white, red, light and dark greens, and turquoise.
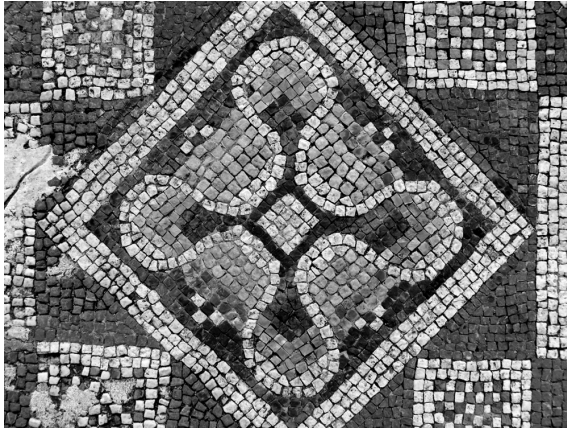
Image 9: Geometric mosaics from Agias Trias (photograph by the author).
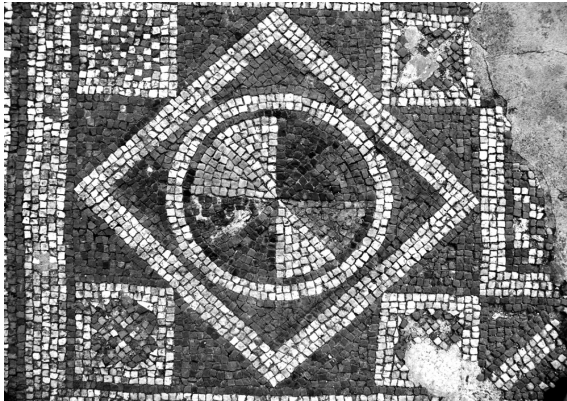
Image 10: Geometric mosaics from Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

In the floor of the north side aisle two exceptions to the non-representational decorative paradigm can be found, with two pairs of sandals and a depiction of pomegranates. One pair of sandals points inwards to the interior of the church (Fig. 11) while the others point

outwards. Perhaps they represented the sandals of pilgrims who visited the site, suggestive that Agia Trias was the site of a regional cult, or perhaps the simple footwear was meant to remind visitors of Christ's humility and poverty.[11] The motif appeared most often in the pagan Roman context at the thresholds of baths where they functioned as reminders for people to take off their sandals. The sandals were often accompanied by the inscription "Bene Lava" or "Have a Good Bath".[12]

Image 11: Mosaic of sandals from the north side aisle of Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

The narthex has a semicircular niche at its south end and was set apart from the main body of the narthex by a pair of columns. This niche probably held a font for ritual ablutions. Since this specialized part of the narthex communicates only with the catechumena it is probable that it functioned as a ritual component for the catechumens who were in the process of preparing to enter the Christian faith. Such additional, apsed corridors along the southern flanks of churches were common features in Cypriot basilicas of the Early Christian period. They are found in the Basilica of Campanopetra at Salamis, for example, and at the Karpasian church of Agios Philon, which is very close to Agia Trias. In the atrium of Agias Trias (Fig. 12) one can still find a small monolithic stone font of a type fairly common in Cyprus: consisting of a flared and roughly fluted columnar base supporting a broad, shallow bowl or phiale (Fig. 13).[13] Scattered among the ruins are late Roman period mills for grinding wheat

and deep bowls probably used for crushing grapes for wine or olives for oil. Given the liturgical centrality of bread and wine for the liturgy, and the sacral function of oil for anointing, these are eloquent signifiers of the diurnal religious activities which took place here centuries ago when a small religious community may have been supported by local benefaction.

Image 12: The atrium of Agias Trias, taken from the southwest (photograph by the author).

Image 13: Phiale in situ in the atrium of Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

Image 14: The baptistery of Agia Trias, taken from the west (photograph by the author).

The existence of a substantial baptistery building and its processional baptismal font at Agias Trias points to the significance of the church in the region (Fig. 14). In most cases, construction of a baptistery of such scale and elaboration would have indicated the presence of a bishop. According to Tertullian (A. D. 140- c. 230) in his work "On Baptism" there were instances when deacons or presbyters, if appointed to do so by a bishop, could administer baptismal rites.[14] There is a similar baptistery at Agios Philon, not far from Agias Trias and also on the Karpas peninsula, but the two baptisteries may not have functioned contemporaneously. If the two baptisteries did function at the same time, this may indicate either a relaxed policy on baptism on Cyprus in the 5th to 6th centuries or, as was sometimes the case in North African early Christian communities, that there were competing bishops or Christian sects who both baptized with similar ceremonies.[15]

The baptistery at Agias Trias consists of an atrium with four monolithic columns in the north where witnesses to the baptism would observe the ceremony (see Fig. 2). Baptism in this period was a theatrical event, with an audience for the rites. The audience would have included the sponsors or guarantors of the initiate's character and sincerity, as well as those who had guided the candidate through their catechumenate and vouchsafed for his/her readiness to enter the faith. At the baptistery at Kourion, Cyprus, there is evidence of hook-like devices in front of the

'stage' recess in which the baptism would take place, so that the drawing back of curtains, revealing the sacred space, would have heightened both the drama and the solemnity of the event.

Image 15: The cross-shaped processional baptismal font at Agias Trias (photograph by the author).

Baptism during this era was most often by full immersion.[16] The baptismal pool itself was a cross-shaped processional type (Fig. 15), whereby celebrants began the ceremony in a western room sometimes called an apodyterion (changing room; the term is derived from Roman bath houses) where they would undress and prepare for the rites by renouncing the devil and evil. They would then enter the central room with the baptismal font and descend, one by one, down the 3 steps into the pool. They would then be fully immersed by the priest 3 times (the number of steps and immersions both symbolic of the Trinity), and ascend the opposite steps and emerge into the eastern room, towards the rising sun. In this room, called the chrismarion, they would be given white vestments and be anointed with chrism (sanctified oil) and perhaps receive the laying on of hands, which would complete the rituals of the entry into the Christian religion.[17] This eastern room has an apse: this may be where the bishop stood for the anointing ceremony.

Other such cross-shaped processional baptismal pools can be found elsewhere on Cyprus, including the aforementioned basilica of Agios Philon and the basilica of Epiphanios at Salamis (Constantia). In some,

such as those at Kourion and St. Epiphanios at Salamis, the baptismal water was heated by a furnace to make the celebrants and the presiding bishop more comfortable. At both Kourion and Agios Philon there is evidence of later alterations of the cruciform font whereby arms of the cross were blocked off in order to facilitate infant baptism, which became increasingly the norm in later centuries.[18]

The cross-shape of these baptismal fonts was highly symbolic. The four arms, filled with water, paralleled the promise of salvation in the Four Rivers of Paradise. In some North African cruciform fonts mosaic decorations of flowing streams, fish, plants, and birds make the paradisiacal symbolism even more explicit. They alluded directly to the Garden of Paradise which the baptized could hope to attain upon becoming Christian.[19] At times, pipes and continuous drains allowed for water to literally flow through the font, creating an impression of a natural stream or river and a "living" water paralleling the River Jordan in which Christ was baptized by John. But the cruciform shape also alluded to Christ's death on the cross and, eventually, his resurrection. So the descent into the font itself was also a descent into a watery tomb, and a symbolic death (of the former, sinful self), and one's re-emergence from the font indicated the promise of resurrection and a new, eternal life free of sin, which is also why the celebrants move from west to east, towards the rising sun.[20] The time or baptism was also significant. Although in theory baptism could take place at any day of the year, there were favorite times for the rites, such as Easter.

Each of the aforementioned elements at Agias Trias, either architectural or decorative, are in a substantial degree of peril. While the case of northern Cyprus is fairly well known, it bears reviewing how the political and economic realities of the region impinge upon work in architectural conservation. After the British gave up Cyprus in 1960 and the independent Republic of Cyprus was born, the new country was unable to control the forces of ethnic division and the meddling of foreign powers. Inter-communal strife between the Greek Cypriot majority and Turkish Cypriot minority on the island led ultimately to an intervention of Turkish troops in 1974. This military action partitioned the island into a Turkish sector in the north, comprised of about a third of the island's total area, while the Greek Cypriots were forced to the southern two-thirds of the island. This southern half retained the political identity and diplomatic legitimacy of the Republic of Cyprus while the attempted establishment

of a Turkish national sector was never sanctioned by the international community. Thus northern Cyprus has remained under international embargo and has been culturally and socially isolated for the past 34 years.

This political dilemma has had a significant impact on the historical architecture of the northern region of Cyprus. Firstly, the economic embargo has meant that very few funds can be allocated to the sustaining of the uncommonly rich historical heritage of the area. Secondly, the embargo has kept professionals and scholars from returning, thus increasing its cultural isolation. Agias Trias is just one of scores of important historical buildings in northern Cyprus in jeopardy because of lack of proper maintenance and exposure to environmental risks, erosion, and threats of seismic damage, and vandalism.[21] Agias Trias's unique status and the extremely fragile nature of its distinctive mosaic decorations make it an exceptionally important structure to consolidate and conserve.

Examples of appropriate intervention exist elsewhere on Cyprus. For example, the basilica at Soli, also known for its extensive and unique mosaic flooring, has been roofed over to protect it from rain and solar damage. At Paphos in the Republic of Cyprus, the Roman mosaics have been protected from tourist foot traffic by a well-thought out system of elevated walkways which lead visitors throughout the site and offer convenient platforms for viewing the works in situ. There, too, the most important works have been roofed over. Such a combination of prophylactic measures would help preserve Agias Trias and its mosaics from further depredation. While the bucolic scene which currently welcomes the visitor may be lost, attention to the aesthetics of design so that the protective elements might fit less obtrusively into the immediate environment, would avoid at least the worst case of Soli's roofing which is decidedly industrial in appearance. Since Agias Trias is a fairly small site, two or three discrete, low, wooden viewing platforms would suffice to provide ample opportunities for visitors and these could, moreover, be stations for educational labeling, diagrams, and art historical information.

Before such plans can be made, however, there are immediate concerns for the site. Invasive plants have rooted in many places and the tesserae of the mosaics are loosening in many places. The luster is already off of these tesserae through centuries of weathering, but the actual physical loss of more of them would be a great detriment to art history. A

thorough and careful cleaning of the site and resetting of the mosaic fragments, along with a tarp and earthen seasonal covering for the winter months might help slow down the damage.

Endnotes

[1] The Greek place names are given after the Turkish names. A few Greek Cypriots remain in this area, having stayed on after the Turkish intervention of 1974 which partitioned the island of Cyprus into two parts: a Turkish northern part and a Greek southern part.

[2] A catechumena is the section of the church reserved for the catechumen, people who are considering becoming Christians but who as yet are unbaptized. They could hear the liturgies and sermons but did not fully participate with the congregation in the main body (the nave) of the church. A survey of the basilica in early Christian architecture is the classic text by A. Orlandos, *Paleochristian Basilicas*, 3 vols. (Athens, 1952). [Greek title: *Hē xylostegos palaiochristianikē basilikē tēs Mesogeiakēs lekanēs*].

[3] The site was first excavated by A. Papageorghiou with several reports published in the *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, between 1963 and 1973. For these and other references see p. 89 in Demetrios Michaelides, "Mosaic Pavements from Early Christian Cult Buildings in Cyprus," in *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus* eds. W. A. Daszewski and D. Michaelides, (Ravenna: Mario Lapucci, 1988): pp. 80-153

[4] For Kourion, see A. H. S. Megaw et. al., *Kourion: Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, (Harvard University Press, 2007). For Paphos, see A. H. S. Megaw, "Reflections on Byzantine Paphos," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey on her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Athens, 1975): pp. 135-150. For Soli, see J. des Gagniers, "Excavations at Soloi," in *The Archaeology of Cyprus*, ed. N. Robertson (New Jersey, 1975): pp. 211-232; and Tran Tam Tinh, "La Basilique," in *Soloi, Dix Campagnes des Fouilles (1964-1974)*, (Recherches archaeologique de l'Universite Laval, 1985). For Salamis, see G. E. Jeffrey, "The Basilica of Constantia," *The Antiquaries Journal* 8 (1928): 48-56; and C. Delvoye, "La place des grandes basiliques de Salamine de Chypre dans l'architecture paleochretienne", in *Salamine de Chrypre. Histoire et Archeologie. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* no. 578, Paris, 1980, pp. 313-327. For

the Basilica of Campanopetra see G. Roux, *Salamine de Chypre XV: La Basilique de la Campanopetra*, (Paris, 1998).

[5] For Agios Philos, see A.H.S. Megaw and J. du Plat Taylor, "Excavations at Agios Philon," in *Reports of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, (Nicosia, 1981). For the Panagia Kanakaria see A.H.S. Megaw and E.J.W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus*, (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1977).

[6] The destruction and later reconstruction of these basilicas is dealt with in A. H. S. Megaw, "Three Vaulted Basilicas in Cyprus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 66 (1946): 48-56. See some counter proposals to Megaw in S. Curcic, "Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: An Introduction to the Problem of the Genesis of a Regional Style," in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, eds. Nancy Patterson Sevcenko and Christopher Moss (Princeton, 1999): pp. 71-80.

[7] For a detailed discussion of screens and screening in later Byzantine churches see Sharon Gerstel, "An Alternative View of the Late Byzantine Sanctuary Screen," in *Thresholds of the Sacred*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Dumbarton Oaks and Harvard University Press, 2006): pp.135-157.

[8] See A. Papageorghiou, "Foreign Influences on the Early Christian Architecture of Cyprus," in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus Between Occident and Orient'*, p. 493; A.H.S. Megaw believed that, given the small size of the church, an elevated ambo was unnecessary and that the solea functioned essentially as an ambo as well, providing merely a segregated central space in the nave for the priest. A.H.S. Megaw "Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 67.

[9] For a discussion of the ways that the spaces of early Byzantine churches were divided see Urs Peschlow, "Dividing Interior Space in Early Byzantine Churches: The Barriers between the Nave and Aisles," in *Thresholds of the Sacred*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Dumbarton Oaks & Harvard University Press, 2006): pp. 53-71.

[10] The style of the mosaics is similar to the mosaics of the Basilica of Chrysopolitissa in Paphos, Cyprus. See Michaelides, pp. 100-103. For similarities in Antioch mosaics see *Antioch Mosaics*, ed. Fatih Cimok, (Istanbul, 2000); specifically the geometric mosaics from the 'House of the Evil Eye' on pp. 38-39, the geometric borders from houses in Antakya on pp.

42 and 46-47, as well as the geometric border from the 'House of the Buffet Supper' in Antakya on p. 119.

[11] Michaelides notes that: "This motif which was used widely in the pagan world, became, during the Christian period, a symbol of pilgrimage, not only in this world but also from this world to the next." He notes other examples of sandals in mosaic in the Churches of Mt. Zion and Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem and the basilica in Beersheba. Michaelides p. 100-102. The Beersheba sandals are illustrated in M. Avi-Yonah, "Mosaic Pavements in Palestine," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* vol. 3, no. 2, plate XIV, fig. 1.

[12] See K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, (Oxford, 1978), 164.

[13] A similar font can be found in the Medieval Museum in Limissol and another more finely carved example in marble in the old apse at St. Barnabas church near Famagusta.

[14] R. M. Jensen, "Baptismal Rites and Architecture," chapter 5 in *A People's History of Christianity: Late Latin Christianity*, vol. 2, (Minneapolis, 2005), pp. 123-124.

[15] Jensen, "Baptismal Rites and Architecture," 124-128.

[16] Accounts of the theory, rites, and symbolism of baptism can be found in the writings of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386 A.D.). An excellent overview is given in the "Baptism" entry in vol. 1 of *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, Samuel Macauley Jackson (Ed.) (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1960), pp. 435-454. The useful entry for "Baptistery" is found on pp. 454-455. See also Jensen, "Baptismal Rites and Architecture," 117-144.

[17] See Megaw, *Kourion*, p. 109-100. See also Kenneth Conant's discussion of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and its baptistery in K. J. Conant, "The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem," *Speculum* 31, n. 1 (1956) 1-48.

[18] Jensen, "Baptismal Rites and Architecture," 130-135.

[19] Ibid., 139.

[20] These funerary elements are discussed at length in an article by N. Temple, "Baptism and Sacrifice: Cosmogony as Private Ontology," *arq* [*Architectural Research Quarterly*] vol. 8, no. 1 (2005) 47-60.

[21] A recent exception to the isolation was made in 2007 when the historical architecture of the medieval city of Famagusta was placed on the World Monument Fund's 100 Most Endangered Sites listing.

Reconstructing the History of the Cypriot Maronites

Simone Paturel
Newcastle University

Abstract

The origin of the Maronite community of Cyprus has long been a matter of debate amongst scholars, from Jerome Dandini in the sixteenth century to the present day. In this paper, I will raise four key questions concerning the traditional picture of Cypriot Maronite history. Firstly, did the Maronite community arrive on Cyprus to escape religious persecution in their homeland? Secondly, can we clearly identify the four waves of migration that the traditional history assumes and links with episodes of persecution of Maronites in their homeland? Thirdly, was the Maronite community in Cyprus purely agricultural or was it also involved in trade. Finally, the population of Maronites in Cyprus is supposed to have fallen dramatically between the twelfth century and the present day: this paper will ask how we can explain this and whether or not it was the result of mass conversion. The paper concludes that there is little evidence for four waves of migration to Cyprus following religious persecution and that economic migration is a more likely explanation for the movement of population. Maronites in Lebanon were heavily involved in the silk trade and with Maronite communities present in the cities of Cyprus as well as rural villages, so there is no reason to exclude the possibility of a merchant community. Evidence for population decline is less certain than previously supposed and mass conversion is not required to explain it.

Keywords

Maronite History, Cyprus, Lebanon, Migration

Özet

Kıbrıs'taki Maronit topluluğu 16. yy. da Terami Dandini den günümüze akademisyenler arasında tartışma konusu olagelmiştir. Bu makalede geleneksel Kıbrıs Maronitlerin tarihini dört temel soru ile ele alınacaktır. Öncelikle Maronit cemaati Kıbrıs'a kendi ana vatanlarındaki dini baskıdan kaçmak için mi gelmişlerdir? İkincisi, geleneksel tarihinin varsaydığı gibi dört dalga halinde olan göçü Maronitlere kendi ülkelerinde yapılan işkencelerle bağlantı kurarak tanımlayabilir miyiz?Üçüncü olarak Kıbrıs'taki Maronitler yalnızca tarım topluluğu mudur, yoksa ticaretle de

ilgilenmişmidirler?Son olarak da Kıbrıs'taki Maronit cemaati nüfusu 20. yy dan günümüze kadar dramatik bir biçimde neden azalmıştır? Bu makale bunu nasıl açıklayabileceğimizi ve bunun kitlesel din değiştirme nedeni ile hiç ilgili olup olmadığını sorgulamaktadır. Sunumda nüfus hareketinin dört dalgalı göçün dini baskılar nedeniyle olduğuna dair çok az delil olduğu, asıl olarak ekonomik nedenlerden dolayı göçün gerçekleştiği kanaatine varılmaktadır. Lübnan'daki Maronitler ağırlıklı olarak ipek ticareti ile ilgilenmektedirler ve Kıbrıs'taki Maronitler de kırsalın yanında şehirde de yaşamaktadırlar. Bu durumda onların ticari bir topluluk olma ihtimallerini elemek için hiçbir neden bulunmamaktadır. Nüfusun azalmasının gerekçeleri ise öngörülenden daha belirsiz olup din değişikliği de bunu açıklayamamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Maronitler, Kıbrıs, Lübnan, Göç

Introduction

The minority groups dotting the map of the Middle East and Mediterranean regions present the outside observer with distinctive socio-cultural profiles comprising factors of race, religion, language, patterns of internal organization, inherited traditions, etc., setting them apart from the national or administrative structures in which they are embedded. Reconstructing their individual histories on empirical lines can be an intriguing but difficult task for the researcher since the attainment of historical accuracy is usually hampered by unavailability of adequate records. Local traditions relating to community origins are often nothing more than re-explorations or re-creations of ethnicity whereby a group negotiates its identity with its host society. When available, written records too are often of dubious historical value, particularly in relation to communities with a religious dimension, since the portrayal of their past is not infrequently coloured by an ideological concern for orthodoxy—a charge often laid at the doors of Maronite historians. The community has allegedly been from its inception a group of monothelite persuasion and possibly "the historical result of that compromise between the Byzantines and the Syrian monophysite Christians".[1] Incidentally, identifying the specific sectarian group from which the Maronite Church evolved is a major problem since the term "Maronite" itself is apparently of a late Roman Catholic origin.[2] The meaning of the term "Syrian" which refers to them, but also to Jacobites, also needs clarification.

The present remarks on the Cypriot Maronite community will address four key questions relating to the early history of this group and to its migration to Cyprus from the adjacent mainland. Firstly, did the Maronite community migrate to Cyprus to escape religious persecution or for other reasons? If it was to flee religious persecution under Byzantine rule, or under Islamic rule, how can we explain the fact that these Maronites moved to live under the same conditions in Cyprus? Secondly, did the migration happen in four waves between the eighth and thirteenth centuries?[3] Thirdly, was the Maronite community in Cyprus purely agriculturalist, as has been assumed previously, or did it include merchants? Finally, how can we explain the apparent decline in population between the twelfth century and today and was it due to mass conversion?

This paper will conclude that the traditional view, as presented by Hourani (1998) and others, that the Maronite community was an agricultural one that fled Lebanon under threat of persecution, can be challenged. With limited historical evidence, a variety of interpretations can be made but the simplest is one of economic migration. The date of the initial settlement of Maronites in Cyprus is not clear, nor is there firm evidence of four distinct waves of migration. The extent of apparent decline in Maronite population is unknown and can be explained in several ways, not just through religious conversion. Above all, this paper proposes more historical research into the origin and development of the Maronite community in Cyprus.

Origins of the Maronites

The quest for a Maronite identity has always been the focus of the Maronite community in Lebanon. However, it is important to note that the lack of historiography has played a major role in the confusion surrounding the origin and development of the community. It was not until the seventeen century that Duwayhi, "the father of the Maronite history", attempted a critical history. Most previous historians lack coherence and continuity.[4]

There are many theories regarding the origin of the Maronites, which itself poses a problem of identity. Some scholars argue that the Maronites derive their name from Saint Maron, an anchorite monk who lived from the fourth to the fifth century in Kefar-Nabo in Syria Secunda.[5] Others, such as the eleventh century Maronite writer Toum, bishop of Kfartab in

his *Ten Treatises*, attributed the name to the Syriac term Maran, which means "our Lord Jesus Christ".[6] Bishop Yusef Al–Dibs argues that the Maronites are the descendants of the Mardaites, meaning rebels, who only emerged as a religious group in the seventh century, when accepting Monotheism and rebelling against the Byzantine state.[7] However, the identification of the Mardaites with the Maronites remains controversial. The historian Theophanes first mentioned the group as attacking Lebanon and latter harassing Arabs.[8] Mark Whittow suggests that origins of the Mardaites are unclear and points out that they have been linked to several groups in Syria and Lebanon.[9] Whittow also finds evidence that the Mardaites later appeared in Greece and Southern Asia Minor and were responsible for providing marines for the Byzantine navy (Whittow 1996, 187). The Reverend Boutros Dau argued that at the beginning of the eighth-century the military organisation of the Maronites was called "Al-Marada" by Byzantine and Arab historians (Dau 1984, 337),[10] hinting at a link to the Mardaites. However, the theory remains very controversial, as historian Matti Mousa makes clear (Moosa 1969). It seems more likely that the Maronite appellation is only a religious affiliation and not an ethnic one (Dau 1984, 9), and that there is no connection between the Mardaites and the Maronites.

Hitti suggests that that the Maronites were an offshoot of the Syriac speaking (Suryani) church.[11] The two other offshoots were the east and west Syrian communions. The eastern Syrian group later became known as the Nestorians after Nestorius of Cicilia, patriarch of Constantinople from 428 to 431.

A further possibility for the origin of the Maronites is that they were originally followers of John, abbot of a monastery named Marun and located in the vicinity of Hama (Moosa 1969, 37). This John Marun, who is believed to have died around 707, may or may not have been connected with the earlier Saint Maron. It is also unclear whether or not the monastery from which his name derives had any link with the Saint either (Moosa 1969, 35, 37). However, as Moosa (1969, 13) points out, many writers have identified John Maron as the first Maronite patriarch. The origin of the Maronites remains, therefore, a matter of significant historical debate.

Founder myth or reality and Early Migration to Cyprus?
The Maronite Church believes that Saint Maron was the founder of their community.[12] The first identification of a religious leader called Maron comes from a letter of Saint John Chrysostom dated to 405-7 AD:

> To Maron, the Monk Priest: We are bound to you by love and interior disposition, and see you here before us as if you were actually present....[13]

Bishop Theodoret of Cyrrhus also attested the existence of Maron, ascetic Syrian monk.[14] Theodoret wrote slightly later, in the mid fifth century and while he probably never met Maron he seems to have been familiar with some of Maron's followers such as Jacob and Limnaios (Theodoret ch. 21, 22). Many have speculated as to where Saint Maron lived. Bishop Dib argued that he lived on the top of a mountain near Apamea in Syria Secunda (Dib 1971, 3). After his death, Theodoret suggests a sacred enclosure was built above his tomb (Theodoret 16.4) and Dib suggests that a monastery was erected nearby (Dib 1971, 5).

Maronite tradition holds that 350 monks and followers of St. Maron were murdered on the orders of the monophysite bishop Severus of Antioch in 517 and their martyrdom is honoured by a festival held on the 31st July each year (Moosa 1986, 44). During the incident the Monophysites destroyed churches and monasteries in Syria, resulting in the death of 350 monks, which in turn led the emperor Justinian to publish an edict on August 6, 536, condemning the perpetrators to severe punishment (Moosa 1986, 63). However, we have problems identifying these monks; were they Maronites and what was the reason for their murder? We have a letter, addressed to the Synod of 518, by the monks and abbots of Apamea complaining about the incident, and a letter sent by Pope Hormisda to the bishops of Syria Secunda, which we are led to believe was in response to the original letter. However, we still lack strong historical evidence to support this assumption (Moosa 1986, 49). The importance of the assertion identifying the murdered monks as Maronites lies in two key points; firstly by associating the incident with the followers of Maron, continuity can be implied between St. Maron and the first Maronite Patriarch, John Maron in the early 8th century and secondly it establishes that the Maronites were originally Chalcedonian

and this adds weight to a claim that the Maronites never strayed from orthodoxy throughout their history (Labourt 1910). However, as Moosa (1986, 31) suggests there is no strong evidence to assert a direct link between the monk Maron and the later Maronite Church. Furthermore, evidence for the massacre of monks in 517 is itself weak (Moosa 1986, 63). The claim to continuous orthodoxy can also be challenged and Labourt (1910) argues that the Maronites adopted the Monothelite doctrine during the seventh century and continued to do so even after it was condemned by the third council of Constantinople in 681.

The traditional history of the Maronites suggests four phases of migration to Cyprus from Lebanon, between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries. The first migration seems to have taken place in the late seventh century, simultaneously with the Maronite migration from Lebanon to Syria. The real causes of this population movement are unclear. Some scholars, such as nineteenth century historian Mas Latrie, ascribed an early date to the settlement of the Maronites in Cyprus, around 686. When considering the departure of the Mardaites from Mount Lebanon under Justinian II, he wrote that

> all the geographical and historical considerations, seem to point out that an important branch of the nation was established in Cyprus a long time before the crusades… around the seventh century in the time of Justinian the second…. Some Maronite families again had to seek shelter in Cyprus in the centuries following, when Syria was being ransacked by the Arabs and the Turks.[15]

The difficulty lies in linking the movement of the Mardaites to the migration of Maronites to Cyprus, there is very little evidence to confirm or contradict an early migration hypothesis.

Reverend Dau argues that the cause of this first migration is exaggerated. The population movement is attributed to religious persecutions caused by Islamic conquest, or to ill-treatment by the Jacobites. Dau considers that some might have emigrated for these reasons, but others for economic ones (Dau 1984, 192), which is probably a more plausible and less dramatic explanation. He argued that the Muslim-Christian relationship preceding the crusades was rather good, with many Caliphs visiting Maronite monasteries. Some of them were even buried in Maronite monasteries such as Umar- Ben- Abdl-al-Aziz,

who was buried in the convent of St. Maron near Ma'arret-al-Na'aman and Hisham in Al-Resafa. Maronite convents were centres of art and science and not hostile places, and Reverend Dau argued that the Monophysite persecution of the Maronites was refuted by many historians such as the Jacobite Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch (818-45 AD) and Michael the Syrian, another Jacobite historian and patriarch. While there is evidence of violence against Maronite monks in 516-17 AD by the Monophysites, we cannot therefore conclude that this led to a mass migration from Syria to Lebanon and beyond (Dau 1984, 193; Dib 1971, 5).

Turning now to the impact of the Islamic invasions, again, we might ask ourselves an important question as to why the Maronites would flee the Islamic conquest in Syria to find themselves under Islamic rule in Cyprus. We know that in the 650s, the Orthodox inhabitants of Cyprus were scattered and removed to other parts of the empire.: as Judith Herrin argues in her book, *The Formation of Christendom*, 'those who could afford to leave the island did so to seek refuge in Africa, in Sicily and Italy, from both Monotheletism and the Arabs'.[16] In this period Monotheletism was enforced by the emperor Heraclius in Constantinople and had led to divisions in the east. While the Maronites of this period may have been Monothelitists themselves (Moosa 1969, 37-8) there is no suggestion that this led to a migration to Cyprus. The proposed flight from the Islamic conquest in Syria to Cyprus does not make sense either.

Hitti suggests a later date for the first migration to Cyprus. He suggests the colonists may have been originally refugees from the Abbasid persecution, particularly in the ninth century under al Mutawakil, later receiving fresh immigrants in the crusading period (Hitti 2002, 353, 24-25).[17]

We therefore can conclude that the evidence of an early migration of the Maronites from Syria to Cyprus on the grounds of religious persecution is unclear. The original date of the settlement is unknown and it is impossible to link it directly to any specific persecution event.

The Later Migrations
The second migration is believed to have taken place around the year 938, following the burning of St. Maron's monastery in the mid tenth century and the transfer of the patriarchal residence to Lebanon, although we have no evidence of the existence of a recognised denomination in Syria at the

time (Dib 1971, 7; Moosa 1986, 100). This event was attested by Al Massoudi, who reported that it "was destroyed as well as the cells which surrounded it, due to repeated incursions by the Arabs, and the violence by the Sultan" (Dib 1971, 7). However, we should not automatically conclude that these events are linked to a second migration. How can we explain the fact that not all the Maronites left? We know that Maronites migrated to many other countries, such as modern Iraq and Turkey, and prospered; they even prospered in different parts of Syria (Dau 1984, 194). For example, traveller reports suggest the existence of a Maronite community in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Takrit and other places between the Tigris and Euphrates (Hitti 1962, 252-53).

A third proposed migration to Cyprus took place around the twelfth century, under the auspices of Guy de Lusignan. After losing the Latin states in the Levant, he bought Cyprus in 1192 from Richard the Lionheart who had conquered it the previous year.[18] This allowed Christians from Syria to seek refuge from Moslem persecution. Hitti suggests that Maronites migrated to Cyprus following the capture of Beirut by Salah El Din and the destruction of the Maronite strongholds of Bsharri, Ihdin and Hadath al Jubbah (Hitti 1962, 325, 623). Again, however, there is limited evidence to support this hypothesis. However, it is clear that Christians found it difficult to obtain landed property under Islamic rule. Migration to Cyprus to find agricultural land under the Christian rule of the Latins is an attractive alternative proposition.

We can demonstrate the existence of a Maronite monastery built in Cyprus in the twelfth century, that of Saint John of Kouzband. A hand written Syriac manuscript from the Vatican archive confirms this:

> I, the humble Sema'an, monk by name, wrote these lines in this book, before our Blessed Father Boutros, Patriarch of the Maronites, who resides in the Monastery of Our Lady in Mayfouq in the valley of Ilige in the land of Batroun when he gave me power to preside over the Monastery of Saint John of Kouzband in the Island of Cyprus during the epoch of the monks who were living in the Monastery of Mar John. (G. Hourani 1998, 3)

Several other later documents from the Vatican archive also confirm several appointments to the same monastery (G. Hourani 1998, 4-5). St. Neophytus himself came to visit the Monastery in 1152.[19] The monastery

was close to the Greek monastery of St. John of Koutsovendis,[20] still extant today, although largely rebuilt in the 1950s (Nikolaou-Konnari and Schabel 2005, 166). The remains of two churches believed to be Maronite are visible close to the village of Koutsovendis.[21] The Maronite monastery was seized by the Greek Church causing the Maronite Patriarch al Hadthy to write a letter of complaint to Prince Albertos in Italy in 1518.[22] The village of Koutsovendis is believed to have originally been Maronite and Maronites still lived in the neighbouring village of Vouno in 1939 (Bradswell).

A final migration has been proposed following the defeat of the Crusaders in Tripoli and the Holy Land at the end of the thirteenth century (Dib 1971, 65, 77). Again, there is little evidence to link the event to the arrival of Maronites in Cyprus. Nevertheless, there is circumstantial evidence for migration to Cyprus after 1291. A 1322 rubric of a 1222 document that did not mention Maronites, includes them, suggesting they had now become important.[23] They were also represented by a bishop, George, at the council of Nicosia in 1340 (Nikolaou-Konnari and Schabel 2005, 166).

With limited and fragmentary historical information, linguistic evidence is important to the understanding the migration of the Maronite community to Cyprus. The vernacular spoken by the Cypriote Maronites bears a close relation to the vernaculars of Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria.[24] What is particularly significant is that the Maronites of Cyprus do not speak a Lebanese dialect.[25] This suggests that migration may have come directly from Northern Syria or Southeastern Anatolia or that at the very least there were very significant contacts between these regions and Cyprus. The Arabic dialect of Cyprus is archaic in some respects, reflecting a significant component of Aramaic. This trait is unknown in other modern Arabic vernaculars suggesting that the separation of the Maronite group on Cyprus was early (Borg 2007). Hitti (1962, 252-3) also reports that the villagers at Kormakiti have preserved a mixed Syriac-Arabic dialect of the variety spoken in twelfth century Lebanon, although Borg's recent studies suggest Lebanon was not the origin of their language.

What is clear from this discussion is that the precise dates of the Maronite's migration to Cyprus are unknown. However, by the end of the twelfth century they were a significant group amongst the population of the Island. The reasons behind the migrations are not clear, yet we have

little evidence to support the hypothesis of four distinct episodes caused by specific incidents of persecution in Lebanon.

An Agricultural Maronite Community?

The remaining Maronite villages in Cyprus such as Kormakiti are in rural, mountainous locations and many of the now lost Maronite villages were clustered in the same region. However, the image of a mountain-based community of Maronites seeking refuge from persecution, as argued by Dib (1971, 65), may not be entirely correct. We should note that villages like Kormakiti are situated on the edge of the plain of Cyprus. While villages may have been sited for defensive reasons, simpler explanations are also possible. A local tale from Kormakiti tells of the re-foundation of the village at its present location. The first village was located some distance down the slope where a small church can still be seen today. While searching for a lost cow, a local farmer discovered a source of water within what was then wooded uplands. The existing village was suffering from drought at the time and so swiftly moved up the hill to be reconstructed close to the new spring.[26]

A Maronite community was also present in Medieval Famagusta, then a cosmopolitan trading port. The church of St. Anne in Famagusta has been identified as Maronite and is marked as *Maronit Klisse* on modern maps, however, this remains controversial. St. Anne's lies within the Syrian district of the walled city of Famagusta and close to the Nestorian church. The church is also only and a few hundred meters from the Carmelite and Armenian churches. The first clear identification of the church of St. Anne as Maronite derives from an Ottoman document of the late sixteenth century. However, there was also a Benedictine monastery of St. Anne in Famagusta (Schabel 2007) and there remains the possibility of confusion. The church contains Latin inscriptions, which has cast doubt on the identification of the church as Maronite. However, the church also contains Greek inscriptions. Maronite icons held by the Maronite diocese of Cyprus suggest that a mixture of inscriptions in Greek, Latin and Aramaic was the norm. The church is mostly whitewashed but what frescoes remain are of Italio-Byzantine or Byzantine in style.[27] Further research work on the church is needed to confirm it as belonging to the Maronite faith but at present it remains largely inaccessible. Albert Hourani argues that

Emigration was not a simple process as it may appear at first sight to be. Young men did not go spontaneously, without preparation and by simple individual choice, down to the harbour and board a ship. Emigration involved organisations and decisions of various kinds.[28] (A. Hourani and Shehadi 1992, 7)

We may observe that when Lusignan brought locals from the Latin East, generally these tended to be scribes, artisans and craftsmen who arrived for economic or strategic reasons. One would expect that these people would settle in cities rather than rural locations. Lusignan was also accompanied by Syrian nobles who in all likelihood would have brought their retainers and household with them.

However, there is some circumstantial evidence that the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Maronite community may have been rural in character, as there seems to be no papal concern for the group (Schabel 2007). Further work is needed in this area.

As for the Maronites in the Levant, we know already that, in Syria, they were scattered everywhere, even in Aleppo. We have evidence that, even in the thirteenth century, they were not restricted to the Orontes valley (Dau 1984, 191). The Maronite community in Lebanon flourished as a result of the silk trade and, as a consequence, Beirut became the centre of silk export. Although remaining concentrated in the mountains, Maronites moved from northern Lebanon to settle in the south, and the Chouf (A. Hourani and Shehadi 1992, 4).

Given the trade routes between Cyprus and the Near East and the role of Maronites in the silk trade, we should expect that the community of Maronites in Cyprus would have included merchants. Unfortunately there is no direct evidence for this. However, there are numerous extant notarial acts covering the fourteenth century by the Genoese notary Sambuceto.[29] These are in Latin and primarily concern Genoese merchants, their wills, trades, and commercial activities. These documents, which survive largely by chance, do contain Arabic names and further investigation may provide evidence of Cypriote Maronites involved in trade.

Linguistic evidence can also provide evidence for the character of the Maronite Community on Cyprus. Jennings noted that Cypriot merchants regularly travelled in the eastern Mediterranean including, significantly, to Anatolia and Aleppo (Jennings 1993, 334), where the language of the Cypriote Maronites has its closest links. Borg argues, however, that the

Maronite community in Cyprus was agricultural on linguistic grounds, as Cypriot Arabic retained Aramaic words for farming implements such as the plough (Borg 2004, 39). Blau suggested that the transformation from Aramaic to Arabic amongst the Jews of Babylon was linked to their urbanisation.[30] The Maronite settlement at Kormakiti is clearly agricultural in character, and we should not find the retention of Aramaic words associated with farming surprising in this context. There is clearly an element of continuity with pre-Arab civilisation (Borg 2007).

It is still possible that the Maronite settlements in Cyprus did have business interests and, significantly, in the silk trade; Women from the Maronite community can still describe the weaving of silk cloth (Borg 2007). Even with an agricultural community at Kormakiti and other rural locations, Maronite trading groups may have been present in ports such as Famagusta. Whilst we have no firm evidence of Maronite involvement in trade, other eastern Christian groups were and Nestorian merchants were present in Cyprus in the fourteenth century.[31]

We should therefore be confident in challenging the notion that the Maronite community in Cyprus was a purely agricultural one that fled Lebanon under fear of persecution. The Maronite community in Lebanon was a mixed one with agriculturalists and successful silk traders. Given the historically close trading links between Cyprus and the Levant, we should have no reason to believe that the Maronite community in Cyprus was very different.

Population Decline?

Hackett believes that the Maronites were the largest Christian community in Cyprus after the Greeks, with a population of 180,000 in 1249. However, this number seems exaggerated and a more realistic figure for the Lusignan dynasty would be a population of 7000-8000 in thirty villages. This number then decreased, with 4000 in nineteen villages, recorded in 1596. Following his visit to Cyprus in 1569, Lusignan reported the existence of locusts in the island, migrating from Syria. The Dominican Angelo Calepio of Cyprus wrote in 1572, "Cyprus was scourged for many years with such swarms of locusts that they ate even stems of trees"[32] (Jennings 1993, 173). Mas Latrie counted 1200 to 1300 inhabiting five to six villages in the mid nineteenth century, while twenty years ago they were 160-170 families, of which 150 possessed four villages with a church and a priest appointed to each village. These

villages were called Kormakiti, Kapasia, Asomatos, and Hagia Marina, with one village shared with the Turks called Kampyli. Mas Latrie added that a further eighty Maronites lived in Nicosia, with four hundred at Larnaca, and that a priest and few others resided in Limassol.[33] Today the Maronite community of Cyprus numbers around 6000.[34]

What happened to the Maronite population from the twelfth century onwards? If we take the view of Hackett, with a very large Maronite community present in Cyprus in the thirteenth century, then we need to explain a large fall in population. However, this seems unlikely and if one adopts a figure of 7-8000 in the thirteenth century, the picture is one of gradual decline and then slow recovery. Even this, though, is subject to errors in the estimates produced by various visitors to Cyprus such as Dandini. For example, Dandini did not visit all of the Maronite villages and relied on secondary testimony from Italians and Greeks (Jennings 1993, 14-15).[35] The identification of Dandini's 19 villages remains problematic, deriving from the imperfect translation of Dandini's work into English by the historian C. D. Cobham.[36] Dandini named the villages as Metoschi, Fludi, Santa Marina, Asomatos, Gambili, Karpasia, Kormakitis, Trimitia, Casapisani, Vono, Cibo, Ieri, Crusicida, Cesalauriso, Sotto Kruscida, Attalu, Cleipirio, Piscopia and Gastria (Dandini 1656, 23). What is clear is the sharp decline in the number of villages and the concentration of the Maronite community, particularly in the village of Kormakiti.

How can we explain this "decline" in population? Given the lack of historical sources, it is open to speculation, a temptation that has proved too strong for some historians. It could be that the population declined due to natural causes such as plague, or famine caused by locusts between 1610 and 1628, or even the earthquake in 1556 (Jennings 1993, 179). Guita Hourani explains this fact by the arrival of epidemics and the raids of the Muslims from Egypt, which caused much damage to the population of the island during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (G. Hourani 1998, 6).[37] Hourani, however, is inaccurate, as raids from Egypt stopped earlier in the fifteenth century than she reports.

Guita Hourani also argues that there is evidence of ill-treatment by the Latins (G. Hourani 1998, 7); we have a letter, sent by the Maronite Patriarch Sham'oun al Hadthy to Pope Leo X, complaining about the confiscation of the Saint Maronite Church and its property by the Latin Bishop of Nicosia in 1514, while Cyprus was still under Venetian rule

(Assamarani 1979, 26-29). This preceded by four years a similar complaint about the confiscation of the monastery of St. Chrystosomos by the Greek Orthodox church. The circumstances of the seizures need to be considered carefully and need not reflect a general persecution of the Maronites. Latin churches were also seized if they became run down, for example (Schabel 2007). There is in fact little evidence of mistreatment of the Maronites by Latins during their period of rule, despite Hourani's claims to the contrary (G. Hourani 1998, 4). Her supposition that the Venetians imposed a feudal system and "exorbitant taxes" is also incorrect; the feudal system was introduced by the Lusignans 300 years previously (G. Hourani 1998, 4; Schabel 2007). Finally Hourani's suggestion that the worst rule of the Venetian period was by Jacques le Bâtard is undermined fatally by the fact that he was in fact a Lusignan king of Cyprus who died in 1473, some sixteen years before the arrival of the Venetians (Schabel 2007).

The Christians found themselves in difficult positions under the Ottomans. We do not have any record of letters exchanged between Rome and the Maronite Patriarch in the mainland, as the danger of the crusades was still present. We have documentary evidence showing a high level of conversion of Christians to Islam in Cyprus; in 1593-1595, the converts reached 31% of adult males (Jennings 1993, 139). Jennings argues that conversion to Islam was an easy means to obtain divorce for both men and women. Conversion to Islam was very popular among the Latin Christian community.[38] However, we do not know if there were any Maronites among these converts and in a similar political situation in contemporary Lebanon, the Maronite community did not convert. Some conversions of the Maronite community undoubted did take place to Greek Orthodoxy and Islam.[39] We have also the accounts of Father Jerome Dandini who reported the presence of converts; he reassessed the condition of the local Maronites and observed that the Muslims were renegades

> who turn Mahometans, to render their lives more easy and supportable, so that it seems an easy task to recover this isle…. For the renegades could no sooner see the Christian soldiers, but they would throw off their turbans, and put on hats instead, and turn their arms against the Turks (Jennings 1993, 143).

As noted above Dandini named nineteen villages left in Cyprus in 1596, and observed that many had left or apostatized, thus he recommended that a bishop should be appointed to this community. In 1598, Father Moise Anaisi was sent to Cyprus to serve until 1614 (Dandini 1656, 23). There have also been some suggestions that some amongst the Maronite community became the so-called Linobambaci, or Christians who adopted some elements of Islam.[40] These "converts" were concentrated in the Louroujina area of Nicosia. They retained some Christian beliefs such as baptism but adopted Islamic practices such as circumcision. Nevertheless, we should recall that the decline in the number of Cypriote Maronites was gradual at worst and so mass conversions are not needed to explain a loss in population.

Pilgrim accounts, from visits to Cyprus during fifteen century, describe desolation and unhealthy climate, and assert that the decline of the villages was worse than that of the towns; after the Ottoman conquest the populations of towns dropped considerably (Jennings 1993, 178-9). The Venetian Church was very concerned about the decreasing size of the population and tried to encourage new settlements, and the Ottomans did the same in the first decades of their rule (Jennings 1993, 202).

The evidence for population decline amongst the Maronites of Cyprus is weak. At worst there was a decline from a population of 7-8000 in the thirteenth century to 12-1300 in the nineteenth century, yet even these figures are heavily reliant on unreliable visitor accounts like that of Dandini. We have some evidence for general population decline in Cyprus, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which may explain a gradual fall in Maronite numbers. There is evidence for conversion to Islam amongst the general Christian population in Cyprus. However, under a similar political situation in Ottoman Lebanon conversion was not significant, so we have no reason to believe that the Cypriot Maronite community was any different. The biggest change lies in the number of villages with a Maronite community becoming more concentrated through time.

Conclusion

In his book *Taboos and the Perils of the Soul*, the Scottish social anthropologist, Sir James George Frazer, stated that "After all what we call truth is only the hypothesis which is found to work best".[41] This paper has attempted to provide another aspect of Maronite history, and try

to understand the real motivations behind and timing of their migration to Cyprus. In my opinion, the traditional picture of a Maronite agricultural community repeatedly fleeing religious persecution is flawed. The evidence for four distinct migrations prompted by specific episodes of persecution is very weak. A simpler explanation is one of economic migrants, whether traders or agriculturalists looking for land, in an eastern Mediterranean world that was well connected by trade routes. Maronite communities like Kormakiti were agricultural, but Maronites were also present in cities like Famagusta and Nicosia suggesting at least some merchants were numbered amongst them. The evidence for population decline relies heavily on uncertain estimates by various visitors to Cyprus. A decline in the number of villages is clear, however. The image of population decline through conversion and persecution can also be challenged. The evidence for persecution by Latins and Greeks, as presented by Hourani for example, is poor. While there is evidence of conversion in the Christian population of Cyprus as a whole, the extent of conversion of Maronites is not clear and we should recall the cohesiveness of the Maronite community in Lebanon. Further investigation of these claims is required. Opportunities to investigate the churches of Nicosia and Famagusta present themselves to us. Ultimately, what is touching is that the Maronites of Cyprus kept their language and rite, survived epidemics, famine, and persecution and stood proud for generations.

Bibliography

al-Dibs, Yusef (1871), Ruh al-Rudud fi Tafnid Zam al-Khuri Yusuf Dawud (Beirut: al-Umumiyya Press).

Assamarani (1979), Ph. Al Mawarinat fi Jazirat Koubros (Beirut).

Balard, Michel (ed.) *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 ottobre 1296-23 giugno 1299)* (Genoa: Istituto di Medievistica, Universita di Genova, 1983).

Balard, Michel (ed.) *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro. Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 marzo 1304-19 luglio 1310)* (Genoa: Istituto di Medievistica, Universita di Genova, 1984).

Blau, Joshua (1965), The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic : a study of the origins of Middle Arabic (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Borg, Alexander (2004), A comparative glossary of Cypriot Maronite Arabic (Arabic-English) : with an introductory essay (Boston, MA: Brill)

Bradswell, Monica (1939), 'A Visit to Some of the Maronite Villages of Cyprus', Eastern Churches Quarterly, 3, 304-08.

Chrysostom, John (1993), 'Letter to Maron', in Shafiq Abouzayd (ed.), *Ihidayutha: A Study of the Life of Singleness in the Syrian Orient : From Ignatius of Antioch to Chalcedon 451 A.D.* (Oxford: ARAM Society).

Cirilli, J. M. (1898), Les Maronites de Chypre (Lille: Don Bosco).

Cobham, Claude Delaval (1895), Excerpta Cypria, trans. C. D. Cobham (Nicosia: H. E. Clarke).

Dandini, Girolamo (1656), Missione apostolica al Patriarca, e Maroniti del Monte Libano del P. Girolamo Dandini ... e sua pellegrinazione a Gierusalemme. (Neri: Cesena).

Dau, Butros (1984), History of the Maronites : religious, cultural, and political (Lebanon: B. Dau).

Dib, Reverend Pierre (1971), History Of The Maronite Church (Detroit: Maronite Apostolic Exarchate).

Edbury, P. W. (1991), The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Enlart, Camille and Hunt, David (1987), Gothic art and the Renaissance in Cyprus (London: Trigraph in association with the A.G. Leventis Foundation).

Frazer, James George Sir (2002), Taboo and the perils of the soul (The Palgrave Archive edition of The golden bough ; v. 5; Basingstoke: Palgrave).

Glassé, Cyril (2001), The concise encyclopedia of Islam (London: Stacey International).

Hackett, John and Papaioannou, Charilaos I. (1923), A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.

Herrin, Judith (1989), The formation of Christendom (London: Fontana).

Hill, George Francis Sir (1940), A History of Cyprus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Hitti, Philip Khuri (1962), Lebanon in History (Second edn.; London: Macmillan).

--- (2002), History of the Arabs : from the earliest times to the present (10th edn.; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Hourani, Albert and Shehadi, Nadim (1992), The Lebanese in the world : a century of emigration (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with I.B. Tauris).

Hourani, Guita (1998), 'A Reading in the History of the Maronites of Cyprus From the Eighth Century to the Beginning of British Rule', Journal of Maronite Studies.
<http://www.mari.org/JMS/july98/A_Reading_in_the_History.htm>, accessed 24.04.2007.

Jennings, Ronald C. (1993), Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean world, 1571-1640 (New York ; London: New York University Press).

Mango, Cyril, Hawkins, E. J. W., and Boyd, Susan (1990), 'The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and Its Wall Paintings. Part I: Description', Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 44, 63-94.

Mas Latrie, Jacques Marie Joseph Louis de (1861), Histoire de l'ile de Chypre sous le regne des Princes de la maison de Lusignan (Paris).

Michell, R. L. N. (1908), 'A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus', The Nineteenth Century Journal, 63, 751-62.

Moosa, Matti (1969), 'The Relation of the Maronites of Lebanon to the Mardaites and Al-Jarajima', Speculum, 44 (4), 597-608.

--- (1986), The Maronites in history (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press).

Nikolaou-Konnari, Angel and Schabel, Christopher David (eds.) (2005), Cyprus : society and culture 1191-1374 (The medieval Mediterranean,, Leiden ; Boston: Brill).

Palmieri, A. (1905), Chypre, Dictionnaire de Théologie, Tome II (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané).

Salibi, Kamal S. (1980), Maronite historians of mediæval Lebanon (New York: AMS Press).

Varnava, Andrekos (2001), 'The Maronite Community of Cyprus: Past, Present and Future'. <http://www.syria-wide.com/The%20Maronite%20Community%20of%20Cyprus.htm>, accessed 24.04.2007.

Whittow, Mark (1996), The making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600-1025 (New studies in medieval history; Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Endnotes

1 Cyril Glassé, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam* (London: Stacey International, 2001), 294-96.

2 Note, for instance, that the French term "Maronite" is first attested in 1576 (Petit Robert).

3 Guita Hourani, "A Reading in the History of the Maronites of Cyprus from the Eighth Century to the Beginning of British Rule," *Journal of Maronite Studies* (1998), 2

<http://www.st-ilige.org/ARTICLES/MaronitesHistoryEN.pdf>

4 Kamal S. Salibi, *Maronite Historians of Mediæval Lebanon* (New York: AMS Press, 1980), 89.

5 Pierre Dib, *History of the Maronite Church* (Detroit: Maronite Apostolic Exarchate, 1971), 3.

6 Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 11.

7 Yusef Al-Dibs, *Ruh Al-Rudud Fi Tafnid Zam Al-Khuri Yusuf Dawud* (Beirut: al-Umumiyya Press, 1871), 258-59.

8 Matti Moosa, "The Relation of the Maronites of Lebanon to the Mardaites and Al-Jarajima," *Speculum* 44/4 (1969): 597-608 (597).

9 Mark Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600-1025* (New Studies in Medieval History; Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 187.

10 Butros Dau, *History of the Maronites: Religious, Cultural, and Political* (Lebanon: B. Dau, 1984), 337.

11 Philip Khuri Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1962), 252-53.

12 J. Labourt, 'Maronites', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910).
   <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09683c.htm>

13 John Chrysostom, 'Letter to Maron', in Shafiq Abouzayd (ed.), *Ihidayutha: A Study of the Life of Singleness in the Syrian Orient : From Ignatius of Antioch to Chalcedon 451 A.D.* (Oxford: ARAM Society, 1993).

14 Theodoret, "Histoire Des Moines De Syrie", in Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy-Molinghen (eds), *Sources Chrétiennes* 234 (Paris: Sources Chrétiennes, 1979), 16.1-4. [Not terribly clear what these numbers mean - p.14, paragraphs 1-4? Clarify.]

15 Jacques Marie Joseph Louis De Mas Latrie, *Histoire De L'ile De Chypre Sous Le Regne Des Princes De La Maison De Lusignan* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Imperiale, 1861), 108-9.

[16] Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (London: Fontana, 1989), 251.

[17] Philip Khuri Hitti, *History of the Arabs: From the Earliest Times to the Present* 10th edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 324-55.

[18] Angel Nikolaou-Konnari and Christopher David Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 1.

[19] Sir George Francis Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 305.

[20] Cyril Mango, E. J. W. Hawkins, and Susan Boyd, "The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and Its Wall Paintings. Part I: Description," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 63-94.

[21] Monica Bradswell, "A Visit to Some of the Maronite Villages of Cyprus," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 3 (1939): 304-8.

[22] Assamarani, *Ph. Al Mawarinat Fi Jazirat Koubros* (Beirut, 1979), 26-29.

[23] Christopher David Schabel, "Personal Communication," (Nicosia, 2007). [Location isn't needed, but full date is.]

[24] Alexander Borg, *A Comparative Glossary of Cypriot Maronite Arabic (Arabic-English): With an Introductory Essay* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2004), 9.

[25] Alexander Borg, "Personal Communication," (06/03/2007)

[26] Katine Basheins, "Personal Communication," (19/04/2007).

[27] Camille Enlart and David Hunt, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (London: Trigraph in association with the A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1987), 274.

[28] Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with I.B. Tauris, 1992), 7.

[29] Michel Balard (ed.) *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 ottobre 1296-23 giugno 1299)* (Genoa: Istituto di Medievistica, Universita di Genova, 1983); Michel Balard (ed.) *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro. Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 marzo 1304-19 luglio 1310)* (Genoa: Istituto di Medievistica, Universita di Genova, 1984).

[30] Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 20.

[31] P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 178.

[32] Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, trans. C. D. Cobham (Nicosia: H. E. Clarke, 1895), 143.

[33] John Hackett and Charilaos I. Papaioannou, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* trans. Charilaos I. Papaioannou, 3 vols (Athens and Peiraeus: Ἐν Ἀθήναις , 1923), 528.

[34] Antonis Haji Roussos, "The Maronite Community in Cyprus", Cyprus Maronites (Nicosia: The Maronite Community of Cyprus, 2008), 51. <http://www.maronitesofcyprus.com/upload/20080806/1218031838-06188.pdf>

[35] Girolamo Dandini, *Missione Apostolica Al Patriarca, E Maroniti Del Monte Libano Del P. Girolamo Dandini ... E Sua Pellegrinazione a Gierusalemme.* (Neri: Cesena, 1656), 19-20.

[36] Andrekos Varnava, "The Maronite Community of Cyprus: Past, Present and Future," *Al-Mashriq: A Quarterly Journal of Middle East Studies* 1:2 (2002), 45-70 (8).

[37] J. M. Cirilli, *Les Maronites De Chypre* (Lille: Don Bosco, 1898), 13.

[38] R. L. N. Michell, "A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus," *The Nineteenth Century Journal* 63 (1908): 751-62 (752-753). Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600-1025* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1996).

[39] G. Houri, "Personal Communication," (20/04/2007).

[40] A. Palmieri, *Chypre, Dictionnaire De Théologie, Tome Ii* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1905) .

[41] James George Sir Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

Stranded in Boğaz, Cyprus: The affair of the *Pan* Ships, January 1948[*]

Danny Goldman
Michael J K Walsh
Eastern Mediterranean University

Abstract:

This article sheds some new light on the affair of the *Pan Crescent* and the *Pan York*, the largest ships to carry 'illegal' Jewish immigrants to Palestine from Bulgaria in 1947 / 1948. These ageing vessels were apprehended by the British authorities off the Dardanelles and escorted to an enforced detention near Famagusta, Cyprus. The ships remained anchored near Boğaz for five months while their human cargos were sent to camps just outside the walls of the historic city. As the clock counted down on the British Mandate in Palestine throughout early 1948, the fate of the vessels, and the thousands of immigrants who depended upon them, hung in the balance. Now, through a recently instigated cataloguing project for Cypriot newspapers instigated at the National Archive in Kyrenia, and the simultaneous uncovering of some relevant documents at the Public Records Office in London, a fuller understanding and appreciation of the events in this critical post war period can be attempted. This article is one of a series published in the *Journal of Cyprus Studies* that draws historical links between Cyprus and the Jewish people.[1]

Keywords: Cyprus, Famagusta, Jewish Immigration, Palestine, *Pan York*, *Pan Crescent.*

Özet

Bu makale 1947-1948 yıllarında yasadışı Yahudi göçmenlerini Bulgaristan'dan yola çıkıp Kıbrıs üzerinde Filistine götüren Pan Crescent ve Pan York gemilerine ilişkin tarihteki karanlığa yeni bir ışık yakmaktadır. Bu yolculuğun başında bu tarihi gemiler İngiliz yetkililer tarafından Çanakkale

---

boğazında yakalanmış ve Magosa'ya kadar nezaret edilerek insan olan yükleri tarihi şehrin duvarının hemen dışında karaya çıkarılarak burada göçmenler tutuklama kampında tutulmuşlardı. Bu gemiler daha sonra aynı yıl kış ve baharı geçirecekleri Boğaza demirlemişlerdi. 1948 yılının başlarına doğru Filistindeki ingiliz mandası gücünü yitirirken bu gemilerin ve binlerce göçmenlerin kaderi belirsiz kalmıştı. Şimdi Girne'deki Ulusal Arşivde bulunan Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteleri, Lefkoşedeki yunan kıbrıs dilindeki basın ve Danışnışma Ofisi kaynakları ile Londra'daki İngiliz Ulusal Arşivlerinde yeni bulunan resmi belgeler kullanılarak savaş sonrası söz konusu kaotic döneminin tüm yönleri ve değerleri anlaşılmaya çalışılabilir. Bu makale, Journal of Cyrus Studies de basılan Yahudiler ile Kıbrıs adasındaki tarihsel bağlantıyı kuran makalelerden biridir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs, Magosa, Yahudi Göçü, Filistin, *Pan York*, *Pan Crescent*

Introduction

The two large vessels that inched into Famagusta's port in the first week of January 1948 were crammed to the gunwales.[2] Thousands of weary passengers, all Jewish immigrants, began to disembark and immediately faced a mixed entourage of British officials, intelligence officers, Royal Navy personnel and government functionaries. From the decks of the two ships the Eretz-Israeli (Jews from Palestine) captains and crews along with crews of other nationalities watched the unfolding human drama with concern knowing that the fate of over 15,000 passengers was far from clear in Cyprus. Though it was not the first time Famagusta had witnessed such scenes, the 'Pans' were certainly the largest vessels yet utilized for intensive illegal Jewish immigration attempts to Palestine.[3] But this was an immigration into mandated territory that the British had to oppose, not least because the Arab population of Palestine was becoming increasingly apprehensive about the inevitability of an imminent Jewish majority. Despite the 'White Paper' of May 1939 entitled 'Palestine Statement of Policy', limiting Jewish immigration,[4] the flow continued unabated at the hands of the newly formed *Mossad Le-aliya Bet*. Two other main underground movements, Haganah and Etzel, also operated independently to achieve this aim. As the Jewish Resistance Movement[5] stepped up its violent activities against the British, so the British detained more and more immigrants in Cyprus, preventing them from reaching the final destination of Haifa.[6] An ex-MI6 officer wrote many years later, however, that by the end of 1947 there was a general realisation that 'hosting' the refugees in Cyprus was sure to "…develop

into a logistical nightmare […]".[7] Another report predicted that Mossad was actually exerting pressure on the British Government by intentionally flooding Cyprus with such refugees, and thus forcing the British to allow the ships to sail on to Palestine. The Pans were being used for precisely this purpose.

The Vessels and the Voyage

Both the *Pan Crescent* and the *Pan York* were purchased by the *Mossad Le-aliya Bet*,[8] in the United States in mid-1947 from one Samuel Zamorai, the owner of a fruit-shipping company in New York. The vessels had similar specifications, both having been built in 1901 in Newport, Rhode Island, having a capacity 4570 tons, being steam-powered and having a top operational speed of 12 knots.[9] As a Liberty Ship the *Pan York* had been torpedoed in 1942 but survived, refitted and returned to active service.[10] When they were handed over to the *Palyam* organization,[11] the *Pan Crescent* was re-named, taking the Hebrew word for Independence *Atzma'ut*, while the *Pan York* took the Hebrew for Sovereignty, *Komemiyut*. Immediately preparations began for the real purpose of the purchase: the transport of Jewish refugees from post - war Europe to Palestine.[12]Later, two Palyam officers were commissioned as captains: Gad Hilb for the *Pan York* (commissioned in Marseilles) and Yitzhak Aharonovitz for the *Pan Crescent* (boarded in Borgas and commissioned in Famagusta) and two other Palyam operatives: Nissan Leviatan (*Pan York*) and Dov Bercik-Magen (*Pan Crescent*).

Image 1: Memorial for the Palyam in Caesarea, Israel. Photo by DG, March 2008.

Though old, their two captains were convinced that the vessels were indeed sturdy and could yet play a significant role both now and in the future. If anything, Aharonovitz feared that the Mossad headquarters in Palestine did

[…] not really appreciate the quality of these ships. These were the only ships thus far that could serve as a nucleus for the [future Israeli] fleet for the purpose of transport of immigrants, to be in operation immediately following the declaration of independence [of the State of Israel], whose date was already determined: 15.5.1948.[13]

After the purchase in the United States, and aware that they were probably being observed by British and American intelligence, the two vessels left New York in May 1947 simultaneously, then steered separate courses to throw British intelligence off their scent. The *Pan Crescent* headed directly for Venice while the *Pan York* made for Marseilles, via Casablanca, Brest, and Constantia, Romania. When she returned to Marseilles she docked more permanently to enable preparations to get underway to convert the ship to carry a very different cargo. The *Pan Crescent* was similarly laid up in Venice.

Image 2: *Pan York* Courtesy of Palyam on-line historical database.

Despite the covert operations and the efforts made to evade British intelligence, however, the *Pan Crescent* had already drawn the attention of MI6 through its substantial refitting process in Venice to accommodate an anticipated 7,500 passengers.

Image 3: *Pan Crescent* Courtesy of Palyam on-line historical database.

In fact, the British GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters) in cooperation with the American NSA (National Security Agency) had spotted the ships purchase transaction in the United States, and had been onto the operation since. To stop its voyage, and to thwart the overall mission, would now require decisive action. Harold Perkins, a senior MI6 officer, devised a radical plan to sabotage the ships, even if such actions carried with them the distinct "[…] possibility of death." Clement Attlee must have approved the plan as shortly thereafter a special task force, the 'Kent Corps Specials', headed by Fredrick Vanden Heuval, made its move to destroy the *Pan Crescent* at its berth. Posing as cigarette smugglers, the team approached the vessel in a small boat, attached mines to the hull beneath the waterline, and rowed away in anticipation of the explosion which would send the vessel to the bottom. Though the detonation went perfectly the ship was saved from sinking through the quick action of those on board who immediately manned the pumps. In reality, the ship was probably saved due to the fact that the explosion occurred in the shallows of the port, not in the open sea where it would almost certainly have sunk. The first attempt had failed and would later

be described by a retired officer involved in the operation as "[…] a dark page in MI6 post-war history."[14]

Immediately a Palyam delegation, Motti Hod and Haim Winkler, was sent to investigate the causes of the explosion and soon located a Palyam-employed Italian foreman who, it was felt, might have collaborated with British Intelligence. He confessed that there was an element of truth in this, but insisted too that he had actually saved the ship by shortening the detonator fuse, causing the charge to explode in the port, instead of in the open sea. His hasty explanation, the delegates later reported, had "[…] just won his life back."[15] Next they communicated with Shaul Avigur, head of Mossad, from Switzerland, to decide what to do with the damaged hull. Avigur did not accept the suggestion that the vessel (and with it the mission) be scrapped and ordered the repair of the vessel. The explosion hole was temporarily blocked up and the ship was towed to a nearby yard where it was repaired professionally. Even there, Avigur recalled, another attempt to sabotage the ship was made when "[…] a mysterious fire caught on the motor room which was hardly extinguished…"[16]

With the refit complete the *Pan Crescent* now took on an Italian crew and the *Pan York,* Spanish sailors. Each ship was then appointed a Palyam captain who, though well versed in seamanship, would not interfere with the decisions of the vessels' commercial captain, so long as the wider mission was being carried out and the refugees treated well.[17] Additionally, a Palyam radio man (or woman) operated from an alternative radio room on board and maintained continuous communications with the Mossad and Palyam headquarters in Palestine. Operationally functional now, the *Pan Crescent* sailed to the port of Burgas (having been denied access to Constantia, Rumania) on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria, where she met up with the *Pan York*. Here the embarkation of the refugees began and here the journey to Palestine, under the command of Dov Magen (the Palyan commander of the *Pan Crescent*) started on 26.12.1947.[18] Conditions on board both vessels were grim. One memoir recalls "After four or five days, [a passenger] would wonder if the smells of the latrines, crushed crackers, sardines, exhausted air, used-up breath, and sweat had permeated one's skin for all time, as it had permeated the wood and metal of the *Pan York*."[19]

Immediately upon exiting the Dardanelles the two vessels were intercepted by four British destroyers and two cruisers with strict orders

to prevent them sailing all the way to Palestine.[20] The captains, representing the Jewish Agency,[21] and mediated by the US Department of State, negotiated with the British until, on the 31st of December, they reached an agreement. British personnel would board the ships unarmed on the understanding that passengers / crew would not resist.

Image 4: The Decks of the *Pan York*, Photo Frank Periman. Aliyah Bet & Machal Virtual Museum.

One negotiator recalled

[…] it was obvious, that should we resist, no one would board the ship. [Because everyone understood that] it was going to be a violent conflict, and a bitter one at that. The pressure on us was that we will not initiate violent resistance, and the truth is that we succumbed to that pressure [by the Agency], and so it was.[22]

Crewmember Sam Schulman remembered:

> We decided not to put up resistance considering the number of refugees we had on board. So we followed the British ships to Cyprus where the refugees got off and were consequently interned. As a crew member, I, as well as several other Aliye Bet members, were allowed to stay aboard the ship, but under the watchful eye of the British garrison.[23]

Image 4: Refugees on board of the *Pan Crescent* Source: Haganah Archive, photograph no. 97129. The photograph illustrates the crowdedness on board, and the tension on the faces of the passengers.

On 1.1.1948 the Pans arrived at their new destination, the port of Famagusta where responsibility for the vessels was transferred from the Royal Navy to the Governor of Cyprus. The British authorities in

Famagusta, as well as the Mossad, demanded that the evacuation of the vessels take place under the direct supervision of the colonial power, though this was a condition that the Jewish captains could not accept. They knew that once the vessels were without their original crews, they would be confiscated as 'abandoned ships'.

> […] [we will not evacuate] as in this case these ships have not violated any law […] but sailed under consent and authority of the British, and under a Panamanian flag to a Cyprus port that does not forbid this; it seemed to us that the British would not be able to confiscate the ships, moreover, the date for partitioning Palestine[24] was already set, and it was sensible to see the ships as a legal property of the bodies that will be in charge of the Jewish part of [partitioned] Palestine.[25]

The disembarkation of 15,706 souls when it began was slow and took three consecutive 24-hours cycles, under the supervision of the Sixth Airborne Division of the paratroopers. Local newspapers noted that 7,000 of the 'Pan Krisent' [sic] passengers, including 1,700 children, went immediately to Karaoglu and Ksilotimbo [sic]. The newspaper also noted, with some relief, that 55 doctors were in their midst.[26]

Ashore, Gad Hilb, the captain of *Pan York*, met with the commander of the British fleet, Admiral Victor Symonds Taylor and recalled his embarrassment at coming face to face with the tall, fully decorated and immaculately uniformed admiral. After his voyage Hilb was far from his match being dressed in dirty mechanic's cloths. Nevertheless, he demanded a written promise for the safety, security and freedom of the ships crews,[27] and asked for an "[…] immediate supply of fuel in order to ensure the continued operation of the essential ships' systems." Otherwise, Hilb warned the Admiral, the crews would abandon the ships and would not sustain essential services, leaving the responsibility for the safety and welfare of the refugees squarely in the hands of the British authorities.[28] The British commander obliged, and shortly thereafter a destroyer was tied to *Pan York* and a quantity of fuel transferred. Hilb then ordered his first mate, a Basque, to talk to the rest of the Spanish crew and tell them not to abandon the ship. They agreed and remained on board as did some of the Palyam personnel, including the radio man who continued with his secret transmissions. The following day (2.1.1948)

Hilb received two documents from the Governor of Cyprus: one guaranteeing that none of the ships' crew would be arrested, and another in the form of a warrant for the detention of the two ships in Cyprus. Everybody else was taken to the detention camp in Karaolos (today Karakol Mahallesi – Gülseren military compound), about 2 Km northwest of the old city of Famagusta.[29]
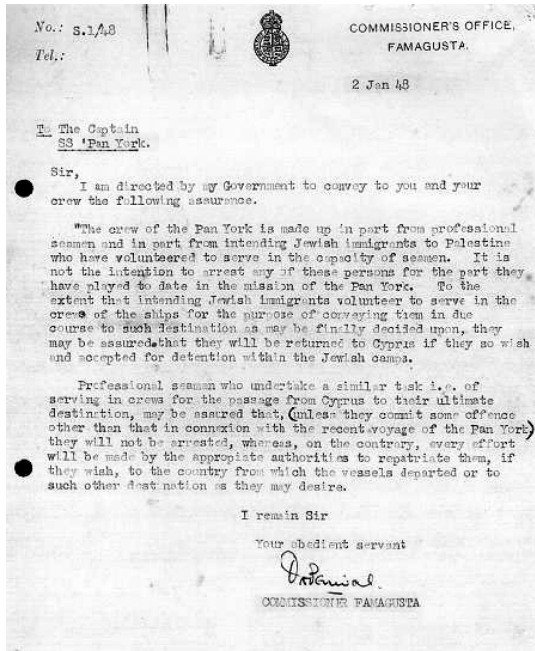
Image 5: Agreement between the Commissioner and the Captain of *Pan York*. Image courtesy of Gad Hilb, private collection. The agreement was issued by the Commissioner of Famagusta. It reads: "[…] it is not the intention to arrest any of these persons […]" then goes on to say that the Jewish crews were guaranteed a return to Cyprus after the ship reached its final destination, and be detained in the Jewish camps. The foreign crews were guaranteed no arrest, and the promise that the British Government would repatriate them.

That said, local newspaper *Halkin Sesi* received a letter from a certain N. Josephides of the Intelligence Service, in which he quoted Foreign Secretary Bevin who had emphasized that there could be no permanent

home for the recently arrived immigrants on Cyprus. Quite the contrary! After the impending termination of the British Mandate in Palestine in May, it would in fact be illegal to detain them further against their will.[30] Sir Alexander Cadogan informed the Palestine Commission that after this date 'My government will be willing to release from detention the ships *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent* for the purpose of their removal, concerning which the commission may wish to negotiate with the Jewish Agency.'[31]
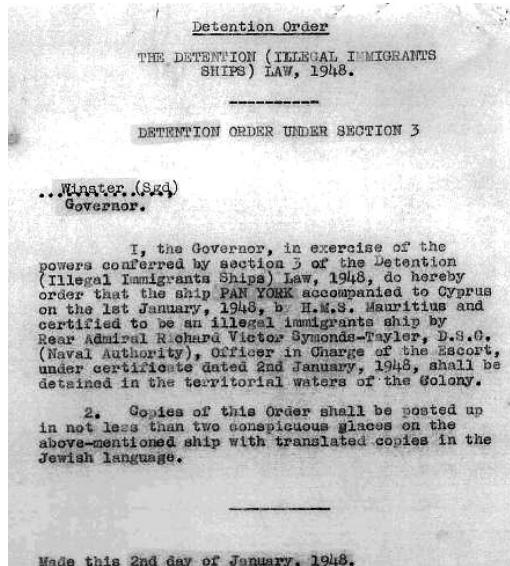
Image 6: Detention Order for the Two Ships. Image courtesy of Gad Hilb, private collection. The order was issued by the Governor of Cyprus, on 2.2.1948, and reads: "[…] I, the Governor, in exercise of the powers conferred by Section […] Law, 1948, do hereby order the ship PAN YORK […] shall be detained in the territorial waters of the colony." A similar order was issued to the captain of *Pan Crescent*.

The disembarkation continued until January 4th, and a week later Hilb received a paper from the British 'Controller of Customs and Excise' ordering the two ships to be moved 25 kilometres further down the coast to Boğaz (Boghaz). Here they would remain, under his command, for the following five months.

From January to May relations with the British authorities remained peaceful, with military personnel coming on board from time to time from Royal Navy vessels anchored close by.[32] Of course there were suspicions based on intelligence reports concerning Palyam activities against the Royal Navy, but these amounted to nothing.[33]
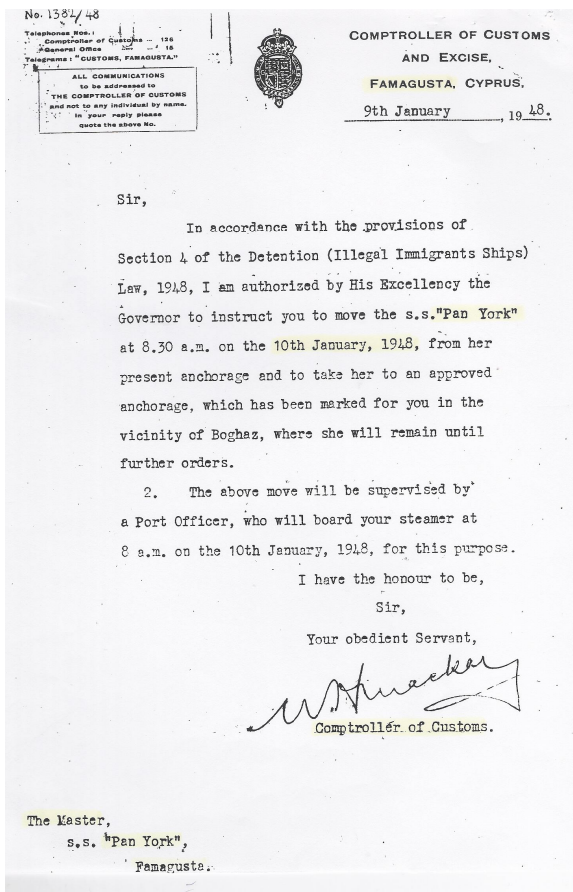
Image 7: Order to Move Out to Boğaz. Image courtesy of Gad Hilb, private collection. It reads "[…] I am authorized by His Excellency the Governor to instruct you to move the S.S. 'Pan York' […] from her present anchorage, and to take her to an approved anchorage, which has been marked for you in the vicinity of Boghaz, where she will remain until further orders."

In the meantime the two ships were supplied by the British Navy with everything they needed to maintain systems during the stay. In reality, they asked for (and received) a lot more than they actually needed, and so hoarded the excess should they need to sail out at short notice. The British detected this over-consumption and demanded an explanation.

Image 8: Message form from The Royal Navy to *Pan York*. Image courtesy of Gad Hilb, private collection. It reads "I do not understand why your fuel remaining has dropped from 102 tons from 25th of Feb. to 46 tons on 4th of March […] request explanation."

In the long term it was in everyone's interest that the ships should remain sea-worthy in anticipation of the eventual transfer of over 50,000 detainees from the Cypriot camps to the new state when the British Mandate of Palestine ended, and to that end work on the vessels, funded by the British, was continuous.

[…] we wanted the affair to appear as a totally civil case, that the legal responsibility for the ships and the compensations that might be demanded for damages by the ships' owners will rest on the civil authorities of Cyprus […] it was clear to us that the law the British issued [regarding the Pans] would not hold in any international court.[34]

A Greek Cypriot shipping agent, Prodromos Papavassiliou, who was a resident of Famagusta and a member of the city council was sympathetic to the 'illegals'' cause. Hilb and Aharonovitz contacted him, asking for assistance and accordingly Papavassiliou cooperated, agreeing to take it upon himself to act as the ships' agent. As such he loaned them money for repairs, knowing that the money would be returned years later. His only security was "[…] my conviction that the Jewish cause will prevail, which is a good enough security for me." [Danny Goldman translation][35] Years later the State of Israel rewarded Papavassiliou by giving him the lucrative franchise of the *Shoham* agency in Cyprus. 'Papa', as the Israelis called him, had to leave Famagusta during the civil war in Cyprus in the early 1970s, becoming a refugee himself, and re-establishing himself in Limassol where his shipping agency is still active at the time of writing.[36] He died in 2006.

The Refugees in Karaolos

It is said that German prisoners of war were made to construct the 'summer camps' that the detainees were now domiciled within. All too familiar were the barbed wire fences and guard posts, though memoirs suggest that on the whole morale remained fairly high. That said, approximately 1,573 escaped from camps throughout Cyprus while a further 126 died of illness. *Hür Söz* newspaper on January 20th 1948 reported also that some detainees had been injured by gun fire during an attempted break out. Biba Naphkha, a young woman from Palestine who was smuggled into 'camp 62' as a radio operator to maintain communications with Haganah headquarters in Palestine, provided an exceptional testimony to life in the Famagusta camps. Having arrived on October 1947, she actually witnessed the arrival of the Pan ships, then became active within a group who infiltrated the camp through a tunnel, bringing with them light weapons and radio equipment. As the domestic situation in Palestine deteriorated throughout 1947 and 1948 the Haganah

was in need of young recruits to join the Jews in their struggle in Palestine. Naphka describes how the 'illegals' asked to join forces with them, and how her team did all it could to smuggle out as many detainees as possible, by whatever means. Naphkha also documented the cordial relations with the local Cypriots who were "[…] willing to help, and envious how the British were pushed by us out of Palestine."[37] On April 18, 1948 a person named Gabriel (probably from Mossad) met the captains of the Pans, in order to form an operation plan for the ships with the time and means available. He wrote a report to Mossad in which he detailed his conclusions and recommendations. The ships could possibly sail to Palestine under a Cyprus flag, though there was undoubtedly a shortage of such vessels. Due to overcrowding and the expense of detaining so many people on Cyprus the budget was being stretched to the limit. Even the vessels were costing over 1000 pounds a month and presented a tricky legal issue as they had sailed out of their port of departure legally and arrived in Cyprus against their will. In any case the next month, until the end of the Mandate, was going to be a period of tension and needed to be handled with care. [38] What would happen in the shifting political sands after the mandate was also unclear. On 12.4.1948 the Commissioner of Jewish Camps in Cyprus issued a top secret telegram to the High Commissioner of Palestine asking "[…] who will be competent to negotiate and enforce agreement if left till 15th May."[39] The answer he received from General Sir A. Cunningham, last High Commissioner of Palestine, was a recommendation not to release the ships before 15.5.1948, and to stipulate that the release of them should coincide with their immediate re-employment emptying the camps.[40] The acting Governor of Cyprus, Reginald Thomas Herbert Fletcher, sent a further telegram to confirm this decision and to reiterate the legality of it.[41] Less than a month later, on 10.5.1948 the ships were officially confiscated (as opposed to detained) by the Governor of Cyprus, leading the Palestinian High Commissioner to ask for clarification from the Secretary of State:

> […] Your telegram […] starts 'the ships are expropriated by the Government according to section […] of emergency defense regulations. We are told that since this government [Palestine] will cease to exist with the termination of the Mandate, it will not be possible to act on behalf of that Government for the purpose of

selling the ships. The ownership of the ships will therefore be transferred to the next government in charge [of Palestine] at the proper time.[42]

As the Mandate termination date neared, the Colonial Secretary's Office in Cyprus issued a letter to J. Shapiro, a lawyer operating on behalf of the Jewish Agency in Nicosia. In this the Cyprus Government, while recognizing Shapiro as the now legitimate representative of the owners of the Pans, reminded him of his responsibility to ensure that the vessels were used appropriately when the time came.

[…] Governor is prepared to release the two ships from detention […] on condition that the ships will be used until the camps are empty for the purpose of transporting Jews from the Cyprus camps at the rate of not less than 12,000 per calendar month […] Any rate of embarkation substantially less than 12,000 a month would require only one of the two ships to effect, and in the absence of an agreement […] only one of the two ships would be released.[43]

Shapiro agreed and the ships were released to begin the transfer operation. On the day the British left Palestine, and the State of Israel declared independence (May 14th 1948), the ships were still docked at Boğaz. The following day, the Governor issued a paper to the ships' captains, revoking the detention order, thereby allowing them to sail to any destination. The document reads: "[…] I, the Governor, do hereby revoke the detention order dated the 2nd day of January […]". A week later, however, Hilb received a written "naval message" from the concerned captain of *HMS Troubridge* who was keeping track of *Pan York*'s fuel consumption, wondering why "[…] you are keeping steam in three boilers." They advised Hilb not to go anywhere, not least to Haifa, which was hiving with activity, as a centre for evacuation of remaining British forces in Palestine, and housing as it did the refineries supplying fuel to the Royal Navy. On 14.5.1948 the Israeli daily *Haboker*, printed a short news item entitle "The British Blockade on the Coastline Has Ended" in which it reported perhaps a little prematurely that the two Pan ships were en route to the Israeli coast.[44] Two days later the Israeli navy presented to IDF's general headquarters a classified document entitled "Proposal for a Plan for Transfer and Securing 24,000 immigrants from

Cyprus to Israel." The document proposed that the ships leave on 14:00, without armed escort, going most of the way under the cover of darkness and reaching the Israeli coast by dawn. Here the Pans would rendezvous with an armed ship 30 miles offshore and this would escort them home.[45] But by May there was an increasing fear of air attack on these vessels and so the operation had to be interrupted and a new agreement negotiated with the British authorities to allow some refugees to stay a little longer than expected. There were also reports that while some camps were being emptied, others were still receiving and processing hundreds of refugees weekly.[46]

There was another grave concern emanating from the camps and that was the obvious priority given to evacuating men (and women) who were the age for active military service at their destination. Both the UK and USA had spotted this preferential treatment and so had taken back some control over who left and when. This led to a mass hunger strike by 24,000 detainees in the camps in protest.[47] The plot then thickened when both the *Pan Crescent* and *Pan York* turned up, unannounced in Haifa, officially empty and having sailed without first seeking permission.[48] By the first week of July a representative of the United Nations had arrived to oversee the embarkations, and so on July 6th it was reported that the *Pan York* had taken a further 2,100 women and children.[49] The next day the *Pan Crescent* took a further 4,300. In the absence of official documents of the individuals selection was made by sight and so, as classical music played through the public address system, those who could, and those who could not board, were decided.[50] On July 10th the *Pan York* set off with 2,000 more passengers this time without air support. Despite worries to the contrary the passage was a peaceful one. But still it seemed there were plenty of youthful detainees sneaking through and so the commissioner for Jewish Camps in Cyprus, Sir Godfrey Collins, sent an angry letter on July 22nd 1948 to the representative of the Agency in Cyprus. He ordered a shut-down of the evacuation operation at Karaolos, and warned the Agency:

> […] It is clear that no serious check was made and it is no longer possible to accept a position by which the military and civil authorities, […] should have to assume that major part of the responsibility which should fall on the Jewish Agency. It appears further that, since 4785 male immigrants have already sailed [out]

[….] I must therefore require you in the future, so long as the ban on the immigration of males of military age […] is imposed, to forward the sailing lists to me […].[51]

The newspapers reported that of the 14,000 detainees left in Cyprus camps, 9,000 were of military age.[52] It was uncertain what to do when only military age detainees were left. In any case, by August the *Pan York* had been re-routed to Italy for essential maintenance work, while an announcement was made in New York saying that the weekly number leaving Famagusta was in the hundreds, not tens-of-thousands as it had been in May.[53]

The Director of Antiquities, Theophilus Mugabgab, standing at the port of Famagusta had watched the entire drama unfold and snapped these historic photographs of 'illegal Jews' embarking what is probably the *Pan York* and heading for a most uncertain future.

Images 9 & 10: Detainees Boarding *Pan York* in Famagusta to sail out to Haifa 8.7.1948. Image courtesy of Famagusta dept of Antiquities Archive, retrieved by Allan Langdale. The caption of the pictures in the album reads: "Jewish ship taking illegals to Palestine."

The *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent* were sold for scrap in 1950 and 1952 respectively.[54] Famagusta briefly starred in a Hollywood role as the setting for the film *Exodus,* but then faced troubles of its own as civil war approached Cyprus. The peaceful bay of Boğaz now sees fishermen's boats and visitors to the fish restaurants. There is little left to suggest the human drama that was played on this stage other than a handful of black and white photographs and the memories of an ever-decreasing group of people in Cyprus, Britain and Israel.

Image 11: Bogaz, April 2008. Photo by D.G.

Bibliography

Aharonovitz, Yitzhak (Ike) (1964 and 1965). *The Pans*, interviews by Ayalah Dan, typed document, Haganah Archive, file 2-33 [Hebrew].

Ashuakh, Pinni, (editor). *A Compilation of Testimonies of the Pal-Yam Activists*, unpublished document (typed), issued by the Veterans of the Pal-Yam, 2006 [Hebrew].

Avigur, Shaul (1967). *Pan Crescent Affair – Venice*, a written statement (typed), Haganah Archive, file 170-37, [Hebrew].

Ben-Zur, Yehuda. Interview by D. Goldman, 23.3.2008.

Bogner, N. *The Deportation Island, Jewish Illegal Immigrant Camps on Cyprus, 1946-1948*, Tel-Aviv: Am Oved Publishers, Tel-Aviv University, and the Shaul Avigur Association for Research of the Immigration Struggle, 1991 [Hebrew].

Documents, private collection, courtesy of Gad Hilb.

Dorril, S. *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service,* New York : The Free Press, 2000.

Gabriel (?), (1948). *Report on My Visit to Cyprus on 14.4.1948*, a written statement (typed), Haganah Archive, file 14 / Zim / 17 [Hebrew].

Hadari (Venia) Zeev and Zeev Tsahor, *Ships or a State, the Story of Pan York and Pan Crescent*, Israel: Hakibbutz Hameuchad and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 1981 [Hebrew].

Hadari (Venia) Zeev and Zeev Tsahor, *Voyage to Freedom, an Episode in the Illegal Immigration to Palestine*, London and Totowa, New Jersey: Valentine, Mitchell and Co., 1985.

Hilb, Gad (1965). *The Operation of saving the Pans*. A written statement, recorded by Ayala Dan on 4.11.1965, Haganah Archive, file 17.25 [Hebrew].

Military Branch, Admiralty, *Illegal Immigration into Palestine by Sea 1945-1948*, National Archives document ADM 1/21106, 3.3.1949.

Lussin, I. *A Column of Fire, Chapters in the History of Zionism*, Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, Shikmona, in cooperation with Israel Broadcasting Authority, 1982 [Hebrew].

Magen, Dov. Interview, tape no. 31, reel 113, the Inter-Universities Project for Research of Jewish Immigration in Memory Shaul Avigur, typed transcription (no date) [Hebrew].

Nachshon, Moshe. 'The Sabotage in the Deportation Ship Empire Life Guard', in: Ashuakh, Pinni, (editor). *A Compilation of Testimonies of the Pal-Yam Activists*, unpublished document (typed), issued by the Veterans of the Pal-Yam, 2006 [Hebrew], pp. 91-93.

Naphkha, Biba (no date). *In Cyprus*, a testimony (typed), Haganah Archive, file 171-25 [Hebrew].

Palyam Historical Database, in Palyam official website, http://www.palyam.org/, accessed March 2008.

Reich, Bernard. *A Brief History of Israel*, New York: Facts on File Incorporated, 2004.

Stewart, Ninian. *The Royal Navy and the Palestine Patrol*. F. Cass publishers, 2002.

Telegrams, correspondence between Commissioner of Jewish Camps in Cyprus and High Commissioner of Palestine, National Archives documents ADM 1/20305, 12.4.1948 – 28.4.1948.

Yarkoni, Hillel. *Immigrant Ships from A to Z*, Tel-Aviv: Gevanim, 2005 [Hebrew].

Endnotes

---

[1] Goldman, D. 'Jewish Settlers in Cyprus During the British Rule 1880s – 1940s', *JCS (Journal of Cyprus Studies)* [31] vol 12 (May 2007), pp. 21-38; Goldman, D. 'Famagusta's Historic Detention and Refugee Camps', *JCS (Journal of Cyprus Studies)* [28/29] vol. 11, (2005), pp. 29-49.

[2] Hür Söz, January 3rd had reported the vessels on their way. On the 4th of January 1948 their arrival at Famagusta was announced.

[3] Hadari and Tsahor (1981), p. 223.

[4] This was the third Statement of Policy issued by the British, published in May 17, 1939, authored by M. McDonald, than the British Minister for the Colonies. The main points of the document were: formulation of a bi-national state for the Arab and the Jewish residents; limiting the Jewish immigration into Palestine to 75,000 in the next five years; limiting land acquisitions by Jews. The 1939 white Paper was opposed and rejected both by the Jewish and the Arab communities of Palestine.

[5] The Jewish Resistance Movement, founded 1945, and operated only one year, in an effort to fight the British presence in Palestine. The Movement was an umbrella group for the three undergrounds in the country: *Haganah*, *Etzel* and *Lechi*. This particular operation was carried out by Etzel.

[6] Lussin 1982, pp. 444-445; Bogner 1991, pp. 29-39.

[7] Dorril (2000), p. 544.

[8] Hebrew name for 'Institute for clandestine Immigration', operating internationally to facilitate illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine, henceforth *Mossad.* A subsidiary of the *Haganah*, was formed in 1939 for that purpose. It was a small organization that numbered less than 100 persons. With the establishment of the State of Israel, the Mossad continued to operate as a secret service named *Nativ*, for the same purposes. The present-day Mossad (full name 'Institute for Intelligence and Special Tasks') was formed in 1951, one of its assigned purposes is clandestine immigration of Jews into Israel, as in the case of the Jews from Ethiopia in the 1970s.

[9] Official site of the Palyam veterans, http://www.palyam.org/Hahapala/MOTO/Atzmaut_MOTO, accessed March 2008.

[10] The attack happened on September 16 1942 on the Reykjavik – Sydney – Montreal run as part of convoy SQ-36. The attacking submarine was the U-165.

[11] The naval arm of the *Palmach* (elite force of the Haganah) organization, established 1943, focusing on illegal immigration to Palestine and sabotaging the British ships that were involved in deportation of Jewish immigrants. Palyam operated in cooperation with the Mossad. There were between 50-70 Palyam activists.

[12] There is an article about the *Pan Crescent* in earlier days by Joe Hafford called '*Pan Crescent: There's Always a First Time'* and this can be found at www.liberty-ship.com

[13] Aharonovitz (1964), p. 2.

[14] Dorril (2000), pp. 547-549; similar account in Stewart (2002), p. 143.

[15] Ashuakh, P., *The Refugees Ship Azmaut (Pan Crescent)*, testimony in: Ashuakh, P., (2006), p. 28. This is in contrast to the testimony by Dorril (2000), where he claims a malfunction of the timer mechanism, causing the explosion in Venice port, or perhaps a cover story for the Italian foreman. It is also worth mentioning that Mossad was also busy with sabotaging British deportation ships, and even succeeded in sinking some of them as early as 1946, as described by Nachshon (2006), pp. 91-93.

[16] Avigur (1967), p. 2.

[17] Ben-Zur, interview, (2008).

[18] Magen (no date) interview, p. 6.

[19] R. Lowenstein, "Bring my sons from far," World 1966.

[20] Magen (no date) interview, p. 7.

[21] The Jewish Agency, founded 1929, the operative section of the Global Zionist Organization, during the British rule of Palestine was the *de-facto* government for the Jewish population in Palestine; transferred its authority to the acting Government once the State of Israel was formed on May 1948. The Agency is still active today with Jewish immigration to Israel, settlement issues and education in Jewish communities outside Israel.

[22] Magen (no date) interview, p. 9. Magen described in detail in that interview his position at the time the negotiations took place, namely not to accept the British proposal of sailing to Famagusta. See also interview with Aharonovitz (1964) for similar description.

[23] The personal recollections of a detainee at Famagusta can be found in: M. Schulman, 'Larchmont Ex-Prisoner returns to Famagusta' which can be found at www.larchmontgazette.com

[24] The Partition Plan devised by the United Nations and accepted 29.11.1947; also known as 'Resolution 181 of the General Assembly', it specifies a partition of the area of Palestine once the British Mandate ends, between the Arab-Palestinian and the Jewish communities, creating an Arab-Palestinian State and a Jewish State. The plan did not materialize as a few months before the Mandate was over, hostilities between Jews and Arabs broke out in Palestine, expanding to a full scale war after the British left on 15.5.1948.

[25] Aharonovitz (1964), p.2.

[26] '15,300 Yahudi', *Halkin Sesi* (3 January, 1948), p.2.

[27] Hilb (1965), p. 1.

[28] Hilb, G., *The Story of Gad Hilb, Member of Palyam and Captain of Komemiyut*, Testimony in: Ashuakh, P., (2006), p. 65.

[29] See Bogner (1991), and Goldman, D. 'Famagusta's Historic Detention and Refugee Camps', *JCS (Journal of Cyprus Studies)* [28/29] vol. 11, (2005) .pp. 29-49, for detailed description of the camps.

[30] N. Josephides, 'Istihbarat Dairesinder bir mektup', *Halkin Sesi* (4 January 1948), p.2.

[31] United Nations Palestine Commission – First Monthly Progress Report to the Security Council, United Nations General Assembly. A/AC.21/7 29 January 1948.

[32] Hilb, ibid, p. 66.

[33] Yatir, R., *Immigration Ship Knesset Israel*, testimony in: Ashuakh, P., (2006), p. 80.

[34] Aharonovitz (1965), p.6.

[35] Aharonovitz (1965), p. 7; Hilb (1965), p. 1.

[36] Papavassiliou, personal communication, 2005.

[37] Naphkha (no date), pp. 1-3.

[38] Gabriel (1948), p.1.

[39] Telegrams, Commissioner of Jewish Camps (Cyprus) to High Commissioner of Palestine, 12.4.1948, p.13.

[40] Telegrams, High Commissioner to Commissioner of Jewish Camps in Cyprus, 17.4.1948, p. 11. (Admiralty document ADM 1/20793 17.4.1948 National Archives)

[41] Telegrams, Acting Governor of Cyprus to High Commissioner of Palestine and others, 28.4.1948, p. 6.

[42] Telegram, from Palestine High Commissioner to the British Secretary of State, 10.5.1948, Haganah Archive document, file 14/276, p.161.

[43] Letter, Colonial Secretary's Office to Jacob S. Shapiro, 10.5.1948, Haganah Archive file 14/276, p. 93.

[44] 'The British Blockade on the Coastline is Over', by United Press reporter in Haifa, *Haboker Daily*, 14.5.1948, p. 1, (Haganah Archive file 14/276, p.230.

[45] Israel Navy Document, *A Proposal for a Plan for Transfer and Securing 24,000 Immigrants to Israel*, 16.5.1948, Haganah Archive file 14/276, p. 118.

[46] *Hür Söz*, May 26th 1948.

[47] *Hür Söz*, June 9th, 1948.

[48] *Hür Söz*, June 22nd, 1948.

[49] *Hür Söz*, July 6th, 1948.

[50] *Hür Söz*, July 7th, 1948.

[51] Letter, from The Commissioner for Jewish Camps, Cyprus, to Rabbi Szraibaum, 22.7. 1948, Haganah Archive document file 14/276, p. 8.

[52] *Hür Söz*, July 14th, 1948.

[53] *Hür Söz*, August 11th, 1948.

[54] Yarkoni (2005), p.182; Yehuda Ben-Zur, personal communication April 2008.

The Environment and Early Influences Shaping Political Thought of Niyazi Berkes in British Cyprus, 1908-1922[*]

Şakir Dinçşahin
Yeditepe University

Abstract

Niyazi Berkes was born on 21 September 1908 in Nicosia/Lefkoşa, the capital of Cyprus. Naturally, his intellectual personality began to be shaped by the social and political context on the island as well as the empire which was in the process of imperial change. As a result of the turmoil created by the British rule, the Young Turk Revolution, the First World War, and the Turkish national struggle, the Greek and the Turkish identities for the Orthodox and the Muslim communities, respectively, were constructed. Niyazi Berkes, who was born and raised in this turbulent period, developed the Turkish national identity that laid the foundations of his patriotism among the Muslim community. But in the early years of his long life, the social and political context of Cyprus also planted the seeds of his liberal-mindedness.

Key Words: Niyazi Berkes, Nationalism, National Identity, British Rule, Young Turks, World War I, Turkish National Struggle.

Özet

Niyazi Berkes 21 Eylül 1908'de İngiliz idaresine devredilmiş olan Doğu Akdeniz'deki Osmanlı adası Kıbrıs'ın Lefkoşa şehrinde dünyaya gelmiştir. Niyazi Berkes'in çocukluk ve yetişme döneminde entelektüel kişiliğini belirgin bir biçimde etkilemiş olan üç temel olgudan bahsedilebilir. Bunlardan birincisi Kıbrıs'taki özgür düşünce ortamı, ikincisi Kıbrıs'taki Müslüman ve Ortodoks cemaatlerin uluslaşma sürecine girmeleriyle beraber ortaya çıkan etnik gerilimdir. Sonuncusu ise Birinci Dünya Savaşı (1914–1918) ile Anadolu'daki bağımsızlık mücadelesinin Kıbrıs'taki Müslüman-Türk ahali üzerinde yarattığı travmadır. Bu olgulardan Kıbrıs'taki liberal düşünce ortamı, Niyazi Berkes'in özgürlükçü bir aydın olmasının temellerini atmıştır. Kıbrıs'taki etnik gerilim ise Berkes'in ırkçılık-karşıtı tutumuna zemin hazırlamıştır. Yunanistan'ın büyük güçlerle, özellikle de İngiltere ile

---

işbirliği içinde Anadolu'da ilerlemesi ise Niyazi Berkes'in anti-emperyalist ve vatansever taraflarını hazırlamıştır. Sonuç olarak, bu makalede entelektüel kişiliğinin oluşumunu etkileyen olgular çerçevesinde Niyazi Berkes'in çocukluğu ve yetiştiği ortam ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Niyazi Berkes, Milliyetçilik, Kimlik Oluşum Süreçleri, İngiliz İdaresi, Jön Türkler, Birinci Dünya Savaşı, Kurtuluş Savaşı.

Niyazi Berkes (1908-1988) was among the most prominent figures of Turkish political thought in the Republican period. He was the author of several masterpieces which broke fresh ground in the field of Turkish politics and history. Especially with his thesis "The Development of Secularism in Turkey", Niyazi Berkes established a new approach to interpreting Turkish modernization.[1] Besides that, he was among the first group of intellectuals that was concerned about the failure of Kemalism in reaching the Anatolian villagers. Conducting a survey among the villagers in 1942, he wrote a monograph on some villages of Ankara, which indicated the necessity of modernizing the villages.[2] Later, he wrote two volumes on Turkey's economic history in which he analyzed Ottoman-Turkish social and economic structures with a ground-breaking perspective.[3] Most significantly, he was known as one of the most ardent ideologues of the Kemalist-left movement due to his influential articles in the journals *Yurt ve Dünya* and *Yön* and the daily *Cumhuriyet*. In short, Niyazi Berkes has a very significant place in the history of Turkish political thought thanks to his voluminous work on the social, political and economic structures of Turkey.

Niyazi [Berkes] was born on 21 September 1908 in Nicosia/Lefkoşa, the capital of Cyprus. That was the year of the Young Turk Revolution in the Ottoman Empire, an event that had tremendous impact not only within the empire but also on the surrounding neighborhood including Cyprus. He was named Niyazi, and his twin brother Enver, after the two heroes of the Revolution.[4] Naturally, his intellectual personality began to be shaped by the social and political context on the island as well as the empire which was in the process of imperial change. For instance, the unique history and the social structure of Cyprus prepared the ground for the cultivation of an open-minded, liberal intellectual. Moreover, his childhood and adolescence were marked by processes of national identity formation of the Orthodox and the Muslim communities on the island. This process began with the British administration (1878) and gained

momentum after the Young Turk Revolution. The process reached its zenith when the tension between the communities escalated during the First World War (1914-1918) and the Turkish national struggle (1919-1922). As a result, the Greek and the Turkish identities for the Orthodox and the Muslim communities, respectively, were constructed.[5] Niyazi [Berkes], who was born amid this turmoil, developed the Turkish national identity that laid the foundations of his patriotism among the Muslim community. But in the early years of his long life, the social and political context of Cyprus also planted the seeds of his liberal-mindedness.

Cyprus: A Cosmopolitan Society

Cyprus has been conquered by many different people over the centuries, as the island gave them supremacy in the Mediterranean basin. As a result, the island became the crossroads for various religions and ethnicities.[6] In 58 BC, the Romans seized the island from Egyptians. Following the division of the Roman Empire in 395, the eastern emperors retained their sovereignty over the island. In 802 Cyprus passed into the hands of the Arabs who ruled the island for 167 years. In 969 the island was conquered by the Byzantine Empire which lost it to the Lusignan dynasty in 1184, which ruled the island for three centuries. The Venetians became the masters of Cyprus in 1489 before the island was conquered by the Ottomans in 1571.[7] Each of these invasions implied that the Cypriot population became more and more cosmopolitan due to the migrants coming from the ruling countries. Thus, Cyprus comprised various ethnic and religious elements long before the Ottoman conquest.

Borrowing institutions from the Islamic corpus, the Ottomans were quite capable of running the multi-religious empire. One of these institutions was "the *millet* system" based on the notion of corporate religious identity.[8] In this system, people were identified by religion and were granted a certain amount of autonomy with respect to "tax allocation and collection, community education, and intra-communal legal matters, especially those dealing with personal status such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance".[9] That also meant that the religious communities provided not only religious but also social and political services which were perceived by the Ottomans as the private domain of the religious communities. This led to the politicization of the religious hierarchies as much as the Ottomans allowed. Moreover, the religious leaders also held some political power as providers of the popular support that constituted

the legitimacy of the Ottoman state. The Ottoman philosophy of state necessitated that the sultan should preserve justice all over the empire by observing the balance between security, wealth, the people, religion, and royal authority.[10] Allowing the non-Muslim subjects to preserve their religious identity within their religious hierarchy,[11] the *millet* system was among the major components of the "justice philosophy" that legitimized the Ottoman state. In other words, the "justice" produced by the *millet* system brought about the consent of the people and the legitimacy that the Ottomans required to administer the lands inhabited by people from various religions.

The *millet* system also elicited the peaceful coexistence of various communities in Cyprus. People were bound to their *millets* by their religious affiliations rather than ethnic origins; and religious hierarchs were heads of *millets*, reporting directly to the Sultan.[12] Because it was functional, even the British largely preserved the system when they took over the administration of the island from the Ottomans in 1878. Under British administration, religious institutions still maintained their monopoly and regulated the daily lives of their communities in accordance with their religious codes. But they lost their political privileges under the British model of legitimacy and politics, which introduced the idea of equality of rights and responsibilities. Nevertheless, the multi-religiosity of the *millet* system was largely conserved by the British governors.

Niyazi [Berkes] was born into this cosmopolitan, multi-religious environment. In fact, the population of Cyprus in 1906, two years before his birth, was composed of 51,309 Muslims, 180,729 Orthodox Christians, and 2,984 Maronites, Catholics, Armenians, British and Jews.[13] The non-Muslim community was well-established in commerce whereas the Muslim community was largely from either an agrarian or urban civil service background. Muslim peasants were small land holders who practised subsistence farming, while urban Muslims were mostly in public service.[14] Niyazi's family was no exception to this generalization. His father Hüseyin Hilmi Bey worked for the State Hospital in Nicosia/Lefkoşa. One of his elder brothers was a pharmacist again working for the government. His mother, Dervişe Hanım, was a housewife who inherited property, from one of the few landowner Muslim families of Cyprus. Since almost all members of the family were

in public service, she used to sublet the shops to the non-Muslim merchants.[15]

In addition to the *millet* system, the Ottomans also promoted the Islamic dervish orders (*tarikat*) as an instrument for facilitating the conquest of territories largely inhabited by the non-Muslims. These orders were instrumental in the consolidation of state power through the Islamization of the non-Muslim population. Before embarking on a military campaign, the Ottomans had the strategy of sending dervishes, the Muslim mystics, who infiltrated that society in order to win the hearts and minds of the people. The dervishes appealed to the people in the new lands because of their easy and flexible interpretation of Islam as compared to Islamic orthodoxy. Even after conquests, the orders played a significant role in the Islamization of non-Muslims—especially in the Balkans.[16] This dervish tradition can also be found in Cyprus. For instance, Kutub Baba and Noktacı Ali Dede of the *Bektaşi* and *Halvetiye* orders, respectively, contributed greatly to the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571.[17] Subsequent to the conquest, *Mevlevi*, *Bektaşi*, *Nakşibendi*, and *Celveti* orders proceeded with their mission by spreading their unorthodox understanding of Islam on the island.[18]

The religious unorthodoxy on the island created the liberal environment in which the young Niyazi was brought up. His father Hüseyin Hilmi Bey was a *Bektaşi*.[19] This was an order which was widely known for its liberal interpretation of Islam; it was more of a philosophy rather than a religion. This understanding of Islam allowed Hüseyin Hilmi Bey to become a non-practicing Muslim. On the other hand, Niyazi's mother Dervişe Hanım, was a devout Muslim though not orthodox. She was a follower of the *Mevlevi* order[20] which was founded by *Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi* in Anatolia as a school of philosophy with disciples from any religion.

Besides, Cyprus was also a place to which "disgraced officials" and "dangerous radicals" were exiled by the Sultans in the history of the Ottoman Empire.[21] Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi (?-1732), the Ottoman Ambassador in Paris in the Tulip Era, Namık Kemal (1840-1888) and Ziya Paşa (1825-1880), the ideologues of the Young Ottoman movement, and Şair Eşref (1847-1912), the satirical poet, were some of the radical intellectuals who were banished to Cyprus. These intellectuals also contributed to the liberal political atmosphere on the island.[22] As a result, Niyazi became a liberal-minded intellectual open to new ideas,

cultures, and religions largely because of the multi-religious, multi-linguistic and religiously liberal society in Cyprus whose cosmopolitan nature can be traced back in history as early as ancient Egyptians.

However, the tradition of coexistence in relative peace and mutual respect began to change with British encouragement. After 1878, the Orthodox Christians and the Muslims underwent a process of national identity formation in which they evolved into Greek and Turkish Cypriots.[23] As a young member of the Muslim-Cypriot community, Niyazi developed a Turkish national consciousness in this turbulent era. It may seem odd that the origins of his liberal-mindedness and patriotism can both be attributed to his childhood and adolescence in Cyprus. This would make sense if one considers that it was a transitory period in which elements of change slowly replaced the elements of continuity. The manifestations of mutual tolerance and peaceful coexistence were observable together with ethnic conflict and "othering". Subsequent to the establishment of British rule, national identities eventually became visible as mutual tolerance and peaceful coexistence were substituted by ethnic conflict and "othering". [24]

The Early Years of British Rule in Cyprus, 1878-1908

Both Turkish and Greek nationalist historiographies tend to emphasize the existence of national identities among the religious communities of the island long before British rule. It has been claimed that the Orthodox archbishop had welcomed the British administrators at the port as he believed that they would accelerate the unification, the *enosis*, of the island with mainland Greece. This has been one of the favorite myths of nationalist historians from both communities.[25] For the origins of their nationalism, both the Turkish and the Greek historians seem to be willing to go back as far as possible in history. However, recent research on the question of nationalities in Cyprus has revealed that there is no evidence for any kind of nationalism among the Orthodox or Muslim communities before 1878.[26]

It was only after the collapse of the traditional Ottoman system and the inception of the British political system that national identities began to emerge. In that sense, Greek and Turkish identities in Cyprus are simply political constructions. During British rule, journalists, school teachers, and civil servants—i.e. the middle class intelligentsia, imposed national identities on the Muslim and Orthodox communities. The

expansion of the capitalist print market (books and newspapers) also played a significant role in the construction of national identities by facilitating association of feelings and ideas among the religious communities.[27] In other words, national identities in Cyprus do not have a long term tradition;[28] they are the result of a constructivist process that began with British rule.

The sovereignty of Cyprus was "temporarily" transferred to the British Empire by the Cyprus Convention of 1878.[29] The purpose of the Sublime Porte (*Babıâli*) was to secure British support against an expansive Russia following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78 that led to the loss of territory in the Caucasus. The British, on the other hand, wanted to acquire a military base to protect the Suez Canal[30] which provided the direct route to India and other British colonies in Asia.[31] From this point of view, the Convention was an example of diplomatic bargaining between two European[32] powers. The transfer of sovereignty was temporary and the British were to pay an annual tribute to the Ottoman Empire.

For the British, the temporary transfer of the island's sovereignty basically meant that they now acquired the *place d'armes* necessary to secure the route to their colonies in Asia. Soon after the acquisition of the island, the British army took over bases in Egypt in 1882 for the defense of the Suez Canal, and Cyprus lost some of its value as a military base.[33] However, the British were unwilling to return the island to the Ottomans. In the historiography of the eastern question, the great powers perceived the Ottomans as "the sick man of Europe[34]". Similarly, the British policy-makers were convinced that the Ottomans were not powerful enough to retain their sovereignty over the island. If the British returned the island back to the ailing empire, they might have lost it to a hostile, third party.[35]

Relying on this mentality, the British maintained their rule over the island at a reasonable price, that is, an annual tribute of £ 90.000 paid to Ottoman creditors in London who subtracted the amount from the Ottoman debt.[36] The tribute did not create a burden on the British economy since the British government levied taxes on their Cypriot subjects. Before British administration, the Ottomans had had a bureaucratic and complicated tax system which granted the religious communities a privileged status within the *millet* system. Particularly in Cyprus, the Orthodox Church played a significant role in collecting taxes, a right given to it just after the conquest of the island in 1571 and

extended in 1660. The Orthodox Church worked in close cooperation with the Ottomans collecting its share of the taxes from the Orthodox Cypriots.[37] Jan-Erik Smilden cites William Hepworth Dixon, the British author and traveler to the island in 1878, who characterized the relationship between the Ottoman Governor Besim Paşa and the Orthodox Archbishop Sophronios II as follows: "Besim held the whip, but Geronymo (Sophronios) showed him where to strike".[38] This was the division of labor between the church and the Ottoman state. On the other hand, the British administration introduced a tax system after intensive research on the availability and productivity of land in Cyprus.[39] They came up with a system which imposed equal responsibilities on all Cypriots including the clergy who were one of the major benefactors of the previous system.

The religious institutions, especially the Orthodox archbishop, disliked the idea of equality imposed by the British administration.[40] They began to raise their voice against the new system which treated the religious nobility and the ordinary members of the communities equally. Furthermore, in order to collect the taxes the British administration established a *Hobbesian* state structure. Determined to ensure law and order in Cyprus, the *Hobbesian* state enforced the new rules without taking religious ranks into account. For instance, when two Orthodox priests were arrested simply because their animals entered the forest under protection, they were forced to shave just like an ordinary prisoner.[41] Erasing the intra-communal hierarchies, the British governors annulled the Ottoman social contract that engendered public consent through the cooptation of the *millet* leaders.

Nevertheless, the abolition of the previous social contract between the ruled and the ruler did not lead to a legitimacy crisis since the British administrators were quick to introduce their model of politics and legitimacy on the island. The British model had emerged as a result of vast experience in various British colonies and was based on dividing religious, ethnic, national, or cultural groups within a colony. Thus, scholars tend to lay the blame for the ethnic conflicts between Singhalese and Tamils, Yoruba and Igbo, Muslims and Hindus on the British colonial policy of *divide et impera*. This was a policy which allowed the British rulers to (re)direct popular discontent and transform the potential for uprisings against colonial rule into the potential for internal conflicts. In Cyprus, the Orthodox and the Muslim communities already provided

the necessary material for the implementation of the British policy of divide and rule. Shortly after the inception of the British rule, the communities began to confront each other within the new model of politics.[42]

First of all, the British government established the legislative council, *Kavanin Meclisi*, in 1892, which was comprised of three Muslim, nine Orthodox, and six British delegates.[43] The establishment of the assembly launched a competition between the interests of the three groups of delegates. Although the British Crown had the final say over its legislation, the arithmetic structure of the assembly implied that the total number of Muslim and Orthodox votes simply outnumbered the British votes.[44] This implied that any kind of collaboration between the Muslim and the Orthodox delegates would damage British interests on the island. However, things did not work out like that and the two communities could never cooperate against British colonialism. The leaders of the communities were convinced by the British that the Muslim and the Orthodox communities had divergent interests. Therefore, the Orthodox leadership concentrated their efforts to unify the island with Greece whereas Muslim leaders aimed at preventing the Orthodox supremacy in the assembly by acting in harmony with the British rulers.[45]

One of the instruments that British rulers utilized to enlarge the gap between the communities was their employment policy. The British administration recruited public servants, especially police officers, from the Muslim community.[46] This situation engendered hostility against the Muslims from non-Muslim communities on the island who saw the Muslims as the enforcers of British rule.

Another social source which promoted differences in the island was the newspapers published by the Orthodox and the Muslim communities. As theorized by Benedict Anderson, newspapers play a significant role in the making of new identities by providing people with the opportunity to associate themselves with each other and imagine that they are different from others.[47] This process occurred in Cyprus when the British allowed community newspapers to circulate on the island. *Kypros* (1878), *Cyprus Herald* (1881-1887), *Times of Cyprus* (1887), *Neon Kition* (1888), and *Evagoras* (1898) were among the newspapers published by the Orthodox community.[48] Conducting an extensive survey of the Orthodox newspapers, Sophocleus concludes that the written word of the newspapers replaced the spoken word and laid the foundations of Greek-

Cypriot national consciousness.[49] The Muslims were also encouraged to publish their communal newspapers and the following newspapers may be listed: *Saded* (1889-1889), *Zaman* (1891-1892), *Yeni Zaman* (1892-1893), *Kıbrıs* (1893-1898), *Kokonoz* (1896-1897), *Akbaba* (1897-1898), *Feryat* (1899-1900), *Mirat-ı Zaman* (1900-1910), *Sünuhat* (1906-1912), *İslam* (1907-1909), *Vatan* (1911-1913), *Seyf* (1912-14) and *Kıbrıs* (1913-1914).[50] These had a similar impact on the Muslim community and led to the emergence of another homogeneous group on the island. As a result, the Muslims and the Orthodox acquired separate national identities with separate languages and religions.

Educational institutions also played a significant role in the process of the formation of national identity after 1878. In general, the British colonial education policy was based on their experience in India. They wanted to raise a generation of locals within British culture who would then serve as mediators between the British administration and colonial society.[51] But in Cyprus, the British did not follow this traditional educational policy designed to produce "Cypriot gentlemen" who would serve their colonial administration.[52] They rather augmented the number of traditional schools based on religious segregation. In fact, between the years 1881 and 1901, the number of Muslim schools increased from 71 to 144 and the number of Muslim students increased from 1869 to 5176. Similarly, the number of Orthodox schools increased from 99 to 273 and the number of Orthodox students increased from 4907 to 15.712 in the same period.[53] What is more striking is the fact that these institutions promoted nationalistic ideas among the Orthodox and the Muslim students. In this period, courses on Greek and Ottoman nationalisms became natural elements of school curricula. For instance, some of the courses were titled "Heroes of New Greece" (*i iroes tis neas ellados*) and "On [Hellenic] National Education" (*peri ethnikis agosis*) in the Orthodox schools.[54] In his memoirs, Canon F. D. Newham, the Chief Inspector of British schools, noted that when he asked to hear the Orthodox school-children sing, they usually responded with a war song: "Forward, follow the drum that leads us against the Turks."[55] The focus of education in the Muslim schools was also eventually shifted from religious, traditional, and cultural components towards linguistic and nationalistic items. The British designed an educational policy for Cyprus which would sharply divide the island into two and abandoned the traditional British colonial

educational policy aimed at producing a local elite serving for the colonial administration.

As a result, the British strategy of dividing Cyprus along religious and linguistic lines paid off well and ethnic tensions between the Muslim and the Orthodox communities began to escalate during the early years of British rule. There were reports of various instances of ethnic hostilities between the two communities. The daily *Kıbrıs* (19 March 1894) reported that during the carnival in Baf/Baphos, a group of Orthodox Christians humiliated Muslims and became involved in a fight with the Muslims.[56] On Greek Independence Day in 1895, there had been several events where the Muslims were insulted by their Orthodox compatriots. School children, for example, paraded through the predominantly Muslim Tahtakale quarter of Nicosia/Lefkoşa singing about slaughtering hated Muslims.[57] Again in 1895, the British Commissioner, B. Travers, reported that the Orthodox deliberately provoked the Muslims at Vitsadha and Vatili.[58] In the legislative Council, the Orthodox delegates used every opportunity to pass a resolution to cede Cyprus to Greece. They tried to do so when one of the Muslim delegates, Derviş Paşa, was absent from the council in 1903.[59] In reaction, Muslim members of the council moved an amendment that if Cyprus were ceded to anyone it should be the Ottomans in accordance with the Cyprus Convention of 1878.[60] Tensions subsided with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 but resumed when the Ottoman Empire lost Crete to Greece in 1909. The retreat of the Ottoman Empire after the Tripoli (1911) and Balkan Wars (1912-13) also destroyed the possibility of conciliation between the two communities of the island.

Young Turks in Cyprus: The Revolution and After, 1908-1914

One of the unintended consequences of the modern educational institutions established by Abdulhamid II was the emergence of an enlightened intelligentsia within the ranks of the civil and military bureaucracy which adhered to the principles of the French Revolution. This group of intellectuals, who are widely known as the Young Turks,[61] advocated that the only political model which could prevent the decay of the empire was constitutional monarchy in which all religious and linguistic elements of the empire were represented.[62]

Despite their strong attachment to the idea of constitutional monarchy, the Young Turks were ideologically divided into several factions.[63] One

of the leading factions was the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), whose aim was to bring about "union and progress." It was led by Ahmet Rıza, a Young Turk ideologue inspired by the ideas of the French sociologist, August Comte. Ahmet Rıza and his supporters believed that progress could be achieved within a society using positivist ideas.[64] In the Ottoman case, the positivist order entailed the union of all Ottomans without respect to religion, language, and ethnicity. This was the dominant element of the Young Turk ideology in 1908 when the Committee succeeded in restoring the constitution, which had been shelved by Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) in 1878. The 1908 Revolution was, therefore, welcomed both by Muslims and non-Muslims of the empire. Muslims, Christians, and Jews throughout the empire celebrated the revolution with spectacular demonstrations.[65]

After the revolution, it became clear that the idea of keeping all elements of the empire united would not work. The non-Muslim communities were looking into establishing their own nation-states rather than staying within the empire as subjects of the Sultan. In fact, the defeat of the Ottomans in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 necessitated a revision of the Unionist ideology that emphasized the multi-religiosity of the empire. Thereafter, the Young Turks changed their understanding of Ottoman identity by putting greater emphasis on Islam as the factor which could at least keep the Ottoman-Muslims together.[66]

The Young Turk movement followed a similar pattern in Cyprus. Emerging in the first half of the 1890s, the movement was represented by a group of Ottoman intellectuals on the island. With the arrival of the Unionist leader Hoca Muhiddin from Egypt, the movement gained momentum and protests took place demanding constitutional rights against the authoritarian rule of the Sultan.[67] Although the newspapers published by the Muslim community took any incident as an opportunity to express their loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan, under the Young Turk influence they publicized the ideas of unionism, constitutional monarchy, progress and liberty on the island. The movement was so successful that the news of the 1908 Revolution was greeted with widespread jubilation not only by a small group of intellectuals but by the Muslim community as a whole.[68] On the day of the revolution, celebrations took place in *Kıraathane-i Osmani*, the gathering place of the Unionists in Cyprus. The rest of Cypriot society, especially the Muslim community, soon joined in the events to celebrate the new era. The pictures of the revolutionary

officers Enver and Niyazi could be seen everywhere in the island together with Ottoman flags. Popular expectation from the new regime was the creation of harmony between various religious, ethnic, and cultural elements of the empire through representation in the parliament. Similarly, the example of the new regime in Istanbul would be a rapprochement between Muslims and Christians in Cyprus. This idea is evident in the words of Jön Sırrı, the Young Turk author of the Muslim-Cypriot daily *Mirat-ı Zaman* on 14 September 1908:

> From now on it will not only be our Mehmets, but also our Dikrans, Yorgis and Josephs who sacrifice their lives at our borders. From now onwards there will be no clash between the crescent and the cross, no conflict between the Koran and the Bible because our Christians will defend the crescent.[69]

Niyazi [Berkes] and his twin brother Enver were born into the optimism engendered by the Revolution in 1908. The twins were first named by the African maid Pembe Hanım with two traditional names, Ahmet and Mehmet, which are widely used in the Muslim world even today.[70] However, these names were not welcomed by the father and the older brothers who regularly attended the *Kıraathane-i Osmani*, the Young Turk Club in Nicosia/Lefkoşa.[71] They wanted the twins to be named after the Unionist officers who led the uprising in Macedonia. Eventually, a compromise was found and the twins were named as Ahmet Niyazi and Mehmet Enver, which probably heightened the political and historical consciousness of the twins as they grew up in Cyprus.[72]

The expectations of peace and rapprochement between the communities soon ended when the Cretan Assembly decided to join Greece in 1908.[73] The ethnic strife between Muslims and Christians had been in progress for a long while in Crete. The Christian population in Crete rebelled against the empire several times together with the Greek nationalists. Although the rebels were suppressed in 1821 and 1869, the Ottomans had to recognize the island's autonomy after the Ottoman-Greek War of 1897.[74] In 1908, the Crete administration declared unification of the island with Greece which was recognized by the Ottomans in 1913.[75] Both for the Christians and the Muslims living in Crete, this had been a bloody process in which many Cretans were killed. Moreover, the Muslim community was forced to migrate to other parts of

the empire. In fact, out of 88,000 Cretan Muslims in 1895, hardly any of them remained in the island after the Greek takeover.[76]

The conflict in Crete was perceived by the Muslim community in Cyprus as having many parallels to what had been taking place in Cyprus. The *de facto* unification of Crete with Greece alerted the Muslims and the rhetoric of unionism, which aimed at keeping all religious elements of the empire together, came to an end. The defeats of the Ottoman army in Tripoli (1911) and the Balkan Wars (1912-13) also contributed to this ideological shift. The newspapers of the Christian community published articles humiliating the Muslim community and went so far that the British administration had to investigate them. In fact, the journalist Kyriakos Phylax was arrested by the British because of his articles inciting violence against the Muslim community.[77] Muslim papers, on the other hand, began to promote the idea of unionism again but this time only among the Muslims. One of the papers, *Vatan,* cited the Koranic verse "you shall not break up but stand united" (*va'tesimu ve la teferruku*) in its first issue published in 1911.[78] The new unionism no longer included the non-Muslim population of the island. The process of national identity formation in Cyprus had been accelerated.

On 12 January 1912, the Greek representatives in the legislative council demanded several amendments to the legislative and executive structure which would favor the Orthodox community. They also expressed their intention to end the British rule and to unite the island with Greece. Having heard that their demands were rejected by the British, the Greek representatives decided to protest by resigning from their posts in the council.[79] Furthermore, the representatives also urged the Orthodox community to protest the British administration. The protest against British rule, however, turned into an anti-Muslim campaign in which Muslim homes and shops were assaulted.[80] This was mainly because of the composition of the police force which included a disproportionate number of Muslim officers. When the police officers fired on the crowd upon the order given by Captain Gallagher,[81] the British police chief, this was perceived by the protestors as a Muslim attack on Orthodox protestors. This incident led to a violent confrontation between the two communities and at the end of the day many civilians from both sides were killed or wounded. This was the first confrontation between the communities which resulted in mutual killings.[82] As a result, the relations between the two communities were irreparably broken. Any

possibility of peaceful coexistence and mutual tolerance were erased by ethnic conflict and mutual hatred.

The insecurity of the communities which resulted in the consolidation of Turkish and Greek national identities escalated every other day. The process peaked during the World War (1914-1918) when the Orthodox and the Muslims felt threatened by the possibility that their mother countries —Greece and Turkey—would be defeated. In fact, the Muslim community experienced trauma when the Ottomans were forced to sign the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920 which left a truncated state for Muslims in Anatolia. Worried about their future in Cyprus, the Cyprus community closely followed the Turkish national struggle (1919-22) and within this process they developed an even greater Turkish national consciousness, possibly even before the Muslim masses in Anatolia.

World War One and the Turkish National Struggle, 1914-1922
There was little resentment in the Muslim community when the British Empire took over the island's administration in 1878. The silence of the Muslims may be attributed to the fact that the Ottomans would, in theory, continue to be the legal suzerain of the island. Furthermore, any kind of conflict between the Ottomans and the British empires seemed to be unlikely at the time of the convention.[83] This projection, however, turned out to be incorrect when the Ottomans joined the Central Powers— Germany and Austria-Hungary—to fight Britain and the Triple Entente that included France and Russia. The war came to be a turning point in the history of the island, altering the political parameters in the island.

As an immediate outcome of the war, on 5 November 1914 Great Britain annexed the island claiming that the war annulled the Cyprus Convention of 1878.[84] This was perceived by the Orthodox community as the final stage in the progress towards *enosis*. In fact, Prime Minister Venizelos of Greece was reported by the Orthodox newspaper *Elefteria* (14 November 1914) as saying that the British annexation of the island could be perceived as the final phase of the national restoration of this great Greek island to Greece.[85] The Muslim community, on the other hand, was quite cautious about the policy to be pursued in reaction to the annexation. Annoyed with the rumors of *enosis*, the representatives of the Muslim community decided to declare their loyalty to Britain by welcoming the annexation. The local Muslim elite submitted a letter to

the High Commissioner voicing their preference for staying within the British Empire rather than having a Greek takeover.[86]

Apart from the demands of the communities, the war strategy on its own determined the British policy over Cyprus. Although Cyprus had no strategic value for England since it had no harbor fit for naval purposes,[87] British policy-makers found a way to turn the island into a strategic asset by offering Cyprus to Greece in return for her intervention in the war. Under German influence, the Greek government declined the offer but "allowed free passage over its territory of the Allies' troops going to the Serbian front and maintained an army on a war footing".[88] The idea was to keep the window of opportunity open if Greece actively joined the Allies in the future.[89] The offer led to psychological devastation among the Muslim community. Drawing conclusions from the Cretan case, the Muslim community was alarmed that the Greek takeover would result in bloody conflicts and migration. This incident caused national awakening among the Muslims who began to associate themselves more and more with the people living in Anatolia. Alerted by the uneasiness of the Muslim community, the British administration declared that the offer had lapsed when the Greek government failed to agree to their terms. This, however, did not prevent the Orthodox delegates in the legislative council from submitting several proposals during the war for the concession of the island to Greece; this made the Muslim community feel threatened.

The idea of uniting the island with Greece was repeated when Greece joined the Entente powers in 1917. Greeks also took the opportunity to put forth the idea of unification when the Ottomans were defeated in 1918. Furthermore, the Paris Peace Conference was also used as a stage to lobby for *enosis*. In January 1919, a group of Orthodox representatives went to London to advocate the transfer of the island to Greece. Not surprisingly, the Sèvres Treaty (1920) also included articles handing over the island to Greece.

The constant emphasis on the issue of *enosis* triggered nationalism among the Muslim community. On several occasions Muslim Cypriots protested the demands for *enosis* and organized campaigns to provide financial aid for the national struggle in Anatolia. Eventually, the Muslim political elite called for a national congress in Cyprus and the Lefkoşa National Congress convened on 10 December 1918.[90] The congress was significant because it was the first time when Cypriot Muslims referred to the Turkish nation. Similar to the nationalist congresses which convened

in Sivas (1919) and Erzurum (1919), the Lefkoşa Congress illustrated that the Muslims in Cyprus had developed a Turkish national identity parallel to the Muslims in Anatolia. Turkish-Cypriot nationalists even attempted to launch a nationalist rebellion. According to the historian George Hill, the Turkish nationalist leaders, Dr. Esat, Dr. Behiç and Hasan Karabardak, attempted a rebellion by releasing Ottoman war prisoners who were kept in Famagusta.[91] However, they were arrested before any rebellion could be organized.

Despite the failure of the nationalists to organize a rebellion, Turkish nationalism prevailed among the Muslim community in Cyprus. Muslims strongly identified with the Kemalist nationalists who were fighting against Britain and Greece together with other imperial powers. The Turkish dailies *Söz* and *Doğru Yol* communicated nationalist ideas thus strengthening Turkish nationalism among the Cypriot Muslims. The following excerpt from Mehmet Remzi, a columnist in the daily Söz, illustrates the nationalist state of mind promoted by the dailies:

> Not only to the Orthodox Cypriots but also to all Greeks and to the world, we declare that Turkey was not and will not come to the ground. So long as the sun shines over the earth, Turkishness will exist with perfect stability.[92]

The Muslim community had cultivated a new Turkish identity based on nationality as a result of the process which went back to the early years of the British rule. Niyazi [Berkes] grew up during these years when the Turkish national identity was being crystallized. The traces of this process can be seen on his identity. Niyazi [Berkes] was six years old when the world war started; he was fourteen when the Turkish national struggle ended. In this period, he was exposed to the nationalist curriculum drafted by the teachers who first adhered to the Ottomanist Young Turk ideology but then became Turkish nationalists. Since the British administration did not allow newspapers to be published in Turkish during the world war, he was exposed to the ideas expressed in such papers as *Vakit*, *İkdam*, *Vatan*, *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, and *Akşam* smuggled from Anatolia. In his memoirs, he recalls that he was following the columns by Süleyman Nazif, Abdülhak Hamit, Halide Edip, Falih Rıfkı, and Yakup Kadri who supported the Turkish national struggle.[93] This implies that he felt empathy for the nationalist struggle in Anatolia thanks to the news and comments

conveyed by the Turkish newspapers. Niyazi [Berkes] claims that the most spectacular years in his life were the years of the national struggle in Anatolia:

> During the war years, the Turkish Cypriots could not migrate anywhere. They were worried about possible massacre of the Turks by the Greeks who were spoiled by British friendship… I was eleven when the war started and fourteen when it ended. My consciousness was aroused by the developments between these ages. I have always been under the influence of the events that took place in this period much more than any peers of mine in Turkey. The mental and emotional aspects of my personality were shaped by the events of this period.[94]

Within this context, Niyazi [Berkes] developed a sense of national identity like other members of the Muslim community in Cyprus. He valued the concept of fatherland within a community which was traumatized by the fear of losing the territory to which they felt attached. His memories of his mother, Dervişe Hanım, praying for the victory of the nationalists in Anatolia were still alive years later when he wrote his memoirs towards the end of his life.[95] His patriotism seems to have its origins in his childhood and adolescence in British Cyprus when new identities were being formed.

But the fears of the Muslim community did not become a reality. The Kemalist nationalists won victory in the Turkish Independence War on 9 September 1922. However, Cyprus was beyond the reach of the Kemalists. This resulted in a migration from Cyprus to the new Turkey. Among the migrants were Niyazi [Berkes] and his family. They decided to move to the capital of the late Ottoman Empire now that it had been saved by the nationalists. In Istanbul, the family felt safer and the twins, Enver and Niyazi would have access to the best educational institutions the city of the Sultans, *pay-i taht* could provide. On 24 July 1923 Kemalist nationalists signed the Treaty of Lausanne and the borders of the new Turkey were recognized by the international community. With this treaty, the Kemalists also succeeded in preventing the concession of Cyprus to Greece but they had to recognize British annexation of the island. In the new Turkey being made by the nationalists, Niyazi [Berkes]

began a new phase in his life which lasted until the day in 1952 when he would be obliged to go into voluntary exile to North America.

Endnotes

1 Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964).

2 Niyazi Berkes, *Bazı Ankara Köyleri Üzerinde Bir Araştırma [A Survey on Several Villages of Ankara]* (Ankara: Ankara University DTCF Press, 1942).

3 Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi [Turkey's Economic History]* (Istanbul: Gerçek Press, vol. 1, 1969; vol. 2, 1970).

4 Niyazi Berkes, *Unutulan Yıllar [Forgotten Years],* compiled by Ruşen Sezer (Istanbul: İletişim Press, 1997), 33.

5 Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs [Cyprus in the Dilemma of Nationalism]*, (Istanbul: İletişim Press, 2005).

6 Kemal Çiçek, "Lefkoşe: İki Dilli, İki Dinli, İki Toplumlu Bir Osmanlı Şehrinin Portresi, *[Nicosia: The Portrait of a Bi-lingual, Bi-religious, Bi-communal Ottoman City]*," in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Cyprus Studies*, eds. İsmail Bozkurt, Hüseyin Ateşin and M. Kansu (Famagusta: Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 1998), 95.

7 In this paragraph, the list of the countries that invaded Cyprus has been taken from *The Encyclopedia Britannica: A New Survey of Universal Knowledge*, vol. 6, 14th edn (London: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1937), 933-34.

8 Norman Itkowitz and Vamık Volkan, "Turkish and Greek Identities and a Comparison between Them," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Cypriot Studies*, eds. Emel Doğramacı, William Haney, and Güray König (Famagusta: Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 1996), 181.

9 Norman Itkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), 59; see also H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).

10 The Ottoman understanding of the state can be attributed to the concept of the "circle of equity" which illustrates the circular relationships among the various classes of society and their functions in a well-run state. The circle of equity is defined by Norman Itkowitz as follows: "1. There can be no royal authority without the military. 2. There can be no military without wealth. 3. The *reaya* produce the wealth. 4. The Sultan keeps the *reaya* by making justice reign. 5. Justice requires harmony in the world. 6. The world is a garden; its walls are the state. 7. The state's prop is the religious law. 8. There

is no support for the religious law without royal authority." See Itkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, 88.

[11] Feroz Ahmad, "Young Turk-Armenian Relations During the Second Constitutional Period 1908-1914," in *Armenians in the Ottoman Society*, ed. Metin Hülagü (Kayseri: Erciyes University Printing House, 2008), 305.

[12] For an historical account of the Ottoman millet system, see: Daniel Goffman, "Ottoman *Millets* in the Early Seventeenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (Fall 1994): 135-58; Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myth of the Millet System" and Karpat, Kemal H. "*Millets* and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of A Plural Society,* eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982), 69-88 and 141-69.

[13] İbrahim Hakkı Bey, "Muhtasar Kıbrıs Coğrafyası *[The Concise Geography of Cyprus]*, 1906," transliterated into Latin alphabet by Harid Fedai, *Kıbrıs Türk Kültürü Makaleler [Cypriot Turkish Culture Articles]*, vol.1 (Nicosia: SAMTAY Foundation, 2005), 49.

[14] *Cyprus (Magazine)* "Supplement to 'Great Britain and the East' Incorporating the 'Near East and India'" (London, Athens, Alexandria, 4 February 1937), 24.

[15] Niyazi Berkes, "Kişisel Anılar *[Personal Memories],*" in *Atatürk ve Devrimler [Ataturk and the Revolution]* (Istanbul: Adam Press, 1982), 12.

[16] See H.T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World* (London: Hurst & Company, 1993); and Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

[17] Yusuf Küçükdağ, "Kıbrıs Tekke ve Zaviyeleri [*Dervish Lodges in Cyprus*]," in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Cyprus Studies*, 381-83.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Berkes, *Unutulan Yıllar*, 30.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Charles Fraser Beckingham, "Islam and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus," *Die Welt des Islams* 5 (1/2) (1957): 67.

[22] Oğuz Yorgancıoğlu, "Niyazi Berkes Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme, 1908-188 [*An Evaluation on Niyazi Berkes*]," *First Symposium on Remarkable Turkish Cypriots*, ed. İsmail Bozkurt (21-23 April 1999), 85.

[23] Nergis Canefe, "Türklük Tarihi ve Kıbrıs: Kıbrıslı Türk Kimliğinin Hikayelenmesinde Bir Yolağzı [*History of Turkishness and Cyprus: An Introduction to the Narrative of Turkish Cypriot Identity*]," in *Milliyetçilik,*

Bellek ve Aidiyet [Nationalism, Memory and Belonging] (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2007), 366.

24 Ibid., 365-70.

25 See for example Doros Alastos, *Cyprus in History: A Survey in 5000 Year,* (London: Zeno Publishers, 1976), 308; and Ahmet Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler: Bugünlere Gelmek Kolay Olmadı [The Turks Encircled by Enosis]* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research and Publication Center, 1996), 35-40.

26 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, (Lefkoşa: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996); Rebecca Bryant, *Tebaadan Vatandaşa Kıbrıs'ta Modernite ve Milliyetçilik [From Subjects to Citizens: Modernity and Nationalism in Cyprus]* (Istanbul: İletişim Press, 2002).

27 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1991).

28 Eric Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

29 The Annex of the Cyprus Convention of 1878 included the following clauses: "1. A Muslim religious tribunal should continue to function, taking exclusive cognizance of religious matters concerning the Muslims. 2. A Muslim resident of the island, nominated by the Board of Pious Foundations in Turkey, should superintend the administration of all property belonging to Muslim Pious Foundations and the religious establishment, with a delegate appointed by the British authorities. 3. Great Britain would pay the Porte annually the current excess of revenue over expenditure, which was calculated by the average of the last five years and stated to be 22,936 purses (11,468-000 *piastres* or approximately 95,567 pounds), to be verified later, the produce of State and Crown lands let or sold during that period being excluded. 4. The Porte was to have the right to sell and lease lands and other property belonging to the Ottoman Crown and State, the produce of which would not form part of the revenue referred to in article three. The British Government was to have the right to purchase compulsorily, at a fair price, land required for public purposes. 6. If Russia restored to Turkey Kars and other conquests made by it in Armenia during the last war, Cyprus would be evacuated by England and the Convention of June 4, 1878, annulled." See in J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East –A Documentary Record: 1914-1956*, vol. 2 (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1956), 31-3.

30 "Cyprus, the Suez Canal, and Disraeli," *New York Times* (31 May 1896) *Proquest Historical Newspapers,* <http://www.proquest.com>

31 H. L. Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 443.

32 The Ottoman Empire was considered to be a European state since after the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

33 Halil İbrahim Salih, *Cyprus: An Analysis of Cypriot Political Discord* (New York: Theo Gaus' Sons Inc., 1968), 24.

34 For the origins of this epithet, see: Christopher de Bellaigue, "The Sick Man of Europe," *New York Review of Books*, (5 July 2001).

35 Robert Stephens, *Cyprus: A Place of Arms: Power Politics and Ethnic Conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean* (New York: Praeger, 1966).

36 Bryant, *Tebaadan Vatandaşa Kıbrıs'ta Modernite ve Milliyetçilik,* 36.

37 Jan-Erik Smilden "When the Turks saved the Greek Cypriots," in *Are We Captives of History: Historical Essays on Turkey and Europe*, ed. A. Johansson *et al.* (Oslo: Oslo Academic Press, 2007), 75-6.

38 Ibid., 80.

39 Bryant, *Tebaadan Vatandaşa Kıbrıs'ta Modernite ve Milliyetçilik*, 38–39.

40 Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler,* 35–36.

41 Bryant, *Tebaadan Vatandaşa Kıbrıs'ta Modernite ve Milliyetçilik*, 40.

42 Adamantia Pollis, "Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus," *Comparative Politics* 5 (4) (1973), 575-99.

43 Salih, *Cyprus: An Analysis of Cypriot Political Discord*, 26-7.

44 Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler*, 44.

45 Pollis, "Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy," 591-2.

46 Canefe, "Türklük Tarihi ve Kıbrıs," 367.

47 Anderson, *Imagined Communities.*

48 Andreas CI. Sophocleus, "The First Cypriot Newspapers and the British Administration," *GMJ: Mediterranean Edition* 1 (1) (2006): 117-19.

49 Ibid., 116.

50 Süleyman İrvan, "Kıbrıslı Türk Gazetecilerin Mesleki ve Etik Değerleri, *[Professional and Ethical Values of Cypriot Turkish Journalists]*" *Küresel İletişim Dergisi [Journal of Cultural Communication]* 1 (2006): 3.

51 In India, for instance, the British administration required the assistance of the Indians who were competent in the English language and culture for the effective functioning of the state. With this purpose, schools and colleges were opened to "cultivate a local elite who could understand them, and their concepts of rule, who were willing to be inducted into politics, into a public

arena where they could freely give allegiance and loyalty to the British crown, a class of persons as Macaulay had put it […], 'Indian in color and blood but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.'" Sunil Khilnani "Who is an Indian," in *The Idea of India* (New York: Farrar, 2002), 22-3.

52 For an analysis of the peculiarities of British colonial education in Cyprus see Panayiotis Persianis, "The British Colonial Education 'Lending' Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): An Intriguing Example of an Elusive 'Adapted Education' Policy," *Comparative Education* 32 (1) (1996): 45-68.

53 Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus*, 84.

54 Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs,* 78.

55 H.D. Purcell, *Cyprus*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), 238.

56 Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler*, 63-64.

57 Purcell, *Cyprus*, 238.

58 Ibid.

59 "In Foreign Lands: Cyprus Wishes to Withdraw from British Rule," *New York Times* (29 March 1903); *Proquest Historical Newspapers,* <http://www.proquest.com>

60 Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler*, 81–2.

61 For an historical account of the Young Turks see Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks. The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

62 Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

63 For a study on Young Turk ideology see Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962); Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri [Political Ideas of Young Turks]*, 1898-1908 (Ankara: İş Bank Press, 1964).

64 Sina Akşin, *Kısa Türkiye Tarihi [A Concise History of Turkey]*, (İstanbul: İş Bank Press, 2007), 49.

65 Sacit Kutlu compiled a book of postcards that illustrates the celebrations of the 1908 Revolution in Istanbul. Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-ı Hürriyet: Kartpostallarla İkinci Meşrutiyet [Beautiful Face of Liberty: Second Constitutional Regime on Postcards]* (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2004).

66 Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Otoman Empire, 1908-1918* (London: University of California Press, 1997), 141-3.

[67] Bülent Evre, "Jön Türk Hareketinin Kıbrıs'a Etkisi, *[The Impact of the Young Turk Revolution on Cyprus]*" *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi [Journal of Academic Research]* 35 (2005): 10.

[68] Altay Nevzat, *Nationalism Amongst the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave*, (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Oulu, 2005), 169.

[69] Quoted in Hüseyin Mehmet Ateşin, "Kıbrıs Adasında "Müslüman Halkın Laikleşme ve Türk Kimliğine Geçiş Sürecinde Kıbrıs Türk Basını'nın ve Aydınları'nın Oynadıkları Rol, *[The Role of Cypriot Turkish Press and Intellectuals in Secularization and Turkish Identity Formation of the Muslim People in Cyprus Island]*" *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Cyprus Studies*, 195-96. Translation is mine.

[70] Berkes, *Unutulan Yıllar*, 33.

[71] Berkes, *Unutulan Yıllar*, 34.

[72] Feroz Ahmad (1998) "Introductory Essay, Niyazi Berkes: The Education of an Intellectual," in *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Niyazi Berkes (London: Hurst and Company, 1998), xv.

[73] "Crete Decides to Join Greece," *New York Times* (8 October 1908); *Proquest Historical Newspapers,* <http://www.proquest.com>

[74] Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler*, 85–7.

[75] "Turks Give Up All Except Adrinople," *New York Times* (2 January 1913); *Proquest Historical Newspapers*, 4*,* <http://www.proquest.com>

[76] Purcell, *Cyprus*, 240.

[77] Ibid., 239.

[78] Quoted in Harid Fedai, "Kıbrıs Türk Basınında Vatan, [Fatherland in Cypriot Turkish Press]" *Kıbrıs Türk Kültürü Makaleler [Cypriot Turkish Culture Articles]*, 5.

[79] Salih, *Cyprus: An Analysis of Cypriot Political Discord*, 29.

[80] Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler*, 111–12.

[81] Ibid., 113.

[82] Sabahattin İsmail, "Kıbrıs Türk Halkı'nın Ulusal Mücadelesi'nde İlkler [The First Cases in the National Struggle of the Cypriot Turkish People]," in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Cyprus Studies*, 146.

[83] Beckingham, "Islam and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus," 68.

[84] "Cyprus," *New York Times* (6 November 1914); *Proquest Historical Newspapers,* <http://www.proquest.com>

[85] Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler*, 134.

[86] Ibid., 135.

[87] "Cyprus," *New York Times* (6 November 1914); *Proquest Historical Newspapers,* <http://www.proquest.com>

[88] "Greek Government Defends its Stand," *New York Times* (24 October 1915) *Proquest Historical Newspapers,* <http://www.proquest.com>

[89] "Cyprus A Gift to Greece," *New York Times* (25 October 1915) *Proquest Historical Newspapers,* <http://www.proquest.com>

[90] İsmail, "Kıbrıs Türk Halkı'nın Ulusal Mücadelesi'nde İlkler," 147.

91 George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

[92] Quoted in Gazioğlu, *Enosis Çemberinde Türkler*, 171. Translation is mine.

[93] Berkes, *Unutulan Yıllar*, 36.

[94] Ibid., 27.

[95] Berkes, "Kişisel Anılar," 12.

Kıbrıs Türklerinin 1955-74 Tarihleri Arasında Posta Faaliyetleri

Ulvi Keser
Atılım Üniversitesi

Özet

Bu makale Kıbrıs Turklerinin posta faaliyetlerinin politik ve sosyal krizlerle dolu 1958-74 yılları arasındaki tarihi üzerinedir. Özellikle 1 Nisan 1955 tarihinden itibaren EOKA teşkilatının Kıbrıs adasında faaliyete geçmesi ve önce İngilizlere, daha sonra da kendisine destek vermeyen Rumlara ve Türklere karşı hareketine başlaması adadaki iletilim ve araçlarını kesintiye uğratmıştır. Bu süreç her ne kadar 16 Ağustos 1960 tarihinde Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşuyla atlatılmağa çalışılsa da kısa bir süre içinde sorunlar tekrar ortaya çıkmış ve 15 Temmuz 1974 Türkiye'nin Kbırıslı Türklerin haklarını korumak için adaya müdahale etmesine kadar devam etmiştir. Bu dönemde en çok sıkıntısı çekilen hususlardan birisi de haberleşme hürriyetinin olmayışıdır ve bu da bu dönemin posta faaliyetlerin gelişme tarihini daha da ilginç kılmaktadır. Ancak bu tarih üzerine pek çalışma bulunmamakla birlikte bilgiler çoğunlukla o dönemi yaşamış Kıbrılı Türklerden edinilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Posta Faaliyetleri, EOKA, TMT, Kıbrıs, Kızılay, Sosyal Yardım, Erenköy

Abstract

This article is dealing with the history of the postal services of the Turkish Cypriots during a period of political and social crisis, 1958-74. The rising EOKA organization and activities firstly against the British subjects on the island and then against Turkish and Greek Cypriots, who did not support EOKA activities, caused several disruptions in communication and communication means. Despite the founding of the Republic of Cyprus dated 16th August 1960 seemed to put an end to the political crisis at first soon problems continued to exist leading to Turkey's intervention of 15th July 1974 on the island to protect Turkish Cypriot rights. It is recorded that during this period rights of communication were restricted and this in fact makes the history of postal services during this era even more interesting. The history of the postal activities, however, has not been studied much and most of the

information of this article derives from interviews made with Turkish Cypriots who have lived during this period.

Key Words: Postal Services, EOKA, TMT, Cyprus, Red Crescent, Social Aid, Erenköy

Giriş

Kıbrıs adası özellikle 1950'li yıllardan sonra Yunanistan'ın Kıbrıs konusunu Birleşmiş Milletler'e taşımasıyla uluslararası bir nitelik kazanır. 1 Nisan 1955 tarihinde Yarbay Grivas komutasındaki EOKA teşkilatının *Megali İdea* doğrultusunda Kıbrıs adasını Yunanistan'a bağlamak için başlattığı saldırılar ve 25 Temmuz 1974 Nikos Sampson darbesinden sonra gerçekleştirilen 20 Temmuz 1974 Barış Harekâtı ile de ikiye bölünen ada sosyal bilimlerin farklı disiplinleri açısından her zaman araştırılmaya değer bir konumdadır. Bu araştırmada irdelenecek olan konu ise Kıbrıs'ta posta tarihi, posta haberleşmesinin geçirdiği evreler, özellikle 21 Aralık 1963 Kanlı Noel sonrasında ortaya çıkan Rum ambargoları ve haberleşme sorununun ne şekilde çözüme kavuşturulmaya çalışıldığı ve bugünkü duruma nasıl gelindiği konularıdır. Bu bağlamda ağırlıklı olarak Kıbrıslı Türklerin en doğal haberleşme hürriyeti konusunda yaşadıkları sıkıntıları giderebilmek için hal çareleri aradıkları "Taksi Postası, Kızılay Postası, Kıbrıs Türk Postaları Uygulaması, Erenköy Uygulaması ve Sosyal Yardım Uygulaması" ele alınacaktır.

1958–1963 Dönemi ve Taksi Postası

Kıbrıs adasında 1 Nisan 1955 gününden başlayarak Yarbay Grivas idaresinde EOKA'nın faaliyetleri zaman içerisinde bütün ada sathına yayılır ve Kıbrıslı Türkleri de tehdit eder bir hal alır. Buna karşın Kıbrıslı Türkler müdafaa amaçlı olarak başlangıçta Karaçete, Volkan ve 9 Eylül gibi mahalli ve düzensiz organizasyonlar kurma yoluna gitmişlerdir ancak profesyonel bir teşkilat organizasyonu kurmuş olan EOKA karşısında pek bir varlık gösteremezler. Sonuçta 1957 yılından itibaren adada temeli Dr. Burhan Nalbantoğlu, Kemal Tanrısevdi ve Rauf R. Denktaş tarafından atılan Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı kurulur ve 1 ağustos 1958 tarihinden itibaren Türkiye'nin devreye girmesiyle EOKA karşısına daha profesyonel ve bütün adaya yayılan bir örgütlenme çıkar.

Özellikle 1958 yılından başlayarak 21 Aralık 1963 dönemine kadar hayatın pek çok noktasında olduğu üzere haberleşme konusunda da sıkıntılar yaşanmaktadır. 21 Aralık 1963 tarihinden itibaren başlayarak

özellikle 1965 yılına kadar devam eden çatışmaların sonucunda Kıbrıs'ın nispeten daha güvenli olan belli bölgelerinde toplanmak zorunda kalan Kıbrıslı Türkler zorluklar, ambargo uygulamaları, güvensiz bir ortam ve işsizlik sonucunda adadan özellikle İngiltere, Avustralya ve Kanada'ya göç etmeye başlar.

Haberleşme kısıtlamalarını Kıbrıs Türkleri kendi yöntemleri ile çözmeye çalışmışlardır. Dünya savaş ve siyaset tarihinde ilk defa olarak Kıbrıs adasının farklı noktalarında ve özellikle de Mağusa ve Lefkoşa arasında çalışmakta olan ve sahipleri Türk olan taksi ve otobüs şirketleri devreye girer.

Esasında 1950'li yıllardan başlamak üzere Kıbrıs Türk posta haberleşmesinin yükünü çekenler de hep Kıbrıslı Türklere ait köy otobüsleriyle taksilerdir. Kombos Taksi ve Lozan Otobüs Firması gibi şirketlerle hemen bütün köy otobüsleri ve taksiler kasaba ve köyler arasında haberleşmeyi sağlayan en önemli unsurlardır. Genellikle köy kahvesine, bölgedeki bir bakkala veya sabit adres sahibi ve herkes tarafından tanınıp bilinen bir kişiye ve genellikle de köy muhtarlarına bırakılan mektuplar taksi ve otobüsler kanalıyla alıcılarına ulaştırılır. Otobüs ve taksilerden azami istifadeyi sağlayanlardan birisi de o dönemde Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı'dır. Bu şekilde yazılı mesajların kuryeler aracılığıyla nakledilmesinde teşkilat açısından önemli mesajların nakledilmesinde farklı kuryelerden istifade edilir;

> Lozan otobüsü her gün bir defa (Limasol'dan) Lefkoşa'ya gider gelirdi. Sabah gider ve öğleden sonra gelirdi. Veysi Cam'ın Lozan otobüsüyle işimizi görürdük. Bu adamların gösterdikleri özveriyi şimdi etrafı görünce aklıma getirmemeye çalışıyorum ve utanıyorum. Bu adamların yaptıklarını aklıma getirince gözlerim yaşarır.[1]

Gerek Kıbrıslı Türklerin normal haberleşme faaliyetleri gerekse Kıbrıs Türk toplumuna ait kurum ve kuruluşların ve özellikle de Türk Mukavemet teşkilatı'na ait mektupların, resmi evrakların ve askeri dokümanların adanın farklı noktalarına ulaştırılmasında söz konusu taksi ve otobüs yazıhaneleri devreye girmiştir. Bu bağlamda ilk etapta hatırlanabilecek taksi yazıhaneleri ve otobüs firmaları arasında Lefkoşa'da faaliyet gösteren "Kambylili's Macar Taxi Office /Kambililinin Macar Taksi Yazıhanesi" (Resim 1), Mağusa'da

Surlariçi'nde faaliyet gösteren Huskin Kardeşlere ait "Salamis Taksi Yazıhanesi" (Resim 1), yine Mağusa'da faaliyet gösteren "Zafer Taksi Yazıhanesi" (Resim 2) ile Lefkoşa'da bulunan "NATO Taksi Yazıhanesi" (Resim 2) ile Lefkoşa-Mağusa hattında çalışmakta olan "Taksi Universal" (Resim 3) olur.
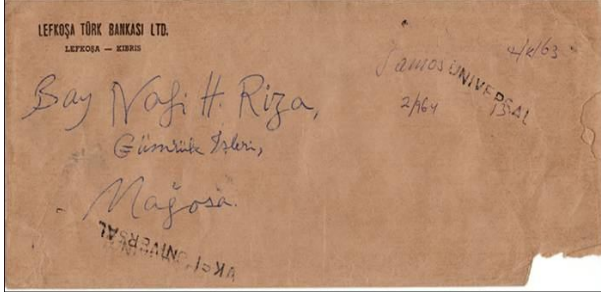

Resim 1

Haberleşme ve Kıbrıslı Türklerin bölgeler arasında ulaşımını ve posta haberleşmesini sağlayan o dönemin en önemli şirketi öncelikle bir arabayla başlayan ve daha sonra da 18 arabalık bir şirkete dönüşen Lozan Taksi'dir. 1955 yılında taksi yazıhanesinin kurulma aşamasında yazıhanenin ismi konusunda 'İnönü ve Lozan' arasında kararsız kalan şirketin ortakları Veysi Cam, Cemal Desoto ve Cemal Hamza daha sonra 'Lozan' üzerinde karar kılarlar.[2] Lefkoşa'da bulunan Bel-Cola fabrikasından bir kulübe, Komiser Muavini Ahmet Sami Bey'in büyük desteğiyle telefon, elektrik ve diğer bürokratik işlemler tamamlanır ve yazıhane işe başlar. Böylece önce Lefkoşa, Limasol bölgesinde seyahat edenler ve daha sonra da TMT'nin direktifleriyle Girne yolcuları da Rumların elinden kurtarılır ve hem yolcu hem de kuryelik uzun zaman devam eder.

Resim 2

Söz konusu bu taksi yazıhaneleri ve otobüs firmaları aracılığıyla posta haberleşmesinin yapılması ise günümüzde de neredeyse aynı şekilde devam eder.

Resim 3

Burada hassas nokta ise gönderilecek mektubun köy, kasaba veya ilçe merkezlerinde gizlice taksi yazıhanesine getirilmesi ve hiç kimseye hissettirilmeden işlemlerin yürütülmesidir. Özellikle EOKA'nın faal olduğu dönemlerde ve İngiliz idaresinin sıkıyönetim uygulamalarının söz konusu olduğu 16 Ağustos 1960'a kadar geçen süreçte gizlilik ve dikkat en önemli ve dikkat edilmesi gereken husus olarak ortaya çıkar. Taksi yazıhaneleri veya otobüs işletmeleri tarafından alınan bu mektuplar tıpkı günümüzde olduğu üzere "Taahhütlü/Sigortalı (Registered)" olarak gönderilir. Doğal olarak üzerlerine herhangi bir pul yapıştırılmayan ve ücret ödenmeyen mektuplar taksi yazıhanesi tarafından bir deftere kaydedilir ve mektubun üzerinde alındığı tarihle birlikte kayıt numarası yazılır. Hemen ardından posta damgası yerine geçecek şekilde yazıhanenin resmi kaşesi zarfların üzerine vurulur. Götürülen mektubun hassasiyeti ve götürüleceği bölgeye göre özen gösterilen mektup taksi veya otobüs şoförü tarafından arabanın hiç kimsenin bulamayacağı ve tahmin edemeyeceği yerlerine saklanır ve güvenle alıcısına teslim edileceği ana kadar emniyete alınır ve yola çıkarılır. Özellikle Lefkoşa-Mağusa ve Mağusa-Lefkoşa hattında uygulanan bu yöntemle varış noktasına ulaşan taksi veya otobüs yazıhanenin önüne park edildikten sonra mektubun alıcısı tarafından yine aynı dikkat ve güvenlik tedbirlerini elden bırakmadan teslim alınır. Bu aşamada tıpkı mektubun teslim alındığı şekilde mektup zarfının üzerine bu sefer varış noktasındaki taksi yazıhanesinin resmi kaşesi vurulur, o günün tarihi atılır ve yine bir kayıt numarası verildikten sonra alıcısına teslim edilir. Böylece iki merkez

arasında gönderilen mektup hem gönderildiği noktada ve hem de varış noktasında kayıt altına alınmış ve çifte taahhüt (sigorta) işleminden geçirilmiş olur.

Taksi ve otobüslerle posta haberleşmesi başta Lefkoşa ve Mağusa olmak üzere adanın farklı yerlerinde de aynı şekilde ve uzun yıllar devam eder; ancak Türk bölgeleri arasında haberleşmeyi sağlayan otobüs şoförleri gönüllü olarak yaptıkları bu hizmetten Rumlar tarafından hep alıkonulmak istenirler ve çeşitli baskılara maruz kalırlar. Örneğin üzerinde gideceği bölgeye ulaştırılmak üzere verilen mektuplar bulunan bir Türk şoför 14 Haziran 1965 tarihinde yasadışı bir iş yaptığı gerekçesiyle 120 Kıbrıs Lirası para cezasına çarptırılır ve 12 gün tutuklu kalır.[3] (kaynak) Çekilen bütün bu sıkıntılara rağmen Kıbrıslı Türkler aynı şeyi Rumlara yaşatmak istemez ve Lefkoşa'nın Rum kesiminden gönderilen posta gönderileri ve Girne'ye gidecek olan Kıbrıslı Rumlarla ilgili olarak Birleşmiş Milletler Kıbrıs Barış Gücü (United Nations Forces in Cyprus) öncülüğünde Rumların Lefkoşa'nın Türk bölgesinden ve Boğaz bölgesinden güvenle geçebilmeleri için günde iki sefer konvoy oluşturulur.

Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulmasıyla beraber ilk günlerde İngiliz idaresinden kalan bazı pullar üzerine Türkçe ve Rumca olarak sürşarj yapılır ve bunlar posta haberleşmesinde kullanılır. Ayrıca Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin tesis edildiği 16 Ağustos 1960 tarihinde devletin ilk pulları da tedavüle çıkartılır. Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti anayasası Londra ve Zürih anlaşmaları sonrasında yürürlüğe girmiştir ancak adada Türk ve Rum toplumlarının adada eşit haklara sahip olmalarını öngören anayasanın tam manasıyla hazır olduğunu ve beklentileri karşıladığını belirtmek mümkün değildir. Öte yandan her ne kadar adada Rumlar ve Türkler arasında bir anlaşmaya varılarak yeni bir devlet kurulmuşsa da Dikelya, Pergamos, Ayinos Nicholas, Episkopi, Paramali ve Xylophagou bölgeleri de hala İngiliz kontrolü altındadır. Bugün bile adanın Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti ve Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi arasında ikiye ayrıldığı ileri sürülse de esasında ada 3 parçaya ayrılmış durumdadır ve İngiltere'nin adada iki özerk bir hukuka sahip askeri üsleriyle ilgili olarak hatırı sayılır bir ağırlığı söz konusudur. Yapılan anlaşmaya göre Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti tarafından basılan bütün değerli kâğıtların üzerinde (resmi pul, damga pulu, posta pulu, para, vb) Türkçe, Rumca ve İngilizce olarak Kıbrıs ifadesi yazılı olacaktır; ancak bütün bunlar sadece kâğıt üzerinde

kalır ve devlet idaresi sadece Rumlara hizmet eden bir kurum haline dönüşür.

1960–1963 yılları arasındaki 3 yıl içinde Londra ve Zürich anlaşmalarının isabetsiz ve kendi iradesinin dışında imzalandığını tekrarlayıp duran Makarios, Enosis hedefine ulaşabilmek için Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'ni atlama tahtası olarak görür. EOKA'nın bütün ileri gelenleri kilit noktalarda görevlere getirilir ve gizli silahlanmaya da hız verilir. Makarios bunun için bu dönemde bütün gücünü Anayasanın ve özellikle Türklerle ilgili olan 13. maddenin değiştirilmesi yönünde yoğunlaştırır. Oluşturulan Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'ni yıkmaya ve daha sonra ortaya çıkacak Akritas Planı ile adadaki bütün Türkleri katletmeye yönelen Rumlar oluşturulan Cumhuriyet'in korunmasına da müsaade etmezler.[4] (kaynak)

Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulmasından sonra faaliyetlerine son verdiği ve silahlarını teslim ettiği açıklanan EOKA'nın ise bu silahları gerçekte teslim etmediği zaman içerisinde pek çok vesileyle ortaya çıkacaktır.[5] Adada kalıcı barışı sağlama yönündeki girişimler devamlı olarak sekteye uğrar. Posta idaresi tarafından tedavüle çıkartılan her yeni pul serisinde Türkçe ibareler devamlı olarak küçültülür ve bu durum 1963 yılına kadar bu şekilde devam eder. Adadaki Türk toplumu üzerinde baskılarını gittikçe arttıran Kıbrıslı Rumlar bir yandan da uyguladıkları kurnazca taktiklerle uluslararası platformlarda Türklerin hep oyunbozan ve kuralları hiçe sayan bir davranış içinde oldukları mesajını verirler. Örneğin Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti tarafından 5 Mayıs 1964 tarihinde tedavüle çıkartılan pul serisi "Birleşmiş Milletler Kararlarına Saygı" konuludur.

Adada İlk Kıbrıs Türk Posta Damgası
Toplumlararası çatışmaların başladığı 21 Aralık 1963 tarihinden itibaren Kıbrıs Türk toplumu posta hizmetlerinden tamamen mahrum kalır ve posta faaliyetleri tamamen durma noktasına gelir. Haberleşme konusunda büyük sıkıntı çeken, ada dışından önce adada kasabalar ve köyler arasında bile haberleşme faaliyetlerinin Rum idareciler ve Rum yöneticiler tarafından engellenmesi sonucunda Birleşmiş Milletlere yapılan müracaatlar bir çözüm olmaz.[6](kaynak) Bunun üzerine Lefkoşa'nın Türk bölgesinde bulunan ve Merkez Postane olarak bilinen Atatürk

Meydanı'ndaki postane devreye girer. Bu postanede görev yapan posta görevlileri 6 Ocak 1964 tarihinden itibaren Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti pullarını özel bir damga ile damgalamaya ve adanın Türk bölgeleri arasında bu posta damgalarıyla iptal edilmiş mektupları göndermeye başlarlar. Söz konusu bu damga iç içe iki daire arasında "Kıbrıs Türk Postaları" ifadesini ve "6.1.64" tarihini taşımaktadır. Bu damganın tam ortasında ise "Ay ve yıldız" bulunmaktadır. Söz konusu bu uygulama ayrıca Mağusa, Larnaka, Limasol, Baf, Girne, Lefke merkeziyle Kıbrıslı Türklerin kontrolündeki diğer Türk köylerinde de devreye girer. Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti pulları üzerine Rumlardan gizli olarak bu uygulamanın yapıldığı dönemde posta merkezlerindeki stoklarda bol miktarda Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti pulunun bulunması büyük bir avantaj ve fırsat olarak değerlendirilir. Bu dönemde postaya verilen istisnasız bütün mektupların üzerinde "6.1.64" tarihli bu damga bulunmaktadır. Kıbrıs Türk Posta İdaresi'nin ilk damga uygulamasının ve ilk posta hizmetinin bu tarihte yapılması itibarıyla Kıbrıs Türk Posta Tarihi'nin bütün dünya filatelistleri tarafından 6 Ocak 1964 tarihinde başladığı kabul edilir.[7] (kaynak)

Ancak Lefkoşa merkez postanesinden Mağusa'ya gönderilen bir posta paketinin yanlışlıkla Rum görevlilerin eline geçmesi ve Rumların bu konuyu derhal Birleşmiş Milletler'e havale etmesiyle beraber 6 Ocak 1964 tarihli damganın kullanılmasına derhal son verilir. Rumların böylece tepki göstermeleri ve sözde Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin faal olduğu bir dönemde Kıbrıslı Türklerin gayrı resmi ve kanunsuz olarak böyle bir damga uygulamasına geçmelerinin hukuk dışı olduğunu iddia etmeleri üzerine 7 Ocak 1964 tarihinde artık bu Türk damgasının kullanılması söz konusu değildir.[8] (kaynak) Türk posta ulaşımını engelleyen, Türklerin ada içinde dahi posta hizmetlerine gizli bir ambargo uygulayan Kıbrıslı Rumların Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından da desteklenmesi sonrasında Kıbrıslı Türk posta görevlileri yeni bir çözüm yolu aramaya başlarlar. Daha sonra tarihli damga yerine onun yerine üzerinde tarih yerine "yıldız" işareti bulunan damgalar yine Rumlardan ve Birleşmiş Milletler'den gizli olarak yürürlüğe girer ve Lefkoşa, Mağusa, Larnaka, Limasol, Baf ve Lefke'de kullanılır. Lefkoşa postanesinde kullanılan damga yeşil, Limasol postanesinde kullanılan damga ise mor renklidir. Gerek 6 Ocak 1964 tarihli, gerekse tarihsiz damganın taahhütlü postadan geçmiş herhangi bir örneği söz konusu değildir. Bununla beraber Rumların uyguladığı baskı ve sansür konusunda tek istisnai durum yine Mağusa ve bağlı 33 köyünde yaşanır.

Mağusa limanına hâkim konumdaki Türkler posta hizmetlerinin aksamadan devamını ve haberleşme hürriyeti isterken Rumlar da limandan istifade etmeyi talep eder.[9] Böylece adanın dört bir yanında yaşanan sıkıntılara rağmen Rumlarla Türkler liman bölgesinde beraber çalışmaya ve posta hizmetlerini de kısıtlamaya uğramadan devam ettirmeye çalışır. Bu dönemde Mağusa bölgesinden gönderilen posta gönderilerinin üzerinde genellikle İngiliz döneminde kullanılan "GR", "ER" ve "VR" damgaları kullanılır. Söz konusu bu uygulama 6 Ocak 1964 tarihinden başlayarak 17 Nisan 1964 gününe kadar devam eder. Uygulamanın Eylül 1964 tarihine kadar devam ettiği yönünde iddialar da söz konusudur.[10] (kaynak)

Öncelikle ada içinde haberleşmeyi sağlamak üzere planlanan bu uygulama çerçevesinde bazı mektuplar ise Kızılay, Kızılhaç, Birleşmiş Milletler Barışgücü mensupları ve bazı elçilikler kanalıyla Kıbrıs dışına da ulaştırılır. Bu iki posta uygulaması 17 Nisan 1964 tarihinde Rum idaresinin posta hizmetlerinden Türklerin de istifade etmesi konusunda Birleşmiş Milletler Barışgücü kanalıyla teminat vermeleri üzerine son bulur. Olayların patlak verdiği bu dönemde Kıbrıs Rum Posta İdaresi Türklere ait mektupların hangi postane veya acente aracılığıyla olursa olsun dışarı çıkmasına müsaade etmemiş, Türk bölgelerine gönderilen mektuplar da Rumlar tarafından üzerlerine "Bilinmiyor" damgası vurularak göndericiye iade edilmiştir.

Bunun hemen ardından 14 Ekim 1966 tarihinde Kıbrıslı Rumlarla Kıbrıslı Türkler arasında bir posta anlaşması imzalanır. Bu anlaşmaya göre Kıbrıslı Türkler Lefkoşa'da Atatürk Meydanı'nda bulunan postanedeki bütün pul stoklarıyla kırtasiye malzemelerini ve bu ürünlerin satışlından elde edilen parayı Rumlara geri vereceklerdir. Bunun karşılığında Rumlar da Kıbrıslı Türklere ait ada içi ve ada dışından gönderilen mahalli ve uluslar arası postalarıyla ada içine veya dışına gönderecekleri posta üzerinde uyguladıkları ambargoyu kaldıracaklardır. Yapılan bütün anlaşmalara rağmen verilen sözler yerine getirilmez ve Kıbrıs Türk haberleşmesi üzerindeki kısıtlamalar devam eder. Böylece Rumlar tarafından Kıbrıs Türk posta haberleşmesi üzerindeki baskı ve ambargolara 20 Temmuz 1974 tarihine kadar devam edilir ve Türklere iletilmesi gereken binlerce mektup Rum postacılar tarafından alıcılarına ulaştırılmak yerine imha edilir, "Bilinmiyor, adres yetersiz, tanınmıyor, taşınmış, eksik ücret" gibi sudan sebeplerle göndericiye iade edilir veya yıllarca ambarlarda tutulduktan sonra alıcılarına ulaştırılır. Bu

araştırmanın yazarının özel arşivinde Rumlar tarafından alıcılarına teslim edilmeyip göndericilere iade edilen pek çok mektupla birlikte Kıbrıs'a sadece 70 kilometre mesafedeki Anamur'dan 1964 yılında Lefkoşa'ya gönderilen ve Rumlar tarafından alıcısına teslim edilmeyip 1967 yılında Lefkoşa Merkez Postanesi'nde tesadüfen ortaya çıkartılan bir mektup da mevcuttur. (Resim 4)

Söz konusu bu dönemde uygulanan posta damgaları, uygulama yerleri ve özellikleri ise şu şekildedir;

1- Tarih damgası   (6.1.64) Lefkoşa Tarih iç daireye yakındır.

2- Tarih damgası   (6.1.64) Lefkoşa Tarih dairelerin tam ortasındadır.

3- Tarih damgası   (6.1.64) Baf "Postaları" kelimesinin altındaki iç dairede kesiklik

4- Yıldız Lefkoşa   "Postaları" kelimesinde "ı" harfinin altında çizgi

5- Yıldız Lefkoşa   Çizgi yok.

6- Yıldız Lefkoşa   "Postaları" kelimsindeki "ı" harfinin altında çizgi

7- Yıldız Mağusa   "Kıbrıs" kelimesi ince ve küçük

8- Yıldız Mağusa   Lefkoşa'da uygulanan damgadan daha temiz ve daha küçük.

9- Yıldız Larnaka   "Postaları" kelimesinden sonra dış dairede bir girinti

10- Yıldız Larnaka   Küçük, muntazam ve temiz harfler

11- Yıldız Lefke   İnce damga

12- Yıldız Girne   Bu damga hazırlanmakla beraber hiç kullanılmamıştır.

Bu dönemde Girne'de uygulanmak üzere hazırlanan mühür Rum polis komiserinin adada patlak veren çatışmaların yayılarak Girne'ye de ulaşmasını önlemek maksadıyla Girne'de bulunan Türk toplumunun önde gelenlerini bir anlaşma yapmak üzere karakola davet etmesi ve aralarında Türk Posta Müdürü'nün de bulunduğu grubu esir almasıyla uygulanamaz. Posta Müdürü karakoldan çıkınca, bir tarlaya gömdüğü mührü bulamayınca bu imkân tamamen ortadan kalkar ve damga böylece Girne'de uygulanamaz. Öte yandan bir İngiliz subayı tarafından hazırlanmış "Ay yıldızlı" ve "Larnaka" damgalı zarflar Pergama (Pergamos) köyü posta acentesi tarafından savaşın devam ettiği ve normal yollardan bu mektupların İngiltere'ye gönderilemeyeceği düşüncesiyle reddedilir ve bu zarflar Dikelya'da bulunan İngiliz üssü askeri postanesi

FPO (Field Post Office) kanalıyla ve taahhütlü gönderi için ek ücret alınarak postadan geçirilir ve İngiltere'ye gönderilir. Söz konusu bu zarfların tamamı "Varış/ Arrivé" damgalıdır ve Kıbrıs Türk posta tarihi çalışması yapanlar tarafından aranan en nadir materyallerdendir.
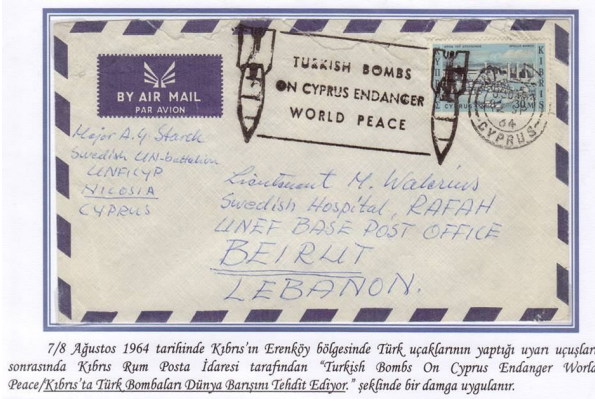

Gönderildiği yer ve tarih; Anamur, 9 Temmuz 1964
Alıcı adresi ve teslim tarihi; Lefkoşa, 17 Şubat 1967
Alıcısına 2 yıl, 7 ay ve 8 gün sonra ulaştırılmıştır.

Resim 4

Kıbrıs Türk posta damgaları üzerinde en fazla tartışma yaratılan ve vurgunculuk yapılan ise o günlerde postada kullanıldığı ileri sürülen "Kıbrıs Tourk Postaları" damgasıdır. Özellikle 1960 yılı 3 Mils değerli pulların üzerine uygulanan bu damgada "TOURK" kelimesi özellikle pulların üzerine okunmayacak şekilde vurulur ve bu damga bütün dünya filatelistlerine "Girne" damgası olarak sunulur. Ancak Dikelya askeri postanesinde bir İngiliz subayı tarafından gönderilenler dışında bu şekilde gönderilmiş ve Girne'den postalanmış herhangi bir mektup söz konusu değildir. Bu durum bugün bile Türkiye dışında hiçbir ülke tarafından resmen kabul edilmez ve çıkarılan pullar Dünya Postalar Birliği UPU

tarafından kanunsuz ilan edilir; ancak bu Kıbrıs Türk pulları bütün dünyada büyük rağbet görmektedir.[11](kaynak)

Erenköy Bölgesi ve Propoganda Faaliyetleri

Türkiye, İngiltere ve Yunanistan'ın garantörlüğüyle 1960 yılında kurulan Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nde Rumlarca yaratılan siyasi anlaşmazlık konularının gittikçe artması, olumlu düşüncelerin yerini huzursuzluğa terk eder. Dönemi yaşayanlarla yapılan mülakatlarda genel anlatı her ne pahasına olursa olsun Türk halkının canını, malını ve namusunu korumakla yükümlü Kıbrıslı Türkler göreve hazır oldukları; ancak o güne kadar çok iyi silahlanmış Rumlara karşı ellerinde etkili, vurucu gücü yüksek silahların olmamasın sıkıntı yaratığı üzerinedir.[12] EOKA'ya karşı kullanılacak silahlar paslı, mermiler nemlidir ve çoğu da ateş etmemektedir.[13] Bütün olumsuzluklara rağmen Kıbrıslı Türkler ender rastlanan bir direniş ve mukavemet gösterirler.[14] Olayların artarak devam etmesi sonrasında Kıbrıs'ta 17 Mart 1964 tarihinde Birleşmiş Milletler Barış Gücü göreve başlar.[15] Bu dönemde olaylar özellikle Erenköy bölgesinde yoğunlaşır ve Ağustos 1964 döneminden itibaren artarak devam eder.

7/8 Ağustos 1964 tarihinde Kıbrıs'ın Erenköy bölgesinde Türk uçaklarının yaptığı uyarı uçuşları sonrasında Kıbrıs Rum Posta İdaresi tarafından "Turkish Bombs On Cyprus Endanger World Peace/Kıbrıs'ta Türk Bombaları Dünya Barışını Tehdit Ediyor." şeklinde bir damga uygulanır.

Resim 5

1963 yılının sonlarında saldırılar artar ve Kıbrıs tarihine "Kanlı Noel" olarak giren dönem sonrasında ise Türkler üzerindeki baskılar ve ambargolar gittikçe sıkılaşır. Yaklaşık 3 yıl boyunca Erenköy bölgesinde sıkışıp kalan Kıbrıslı Türkler Rum baskılarından kurtulmak için ada içi haberleşme konusunda yeni yollar bulmaya çalışırlar.[16] Erenköy

bölgesindeki Kıbrıslı Türklere yönelik kuşatmayı kırmak maksadıyla 8 Ağustos 1964 tarihinde Yüzbaşı Cengiz Topel'in de aralarında bulunduğu Türk Hava Kuvvetleri savaş uçaklarıyla uyarı uçuşları yapılması üzerine Rumlar da karşı propaganda faaliyetine başlarlar ve posta yoluyla özellikle Kıbrıs dışına gönderilen her türlü mektup üzerine iki tarafında Napalm bombası bulunan "Turkish Bombs on Cyprus Endangered World Peace – Kıbrıs'ta Türk Bombaları Dünya Barışını Tehdit Ediyor." (Resim 5) şeklinde bir damga vururlar. Rumların bu damgayı ada içerisinde değil sadece ada dışına gönderilecek mektup, kart, paket, kutu, gazete ve dergiler üzerine vurmasıyla da istedikleri sonuç fazlasıyla elde edilir. Bu damga uygulamasını Rumlar özellikle BM Barış Gücü'nün mektupları başta olmak üzere İngiltere, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Almanya, Fransa gibi Avrupa ve dünya devletlerinde ve özellikle bu ülkelerdeki Rum ve Yunanlıların destekleri ve propaganda faaliyetleri aracılığıyla çok iyi kullanırlar.

Dünya savaş tarihi ve askeri posta tarihi açısından bir eşi daha görülmeyecek bir uygulama da bu döneme rast gelir. Kelimenin tam manasıyla abluka altında yaşayan ve bütün dünyadan neredeyse tecrit edilmiş durumda bulunan Erenköy bölgesindeki yaklaşık 500 Kıbrıslı Türk öğrencinin özellikle Lefkoşa'daki Bayraktarlıkla haberleşmeleri neredeyse imkânsız durumdadır.

Kanlı Noel olarak anılan 21 Aralık 1963 sonrası neredeyse üç yıla yakın bir süre bu bölgede kalan ve bu dönem zarfında Erenköy'de mücadele eden Kıbrıslı Türk öğrenciler Lefkoşa'daki Türk Genel Karargâhı ile haberleşmelerini akıllı bir yolla gerçekleştirmişlerdir. 1964 yılının Ağustos ayı ile 1966 yılının Ocak ayları arasında üç tarafı Rum kuşatması altındaki Erenköy'de TMT'nin ilk Bayraktarı ve o dönemde Ali Conan kod ismiyle İş Bankası'nda müfettiş olarak görev yapan Albay Ali Rıza Vuruşkan'ın komutasında bölgeyi savunan öğrenciler dışarısıyla hiçbir şekilde haberleşme imkânı bulamazlar. Erenköy'de Akıncı ismiyle görev yapmakta olan Albay Vuruşkan idaresindeki bu öğrencilerin Lefkoşa'da bulunan Genel Komutanlık ile görüşebilmek, ailelerine sağlık haberleri iletebilmeleri ve Rum kuşatmasıyla Birleşmiş Milletler Barış Gücü'ne bağlı olarak çalışan İngiliz askerlerinin sansür ve kontrollerinden kurtulabilmeleri için dâhiyane bir plan hazırlanır.

Aslen haberleşmeyi sağlayabilmek için planlanan yol son derece basittir ve Lefkoşa'daki Genel Komutanlık ile TMT Bayraktarlığı tarafından özel bir damga uygulaması yapılır. Buna göre

"Lefkoşa/Kıbrıs" ibaresinin yanında iç içe iki dairenin ortasında "H/M" ibaresi bulunan damgalarla askeri mektuplar damgalanır. Bu damgaların yanında hemen bütün mektuplara ayrıca bir de taahhüt (sigorta) numarası verilir. Rum kuşatması altında ve Birleşmiş Milletler gözetimindeki Erenköy'e Lefkoşa'dan gönderilecek olan askeri mektuplar bu zarfların üzerine vurulan "H/M" damgaları sayesinde kolayca Rum ablukasını aşar. "Hizmete Mahsustur." anlamına gelen "H/M" ifadesinin "Her Majesties" veya "His Majesties" manasıyla İngiltere'ye ait resmi bir mektup olduğunu düşünen İngiliz Barış Gücü askerleri bu mektupları Rumlara teslim etmeden doğrudan Erenköy'deki Türklere teslim ederler. Bu şekilde sadece resmi mektuplar değil orada yakınları bulunanlara da mektuplar gönderilir. (Resim 6)

Aynı şekilde Erenköy'deki Türkler tarafından özellikle Lefkoşa'ya ve çok nadir de olsa Türkiye'ye gönderilen mektuplar da köyün İngilizce ismi olan Kokkına'nın bulunduğu resmi "Kokkına Rural Service- Köy Postası" mühründeki "I" harfinin silinmesi sonucu ortaya çıkan "Kokkna" damgasıyla damgalanarak Barış Gücü askerlerine teslim edilir (Resim 6). İngiliz idaresi dönemine ait damgayı gören Barış Gücü yetkilileri de kendi resmi mühürlerini taşıyan bu mektupları daha önce köyde yaşayan İngiliz vatandaşlarına ait olabilir düşüncesiyle doğrudan Lefkoşa'nın Türk kesimine getirirler. Buradan da söz konusu mektuplar genel Komutanlık veya Emniyet Müdürlüğü'ne aktarılır. Resmi damga üzerinde tahrifat yapılarak "I" harfinin kazınmasının sebebi ise bu mektupların herhangi bir şekilde açılması ve Türkler tarafından yazıldığının anlaşılması sonrası doğacak karışıklığı önlemek maksadıyladır. Bu uygulamanın başladığı ilk dönemlerde mektuplar üzerine numara vurulur ve "Destek Kıtaları" yazılır. Yokluk ve sıkıntının had safhaya çıktığı dönemlerde zarf bulunamayınca aynı uygulama küçük kâğıt parçaları üzerine yapılır. Kokkna ve H/M damgaları genellikle kırmızı mürekkep ile vurulmakta, çok nadiren de olsa mavi renkli mürekkep kullanılmaktadır. Özellikle Erenköy'de yokluklar içinde çırpınan Kıbrıslı Türkler bazen yazacak kâğıt bile bulamadıklarından bu şekilde mesajlarını gazete yapraklarından faturalara, sinema biletinden tapu koçanına kadar çok farklı kâğıt örnekleri üzerine de yazarlar.

Erenköy'de bulunan Kıbrıslı Türklere Türkiye'den gönderilecek mektuplar için ise Türkiye'de özel bir uygulama yapılır. Söz konusu bu tip mektuplar için adres "Posta Kutusu 82, Bakanlıklar-Ankara"dır (Resim 7). Ankara'da bu posta kutusuna gönderilen mektuplar PTT

tarafından Kızılay'a teslim edilir. Kızılay ise Kıbrıs'a gönderdiği insani yardım malzemeleriyle beraber bu mektupları da gizlice Kıbrıs'a getirerek Lefkoşa'daki Türk Genel Karargâhı'na teslim eder. Mektuplar buradan da aynı şekilde Erenköy'e ulaştırılır
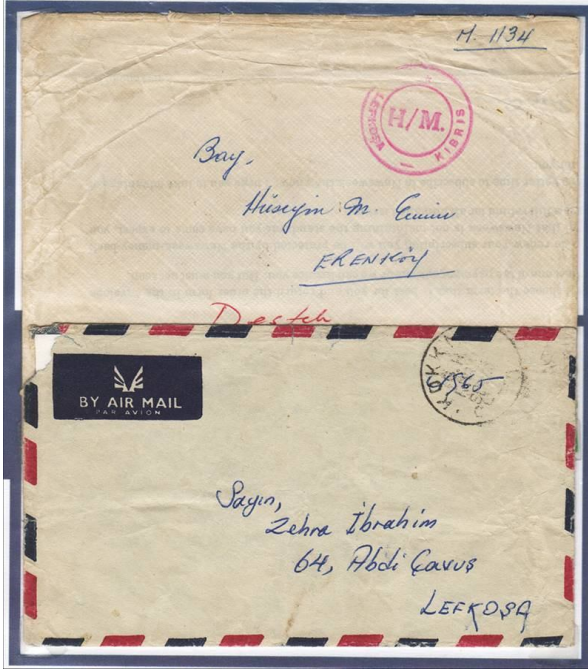
Resim 6

Resim 7

Kıbrıs adasında Rum baskısının giderek artmasıyla PTT Genel Müdürlüğü de Türkiye'de "Kıbrıs'a Yardım Pulu" çıkartmaya karar verir. Söz konusu bu pullar otobüs, tren biletlerinden maç biletlerine, fatura, diploma ve her türlü resmi evrak üzerine yapıştırılmak üzere Kıbrıs'a yiyecek, giyecek ve ilaç yardımı konusunda mali destek sağlanır (Resim 8). Bu dönemde de Kıbrıs'ın Türk bölgelerine gönderilen veya Kıbrıslı Türkler tarafından gönderilen mektuplar "illegal/kanunsuz" damgası vurularak gönerilerin gidecekleri yere ulaşması engellenir. Öte yandan olayların devam ettiği bu dönem içerisinde Mağusa Posta idaresi denetimindeki 33 köyün posta idareleri muhasara altında olmalarına rağmen, bu bölgedeki Türkler tıpkı Rumlar gibi posta hizmetlerinden istifade edebilmişler ve posta hizmetleri sağlıklı bir şekilde yerine getirilmiştir (kaynak).[17]

Resim 8

Kızılay Postası

14 Ekim 1966 tarihinde Kıbrıs Türk toplumunu temsilen Ümit Süleyman ve Rumları temsilen de Doktor R. George'un imzaladığı bir posta anlaşması yapılır. BM Barış Gücü'nün denetim ve kontrolü altında yapılan bu anlaşmaya göre Lefkoşa Atatürk Meydanı'nda bulunan Merkez Postane bu tarihten itibaren acente olarak çalışmaya başlar. Bu

postanedeki stok pulları ve anlaşmanın imzalanmasından önceki dönemde kullanılan pulların bütün geliri anlaşma şartları gereği Rumlara ödenir. Yapılan anlaşmaya rağmen yine de Türk bölgelerindeki posta faaliyetleri hiç de iç açıcı bir durumda değildir. Özellikle Lefkoşa, Lefke ve civar küçük Türk köylerinin diğer yerleşim birimleri ve dış dünya ile bağlantısı kesilmekte, özellikle de ada dışından gelen mektuplar ise üzerlerine "Unknown/Bilinmiyor" damgası vurularak geri gönderilmektedir (kaynak).**[18]**

1963 sonrasında Türkiye ile Kıbrıs arasında Türk Hava Yolları tarafından düzensiz de olsa uçak seferleri yapılmaya başlanır ve adada çatışmalarda yaralanan Kıbrıslı Türkler acilen Türkiye'ye getirilir. Düzensiz olarak ve Rum baskıları arasında yapılmaya çalışılan bu seferlerde Kıbrıslı Türklerin giyecek, yiyecek ve ilaç ihtiyaçları da karşılanmaya çalışılıldığı gibi iletişim için de yeni bir araç ortaya çıkmış olur. Bunun yanı sıra Türkiye Kızılay Cemiyeti de koşulsuz destek vermeye başlar. Bu dönemde Kıbrıs'a ilk yardım malzemesi Türk Hava Kuvvetlerine ait 3 uçak vasıtasıyla 25 Aralık 1963 tarihinde adaya sevk edilir. Ankara'dan hareket eden bu uçaklar Rumların engellemeleri yüzünden adada inecek havaalanı bulamayınca adanın güneyindeki İngiliz üssü Akrotiri'ye inmek zorunda kalır ve ilk etapta 500 şişe kan, çadır, battaniye, yiyecek ve giyecek malzemelerinden oluşan yardım BM gözetiminde Rum bölgelerinden geçirilerek Lefkoşa'nın Türk tarafına getirilir. Bunlarla birlikte 500 kişilik sahra hastanesi için de yer sıkıntısı çekilir ve sonunda bu sahra hastanesi için en uygun yer olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Büyükelçiliğinin bulunduğu bölge seçilir. [19]

Ancak, Kıbrıslı Türklere ilaç, gıda, yiyecek, çadır, battaniye ve doktor yardımında bulunan Kızılay Cemiyeti adadaki, askeri personel ve sivil halkın Türkiye'deki yakınlarına, Türkiye'dekilerin de adaya göndermek istedikleri mektupları alıcılarına ulaştırmaya çalışır. Bu faaliyetler farklılıklar göstermekle beraber şu şekilde uygulanır:

1- Pulsuz olarak Lefkoşa'daki Kızılay Cemiyeti'ne teslim edilen mektuplar Kızılay görevlileri tarafından kayıt altına alınıp torbalara konduktan sonra adaya yardım malzemeleri getiren Türk uçakları vasıtasıyla Ankara'ya gönderilmektedir. Ankara/Yenişehir Postanesinde sadece Kıbrıs'tan gelen bu mektuplar için hizmete sokulan bölümde bu mektupların zarflarına o günkü posta ücreti karşılığı olan 50 veya 60 kuruşluk pullar yapıştırılmaktadır. Daha sonra zarfların üzerine kırmızı mürekkep ile "Türkiye Kızılay Derneği Genel Merkezi" kaşe damgası

vurulmakta ve bu mektuplar sanki yurtiçinden gönderilmiş gibi Ankara/Yenişehir damgası ile damgalanarak alıcısına ulaştırılmaktadır (Resim 9).
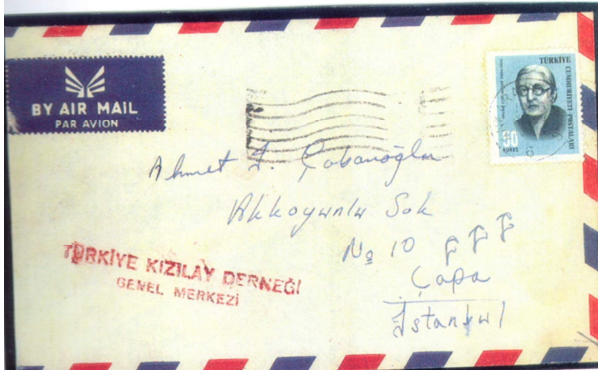
Resim 9

2- Aynı şekilde Türkiye'ye getirilen mektupların üzerine "Türkiye Kızılay Cemiyeti Umumi Merkezi" kaşesi vurulmaktadır.

3- Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a gönderilen mektuplara ise adresle beraber "Kızılay Genel Merkezi Kıbrıs Postaları Eli İle" yazılmakta, Kızılay Genel Merkezi'nde toplanan bu mektupların üzerine kırmızı mürekkep ile "Türkiye Kızılay Cemiyeti Umumi Merkezi" kaşesi vurulmakta ve Kıbrıs'a getirilen bu mektuplar yine Kızılay aracılığıyla alıcılarına ulaştırılmaktadır.

4- Pulsuz olarak Türkiye'de Kızılay Genel Merkezi'ne ulaştırılan mektuplar üzerine bazen pul yapıştırılmamakta, sadece "Türkiye Kızılay Cemiyeti Umumi Merkezi" kaşesi vurularak alıcılara ulaştırılmaktadır.

5- Pulsuz olarak Kızılay Genel Merkezi'nde toplanan mektuplara pul yapıştırılmamakta ancak "Türkiye Kızılay Derneği Genel Merkezi" kaşesi vurulmaktadır. (Resim 10)

6- Aynı şekilde Kızılay Genel Merkezi'ne teslim edilen mektuplar Kızılay ile ilgili herhangi bir damga vurulmadan alıcısına ulaştırılmaktadır.

Bütün bu mektupların Kıbrıs'ta toplanma noktası Kızılay merkezi, Türkiye'de ise Ankara/Yenişehir postanesidir. Rumların baskı, ambargo ve kısıtlamalarına bağlı olarak Kıbrıslı Türklerin posta haberleşmesi için bulmaya çalıştıkları alternatif yollar arasında zaman içinde çok daha farklı yollar da bulunacaktır.
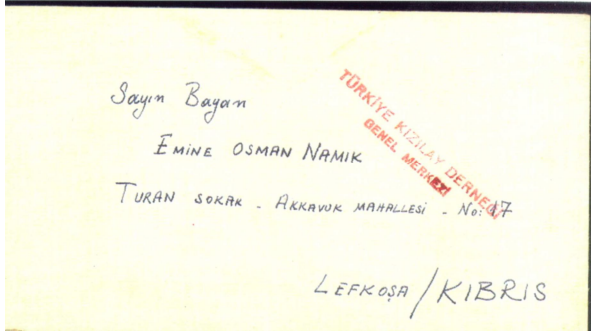
Resim 10

Bu farklı usuller hakkında bu araştırmanın ilerleyen bölümlerinde ayrıca bilgi verilecektir. Kızılay kanalıyla sağlanan haberleşme faaliyetlerinin 1964–1965 dönemiyle sınırlı olduğu yönünde bazı iddialar söz konusu olsa da Kızılay 1967 yılı sonuna kadar bu faaliyetlerine aksatmadan devam etmiştir. Öte yandan Türkiye'den Erenköy bölgesinde Kıbrıslı Rum ve Yunan kuşatması altında bulunan Kıbrıslı Türklere gönderilecek olan mektuplarla ilgili olarak özel bir posta kodu kullanılmaktadır. Bu posta kodu ve alıcısı yazılan mektuplar aynı şekilde Kızılay yetkililerine ulaştırılmakta ve daha sonra Kıbrıs'taki alıcısına ulaştırılmaktadır. Bu mektuplar için adres ise aşağıdaki gibidir;

Alıcı İsmi,
Posta Kutusu 82
Bakanlıklar/Ankara[20]

Kıbrıslı Türkler Kızılay uygulamasının dışında ayrıca UNFICYP (United Nations Forces In Cyprus) BM Barış Gücü'ne bağlı farklı askeri kontenjanlar vasıtasıyla da posta ulaşımını sağlamaya çalışırlar. Ayrıca Kızılhaç, Episkopi ve Akrotiri İngiliz askeri üsleri ve diplomatik kuryeler de posta haberleşmesi için istifade edilen yollar arasındadır.

Sosyal Yardım Pulları ve Rum Ambargosu
Kıbrıslı Türklerin ambargo ve haberleşme kısıtlamalarını 1970li yıllarda yeni yollar bulmaya çalışırlar. 1970 yılının ilk aylarında uygulamaya soktukları yeni yöntem ise "Sosyal Yardım Pulu" adı verilen pulların kullanıma girmesidir. Desenleri Türk Maarif Müdürlüğü Resim Müfettişi

Fikri Direkoğlu tarafından hazırlanan ve Halkın Sesi matbaasında 100'lük tabakalar halinde basılan bu pul serisi iki ayrı puldan oluşmaktadır. [21](kaynak) 5 Mils ve 15 Mils değerinde olmak üzere hazırlanan pulların baskı sayıları sırasiyle 500.000 ve 200.000 şeklindedir. Yabancı filatelistler ve araştırmacılar tarafından "Muhasara Pulları" olarak adlandırılan pullar 3 Nisan 1970 tarihinden itibaren posta haberleşmesinde kullanılmaya başlanır.

Söz konusu pullar anormal şartlarda hazırlanmış, anormal bir dönemin sıkıntılarını gidermeye yönelik olduğundan klasik manada postada kullanılan normal pullardan bazı farklılıklar göstermektedir. Misal olarak bu pulların üzerinde fiyatını gösteren bir rakam söz konusu değildir. Türkiye'de yardım amaçlı olarak Kızılay, Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu, Türk Hava Kurumu tarafından çıkartılan pullarda olduğu üzere Sosyal Yardım pulları üzerinde herhangi bir devletin ismi yazmamaktadır. Bunun yerine pulların üzerinde "Türk Cemaat Meclisi" ibaresi yer alır. Pulların fiyatı ise 5 Mils değerinde olan pulun sağ üst köşesinde bulunan ve 5 yapraktan oluşan yonca sayesinde anlaşılmaktadır. 15 Mils değerinde olan pulun sol üst, sağ üst ve sol köşesinde ise 5 yapraklı toplam üç tane yonca bulunmaktadır.

Titizlikle hazırlanan pullar sanki gerçekten sosyal yardım amaçlı olarak hazırlanmış gibi piyasaya sürülür. Kamuoyuna verilen bilgiye göre pulların basılmasının gayesi sosyal yardıma muhtaç insanlar için yapılacak olan düşkünler evi inşaatına mali destek sağlamaktır. Sosyal Yardım Pulu ismiyle piyasaya sürülen ve 3 Nisan 1970 ile Aralık 1972 döneminde son derece kısıtlı bir dönemde tedavülde kalan bu iki pulluk seriden 5 Mils değerinde olanı 39x25 milimetre ölçülerinde, pembe ve siyah renklerden oluşmaktadır. Söz konusu bu pulun üzerinde tekerlekli sandalyede bakımı bekleyen yaşlı bir kadın figürü bulunmaktadır. 15 Mils değerinde olan ikinci pul ise 25x32 milimetre ebadında olup sarımsı ve siyah renklidir. Pulun üzerinde inşaat halinde olan Güçsüzler Yurdu resmedilmiştir. Her iki pul üzerinde de Türk Cemaat Meclisi ve Sosyal Yardım Pulu ifadeleri bulunmaktadır.

Böylece Rumların dikkatini ve tepkisini çekmeden basılan bu pullardan elde edilecek gelirle yardıma muhtaç kimselere, hastalara, evsiz barksız insanlara, göçmenlere ve ayrıca yapılması planlanan öksüzler yurduna mali kaynak aktarılacağı bildirilir. Kıbrıslı Türklere yapılan duyurularla muhtaç kimselere destek olabilmek amacıyla Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti pulları yapıştırılmış olan mektup zarflarına bu yardım

pullarından da yapıştırılabileceği belirtilmişse de uygulamada böyle bir şey söz konusu olmaz.

Kıbrıslı Türklerin öncelikle ada içinde haberleşmesini sağlamak üzere tasarlanan söz konusu pullar Rumlardan ve dış dünyadan gizli olarak Türk postanelerinde kullanılmaya başlandıklarında farklı bir yol takip edilir. Bu uygulamaya göre söz konusu bu pullar mektup zarfı üzerine yapıştırıldığında pulların iptal edilmesi için üzerine vurulması gereken posta damgası pulların üzerine vurulmamıştır. Mektup zarflarının üzerine bu pullar yapıştırılmış olmasına rağmen kullanılan posta damgaları İngiliz döneminden kalma İngilizce damgalardır.

Bu pulların iptali düz veya zikzaklı metal çizgi şeklinde bir damga vasıtasıyla yapılmış, tarih damgası isse pulların üzerine değil zarfın boş bir yerine vurulmuştur. Bu dönemde 8 Kasım 1973 tarihinde Türkçe tarih damgaları kullanılıncaya kadar Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti döneminden kalma İngilizce damgalar tarih damgası olarak kullanılır. Sosyal Yardım Pulu olarak adlandırılan bu pullar ada içerisinde Kıbrıslı Türkler tarafından damga pulu olarak da kullanılmıştır.

Söz konusu pulların Lefkoşa, Mağusa, Larnaka, Lefke, Limasol ve Baf'ta kullanılması sırasında zarfların üzerine vurulan metal zikzak damgalarda bazı farklılıklar söz konusudur. Buna göre Lefkoşa'da Nicosia damgasının yanında cetvel çizgi ve dişli cetvel çizgi kullanılmıştır. Siyah renkte olan bu iki çizgi 7 Kasım 1973 tarihine kadar devam eder. Lefkoşa'da ayrıca taahhüt uygulaması da yapılmıştır. Mağusa'da ise Famagusta Town damgası yanında siyah cetvel çizgi uygulaması söz konusudur. 7 Kasım 1973 tarihine kadar devam eden bu uygulamadan sonra 9 Kasım 1973 tarihinde Mağusa 1 Türkçe tarih damgası uygulamaya geçer. Lefkoşa'nın yanında Mağusa'da da Famagusta Town İngilizce etiketiyle taahhüt uygulaması söz konusudur. Bu iki merkez dışında diğer postanelerden Sosyal Yardım pullarıyla taahhütlü mektup gönderilmemiştir. Lefke'de 7 Kasım 1973 tarihine kadar devam eden uygulama sırasında siyah renkli cetvel çizgi vurulmuştur. Aynı şekilde Larnaka'da da 7 Kasım 1973 tarihine kadar cetvel çizgi uygulaması söz konusudur. Larnaka'da çok nadir de olsa mavi renkli çizgi uygulaması da bulunmaktadır. Limasol'da siyah renkli dişli cetvel çizgi 8 Kasım 1973 tarihine kadar devam eder. Baf kasabasında da 8 Kasım 1973 tarihine kadar yapılan uygulamada mavi ve siyah renkli dişli cetvel çizgi uygulaması söz konusudur. Bazı köylerde ise köy mührü pulun veya pulların yanına vurulmakta, mektup merkez

postaneye geldiğinde o posta merkezinin damgası ile damgalanmaktadır. Bazı köylerde ise pullar doğrudan o köyün köy damgası ile damgalanmaktadır.

Resim 11

Adadaki Türk belediyeler tarafından verilmekte olan ruhsat gibi bazı belgelerle resmi farklı işlerde de söz konusu bu pulların kullanıldıkları görülmektedir. Örneğin Mağusa Türk Belediye İdaresi; sinemalar, otobüs firmaları gibi işletmelerden alacağı vergi ve harçlarla ilgili olarak verdiği belgelere bu pullardan yapıştırır. Ada içindeki haberleşmede kullanılan bu pullarla gönderilen bazı mektuplar ise çok nadir olmakla beraber Türkiye'ye de gelir. Sosyal Yardım pullarının ada içindeki kullanımında Lefkoşa (Nicosia) (Resim 11), Mağusa (Famagusta) (Resim 12), Larnaka (Larnaca), Limasol (Limassol), Baf (Paphos) ve Lefke (Lefka) postanelerinden istifade edilmiştir. Ancak bugün Kıbrıs posta tarihi koleksiyonu yapan koleksiyonerler ve araştırmacılar için en nadir olan zarflar özellikle Larnaka, Limasol, Baf ve Lefke damgasıyla gönderilmiş olan Sosyal Yardım pullu zarflardır. Mağusa ve Lefkoşa'dan gönderilmiş Sosyal Yardım pullu adi postadan geçmiş mektuplar bugün nispeten daha fazla bulunabilir olmakla beraber diğer şehirlerin damgalarını taşıyan zarflar son derece nadirdir ve bulunması da o oranda zordur. Öte yandan Lefke, Mağusa ve Lefkoşa postanelerinde Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti döneminden kalma Lefka, Famagusta ve Nicosia damgaları zarfın boş bir yerine vurulurken Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti postanelerinden bağımsız çalışan

Larnaka, Limasol ve Baf postanelerinde Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti döneminde kullanılan posta damgaları zarfların üzerine vurulmaz.[22] (kaynak)

Resim 12

Özellikle Larnaka, Limasol ve Baf'tan gönderilen mektupların üzerinde posta damgasının bulunmaması bu zarfların son derece nadir ve kıymetli olmasını sağlar. Normal posta uygulamasında ada içi haberleşme için normal veya adi posta olarak adlandırılan gönderiler için zarfın üzerine 15 Mils değerinde tek bir pul yapıştırılırken, taahhütlü posta uygulamasının yapıldığı Lefkoşa ve Mağusa bölgesinde ise taahhütlü olarak gönderilmesi istenen zarfların üzerine genellikle 4 tane 15 Mils değerinde ve 2 tane de 5 Mils değerinde pul yapıştırılmıştır. Lefkoşa ve Mağusa'da taahhütlü olarak gönderilen bu mektupların üzerine ayrıca Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti döneminden kalan İngilizce "Nicosia-Cyprus" ve "Famagusta-Cyprus" yazılı taahhüt etiketleri yapıştırılmıştır.[23]

1972 yılının Aralık ayının son haftasında Mağusa postanesinin posta torbalarını karıştırması ve Sosyal Yardım pulları ile postadan geçmiş adi ve taahhütlü mektupları Mağusa'nın Rum tarafında bulunan Maraş bölgesine göndermesiyle Maraş Postanesi Müdürü Stylianides durumu derhal fark eder ve Rum Posta Genel Müdürlüğüne olup bitenleri aktarmakta da gecikmez. Bunun sonucu olarak da Sosyal Yardım pullarının posta haberleşmesinde kullanımı sonsa erer. Rum Posta Genel Müdürü bu pulların posta haberleşmesinde kullanıldığını haber alır almaz Mağusa Posta Müdürü Mehmet Demirel'den bu uygulamanın derhal durdurulmasını, aksi takdirde Mağusa'nın Türk bölgesi de dâhil olmak

üzere 33 Türk köyünün dış dünya ile bağlantısını derhal keseceği tehdidinde bulunur.

Sonuç

Kıbrıs adasında özellikle EOKA'nın faaliyete geçtiği 1 Nisan 1955 sonrasında Kıbrıslı Türklerin posta faaliyetleri zorlu bir sürece girer. Tamamen çaresizlikten ve imkânsızlıklardan doğan böyle bir süreç son derece ince ve mükemmel hazırlanmış farklı bir posta ve haberleşme faaliyetlerinin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Kıbrıslı Türklerin önce 1958–1963, hemen ardından 21 Aralık 1963 günü başlayan günden 20 Temmuz 1974 tarihinde Türkiye'nin garantör devlet olarak giriştiği Barış Harekâtı'na kadar olan devreyi içine alan 1963–1974 sürecinde gerek ada içi gerekse ada dışı haberleşme yerel ulaşım araçları, daha sonra Türkiye'nin kurduğu yardım teşkilatları aracılığıyla gerçekleşmiş ve yine yerel 'keşiflerle' farklı pul ve damga çalışmaları aracılığı ile haberleşme güç de olsa sağlanmıştır. Her yerde olduğu gibi Kıbrıs'da da posta araçları propoganda materyali olarak kullanılmış ve bu araçlara ve imkanlara bakılarak da buradaki Kıbrıslı Türklerin mücadeleleri net biçimde anlaşılmaktadır.

Dipnotlar

[1] TMT Limasol kadrosundan merhum Macit Aydınova ile 13 Temmuz 2003'de Girne'de yapılan görüşme.

[2] *Kıbrıs*, 20 Temmuz 1974.

[3] Jeff Ertughrul ile 18 Ekim 2008 tarihinde Londra'da yapılan görüşme.

[4] Pierre Oberling, *Kıbrıs Faciası*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., Ankara, 1990, s.5.

[5] *Halkın Sesi*, 28 Ekim 1959.

[6] Bu araştırmanın yazarı bu çalışmaya konu olan ve yurtiçi ve yurtdışında pek çok ödül kazanmış olan "Kıbrıs Türk Mücadele Tarihi 1955-1974" isimli filatelik koleksiyonun da sahibidir ve Türkiye'de Kıbrıs Türk posta tarihi alanında en kapsamlı koleksiyon ve arşiv kendisine aittir. Söz konusu koleksiyon ve arşiv çalışması son olarak 14-20 Aralık 2009 tarihinde İzmir'de düzenlenen "İzmir 09 Ulusal Filateli Sergisi kapsamında sergilenmiş ve en üst düzeyden altın madalya kazanmıştır. Ulvi Keser Özel Arşivi

[7] Ulvi Keser Özel Arşivi

[8] Ulvi Keser Özel Arşivi

[9] Jeff Ertughrul, *The Postal Services of Cyprus* (London, June 1994), s. 4.

[10] Jeff Ertughrul ile 18 Ekim 2008 tarihinde Londra'da yapılan görüşme.

[11] Araştırmacının koleksiyonunda bu konuyla ilgili pek çok farklı materyal bulunmaktadır. Ulvi Keser Özel Arşivi.

[12] TMT Lefkoşa Sancağı Kovanbeyi Nevzat Uzunoğlu ile 13 Temmuz 2003 tarihinde Girne'de yapılan görüşme

[13] TMT Limasol kadrosundan Macit Aydınova ile 13 Temmuz 2003 tarihinde Girne'de yapılan görüşme

[14] TMT Derneği Başkanı Yılmaz Bora ile 13 Temmuz 2003 tarihinde Girne'de yapılan görüşme

[15] The United Nations, *The Blue Helmets* (New York, 1990), s. 85.

[16] Ulvi Keser, "Askeri Posta; 1964 Erenköy," *Çizgi Ötesi Dergisi* 2 (Ocak 1994), s. 25 ve Ulvi Keser, "Cyprus Covers Handled By Turkish Postal Service In Turkey," *OPAL*, No. 208 (Nisan 2004), s. 12–15. Ulvi Keser, "Üç İnsan, Üç Anı," *Kıbrıs Mektubu Dergisi*, 16/3 (Mayıs-Haziran 2003), s. 2.

[17] Ulvi Keser Özel Arşivi.

[18] Ulvi Keser Özel Arşivi.

[19] O günlerde Lefkoşa'da sadece Dr. Necdet Ünel ve Adiloğlu Polikliniği'nin bulunduğu göz önüne alınacak olursa bu yardımların önemi daha iyi anlaşılır. Said Arif Terzioğlu, "Kıbrıs Türkleri ve Kızılay Derneği", *Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Derneği*, 6 (Kasım 1988), s.17–20.

[20] Mehmet Ertuğ, *Birth of a State, Postal History of The Turkish Cypriot Posts* (Lefkoşa, 2001), s.28.

[21] Ulvi Keser Özel Arşivi.

[22] Ulvi Keser Özel Arşivi.

[23] Bugün filateli dünyasına sürülmek istenen Sosyal Yardım pullu zarfların büyük bir kısmı en azından otantik materyal değil, filatelik amaçlı olarak koleksiyonerler tarafından hazırlanmış zarflardır. Acı olan tarafı ise sadece Kıbrıs ve Türkiye'de değil dünyanın dört bir tarafında Kıbrıs posta tarihi konusunda çalışma ve araştırmalar yapan koleksiyonerler tarafından çok aranan bu zarfların özellikle taahhütlü olanlarının korsan üretiminin yapılması ve astronomik fiyatlarla piyasaya sürülmesidir.

Book Review

Kitap Tanıtımı

Mehmet Hasgüler *Kıbrıslılık*, İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, Aralık 2008, 222 sayfa, ISBN 978-605-103-023-4

Pınar Kadıoğlu
Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi

Kıbrıs için yapılabilecek en uygun tanımlamalardan biri coğrafi konumu nedeniyle lanetlenmiş bir Akdeniz adası olduğudur. Ada, Bronz Çağından itibaren, sürekli yabancı devletlerin işgallerine sahne olmuş, bağımsızlığını ancak yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında kazanabilmiştir. Yarım yüzyılı aşan bir zamandır ise, iki etnik grup arasındaki bir türlü çözümlenemeyen bir uyuşmazlık ile anılmaktadır. Ada'daki uyuşmazlığın temel nedenleri birçok perspektiften incelene gelmiştir; literatür de ağırlıklı olarak bu kimi zaman İngiltere ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin ada üzerindeki, daha çok Orta Doğu'daki politik ve ekonomik çıkarları, kimi zamanda Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ın bölgedeki güç dengesi çerçevesinde güvenlik ve politik içerikli tehdit algılamaları üzerinden yapılmıştır.

Dış ülkelerin bölge üzerindeki çıkarları ve bu çıkarların korunması için takip edilen güncel ayrılıkçı politikalar haricinde, Ada'da yaşayan diğer etnik gruplara göre çoğunlukta olan Kıbrıslı Türkler ve Kıbrıslı Yunanlılar arasındaki uyuşmazlığın, genel olarak Türkiye ve Yunanistan arasındaki tarihsel sorunlarla şekillendiği çoğu zaman temel sorun olarak belirtilse de, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemi ve İngiliz Sömürge dönemindeki gelişmeler hakkında Türkçe literatür yetersiz kalmaktadır. Oysa iki toplum arasında dış kaynaklı milliyetçi ideolojilerin etkisi ile oluşturulmuş karşılıklı güven eksikliği ve toplumlararası uyuşmazlığın çözümünde ciddi bir engel olan katı önyargılar üzerine yapılmış çalışmaların çoğalması, böylece, Ada'da yüzyıllardır barınan iki toplumun çatışmasının içsel nedenleri açığa çıkartılması ve toplumlar arasında oluşturulmuş olumsuz imajların incelenerek, bu önyargıların ve güven eksikliğinin uyuşmazlık çözümündeki en önemli engel olduğu farkındalığının oluşturulması gerekmektedir.

Doç. Dr. Mehmet Hasgüler'in editörlüğünü yaptığı 'Kıbrıslılık' kitabı, literatür de bulunan bu eksiği bir anlamda doldurma çabası içerisinde. Kitap; Kıbrıs'ta mevcut bulunan klasik aidiyet algılamaları dışında, Türklük ve Helenlik-Yunanlık, üçüncü bir aidiyet olan Kıbrıslılık üzerine

tarihsel ve güncel incelemeleriyle oldukça verimli olan, sekiz makaleyi bir araya getiriyor.

Makaleler üç bölümde; Kıbrıslılık kimliği ve toplumsal farklılıkların, kutuplaşmanın tarihsel nedenlerini irdeliyor, Kıbrıslı Kimliğinin bireysel ve toplumsal anlamda benimsenmesi ile ilgili güncel ve tarihsel değerlendirmeler yapıyor ve son olarak yakın tarihte; Birleşmiş Milletler, Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye olmak üzere dış aktörlerin, Ada'daki problem çözümündeki etkilerini tüm ayrıntıları ile tartışıyor.

İlk bölüm olarak inceleyebileceğimiz, Kıbrıslılık kimliği ve toplumsal farklılıkların, kutuplaşmanın tarihsel nedenlerinin açıklandığı makaleler; Mehmet Hasgüler'in "Kıbrıslılık Kimliği: Kıbrıslı Türkler ve Kıbrıslı Rumlardaki Farklılaşmalar", Etienne Copeaux'un "Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Tarih ve Kimlik" makalelerinden oluşuyor. Bu iki makalede Kıbrıs'ın Rum ve Türk toplumlarının kültürel ve tarihsel gelişimleri eleştirel bir bakış açısı ile irdeleniyor.

Hasgüler, Kıbrıslılık tartışmasını beş temel dönemde ele alıyor. Bu temel dönemler; 1571-1878 Osmanlı Dönemi, 1878-1959 İngiliz Sömürge Dönemi, 1960- 1963 Bağımsız Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Dönemi, 1964-1974 Gettolaşma Dönemi ve 1974'den günümüze Ayrılıkçılık Dönemi olarak belirlenmiş. Türklerin Ada'ya Osmanlı tarafından yerleştirilmesinden başlayan Kıbrıslı Türk kimliği edinme sürecinin anlatıldığı makalede, Kıbrıs'ta bulunan yerli Ortodoks halkın yeni gelen nüfusa yaklaşımı açıklanıyor. Ada'da Osmanlı döneminde Kilise'ye verilen özerkliğin Ortodoks halkın siyasal mobilizasyonunu sağladığı, bunun *Enosis* düşüncesinin ortaya çıkmasında ve etkili olmasındaki etkisinin yadsınamaz olduğu anlatılıyor. İngiliz yönetimi altında da güçlenen Yunan Milliyetçiliğinin, Türklerin İngiliz Sömürge Kuvvetleri ile işbirliği yapması nedeniyle başlayan ve daha sonra güçlenip toplumlararası çatışmaya neden olan ötekileştirme süreci anlatılıyor. Hasgüler, iki toplum arasındaki din, dil ve ırk dışında farklılıkları dışında, uzlaşmaya gidilememesinin en önemli sebebinin aslında Türklerin siyasi anlamda Rumlara oranla çok daha laik olması olduğunu belirtiyor. Ayrıca, Kıbrıslılık tartışmasının temel öğeleri olarak algılanan yerli iki halkın yanı sıra, Anadolu'dan göç ile Kuzey Kıbrıs'a yerleşen Türk nüfusunun da bu tartışma içerisinde yer alması gerektiğini belirten yazar, kuzeyde oluşan ötekileştirme sürecinin de sorun çözümünde olumsuz bir etken olduğunu belirtiyor.

Etienne Copeaux ise "Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Tarih ve Kimlik" adlı makalesinde; Kıbrıs'ta 1960 Cumhuriyeti öncesi ve sonrasında uygulanan tarih eğitimi üzerinde duruyor. Yunan köylerinde, Büyük Helen Kültürü'nün üstünlüğü öğretilirken, çok yakınlarda ki Türk köylerinde Anadolu Kültürü ve Modern Türk Tarihi öğretiminin yapıldığını belirtiyor. Ada'da yaşayan iki toplum arasında kutuplaşmayı sağlayacak milliyetçiliklerin aşılanmasının ve ötekileştirme sürecinin yeni nesillerde de yer almasının nedenlerini açıklıyor. Aynı zamanda Copeaux; Yunan tarih yazılımının Türklerden çok daha önce başlaması nedeniyle, Batı'da yaşanan etkileşimi ve öncesinde yaşanan aydınlanma sürecinin Batı'da Helen-severliğe yol açtığını, Türk tarih tezinin ortaya çok daha geç çıkmasının ve Batı üzerinde etkisinin az olmasının ise, Kıbrıs'ta *Enosis* ve anti- Türk yaklaşımların adil kabulünün gerekçesi olduğunu belirtiyor.

İkinci bölüm olarak inceleyebileceğimiz; Kıbrıslı kimliğinin bireysel ve toplumsal anlamda benimsenmesi ile ilgili güncel ve tarihsel değerlendirmelerin yapıldığı çalışmalar ise, Ümit İnatçı'nın "Kendini Geri İsteme İradesi Olarak Kıbrıslı Türk Kimliği: Sadece 'Kıbrıslılık'", Mehmet Ratip'in "Kıbrıslılık 'Beytambal Galsın'" ve Özdemir A. Özgür'ün "Kıbrıs Sorununun Kültürel Yönleri" makalelerinden oluşuyor.

Ümit İnatçı, "Kendini Geri İsteme İradesi Olarak Kıbrıslı Türk Kimliği: Sadece 'Kıbrıslılık'" adlı makalesinde, Kıbrıslı kimliğinin belirlenmek istenmesindeki amacın siyasal egoizme dayalı bir kolektif kimlik yaratılması olmadığını, aksine toplumun kendi istekleri ve çıkarları doğrultusunda hareket etme şansının yaratılması olduğunu anlatıyor. Aynı zamanda Türkiye'de pek de fazla bilinmeyen, dile gelmeyen ama Ada içinde ciddi bir sorun olan, Türkiye'den göç eden nüfusun hızla Ada'daki yerli nüfusu geçmesi ve bunun yarattığı problemlere değiniliyor ve bu nedenle oluşan ontolojik kaygılardan bahsediliyor. Mehmet Ratip, ise kimlik meselesini geniş bir çerçevede sorguluyor ve çalışmasında Türk veya Rum ya da sadece Kıbrıslılık kimliğine ihtiyaç olup olmadığını tartışıyor. Eski bir diplomat olan Özdemir A. Özgür ise, bu problemli bölgede yaşanan kültürel farklılaşmayı ve kimlik meselelerini Dünya'dan çeşitli örneklemelerle tartışıyor.

Üçüncü bölüm olarak inceleyebileceğimiz; Turgut Turhan'ın "Kıbrıslı Türklerin Vatandaşlığının Kısa Tarihi", Kıvanç Ulusoy'un "Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri Bağlamında Kıbrıs Sorunu: 1999-2008" ve Mustafa S. Mehmetçik'in "1974 sonrası Kıbrıslı Türklerin Kimlik Arayışı

ve Siyasallaşma Süreci" makaleleriyle, Ada'daki problem çözümü sürecinde Birleşmiş Milletler, Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'nin izledikleri çözüm politikaları ile Kıbrıs'ta Vatandaşlık kavramının hukuki olarak inceleniyor.

Turgut Turhan "Kıbrıslı Türklerin Vatandaşlığının Kısa Tarihi" adlı makalesinde, Ada'daki Türk nüfusun Osmanlı döneminde 1869 yılında Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi ile ilk kez vatandaşlık kavramı ile tanıştıklarını, ardından İngiliz Sömürü döneminde İngiliz, ardından, 1960 yılında Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlığına geçtiklerini, sonrasında ise Ada'nın bölünmesi ile önce Kuzey Kıbrıs Federe Yönetimi ardından ise Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlıklarını aldıklarını tarihsel bir perspektifle anlatıyor. Bu vatandaşlık değişiklikleri ve topluma verilen vatandaşlık haklarının temelde her dönemde neseb bağı ile kurulduğunu anlatırken, Annan planı ve Avrupa Birliği çerçevesinde de vatandaşlık konusunu tartışıyor. Mustafa S. Mehmetçik "1974 sonrası Kıbrıslı Türklerin Kimlik Arayışı ve Siyasallaşma Süreci" başlıklı makalesinde, KKTC'nin ilanı ile başlayan bir sürecin, Kıbrıslı Türk olma bilincine, Anavatan Türkiye'ye bağlılık-bağımlılık politikalarına ve son dönem seçimlerinde ortaya çıkan geleneksel politikaların değişimine dair saptamalarda bulunup, kuzey Kıbrıs'ta etkisi artan iç dinamikler hakkında ayrıntılı bir değerlendirme yapıyor. Kıvanç Ulusoy ise makalesinde, Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği ilişkilerinin 1999-2008 döneminde, AKP iktidarı özelinde işleyişini ve bu ilişkinin Kıbrıs meselesindeki olumsuz ve değişken tavırlar gösteren etkilerini tartışıyor.

Doç. Dr. Mehmet Hasgüler'in editörlüğünü yaptığı, "Kıbrıslılık" derlemesi özellikle Türkiye'de çokta fazla bilinmeyen, bahsedilmeyen ve belki de önemsenmeyen Kıbrıs iç dinamikleri ve ada'daki olan toplumsal aidiyet konularının anlaşılması için yararlı bir ilk adımdır. Eser, Kıbrıs'taki toplumlararası uyuşmazlığın tarihsel nedenleri ve Kıbrıslı Türklük ve "Türkiyelilik" algılaması üzerine giriş niteliği taşımaktadır.

Guidelines for Submission of Manuscripts

1. The *Journal of Cyprus Studies* publishes articles in English and Turkish, and in accordance with the principles expressed in its Editorial Policy. It is understood that manuscripts submitted to the *JCS* for consideration have not been published previously, in part or in whole, and are not simultaneously under consideration for publication elsewhere. The ideas and opinions expressed in articles published in the *Journal* are the sole responsibility of the author(s), and do not reflect the views and policies of the Centre for Cyprus Studies or Eastern Mediterranean University. Responsibility for copyright permissions rests with the author(s).
2. A manuscript will be accepted for publication only if the editors and/or the editorial board, as well as the referee(s) agree that it should be.
3. Manuscripts should be sent to the editor either i) on a disk as a Microsoft Word (or a Word compatible) document or ii) as an e-mail attachment.
4. The following should be included in the body of the e-mail: title of the paper, your name and postal address, your institutional affiliation, daytime telephone and fax numbers (if available). An abstract (maximum 200 words) should be included as a separate document. Please provide, under the abstract, between 3 and 8 keywords for your manuscript.
5. There is no strict word limit for articles, but we prefer to publish articles that are between 6,000 and 10,000 words (including notes).
6. The manuscript should be prepared for blind review: The author's name and institutional affiliation are not to appear, so described, in the manuscript. Such information should appear only on the cover letter, which must be on a separate page. References to the author's own work must be cast in such a way that they do not reveal the author's identity. We recommend simply replacing the entire reference, including title and facts of publication, with an expression such as *Author's article, Author's book, Author's book 2,* etc. Acknowledgements that could allow a reader to deduce the author's identity must be removed for the initial review.
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.

    Spelling. Use American spelling.

For further information see: http://jcs.emu.edu.tr

Yazı Göndermek İsteyen Yazarların Dikkatine

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.

5. Kesin bir kelime kısıtlaması olmasa da metin ve notlar birlikte 6000-10000 kelime arası olması tercih edilmektedir.

6. Değerlendirmeye alınan makalelerin yazarları ve hakemlerin karşılıklı olarak isimleri gizli tutulur. Değerlendirmedeki gizlilik esası için makalede yazarın adı ve çalıştığı kurum geçmemelidir. Bu bilgiler sadece gönderilen elektronik posta mektubunda yer almalıdır. Değerlendirmeye gidecek makalede yazarın kendisine yaptığı referanslar yazarın kimliğini açığa çıkartmayacak şekilde verilmelidir. Bütün referansları aynı şekilde verip yazarın adı yerine sadece *Yazarın makalesi, yazarın kitabı* ve *yazarın kitabı 2* gibi verilmesi yeterli olacaktır. Yazarın kimliğini açığa çıkartacak teşekkür notları makalenin ilk gönderiminde yer almamalıdır.

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.

8. Kaynaklara referans
   a. Dipnotları makalenin sonunda verilmelidir.
   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**.**

Tırnak İşarareti. Alıntı ironi ve diger edebi amaçlar için çift tırnak işareti kullanılmalı. Tek tırnak işareti alıntının içinde alıntı varsa ve dilbilimsel terminoloji için gerekliyse kullanılmalı.

Detaylı bilgi için bkz.: http://jcs.emu.edu.tr

Contents / İçindekiler

JCS
Journal of Cyprus Studies
Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi