

# JCS

Journal of Cyprus Studies

Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi

26/27



Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi

"Cypriot  
Literature and  
Archives"

Cover: The cover artwork and creative design are an artist's interpretation of Cypro-Minoan writing based on a clay tablet found at Enkomi (c.1200 BC), and the map Eschkjal Qybrys, "shapes of Cyprus" (c. 1522 AD), from the Bahriye (maritime atlas) of the Ottoman admiral and cartographer Piri Reis. On the map a mountain range (either the Troodos or the Kyrenia range) appears in the center, seen in elevation from the north (i.e. looking up from the lower left corner of the cover); significant harbors are enlarged to provide guidance to sailors; and towns are seen in elevation from the side of approach by sea. Towns marked include Larnaca (Tuzla), Kyrenia (Quala'a-i Kernia), and Famagusta (Quala'a-i Bagusa). [Sources: John Chadwick, Reading the Past: Linear B and related scripts (British Museum Publications, 1987, p. 51); A. Stylianou and J.A. Stylianou, The History of the Cartography of Cyprus (Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1980, pp. 13-14, 192); the original Piri Reis MS in the manuscript collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. H.O. 192, fol. 145v.]

Kapak: Kapak tasarım ve resmi bir sanatçının yorumu olup Enkomi harabelerinde ortaya çıkarılan M.Ö. 1200 yıllarına ait Kıbrıs-Miken yazılı kil tablet ve Osmanlı Amiralî ve haritacısı Piri Reis tarafından yapılan (M.S. 1522) ve Bahriye adlı denizcilik atlasında bulunan Eşkâl-i Kıbrıs haritası resimleri yorumlanarak yapılmıştır. Haritanın ortasında, Kuzeyden bakıldığında (kapağın sol alt köşesinden yukarı bakıldığında) yükselen sıradağlar görünmektedir (Trodos veya Girne Sıradağları). Önemli Limanlar denizlere kolaylık sağlamak amacı ile büyütülmüş; ve şehirler deniz tarafından yaklaşıldığındaki görüş açısından çizilmişlerdir. Haritada Larnaka (Tuzla), Girne (Hala'a-i Kernia) ve Gazimağusa (Hala'a-i Bagusa) Şehirleri gösterilmiştir. [Kaynaklar: John Chadwick, Reading the Past: Linear B and Related scripts (British Museum Publications, 1987, s. 51); A. Stylianou and J.A. Stylianou, The History of the Cartography of Cyprus (Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1980, s. 13-14, 192.); Piri Reis'in bu haritası Avusturya Milli Kütüphanesi elyazmaları koleksiyonundadır, Cod. H.O. 192, fol. 145v.]

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ii

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# JCS Journal of Cyprus Studies Kıbrıs Arařtırmaları Dergisi

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The Center 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 Center range from archeology, anthropology and economics to history, linguistics and folklore.

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

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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 folkloru 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 kültürel 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 Dergisini* 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, and 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 archeological artifacts; the 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, EEC 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 artifacts, interviews, official documents, transcripts of media broadcasts, or reprints of significant texts. The *Journal* does not publish partisan material dealing with the internal administration or politics of Eastern Mediterranean University, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, or the Republic of Turkey.

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 bir dergi olup temel misyonu şöyle özetlenebilir: i) Kıbrıs adasının geçmişi, geleceği ve bugünü ile ilgili 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 dergiye gönderilen makaleler içerik bakımından Kıbrıs adası ile ilgili olmalıdır. *Dergi*'ye gönderilen makaleler, belirtilen konularla kısıtlı olmamakla birlikte şu konuları içerebilir: arkeolojik eserlerin incelenmesi; Mısır, Roma ve Pers kültürleri; Doğu Roma İmparatorluğu ve Haçlı Seferleri; Lusinyanlar, Venedikliler ve Osmanlılar; sanat, edebiyat, müzik; haritacılık, askeri tarih ve teknoloji; ticaret yolları, su ve doğal kaynaklar; Doğu Akdeniz'in siyasi 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. *Dergi*, Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti veya Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin içişleri ve siyaseti ile ilgili yanlı yazıları yayınlamaz.

Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan halkların kendilerine özgü yasal ve siyasi koşulları nedeniyle ideolojik veya yönetsel önyargının tarihin yazılmasındaki etkin rolü *Dergi* için ana meseleyi 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, siyasi 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 yön 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.



## Editor's Note

This issue of the JCS has been made possible through the diligence and enthusiasm of a group of individuals whose assistance I would like to acknowledge here. From Eastern Mediterranean University I would like to make a special, and unrivalled, 'thank-you' to Tamás Kiss, for his persistence and attention to detail, both in his lengthy article, and in his capacity as Associate Editor. Thanks to the authors of the articles, news items and reviews, for their professionalism and co-operation in responding to deadlines and editorial suggestions. At the Eastern Mediterranean University I would especially like to thank Jan Asmussen and Gül Barkay for their continued support of the JCS and for their assistance in general on many matters relating to scholarship of the island. Thanks too to Ülker Osam, Ayhan Bilisel, and also Ersev Sarper, for overseeing the production process of the JCS.

Michael Walsh  
December 2004.

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## Contents / İindekiler

Michael J.K. Walsh

Editor's Note

### Articles / Makaleler

- |                  |     |   |
|------------------|-----|---|
| Tamás Kiss       | 1   | Turkish Cypriot Epics About Outlaws, Bandits and Murderers  |
| Matthias Kappler | 62  | A Comparative Look at Greek and Turkish Literature in Ottoman Cyprus between Periphery and Centre   |
| Mehmet Yashin    | 76  | Pembe Marmara's Dwelling  |
| Carolina Petry   | 85  | Famagusta and its Image in Historical Travel Literature: A Town Between Orient and Occident   |
| Mihrican Aylan  | 99  | Kıbrıs Türk Romanının Geliřimi  |
| Hakan Karahasan  | 115 | The Politics of National Identity and the Idea of 'Home' in Taner Baybars' 'Letter to Homeland' and Mahmoud Darwish's 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn' and 'Identity Card' |
| Salahi R. Sonyel | 129 | Cyprus in the Year 1970: Recently Released Official British Documents   |
| Jan Asmussen     | 141 | The Cyprus Regiment: Greek and Turkish Cypriots in a Joint Military Force   |
| Ulvi Keser       | 170 | Kıbrıs'ta Türk Savaş Esirleri: Kesitsel Bir Bakıř   |

**News/Haber**

- Bülent Kızılduman 189 Güzelyurt Arkeolojik Yüzev Arařtırma Projesi I. Dönem Ön Çalıřmaları
- Uwe Müller 200 A Newly Discovered Bronze Age Site in Cyprus
- Özlem Çaykent 204 Archive Report

**Local Interest / Yerel İlgi**

- Dilek Latif & Kemal Latif 207 The Pine of Çınarlı

**Book Review/Kitap Tanıtım**

- R. C. Severis,  
Travelling Artists in Cyprus 211 Reviewed by Rose Marie Gnausch  
1700-1960, London, 2000.

**Archive/Arşiv**

- The National Archive at Girne: 215  
A Working List of Books  
Relating to Cyprus.

**Announcements/Duyuru****Notes to Contributors/Yazarların Dikkatine**



## Turkish Cypriot Epics About Outlaws, Bandits and Murderers

Tamás Kiss

The British administrative era on the island of Cyprus (1878-1960) saw the flourishing of Turkish Cypriot literature. The folk literature of local Turks gave birth to literary works which can rightly be considered as possessing unique formal characteristics. *Halit Arab Destanı*, *Cemal Mida Destanı*, *Dr. Behiç Destanı*, *Hasanbullilerin Destanı*, *Nazım Destanı*, *Annayıla Muallime Gızın Gatili Destanı* tell us true stories from the lives of local people in a form which is meant to make the names of great heroes immortal. These works, however, glorify criminals, bandits and outlaws, and thus, misuse their aspired literary form.

The works in question are all called *destans*. The *destan* is one of the oldest literary forms of the Turkic peoples. Its western equivalent is the genre epic. The word *destan* in the Turkish language is a Persian loan word meaning *legend, fable or beautiful story*.<sup>1</sup> The *destan* belongs to the universal epic tradition ranging from the ancient Greek epics of Homer through the Old English heroic poem, *Beowulf*, to the *Manas Destanı* of the Kyrgyz people and the Finnish *Kalevala*. According to M. H. Abrams, in its standard sense, the term epic can be applied to a work that meets at least the criteria of being a long narrative poem performed in a formal or elevated style on a serious subject with a central hero upon whom depends the fate of a group of people, a nation or even the human race.<sup>2</sup> The *destan* satisfies these requirements, indeed. It is long: usually ranging from eight to 100 eleven-syllable lines.<sup>3</sup> However, in some cases it reaches an extreme length: the *Dede Korkut* epic of the Oguz peoples comprises c. 3,900 lines in the Dresden text, while the *Manas* epic of the Kyrgyz people in its shorter form consists of c. 90,000 lines whose full variant exceeds 1,000,000 lines.<sup>4</sup> Originally, the *destan* is performed by the *destancı* or *ozan*, who sings his poetically ornamented poem or recites it rhythmically with playing the *kobuz* or the *saz*, two traditional Central Asian string instruments.<sup>5</sup> It is always a war, a natural disaster, a mass migration or any major event leaving marks in the memory of a community that serves as a base of its story. However factual the form *destan* is, by reflecting the views, opinions and the concerns of ordinary people, it is necessarily subjective.<sup>6</sup> So are its heroes: their importance, characteristics and heroism in general are exaggerated or at least over-emphasized. The *destan* is always literary and historic at the same time, therefore, can be looked at as the 'subjective history' of a nation or a community.<sup>7</sup>

*Destans* and epics in general can be oral or written. Orally transmitted *destans* are performed impromptu by a folk artist and as they form a common property of all members of a community, they constantly change and can only be interpreted as a part of folk literature.<sup>8</sup> Due to their improvisational feature, *destans* existing solely in the oral tradition have innumerable versions (i.e. every performance is a diverted version of the same artefact). Such *destans* develop towards a written version which, understandably, will never represent all variants of the given epic.<sup>9</sup> Written epics can be classified in the following categories:

I.) In order to arouse patriotic feelings, an oral *destan* can serve as a skeleton for the written work of a poet (e. g. Fidravsi's *Şahname*, a tenth-century Persian epic). In this case a folk poem is elevated to the level of the high literary canon and the folk poem may live alongside its adapted, oral version.

II.) An epic can be written down by a poet according to its oral version recited by a folk performer with no, or little, alteration. So was the *Dede Korkut Kitabı* written in the fifteenth century in Eastern Anatolia as a documentation of the epic of the same title.

III.) Epics can be scientifically documented by literary critics and linguists (e. g. *Manas Destanı*).

IV.) An epic can be reconstructed after its oral version has become extinct (e. g. *Kalevala* re-edited from literary findings by Elias Lönnrot).<sup>10</sup>

The ideal form of *destans* requires eleven-syllable lines, four-line stanzas and an ABAB (or XAXA), CCCA, DDDA, etc. rhyme pattern. It is written and/or performed in *hece vezni*, the grouping of syllables under accents (6+5, 4+4+3, 4+7, 7+4, 5+6 groupings are commonly used), which serves as the rhythm of the poem.<sup>11</sup> In the case of written *destans* this Turkic rhythmic grouping method may be applied alongside the metrical system, where the rhythm is generated by poetic feet. Although *destans* have different kinds of structures as the arrangement of their content is concerned, they share similarities: after a short introduction we hear about the protagonist(s); there is at least one of the protagonists mentioned in every stanza; at the end of his poem the performer sums the story up and names himself.<sup>12</sup>

The cultural and historical environment of artefacts in folk literature, their literary classification and claimed authorship by any individual may serve as weak points in their literary analysis. Such weak points can also be found in connection with the works of our analysis. Uncertainties concerning Turkish Cypriot epics pose the following questions:

I.) Although Cyprus was conquered by the Ottoman Empire in 1571 and has been inhabited by Turks ever since, the first Turkish poems appeared 150 years<sup>13</sup> and the first *destans* some 280 years<sup>14</sup> after the first arrival of Turks. Why was there no folk literature exercised in Cyprus for such a long period of time?

II.) How many Turkish Cypriot epics exist?

III.) Who are the authors of the known written Turkish Cypriot epics?

IV.) Are all Turkish Cypriot literary works named '*destan*' – epics?

Experts give more or less the same interpretations as far as the literary time gap is concerned. According to Mustafa Gökçeoğlu, there were *destans* told in Cyprus before the appearance of the first known ones but they have not survived to our days.<sup>15</sup> In İsmail Bozkurt's point of view, too, there must have been Turkish Cypriot *destans* produced during those seemingly silent years but they either have never been written down or their texts have not been discovered yet.<sup>16</sup> According to Harid Fedai the reason why there are only a few Turkish Cypriot epics in general is that although there were many poets touring Cyprus during the Ottoman period, their works were never written down.<sup>17</sup>

Epics are either part of folk literature, which presupposes a stable local community producing them, or are part of the written literary canon where their appearance depends on the decision and abilities of a literate individual. The latter requires us to think that there might have been someone, before Aşık Kenzi, who willingly did write *destans* in Cyprus or about Cyprus in Turkish. The chance is there, although such texts have not been found yet. However, the case of folk epics is an absolutely different one. The early population estimates and censuses leave us to doubt whether local folk literature proper could have been created and practised during the first period of Turkish Cypriot history.

Although from the first years of the Ottoman rule in Cyprus, Turks populated the island, they could not develop a local culture. From 1572 on Ottomans resorted to the method of *sürgün*, the deportation of Turks from Anatolia to Cyprus.<sup>18</sup> The edict of 1572 clearly states the aim of creating a strong, reliable Turkish community in Cyprus.<sup>19</sup> Halil İnalçık claims that emigration was always present in the island during the Ottoman era resulting from famine, unemployment and heavy taxation, which led to drastic fluctuations in the island's population. According to him the total population of the island was around 100,000 in the first years of the nineteenth century and the Ottoman census of 1831 informs us about the total population of the island



being 44,206 with only 14,983 Turks.<sup>20</sup> Even the earlier data shows a serious drop when compared to the population estimates at the end of the sixteenth century when the Cypriot population numbered 200,000 to 250,000, let alone the 1831 data. The greatest population loss during the Ottoman rule was caused by the drought and famine of 1757-58 leading to a massive emigration from the island.<sup>21</sup> Again, the figures are: 200,000 - 250,000 at the end of the sixteenth century, 84,000 in 1757 (Kyprianos' estimation), 100,000 in the first years of the nineteenth century and 44,206 in 1831, with the Turkish population dropping from 47,000 in 1757 to 14,983 in 1831. The above data implies that however hard the Ottomans wanted to create a local Turkish community in Cyprus, the Anatolian settlers sooner or later left the island, or like most members of the 1757 Anatolian transport, they died because of the unexpected extremes of the local climate and illnesses.<sup>22</sup> Until the age of *Tanzimat* (Turkish enlightenment), when the island's total population grew by at least fifty percent between 1850 and 1878,<sup>23</sup> Cyprus was home to an impermanent, quickly changing Turkish community with Anatolian Turkish culture but most likely not to one with a distinct Cypriot culture.

It would be reasonable to expect the Turkish settlers to have differed quickly from their Anatolian culture by absorbing the local Greek community and their cultural features. Turks, however, mostly formed a minority in Cyprus, contributing one third of the island's total population. The development of a local cultural melting pot was discouraged by the Ottoman Empire: the Christian population was not encouraged to adopt Islam because such conversions would have resulted in the loss of the revenue from *djizye*, a heavy tax applied on non-Muslim subjects.<sup>24</sup>

The appearance of the first pieces of Turkish Cypriot folk literature was an indicator of a stable Turkish community in Cyprus. These Turks considered Cyprus as their homeland and themselves as Turkish Cypriots rather than foreign settlers. The reason why it happened relatively late may be that it took time until Turks learned how to live with the inconveniences of weather and different kinds of shortages in Cyprus; it may be due to the fact that the quality of life on the island turned slightly better, mostly because of fewer natural disasters, during the last decades of direct Ottoman leadership and just a bit better under British rule than in the preceding centuries, causing less desire to leave and more willingness to inhabit Cyprus.

The exact number of Turkish Cypriot epics is unknown. Besides the fact that the oral epic tradition produces innumerable varieties of the same literary piece, there may be *destans* or variants of *destans* still unrecorded and texts undiscovered. Even the number of existing and well-documented *destans* is uncertain. Due to the fact that the first Turkish Cypriot epics are variants of *destans* found on the Balkans and in Anatolia (i.e. *Horozun*

*Destanı, Alacaklı Verecekli Destanı, Yaş Destanları, Açıgözlü-Ramazan Destanı, Hayır Etmez Destanı, Sinek Destanı*),<sup>25</sup> considering them as Cypriot is not over-all adequate. What makes the question more difficult to answer is that some of the Turkish Cypriot epics, although called so, are not *destans* (e.g. *Açıgözlü Destanı*) and in the case of others whether they are or they are not, depends on the critic's taste (e.g. *Nazım Destanı, Kaçak Ali Destanı*). However uncertain their enumeration is, we have knowledge of some thirty-nine Turkish Cypriot epics, whose number should be dealt with reservation. According to İsmail Bozkurt's classification they are the following:

- I.) Short and didactic fables: *Ol Sinek Destanı, Sıçan Destanı, Kurbağa Destanı, Kedi Sözü Destanı, Horoz Destanı;*
- II.) Religious epics: *Adem ile Havva Destanı, Cennet-Cehennem Destanı, Gelmiş-Geçmiş Destanı, Peygamberler Destanı;*
- III.) Epics about types of men: *Açı Gözlü Destanı, Hayır Etmez Destanı, Yaş Destanları, Dolandırıcı Destanı, Alacaklı ile Verecekli'nin Destanı;*
- IV.) Epic related to sexuality: *A ile D'ün Destanı;*
- V.) Epics about institutions: *Polis Destanı, Okul Destanı;*
- VI.) Epics about uprisings and outlaws: *Tercüman Destanı, Kasaboğlu Destanı, Kıbrıs Destanı (Dasitan-ı Kıbrıs), Hasan Bulliler Destanı, Halit Arab Destanı, Cemal Mida Destanı, Gerali Destanı, Kaçak Ali Destanı, Ana ile Muallime Kızın Katli Destanı, Dr. Behiç Destanı.*<sup>26</sup>

İsmail Bozkurt's classification does not include the following epics: *İbrahim Ali Destanı, Habibe Kıyı ile Sükur Arab'ın Destanı, Labtalı Kamil Efendi Destanı, Panaza'da Geçen Olazın Destanı, Eğitici Destanı* (and Mustafa Muyaffer Öyboşnak's unfinished epic), *Kıbrıs Destanı, Erenköy Destanı, Mehmetcik ve Kıbrıs Destanı, Mağusa Destanı, Ayvasıl Destanı, Bayraktar Destanı*, most of which were written in the second half of the twentieth century.

Although the *ozan* or *destancı* names himself at the end of the *destan* he performs, as the performer does not necessarily coincide with the author, the orally transmitted form of *destans* can be considered as anonymous. When it enters the written literary canon, the *destan* is obviously related to one known or unknown person who documented or produced it. In the case of the best-documented *destans* assumptions about the authors have been attempted by contemporary scholars. *Hasan Bulliler Destanı* and *Halit Arap Destanı*, according to Gülgün Serdar and Mahmut İslamoğlu, were written by Ahmet Babacan (a retired jail guard), whereas Mustafa Gökçeoğlu attributes them to

Aynalı (a folk performer, the source of most of the major recorded Turkish Cypriot epics). Oğuz M. Yorgancıoğlu attributes these epics to Aynalı.<sup>27</sup> In Harid Fedai's point of view *Hasan Bulliler Destanı* is Dr. Hafiz Cemal's (Lokman Hekim), *Cemal Mida Destanı* is Arif Kaplan's work.

The *Halit Arab*, the *Hasanbulliler* and the *Dr. Behic* epics were all recorded from and recited by the island's, most probably, last *destancı*, Mustafa Hüseyin, better known as Aynalı (the Cemal Mida epic's source was one Yekta Mehmet Emin Hasan).<sup>28</sup> He was born in 1874 or 1875, in Stroncilo (Turunçlu), a village in Mağusa's vicinity. His father was a tax-collector during the Ottoman period, who later moved to Damascus and stayed for six years with his family, where the child Aynalı received appropriate education and learnt the Arabic language. He married two wives, had six children and worked as a candy seller, construction worker, policeman, etc. He claimed to have started to practice poetry at the age of 25-30. According to one of the issues of the *Söz* newspaper in Harid Fedai's home collection, three of the major epics we are focusing on were in fact written by Dr. Hafiz Cemal (Lokman Hekim) and however he claimed otherwise, Aynalı only performed them. The name of the original poet was gradually forgotten about by locals after he had moved to Turkey and gave his works to Aynalı to be performed in public.<sup>29</sup> Despite the fact that Mustafa Hüseyin Aynalı's testimonies concerning his authorship have been challenged by leading scholars in the case of three epics, his cultural importance has not been denied. He was the last *ozan* to keep the oral epic tradition alive in Cyprus and due to his willingness to perform for, and co-operate with, literary critics his epics could survive him in written texts.

The *Halit Arab* epic's authorship is probably the most problematic one. It can be related to three names as its creators: the already mentioned Dr. Hafiz Cemal (Lokman Hekim), Aynalı, the folk performer and police sergeant Ahmet Hasan (Babacan). The most likely assumption about the identity of the poet is that the creator of the *Halit Arab* epic was Babacan, who could go into details concerning the protagonist's life in prison because he witnessed it as a guard. Aynalı, however was the person who performed the epic publicly and was the source of documentation of the epic. The facts led experts to the realization that Babacan must have written the epic and passed it to Aynalı to avoid nuisances for being an officer in service giving out details about the works of the armed forces.<sup>30</sup>

The literary genre of some Turkish Cypriot *destans* is questionable. Even when the work actually bears the title, '*destan*', it is not certain whether it is a *destan* or not. In the case of *Açgözlü Destanı* the fact that it cannot be considered as a *destan* is obvious as its topic does not meet the requirements of the genre epic.<sup>31</sup> *Ana ile Muallime Kızın Katli Destanı*, on the other hand

fails to satisfy formal requirements. Other Turkish Cypriot epics raise less suspicion concerning probable contradiction between their title and their formal and content characteristics. *Dr. Behiç Destanı*, for instance, in its form satisfies the requirements of the genre epic except that it does not follow a regular rhyme pattern and its topic makes it a mixture of a long didactic *ağıt* (a Turkish literary form lamenting the death or loss of a person) and a *destan*. For analysis, we choose the attitude of showing respect and obedience toward the freedom of artistic intention. To decide the genre of a literary piece, we choose to rely on what the aim of the author was to write when he created it. If the genre of the ready literary work and the artist's intention concerning its form do not coincide, there are two ways of interpretation possible:

- I.) The author(s), although they were aware of the requirements of the chosen genre, could not apply them appropriately and by that they created a low-quality literary work in this genre.
- II.) The author(s) was/were not aware of the literary requirements of the chosen form, consequently they created something else they aspired to, not necessarily poor in quality.

As folk arts when applied, do not move alongside prescriptive literary analysis, the later may be considered as the case of *Açgözlü Destanı*. *Dr. Behiç Destanı*, however, serves as an example of the earlier statement. *Dr. Behiç Destanı*, having been born as a part of written literature with more or less satisfactory formal characteristics but unepic-like content by a known individual, it can be looked at as an epic of low literary value but of inevitably great documentary importance in social and micro-historical matters.

The dislike towards the British depicted in the Turkish Cypriot epics derives from several social, economic and political reasons. The actual happenings of the Turkish Cypriot epics being dealt with took place between 1877 and 1945, during and after the British political take-over in the island. After 308 years under Ottoman suzerainty (the longest continuous period under the rule of the same power in the history of Cyprus) expectations of Greek Cypriots towards the new era of British administration were high. Although the *Millet* system of the Ottoman Empire gave the Orthodox Greek population autonomy, their relative freedom was limited after 1821. The *Millet* system in the Ottoman Empire was the organisation of the non-Muslim population into religious communities. It established their rights and obligations under their ecclesiastical leaders. The Ottomans granted the Jewish and the Christian religious minorities wide autonomy in matters of personal status, community affairs, legal procedure and education, giving their heads jurisdiction over their members. The leaders were responsible for maintenance of order within their communities, and the payment of the *djizye*, the poll tax, and other taxes required of non-Muslims.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the Ottoman era

was a more liberal one for Greek Cypriots than the preceding Venetian period. The Venetians suppressed the Orthodox Church of Cyprus and its adherents by attempting to impose Roman Catholicism on them.<sup>33</sup> In 1821, at the start of the insurrection in Greece, the *Kapudan Paşa* fearing that Greek Cypriots may also revolt, hanged the archbishop and beheaded the bishops and some 200 leading members of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.<sup>34</sup> The accusations that Archbishop Kyprianos of Cyprus was plotting against the Ottomans by supporting the Greek War of Independence have never been inevitably proven. However, the executions changed the lives of the Orthodox population: the archbishop's political powers in dealing with the Ottomans were curtailed,<sup>35</sup> let alone the scholarly and intellectual hiatus caused by the annihilation of their leaders.

Another hope of the Greek community concerning the change of government over the island was articulated by the Orthodox archbishop of Cyprus in 1878:

“We accept the change of government, inasmuch we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus as it did the Ionian Islands, to be united with Mother Greece, with which it is nationally connected.”<sup>36</sup>

The Turkish community, however, had little to be excited about, if not the general expectations of a wealthier and developing island. Longing for a better living characterised the whole population of the island: as the Ottoman Empire started to decline, the island fell into economic hardship. Earthquakes and locust infestations, which eventually resulted in mass famine between 1859 and 1861, made life in Cyprus harder than elsewhere in the empire.<sup>37</sup>

Not only did the Turkish Cypriots find themselves a minority in a foreign empire after 1878 but, contrary to their hopes, the only luring aspect of the British take-over for them, substantial economic development, never happened. For the lack of satisfactory economic growth there were three reasons: initial uncertainty of permanence, Hellenic nationalism and over-taxation (often referred to as the Tribute).<sup>38</sup> The first is obvious: Cyprus had been ‘assigned for occupation’, not ceded, therefore, remained part of the Ottoman Empire until annexation in 1914.<sup>39</sup> The possibility for *Enosis* (the unification of Cyprus with Greece) to happen also created a feeling of impermanence about Cyprus. British politicians, moreover, future prime ministers, supported the idea of *Enosis*, such as Gladstone, Churchill and Ramsay MacDonald.<sup>40</sup> In 1915 the British offered Cyprus to Greece if the latter entered the war on the side of the Allies. The island did not join Greece only

because Greece chose neutrality.<sup>41</sup> After a decision at the 1878 Berlin Convention, Britain leased Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire until the Ottomans joined forces with the Central Powers in 1914 and Britain annexed the island.<sup>42</sup> The annual rent of Cyprus was meant to be an annual payment of any excess of revenue over expenditure.<sup>43</sup> However, this money never reached the Porte, but it was sent to London instead to pay off the 1855 Ottoman Crimean War loans whose bondholders had the guarantee of Britain and France over the repayment.<sup>44</sup> Thus, both Britain's and the Porte's interest was to extract the maximum of taxation and to deliver the minimum of service. By that the Tribute, which was applied unjustly after the annexation as Cyprus was not rent anymore, meant nothing other than the over-taxation of Cypriots.

The high expectations of Turkish and Greek Cypriots turned into bitter disappointment under British rule. Both ethnic groups suffered from the limitation of rights the British applied to them: the teaching of Greek and Turkish history was curtailed; the ethnic groups could not publicly display portraits of their heroes; the British authorities interfered with the internal affairs of the Cypriot Greek Church; gatherings of more than five people required permission; etc.<sup>45</sup> Both communities were suppressed with heavy and unjust taxation and the Greeks did not achieve unification with Greece. In 1931 Cypriot Greeks rioted and expressed their sentiments for *Enosis* and against the Tribute. The uprising resulted in the burning of the Nicosia Government House.<sup>46</sup> Public safety was not satisfied, either. The 1937-38 *Kareklas Report*, an analysis of the judiciary system and criminality in Cyprus under British administration claimed that law and order were severely weakened during the years of transition. Governor H. R. Palmer in his preface to the report claimed that state authorities could not reach every part of the island even by 1932.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the behaviour of British officials helped general disappointment turn into dislike towards the rulers. Governor Storrs tells us about the scorning jingoism of state officials towards Cypriots in his memoirs. These escalated anti-British sentiments and the fact that cooperation with criminals meant more safety than relying on inefficient police forces made many Cypriots support local criminals.

Four major Turkish Cypriot epics about outlaws, besides the crimes committed by the protagonists, tell us about their imprisonment and lawsuits as well. The 1879 annual *County Court (İlçe Mahkeme) Report* gives us a description of the arrangement and work of courts in Cyprus. The court consisted of one judge and four members, two Muslims and two Christians (instead of the word 'Turk' and 'Greek' the religious denomination was used to name either community) who applied the Ottoman legal system based on the Code Napoleon. Because of their low income and bias, the judges made

many mistakes and were easy to bribe<sup>48</sup> (see the case of the Hasanbullis later in this essay).

*Halit Arab Destanı, Cemal Mida Destanı, Dr. Behiç Destanı, Hasanbulliler Destanı, Nazım Destanı* and *Anayıla Muallime Gızın Gatili Destanı* are unique among the Turkish epics of Cyprus as they were intended to be told in a literary form which is usually applied to tell the stories of great heroes. The protagonists of these epics, however, are murderers, bandits and outlaws, consequently anti-heroes. Interpreting their acts as heroic in the sense of rising against the British oppressors is inadequate.<sup>49</sup> The protagonists of these epics are not benevolent Robin Hood-like out-casts: they kill, rape and mug innocent locals too, which clearly is not a trick played on the British. They play the same role in the history and culture of Cyprus as Jesse James and Billy the Kid in that of the American Southwest.<sup>50</sup> It is their power that makes these criminals admirable in an environment where club law overwrites written law. They dare to cross the thin line that separates the weak, the poor and the oppressed from those who, by the means of violence, are respected because they are feared. They symbolize the power and the courage that ordinary Cypriots did not have. That is why these anti-heroes enjoyed the admiration of many locals while they were among the living and received the sympathy of poets after their deaths.

The translations below aim to interpret the epics line by line from Turkish to English. They cannot be considered of literary value but rather as an aid for understanding them and the literary phenomenon they represent. The translations do not alter from the original text, which was added to a few cases when it was absolutely necessary for better understanding. In the translations, proper nouns are written according to their Turkish spelling. Most explanations were taken from Bülent Fevzioğlu and Suna Atun's *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağutlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Araştırmalar* trilogy and from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* except where indicated otherwise.

### ***Halit Arab Destanı***

The 'Halit Arab Epic' tells us a simple story: Halit Arab kills his mistress and runs away to hide in the mountains. He later surrenders to the police. Its simple storyline, in addition to being a literary record of a criminal case, shows us how the Cypriot public supported local criminals against the representatives of British rule even though their suportee was a criminal with no moral excuse.

The real story of Halit Arab is a bit more detailed than the epic inspired by it. Halit Aziz was born in 1895, was a butcher and a kebab seller

in Lefkoşa and the father of two children. His nickname, 'Arab' (not an unusual one, see the interview with Cemal Mida's sister, Zalihe)<sup>51</sup> referred to his dark complexion. One of his stepbrothers on his mother's side, Delal Salim Aziz became an important member of the local community and helped his step-brother after he had committed the crime.<sup>52</sup> Gülsüm Hanım was one of the women of the times with a bad reputation. Her being a prostitute is never mentioned in a straight forward way but we learn at the beginning of the *destan* that:

"The woman, who we know as Gülsüm hanım,  
Received many golden coins from a lot of men;  
She did not stay with any of them,  
Because she was haughty."

Having grown old for exploiting the advantages of her fading beauty, Gülsüm had to offer her services to, and put up with Halit, most likely a man of low standards in her eyes (in line 51-52: "*You are a stinky Arab / You do not deserve me*"). On 16 September 1923 Halit Arab, drunk and upset, walked up to his mistress' house to fix their relationship and sneak in to satisfy his sexual desires. When she did not want to let him in he walked away and after a few minutes he knocked on her door again pretending to be a Greek. No sooner had she opened the door thinking she was receiving a Greek customer when he grabbed her and killed her brutally, stabbing her twenty-three times in the neck, chest and back. In his murderous rage Halit in turn wounded himself with his knife which later on caused him be captured.<sup>53</sup> Hearing Gülsüm scream, her sister, Zehra rushed to the scene and tried to stop Halit, who wounded her too and ran away. He washed himself and changed his clothes at his step-brother's place then he hid on the top of the *abdest* well<sup>54</sup> in the yard of Yeni Cami in Lefkoşa. He left the city secretly on the following day. He headed for the Beşparmak Mountains in the north of the Mesarya plane, which he knew well from his frequent visits to purchase lambs to slaughter. He relied on the help of the shepherds, such as Ahmet Durmuşoğlu of Ayharida. Halit's wounded leg was getting worse and he knew he would have to give himself up to receive medical help. So when Sergeant Tahir and his squad came to capture him on 1 October 1923 he did not resist.<sup>55</sup> Later on, after the necessary legal procedures he was hanged alongside a Greek criminal in 1924.<sup>56</sup>

The Halit Arab epic consists of eleven-syllable, four-line stanzas with Aynalı, its *ozan*, naming himself in the last stanza. Its rhythmic structure is 4+4+3 with a few lines following a 4+4+4 division. Instead of the ABAB (XAXA), CCCA, DDDA, etc. (*destan*) rhyme system, it follows an AAXA,



BBXB, CCXC, etc. (*mani*) pattern. *Halit Arab's Epic* can be considered as an epic. In its rhyme pattern it differs from the ideal formal structure of its genre but does not violate its literary requirements otherwise, thus we can conclude that it was intended to be a *destan*.

Although Aynalı claimed to be the epic's writer, Babacan's family and his notes confirmed that Babacan was the original writer of the *Halit Arab* epic, which he later gave to his close friend, Aynalı to recite in public.<sup>57</sup> According to Harid Fedai that is where the text becomes two: one adjusted to the needs of the live performances by an *ozan* and another one which appeared in printing in *Söz Matbaası* as the unaltered copy of Babacan's original poem.<sup>58</sup>

*Halit Arab's Epic* is available in three different texts (Bülent Fevzioğlu and Suna Atun's, Oğuz M. Yorgancıoğlu's and Haşmet Muzaffer Gürkan's – the later serving as the basis of our analysis). In Suna Atun and Bülent Fevzioğlu's book (henceforth: S. A. and B. F.), besides many minute differences mostly in spelling and in the number of syllables in certain lines, it differs from the text below in the following points: the parts from line 29 to line 60 and from line 61 to line 88 are switched; instead of the name 'Musanın Ahmet' used in the 71<sup>st</sup> line of our text the S. A. and B. F. text mentions the name 'Muhsinin Ahmet'; the Greek mentioned in line 103 is called 'Gagosta' instead of 'Kosta'; between the lines 164 and 165 it has two stanzas which are not documented in Haşmet Muzaffer Gürkan's text:

*"In the last night I could eat what I wanted:  
Kadayıf<sup>59</sup> and güllaç;<sup>60</sup>  
Only one hour left and they brought  
My own clothes for me to wear  
I put on a black jacket and shiny shoes  
I swear I did not know where I was going  
I regretted what I had done a hundred thousand times  
I wish I had known it would be like that;"*

12

The part from line 173 to 184 is omitted and inserted after line 188; between the lines 196 and 197 it has nine extra stanzas which are the following:

*"In front of the prison there was a crowd of people  
They were more than a thousand, upon my honour!  
A lot of them came on foot to see  
When his corpse is taken away  
The black gate opened for the departed*

Look at the clamour out there  
 They placed Halit in the coffin  
 They also put the Greek into the car  
 They sat Istilli<sup>61</sup> with his body twisted  
 They set his corpse upright like a statue  
 Like a groom going to his wedding  
 They held him on his left and right side  
 They took Istilli to his village  
 They buried Halit on the same day  
 Nobody has seen for a long time  
 Such a (big) funeral gathering

It was the Ayasofya<sup>62</sup> where they took the corpse  
 His friends were crying very much  
 His enemies were happy  
 That he had gone to the other world

Ah, Halit you took the road from which there is no return  
 Let Allah not give such a fate to any of his servants  
 There is no hair left on the heads of his relatives  
 As they pulled their hair out in handful bunches

The whole world could see this case  
 They covered the coffin with a red flag  
 Let Allah forgive him his mistake  
 They sent *fatih*<sup>63</sup> to his soul

Well, I will finish my words here  
 Please, forgive me my mistakes  
 I am not well educated and I am not very good at writing  
 I am not even a poet

First of all I have to say: *Bismillah*  
 It is not the Koran, it is not an ayet,<sup>64</sup> just a simple story  
 About a friend, Halit Arab, the murderer  
 Take this *destan* and do not forget."

The two stanzas between line 81 and 88 of Haşmet Muzaffer Gürkan's text appear after the 28<sup>th</sup> line in Oğuz M. Yorgancıoğlu's book, *Kıbrıs Folkloru* and at the same time the stanzas between the lines 45 and 60 were moved to after line 80; the stanza beginning in the 41<sup>st</sup> line is short of a

few words in the Yorgancıoğlu text and results in an irregular stanza with three lines; instead of the name Musanın Ahmet used in the 71<sup>st</sup> line of our text Oğuz M. Yorgancıoğlu's book uses the name Muhittin'in Ahmet; it also has an extra line ("Will Halid be hanged or will he be saved?") inserted between lines 105 and 106 whose stanza also comprises the first line of the following one which make the stanza starting in line 105 have six lines consequently disturbing the *dörtlük* system and making it necessary to divide the 122<sup>nd</sup> line into two pieces to fix the disturbed four-line structure; the differences 'Trimidyalı/Drimityalı' and 'İstilli/Stilli' in the two texts in our 114<sup>th</sup> and 113<sup>th</sup> lines indicate the phonetic-phonological peculiarities of Modern Turkish and the Turkish Cypriot dialect namely the voicing of word initial unvoiced stop consonants and the relieving of word initial consonant clusters in foreign words; our text has one extra stanza starting in line 153 compared to the Yorgancıoğlu text; between the lines 164 and 165 it has the same two stanzas as the S. A. and B. F. text which are not documented in Haşmet Muzaffer Gürkan's text; after line 172 it has an extra stanza inserted, which is the fusion of two extra lines mentioned in connection with the S. A. and B. F. text:

"Well, I will finish my words here  
Please, forgive me my mistakes  
I am not well educated and I am not very good at writing  
There is a *Bismillah*<sup>65</sup> in every *surah*<sup>66</sup>"

The above stanza is followed by another which starts in the 153<sup>rd</sup> line in our text; the stanza starting in line 193 has a line ("To serve as a warning for all") missing making another line be split necessary to have all four lines needed for an appropriate stanza; it has the same extra stanzas between line 196 and 197 as the Haşmet Muzaffer Gürkan text, although as the first line of the last stanza of the interpolation has already been mentioned in a slightly altered way, the stanza stays one line shorter as it should be in the book *Kıbrıs Folkloru*.

***Halit Arab Destanı***<sup>67</sup>

The woman, who we know as *Gülsüm hanım*,  
Received many golden coins from a lot of men;  
She did not stay with any of them,  
(4) Because she was haughty

She was not quite young but she was splendid,  
 Blue eyed, shapely and round,  
 Her hair was long and blonde; her eyebrows touched each other  
 (8) Anyway, she was a blonde woman deserved by a king

She ran from one man to another  
 And in the end she became miserable;  
 She lost the respect of the grandees  
 (12) That is why she has to get together with Halit

Halit Arab, who we are talking about,  
 Worked as a kebab seller and as a horse monger  
 He was not white but brown  
 (16) On the right side he had a golden tooth

He was not very tall and was not very short, either,  
 Even Arabs are not as dark as he was  
 Wherever he was, he was shouting and howling  
 (20) He liked to act in a tough way

Sometimes he wore trousers, sometimes *şalvar*<sup>68</sup>  
 Wherever he went he exhaled the scent of rose and spice  
 Whoever saw him while he was walking,  
 (24) Thought he had money in his pocket.

He did not scold anyone, whether young or old;  
 He never broke his promises;  
 He swung his arms like a bully;  
 (28) He never stayed out of any feast

*My shop is on Sarayönü Square;*<sup>69</sup>  
*You made me hate this life, Gülsüm hanım;*  
*What a desire this is, what a passion, oh, my darling!*  
 (32) *My whole body is burning.*

*Let it be night soon so that I can drink two shots*  
*So that I can go up to the door of my Gülsüm*  
*If she does not let me in*  
 (36) *I will separate her head from her body*

*With a coat on my shoulder I am hobbling*  
*As I got there I banged on the door immediately*  
*I was hiding the sharpened pocket-knife in my hand,*  
 (40) *And I opened it*

When Gülsüm opened the door  
She said Halit should run away immediately  
*I will call the police*  
(44) *You will have a hard time*

*Come, Gülsüm, let us reconcile*  
*As we have our lawsuit tomorrow*  
*Look, I keep the summons in my pocket*  
(48) *We will punish the court*

*Go away, Halit, I do not want to be involved in this*  
*I got very angry with you; I will not reconcile myself to you*  
*You are a stinky Arab*  
(52) *You do not deserve me*

*I grabbed her ponytail right away*  
*I placed her nape on my knee*  
*I started to work like a butcher*  
(56) *In the end I stabbed her twenty-one times*

*That night while on the run, I stumbled,*  
*I got injured on my hand and on my leg,*  
*To forget about that frightful night*  
(60) *I went to Vali Paşa Hill<sup>70</sup> to think*

He always visited the pubs and got drunk  
He beat up the ones who talked to him in an impudent way  
When he was drunk he often  
(64) Was taken to the police station to be locked up

He came and left frequently as a convict  
He was locked up for ten days or one month and then he left  
He won the money of many  
(68) Who did not regularly play cards and did not gamble

With Port Lieutenant Derviş,  
He had a fight last year  
He even wanted to have Musanın Ahmed<sup>71</sup>  
(72) Killed

He worked hard to decorate his shop for 3-4 days  
 So that he could work as a *paça*<sup>72</sup> and kebab seller  
 To earn some money  
 (76) In order to feed his children

The police accused him immediately  
 When the smallest crime was committed  
 It was all due to the fact that his name was considered dishonest  
 (80) He was never at peace

He was caught; it was impossible for him to get away with it  
 Even if he had wings like a bird, he could not fly away  
 The governor could not help him either,  
 (84) Even if he was the brother of this impudent

But that is enough of it, let me leave it there  
 Let us look at the issue from another side  
 Let us see how the case of Halit and Gülsüm  
 (88) Happened, let me tell you the story

*I have found a pair of old breeches and a patched mintan*<sup>73</sup>  
*I have put them on so that nobody can recognize me*  
*If I run into policemen*  
 (92) *I will talk to them in a smooth way*

*The police came and found the corpse on the street*  
*First the commander came and 1,000 witnesses followed*  
*I ran away from there*  
 (96) *I was like a wild animal*

*I wandered for as many as fifteen days in the mountains*  
*Sergeant Tahir found me in a cave*  
*"Come here, surrender, Halit*  
 (100) *Here, take this handkerchief; cover your wounds"*

*I had bought food from the chicken monger and the shepherd*  
*But I stayed short of water-pipe and fume*  
*Onyedî's*<sup>74</sup> *car came full of soldiers*  
 (104) *And with Commander Surridge*<sup>75</sup>

*They arrested me right away and took me to the police station  
We went to the judge for a penal lawsuit;  
We went there once, we went there twice  
(108) And the case was transferred to the Supreme Court*

*I got the death penalty in November  
I was mad, I swear  
I was weakened by my sorrow  
(112) Although I used to be able to squeeze water from a rock*

*I found a Greek in the jail from Trimidya  
His name was Istilli, his father's Kosta,  
"Have you too killed someone, my friend?  
(116) The flap-door will swallow both of us"*

*They walked us for only two hours a day unjustly  
They made us tired of this life  
Two common policemen, a corporal and a sergeant,  
(120) These four people watched us*

*An order came that we could eat whatever we wanted  
But it should not be more than 3-shilling worth  
Like tied and well-fed sheep  
(124) That is how we should vegetate*

*Halit wants some female turkey  
And macaroni with cheese as garnish  
I asked all the superiors to pardon me  
(128) But they always left it for the following day*

*Our acquaintances came and visited us  
And those who had not known us learned about us  
As I loved my little son  
(132) My heart sank*

*They bought a water-pipe from Haşim<sup>76</sup>  
I smoked it to chase the nervousness away  
Tell my father, Aziz Dellal  
(136) To kiss my little Havva on the head everyday*

Halit, who is bold like a wild bird,  
 Looks from among bars  
 As if he wanted to escape from the cell,  
 (140) But there is a deadlock on its door

*There is a policeman on my right, another one on my left, there is  
 one on both sides*

*In the cell I have cuffs on my hands and on my legs*

*We pray day and night*

(144) *Let my Allah save our souls*

When he went to the court for the last time  
 The Sarayönü<sup>77</sup> was full of men and women  
 All the judges were consulting  
 (148) Saying "Halit Arab should be hanged"

*He is a murderer; I am a murderer too,*

*Our crimes resemble*

*It was chicken, baklava and pilaf*

(152) *That we ate in the prison*

*Dig my grave next to hers*

*Have the date of my death written on it*

*My brother, Salim,<sup>78</sup> let this be my will*

(156) *Visit my children and me too*

*I sang the ezan<sup>79</sup> and I started to pray, too*

*I folded my hands in the presence of my creator*

*I prayed at all five times*

(160) *I begged to my Allah and I cried*

He asked for parole many times

"It is in vain" – was the answer

While he was still alive in the prison

(164) His grave was being dug

The last minute of the hour has come,

The commissioner came with a document in his hand

The heads of the murderers were covered

(168) With two little sacks



Halit started to scream right away  
So that he could say two praises  
He started to pray right there  
(172) Because he would not find another time

Six people pulled him from the left and from the right  
He was stood on the stool  
With soaped ropes and greasy straps  
(176) Both of them were throttled with the same tug

He hung there for an hour like a pear  
He is stiffened in handcuffs and straps  
One never thinks when he is about to kill,  
(180) That it will result in this

Dear Halit has golden teeth in his mouth  
There is a double hooked hemp rope around his neck  
The dead made many wills  
(184) One day before he was hanged

*Dig my grave long for my height  
I am coming, Gülsüm hanım, do not sleep,  
Relying on your love, I am coming*  
(188) *Open the grave and take me on your chest*

After the doctor checked him at nine o'clock  
The two huge young men were taken away  
There was a priest ready  
(192) And a hodja with a green hat

There was a black flag hoisted on the stone tower  
– There was great sorrow around –  
This was a sign that the murderers were hanged  
(196) To serve as a warning for all

Effendis, ladies and gentlemen  
I can hardly wait for you to pay for my *destan*  
Make poor Aynalı happy  
(200) So do not grudge me those two iron coins

**Cemal Mida Destanı**

*Cemal Mida's Epic* tells us the factual story of a man, who has no moral excuse to turn into a criminal, still often enjoys the support of locals. His case, therefore, can be mentioned alongside with that of Halit Arab. Cemal Mida, a villager, goes to Fugasa, a village in the vicinity of Lefke to be a miner and instead of leading a hard but legal life he later chooses the life of a thief constantly on the run, consequently becoming an outlaw.

The epic was first published in 1946 by the Birlik printing house.<sup>80</sup> In Harid Fedai's point of view its writer was one Arif Kaplan from the village of Akıncılar (Luricina), a shepherd and *destancı* at the same time about whom we hardly know more than what the last *beyit*<sup>81</sup> of the original epic tells us: "Kendi gemisini kurtaran Kaptan'dır / Yazan Luricina'lı Arif Kaplan'dır" (Captain is the one who saves his ship / The writer is Arif Kaplan of Luricina).<sup>82</sup>

*Cemal Mida's Epic* has a rhyme pattern of AAAA, BBCC, DDEE, etc. lines. Its rhythmic division is 4+4+4+3. The preferable eleven-syllable line structure is violated and, just in the case of all of the epics dealt with here, the rhyme pattern is diverted from the required ABAB (XAXA), CCCA, DDDA, etc. form. We should conclude that *Cemal Mida Destanı* is an epic having been written with either no desire to adjust to formal limitations or with no knowledge of the form's usage.

The text is also documented in Oğuz M. Yorgancıoğlu's book, *Kıbrıs Folkloru*, which shows minor differences (mostly changes in word order, spelling and in deviation of proper nouns when compared to the S. A. and B. F. text, the one we used. The most substantial differences between the two texts are as follows: our text tells us about Mida's escape to the mountains twice in lines 52 and 53 whereas Yorgancıoğlu's text mentions it only once by skipping a line; as his text is not divided into stanzas, omitting a line does not lead to major structural confusion; between lines 115 and 116 the Yorgancıoğlu text has an extra line ("So that they could take a look at every part of the room"); it also has a different line in the place of the 123<sup>rd</sup> line ("Lighting his lighter Giryago turned right"); in the book *Kıbrıs Folkloru* 144<sup>th</sup> line of our text is omitted; in line 183 the S. A. and B. F. text mentions Mr. Huk whereas Yorgancıoğlu's text has Mr. Vayvaş.

***Cemal Mida'nın Destanı***<sup>83</sup>

Today I have found an opportunity to write with my pen again  
I consider it as my duty to print into books  
And spread the story about the acts of Cemal Mida to the world  
(4) Let me tell you how he killed and went on the run

I will tell you the story of Cemal Mida's life  
I will not omit anything  
First of all let me tell you where he was born  
(8) Let me explain you all the details

I will write down everything I know about  
How he ran away to the mountains to hide for fifty-three months and  
how he was captured  
I will tell you everything word by word  
(12) But please forgive me my uneducated ways.

He was born and brought up in the village called Vreça, close to Baf<sup>84</sup>  
He was an illiterate village shepherd  
He was middle size, brownish and a bit fat  
(16) He was a man with a frightening look, but he was good at heart

He left the village shepherd's life  
He went to Fugasa to be a worker  
He became a miner in the mine of Fugasa  
(20) He had love for a girl in his heart

He proposed to the parents of the girl he loved  
Later he married that girl  
He worked as a butcher in Fugasa for a long time  
(24) He kept his family well and in comfort

He settled down in Aybifan  
This was the time he left the good path for the bad  
He did a lot of thefts in his life  
(28) He rested a lot in the prison of Lefkoşa

That was the time he got into bad terms with the village *muhtar*<sup>85</sup>  
Because the *muhtar* reported thieves to the authorities  
But as Mida was very good at theft  
(32) The police could not catch him

When he made it from a theft he ran to his village  
It did not take long till the police captured him  
He was taken to court, to the presence of the judge  
(36) Who said to him: "You will spend five years in prison"

It happened in the first month of 1941  
 That he escaped from the prison, but it was predictable anyway  
 I am telling you the truth the way I heard it  
 (40) It was the eleventh day of the eighth month in 1941

The village *muhtar* was going on a donkey to testify  
 Mida had hidden in a cache in the forest  
 Hasan Kara Mehmet came out of the blue  
 (44) Mida's folding double-barrelled gun is resting on his lap

Suddenly a bullet hit him<sup>86</sup> in the stomach  
 The donkey got the second one; it collapsed, too  
 Two souls were wasted in the same moment  
 (48) The *muhtar* died together with his donkey

He was coming to Lefke to testify  
 He never thought he would yield his soul on the way  
 Mida took care of this case;  
 (52) The fugitive immediately ran to the mountains

He was on the run; he ran to the mountains, to the forest  
 He dwelled with snakes  
 He was hiding in caves night and day  
 (56) He went down to the hurdles for food

Fugasa was the place where he settled and worked  
 The grazing land where he was hiding and wandering were called  
 Beravasa  
 Those days were the seething days of the war<sup>87</sup>  
 (60) Cemal Mida was an exceptionally cunning person

During those days he set his things in order  
 He stole a lot of ammunition and revolver pistols from the soldiers  
 He wore weapons from tip to toe  
 (64) Every policeman knew it very well

His sister and his brother-in-law would send him whatever he wanted  
 He was going to live like this, wandering from mountain to mountain  
 No policeman was ever going to catch him  
 (68) He was so smart he was never going to be caught

He stole many sheep every time he looted  
He made *çamarella* and *bastırma*  
He thought he would always live like this  
(72) He earned a lot of money during that time

If the English had wanted, they could have caught him easily<sup>88</sup>  
So that he could not get away with it hiding in the mountains  
Hitler was already frightening the world  
(76) But great Hitler was cornered by the English; he hoped for some  
help

If you, fugitives put wings on and flew away  
If you crossed the ocean  
Even if you were on the run for hundreds of years  
(80) One day the English would catch you

The governor issued an order about fugitives  
That the soldiers and the police should catch the killers  
They should not return without having found them  
(84) Who cannot be caught alive should be killed immediately

In the tenth month of last year  
The soldiers and the policemen encircled the village in an hour  
When Mida heard it, he hid his weapons in his cave  
(88) He ran away in shepherd's clothes and he went down to  
Leymosun

Sometimes he was hiding in houses wearing a scarf  
Sometimes he walked in villages and looked like a villager  
Even the pot which is carried back and forth to the spring<sup>89</sup>  
(92) Breaks on the way sometimes

As his friends were coming and going  
It was his friends who got him into trouble  
It was a Tuesday in March  
(96) It was his friend, Kazım Ali Rıza from Aynikola

One of Mida's hiding places was in Hulu  
The police were informed that he was there  
It was his friends who gave this information  
(100) It was them who sent the police directly to Hulu

He stayed in his hiding place for that night to pass  
 It was not too long till the morning when he was captured  
 The gendarmes went to collect the shepherds  
 (104) It was almost morning when they arrived at the house

They drove till their cars could not go further  
 All the policemen got ready to catch the shepherd  
 Three or four policemen entered every sheep fold  
 (108) For all shepherds were to be arrested by the gendarme

Among the policemen who went to Kazım Ali Riza's  
 Was Giryoko and Sergeant Musa with their weapons in their hands  
 While approaching the sheep fold  
 (112) The policemen stopped for a while and talked

They agreed that they should call his wife<sup>90</sup>  
 And they should arrest her right away  
 They wanted them to put some light on in the hiding place  
 (116) To let them see and check everything inside

The woman said: "Wait, I am coming  
 Let me bring something to eat with some bread on the way"  
 They wanted to dress Mida up in female clothes  
 (120) So that he could go out and run away without being recognized

The policemen persisted to enter and to look around  
 They all had matches to light  
 Giryago gendarme pushed Sergeant Musa in  
 (124) The sergeant entered after he had been waiting outside

Going in, Giryago lit his light  
 To be able to see better everything in the room  
 Giryago, while lighting his light, turned right  
 (128) He could see that Mida was standing next to him with a gun

Giryago being startled leapt  
 He caught the gun in Mida's hand  
 He pushed the gun-barrel up  
 (132) The gun went off accidentally

In that moment a big fight started  
Mida was overthrown above Giryago's nape  
He left the place immediately and started to run  
(136) The sergeant was shooting at Mida

Mida was running without stopping  
Ahmet Ali and Sergeant Musa were shooting bullets  
One of the bullets hit him in the leg  
(140) Another one entered his left side

When he was hit he rolled over long  
He was seriously injured on his hand and leg  
Sergeant Musa said: "Look, Mida kicked the bucket"  
(144) Ahmet Ali gendarme said: "He may have hidden"

Mida left and he escaped again  
The policemen were looking for blood marks  
While searching they found red blood marks  
(148) All other stations were informed.

All orthopaedists and physicians were told  
That none of them should treat him and no-one should find remedy  
for his wounds  
All who help him  
(152) Will be thrown to lifelong captivity

He<sup>91</sup> mounted a mule and rode to Dimitri's house  
For he would find a remedy for his wounds  
He told Dimitri about all of his adventures  
(156) He brings a doctor who treats his wound

His blood, which was flowing like a spring, clotted  
He went to Alehtora<sup>92</sup> to escape  
From Alehtora he wanted to go to Leymosun  
(160) He wants to find a doctor and get him to treat his wound

All the policemen followed this track  
They caught Mida in a house in Alehtora  
Because when they caught Mavro Dimitri  
(164) He had a bloody duvet in his hand and they understood it  
right away

The policemen found an Italian weapon  
They brought a shepherd with handcuffs on his hands  
The policemen in Fasula sent many signs  
(168) To search the village, policemen entered every house

Someone must have betrayed Mida to the police  
Because policemen flooded Alehtora immediately  
The police learned which sheep fold was Çaluda's  
(172) They surrounded it on the 16<sup>th</sup> on a Saturday

They knocked on the door to enter  
They took two steps inwards and they suddenly stopped  
Mr. Vayvaş with a *mitralyoz*<sup>93</sup>  
(176) And Mr. Huk with a tommy-gun were standing alert

They ordered him to raise his hands  
And hand them over whatever he had on him  
Mida sat up in his bed and got up  
(180) He gave all of his weapons to the commander

A German six-shooter gun  
Was the only weapon they found with him  
Mr. Huk, standing close to him, wanted to talk to him  
(184) While talking to Mida, he was humane

Mida asked the commander to let his younger sister go  
He wanted her to take care of his goats  
As there was no-one to take care of his goats  
(188) He was afraid that the shepherds would divide his goats among  
each other

The commander promised him that he would do what he asked for  
As well as he could, he would do it out of pity  
They put him in a car right away  
(192) They put him into the cell at the Baf police station

As he looked out of the door of the barracks  
He saw a mass of people outside  
There is no such crowd either at Bayram or on the market  
(196) Everyone came to see who Mida was



In the same night, at four o'clock they put him in a car  
He headed for Lefkoşa with the police  
They arrived in the city with Mida by the morning  
(200) They reported the newspapers right away

First of all they took Mida to a doctor  
They wanted to cure his wound  
They will wait until his wound gets better  
(204) When it has got better there will be a trial

They will write down everything he did point by point  
After that they will take him to the court  
They will read out everything on the trial  
(208) They will impose his punishment according to his crimes

All I know about Mida I have written down  
If I could not, please forgive me  
I may have not written fine sentences  
(212) Do not judge them strictly, please

Here I finish my words  
If Cemal Mida was innocent he would be saved

### ***Dr. Behiç Destanı***

On May 10 1924 a shocking crime shook the people of Cyprus, when a 37 year-old medical doctor, Behiç, shot his wife dead. The crime was not only shocking because it happened but also because of whom it happened to.

Dr. Behiç was the grandson of a local mufti, Raci Efendi. He was educated in the French Medical Institute in Beirut, locked up during WWI by the British in Girne castle for his political views and was a candidate for member of the Cyprus legislation to represent the Magusa-Larnaca constituency in 1920.<sup>94</sup> He was casual (line 316: "He did not need anything from anyone, he lived like a lord / He had two, moreover three servants"; line 310: "His car was unmatched in the island of Cyprus") and generous (line 309: "He gave the poor medicine and he examined them for free") and because of all these he was a paragon for everyday Cypriots, a living proof that a native Cypriot can be successful, influential (line 214: "*In the morning I wrote an application to the influential ones one by one / Firstly to Mr. Fin and the Province Paşa [...] / [...] Do not care that we are old friends*") and can serve his people on a political level. Dr. Behiç was executed forty days after he killed his

wife. Criminal investigation, a penal lawsuit and the execution of a valid judicial sentence had never been completed so quickly in Cyprus.

The victim, Fatma was the daughter of the ex-mayor of the city of Lefkoşa, Hüsnü Efendi. On her father's side she was from the Menteş and Sofuzade families, which made her the child of the wealthiest and most influential families of Cyprus.<sup>95</sup> Being the mother of two children<sup>96</sup> and of exceptional beauty,<sup>97</sup> Fatma's death at the age of twenty-three was an unmatched tragedy for locals.

The murder of Fatma stays unexplainable, however the newspaper articles of the time let us conclude what motifs made Dr. Behiç kill his wife. The Doctor had had financial problems for a while. On 1 December 1923 his pharmacy shop burnt down under mysterious circumstances<sup>98</sup> and he must have been short of money as he had sold his wife's two golden watches.<sup>99</sup> The Doctor was also jealous<sup>100</sup> and he could not cope with the fact that his wife's family was on a higher social level than he was.<sup>101</sup> That night, having had enough of her husband's insults, Fatma mentioned divorce.<sup>102</sup> It was fuel added to the fire. Not only was Behiç drunk<sup>103</sup> but he was also a short-tempered, tough man who had been involved in numerous fights and duels.<sup>104</sup> The syzygy of the circumstances and the character flaws of the Doctor caused a lethal effect but by no means did they give reason to the shedding of a life.

The slow agony of the incarcerated Dr. Behic aroused the sympathy of Cypriots (line 266: "The people in Baf and Lefkoşa / Wrote an application to the Governor to relieve him"). His paralysis, slow suffering in jail and his eventual execution in his miserable conditions made him, the once respectable member of the local community, pitiful even though his guilt was inevitable. The epic's last warning lines about consumption of alcohol serve not only didactic purposes but also try to acquit the protagonist: if it was not for the harmful effects of alcohol, this tragedy would have not happened.<sup>105</sup> (According to Harid Fedai's research the case and its lawsuit are thoroughly documented in *Birlik Gazetesi* 16 May 1924 Friday, issue 18; *Hakikat Gazetesi* 17 May 1924 Saturday, issue 184; *Hakikat Gazetesi* 17 May 1924 Saturday, issue 184; *Birlik Gazetesi* 23 May 1924 Friday, issue 19; *Hakikat Gazetesi* 24 May 1924 Saturday, issue 185; *Birlik Gazetesi* 13 June 1924 Friday, issue 22; *Birlik Gazetesi* 20 June 1924 Friday, issue 23; *Birlik Gazetesi* 27 June 1924 Friday, issue 24.)

The Dr. Behiç epic does not satisfy the formal requirements of the genre *destan*. Its rhyme pattern is an unpredictable mixture of AABB and AAXA four-line stanzas while its topic implies rather an *ağıt* (a Turkish folk literature genre to lament over the death of an individual) than an epic.<sup>106</sup> The didactic ending and the inadequate use of formal requirements, such as the

extreme deviation of the preferred length of eleven-syllable lines and the confused application of rhyme patterns prove that *Dr. Behiç Destanı* is of low formal standard. It would be a mistake to conclude, though, that this work does not have any literary value or cultural importance. Its significance is undeniable when it is looked at as a literary snapshot of social and micro-historical events.

Like in the case of other Turkish Cypriot epics, *Dr. Behiç Destanı*'s performer, Aynalı claimed to be its poet, too. However, its actual writer supposedly is Ahmet Babacan,<sup>107</sup> a local police officer, who was born in 1890 and served in Limasol from 1914 as a guard in Lefkoşa's prison. After his 1965 death his family kept one of his note-books in which the *Dr. Behiç Epic* can be found alongside with *Halit Arab Destanı*.<sup>108</sup>

The two sources of *Dr. Behiç's Epic* are the S. A. and B. F. text and Harid Fedai's article in *Halkbilim Sempozyumları*. The two texts do not differ from each other in any major aspect.

***Doktor Behiç Destanı***<sup>109</sup>

The night of 10<sup>th</sup> May, Saturday

Is the tragic end of a famous family

Dr. Behiç shot his wife, Fatma

(4) He knocked down with three bullets the one who had eyebrows  
which touch each other

In the evening at 8:30 G.M.T. the police received a message

Captain Mustafa Effendi with a lot of policemen

Ran around to understand the case

(8) They interpreted the case in a thousand ways

The gunshot was heard in the neighbourhood

All the locals gathered wondering what it was

When they heard about the crime that happened in the house of  
Behiç bey

(12) Nobody could comprehend it; everyone was shocked

The Sarayönü Square in Lefkoşa

Was absolutely full of locals

Who were waiting impatiently for the developments

(16) Of what will happen to Dr. Behiç

The murderer did not give it up; he caused some trouble  
 Even Commander Dillire Yani was reported,  
 Who tried hard but could not arrest him,  
 (20) So he surrounded the building with armed soldiers on every side

Then Dillire rushed to the police station immediately  
 And he went on to talk on the phone  
 That Head Commander Kalahar should come  
 (24) He should solve this case

The Head Commander and his assistant came bare-headed  
 They frowned and opened their eyes wide out of anger  
 As they saw the corpse, beautiful Fatma,  
 (26) Soaked in red blood behind the door

The Doctor said:<sup>110</sup> "Do not approach to arrest me  
 I will massacre you; think and look,  
 I am holding a Mauser in my hand  
 (30) Protect your children and yourselves"

The Doctor asked for five minutes  
 So that he could find some chance for himself  
 The commander approved  
 (34) Gentlemanly rules were like that

The murderer was standing on the top of the stairs  
 He was turning around with his gun in his hand and was searching  
 for a solution  
 The commander was shouting from below: "Surrender!"  
 (38) He did not surrender, just fudged

Those who saw Fatma thought that she had only fainted  
 She stayed the way she had collapsed from the bullet  
 The Doctor went crazy  
 (42) And set the upper floors of the mansion on fire

They sent the dead girl to the hospital on a stretcher  
 Her make-up was unspoiled; her cheeks were red  
 Her angel-like eyes stayed open  
 (46) Her closed mouth was small and round

Instead of five minutes the police waited for one and a half hours  
He made a noise from above time to time  
He would not surrender easily  
(50) He did not let them go up

In the end the head commander shouted "Surrender!"  
And sent his brother, Ahmet bey, up  
The Doctor was afraid and dropped his bullets and his gun  
(54) He surrendered and the Head Commander and the Captain  
grabbed him

They took the Doctor to the police that night  
The interrogation went well  
In the same night the criminal was taken to jail  
(58) Soldiers on both sides guarded him

Hardly had they reached the police when he fainted  
They splashed water on his face and he came to  
He regretted what he had done; he was angry with himself  
(62) He knew in that moment that his children had lost their parents

When the director of the hospital saw the dead woman  
He asked: "What happened to her?"  
They said: "His spouse, Doctor Behiç  
(66) Shot her and killed her with no mercy"

The hospital-workers took the corpse away  
They were all crying  
How could her husband kill this youngster so brutally?  
(70) How could he shed her red blood?

Her scarf was black, her blouse white  
Her side-comb stayed in her hair, her ear-drops in her ears were  
made of diamond  
You, Behiç, made Sövida and Zekiye orphans  
(74) Crimes like that are not left unpunished

The Corporal took her ear-drops  
She was wearing striped fabric  
Her eyes huge and black  
(78) Her eyebrows were nearly two fingers thick

The head doctor examined her delicate body  
 She had three wounds  
 The first<sup>111</sup> entered in her back, the second one through her wrist  
 (82) The third one entered through her back and came out through  
 her left breast

On the following day they brought the corpse back to her house  
 A lot of women came to see her as if they were going to a wedding  
 According to the investigation the poor one made no fault  
 (86) Her two sweethearts were left orphan

They washed Fatma on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1924  
 They inserted a hundred-dirham thick cotton in the wounds  
 Because the *abdest* had to be cancelled as the blood was running  
 (90) There was no-one who did not bewail her

They put cotton and fabric in the shroud,  
 Which could stop the bleeding  
 So that when they would go to the cemetery the blood should not be  
 running  
 (94) So that the bodies of those who would carry her would not be  
 soaked

The corpse washer, Halayık<sup>112</sup> Hacı Hatice  
 Was who I talked to right after it<sup>113</sup>  
 So that I could write about the facts,  
 (98) I learned all of this from her

They had a new coffin made and a new *tenesir*<sup>114</sup>  
 Everything they did was done in the way it should be  
 The angels, Munkir and Nekir<sup>115</sup>  
 (102) Wrote Fatma's name in the book of the Almighty God

Seriye came to decorate the coffin  
 Normally, she attires the brides  
 She decorated it with flowers and striped fabric  
 (106) Thousands, who knew her and who did not, rushed to the  
 funeral

The *sela*<sup>116</sup> was said in the Sarayönü Cami<sup>117</sup>  
She left, she went to Allah; her eyes are maroon  
She was only twenty-two years of age  
(110) I still cannot forget her beauty

They carried the corpse with slow steps  
Hafiz Muhsin read the *kaside*<sup>118</sup>  
Every road and street were full,  
(114) There was not enough room for the people

They placed the coffin on the *musalla* stone<sup>119</sup>  
Müfti Hafiz Ziyai conducted the prayer  
The prayer was held at the Girne Gate<sup>120</sup>  
(118) The 'There is one God' prayer reached to the sky

In the same hour they buried her in the dark ground at 14:30  
Dying like this was written on her forehead<sup>121</sup>  
Saying "Let Allah forgive your sins"  
(122) They say *fatih*<sup>122</sup> for her soul

The mother and father's sobbing of the deceased  
Reaches to the sky, as they lost their child  
"We lost you, Fatma," they say, "You have been killed"  
(126) The poor ones cry and drop when they faint

According to the investigation, the Doctor fired the gun three times  
He was a dead shot; all three hit her  
The bullets that shot through Fatma, hit the marble  
(130) On the ground on the inner side of the door

The police found a table inside  
With cognac, beans and kebab on it as a meal  
In the same moment his servant, called Rifat took his<sup>123</sup> children and  
ran away  
(134) And Emine was crying out: "Help!"

The door-wings<sup>124</sup> looking on to Sarayönü  
Bore the Doctor's name  
Saying 'Doktor Hüseyin Behiç'  
(138) Carved not in wood but in bronze

The Doctor drank beer in Akropoli that evening  
 He went in his car, not by taxi  
 When he was searched  
 (142) They found a few shillings and three pounds with him

Müdür Hüsnü Efendi is a landowner,  
 He is rich; he has a lot of money  
 He is a noble and a good man with a lot of friends  
 (146) Briefly, this gentleman is the father of the deceased one

*I went to the prison in a police car  
 Let Allah not show it to anyone from the inside  
 Let God not write our fate in that way*  
 (150) *I was separated from all of my friends and family*

The prison is a dwelling place for criminals and killers,  
 It is a trap set long ago  
 It is the hell on earth  
 (154) Oh, Lord, do not let anyone believe in Satan

*The corners of the prison became my home  
 Nobody feels sorry for me, there is no-one to cry for me  
 Now, I am left alone in the jail*  
 (158) *There is no-one looking for me, no-one is asking about me*

*In the first night when I went to prison  
 I looked to the right, I looked to the left, and I looked everywhere  
 Sometimes I cried, sometimes I kept quiet until the morning*  
 (162) *I vomited bile three times maybe because I was drunk or  
 because of my guilty conscience*

*Doctor Hacı Gavril's advice helped  
 Two okkas<sup>125</sup> of milk and four eggs were sent by the directorate  
 As I am a doctor, I am not used to other kinds of food, anyway*  
 ...

(166) This crime kept the people excited  
 It was a crime that had never been seen in this world  
 Oh God, would anyone kill his wife purposely?  
 Would he have done evil if he had not been drunk?



(170) You got permission from the prison director  
You contacted lawyers  
Artem Teofani and the poet<sup>126</sup> came and you talked to them  
You talked to them about the things you have to do in your situation

(174) The lawyers were saying excuses in the court  
Witnesses, traces and documents were presented  
Lawyers, do not force yourselves  
Hide your opinions from the high court

(178) Three of the lawyers retreated  
Because the Doctor's guilt was big  
*Only Teofani stayed to save me*  
*He shouted at the court that I should be set free*

(182) The high court analyses like hair-splitters  
Who is true will be saved by God  
Do not be afraid, Doctor; everything will be the way God wrote your fate  
With Allah's order truth will find its ways

(186) On 5<sup>th</sup> June 1924 the high court had a sitting  
The judges were wearing hats with feathers and had put on red  
clothes  
They were three English, a Christian,<sup>127</sup> and a Turk  
*I know what lions are like and they attacked me like that*

(190) The testimony of the official physician expert and of other wit-  
nesses were recorded  
Without having administered justice they looked at the clock  
By understanding the case better everyone sunk in their thoughts  
"It is left for the second sitting" – they said and they left their seats

(194) *I was looked after by the police until the afternoon*  
*We were at the court just on time*  
*They started the testimonies at two o'clock*  
*And they started the whole thing from the beginning again*

(198) *In the end the head of the judges, Mr. Fisher put the pen down  
from his hand*

*He looked at me and everyone with attentive eyes*

*He said: "The law had a hold on you, you will be punished!*

*You killed Fatma Hanum, you will go and visit her in the other world"*

(202) *He was taken to the prison in a car right away*

*They dressed him in prisoner's clothes according to the law*

*The guards did not respond to whatever he said*

*They put the prisoner's hat on the Doctor's head*

(206) *I was put in the barred room of criminals*

*They searched me and deprived me of my clothes*

*They put me into a small room of three brick walls*

*They put two locks on it*

(210) *Oh, I do not know how I spent that night*

*In my sorrow I could not eat or drink*

*I could not sleep until the morning*

*The guards were watching me attentively*

(214) *In the morning I wrote an application to the influential one by one*

*Firstly to Mr. Fin and the Province Paşa*

*I did not have them written, I wrote them with my own hand*

*I expressed my grief with my pen in Turkish*

(218) *If it is possible let them reprieve me*

*Let them take everything I have but my life*

*"Do not care that we are old friends*

*Have sympathy for me as I have two dear children; do not make them  
starve"*

(222) *An order came to the Doctor on 12<sup>th</sup> June*

*The Commissioner said: "You can eat whatever you want from now on*

*In twelve days everything will be over*

*On 24<sup>th</sup> June we will have to carry the order out"*

(226) *The Doctor was sad because of the Commissioner's words*

*Tears started to pour from his eyes*

*Like a rose, his face faded and it turned from red to yellow*

*The reason for the Doctor's death was a gossiping woman*

(230) On the first day they brought a grilled chicken  
And a loaf of bread with well-baked skin  
Let there be rice in the chicken's juice  
Behiç gave up hope

(234) On the second day one *kuruş*-worth of Batiki cigarettes from  
Leymosun  
A packet is five and a half *kuruş*<sup>128</sup>  
The Doctor smokes these cigarettes  
When he was out of prison that was his habit

(238) He was sad with sorrow and grief  
On the third day he fell down on the ground on his knees  
The Doctor had a stroke  
His arms and legs turned dull

(242) He is lying in bed day and night; he never goes out  
His arms and legs are insensible; he has a great pain in his head  
He sits down on the toilet with the help of two people  
Behiç will never be in good condition from now on

(246) Physicians came and saw the Doctor's grief  
We have a week until the execution  
Do not feed him with anything but milk  
He should not die until that day, let him be hanged ill

(250) He could eat prison meals for only two days:  
A *herze* and a chicken from the government  
Then the physicians forbade him to have anything apart from milk  
Because his arms and legs got paralyzed

(254) Only his eyes can see his ears can hear and his tongue can  
speak  
His face is washed and wiped by someone else  
Behiç asks, whoever he can see, about the parole  
"It will come today or tomorrow" – say the guards; they deceive him

(258) He got his punishment while he was alive for killing his wife, Fatma  
And the sorrow of his two orphaned children  
Great God gave all of us a lesson  
To learn from it

(262) Having had only some milk, he is hungry when he goes to bed;  
he is turning

Sometimes he hopes that he will be pardoned

He is deprived of everything, of food and drinks

Without meeting with his acquaintances and his friends he will be hanged

(266) The people in Baf and Lefkoşa

Wrote an application to the Governor to reprieve him

Allah has punished him in this world already

One of his legs and one of his arms were paralyzed

(270) As he promised, he does him a favour and sends a telegram  
abroad<sup>129</sup>

They sent letters to East and to the West

There was no chance for the Doctor to be pardoned

As he had shot and shed his wife, Fatma's blood

(274) Like a dream days came and passed quickly

24<sup>th</sup> June, the dreadful day came

The ropes were soaped and lubricated

The Doctor's hands and legs were shackled

(278) They took him bound to the gallows

In that hour he got his death

They pended the loop over the stool

Oh Lord, do not give anyone such a death

(282) After they had put the bag over his head

The rope stretched exactly at seven o'clock

With the stool went his legs

When the commanders gave the order

(286) One hour later, at nine he was taken off

They brought a new coffin and two bars

They placed the Doctor's body into the new coffin

His brother, Ahmet and his friend, Şevki İmam were waiting at the gate

(290) They put him on a phaeton and headed for the city<sup>130</sup>

People were standing on the left and right side of the road

The police did not let any of them to the bridge<sup>131</sup>

The gendarmes were obeying the order of the commanders

(294) His brother took the body to his house to wash it  
The *hocas* were not willing to pray for him  
If it was up to them, they would not let him be buried in the cemetery  
But the people's humanity was without precedent

(298) They sent the deceased to Ayasofya Cami-i Şerif  
Some people came some did not  
Everyone stood in the line<sup>132</sup> upon their own free will  
Exactly at one o'clock he was buried in the dark ground

(302) Cyprus lost a great man  
Even my mother's death would not have made me so sad  
A case like that does not happen in thirty years  
Not every mother gives birth to a person like that

(306) Behiç was from a good family and was brought up well educated  
He came back to the island of Cyprus as a doctor  
As a habit he wore golden eye-glasses  
He gave the poor medicine and he examined them for free

(310) His car was unmatched in the island of Cyprus  
He had many acquaintances and friends everywhere but mostly from  
Egypt  
He came to Lefkoşa to live here a long time ago  
His physician practice, his charity, his beauty will be talked about  
until Judgment Day

(314) He was medium size, a bit corpulent, his double chin lopped  
over his collar  
His face was red like fire and his every part exhaled the scent of musk  
He did not need anything from anyone, he lived like a lord  
He had two, moreover three servants

(318) Many girls drank water to the Doctor's health  
He did not think in a bad way about men or women  
His hands were always on his chest; he greeted the young and the  
elderly in a kind way  
His face was so beautiful that he resembled angels

(322) He liked alcohol; he was suffering from it  
 Having drunk for thirty years he still did  
 Cursed be the one who invented alcohol, all troubles derive from it  
 Look, how big a trouble he made for himself in his drunkenness

(326) He became famous everywhere in Cyprus  
 He was making efforts to become a member of the national assembly  
 He respected the little ones and the big ones and he paid attention to  
 their opinion  
 He became a murderer because of his alcoholism; let that serve as a  
 lesson for our youngsters

### ***Hasanbulliler Destanı***

*Hasanbulliler Destanı* is the most famous and best-documented Cypriot epic. It is definitely the longest and the most exciting of all. No wonder the story is available in many different adaptations: besides the Turkish epic, a Greek version has been written, called *To Tragudi ton Hasabulion* (Tr. *Hasanbullilerin Türküsü*) by one Hristodoulos Chapura,<sup>133</sup> it has been put on stage as a play, served as a base for a folk dance performance in the year 2000<sup>134</sup> and has appeared on the big screen as the Greek Cypriot movie adaptation of the original story. Many experts have published their analysis on the Hasanbullis in many different books and it turns up in most publications concerning Turkish Cypriots.

The actual case of the Hasanbulli brothers is in fact two: the first story is about the eldest brother, Hasan Ahmet Bulli's wrong accusation and unjust sentence at court and his lurking in the mountains between 1887-1888,<sup>135</sup> while the second one is the story of his two brothers, Mehmet Ahmet (Kaymakam) and Hüseyin Ahmet (Kavunis or Sarıyüzlü) who kill a Greek man in 1894 and in order to avoid legal consequences form a gang and make off to the mountains. They are involved in various crimes while at loose until 1896, when they eventually are captured.<sup>136</sup>

The Hasanbulli brothers were from the village of Mamonya, in the Paphos area, where Turks and Greeks formed an intermixed community. According to the 1879 year's *County Court Report*, the Paphos area was heaven for bandits, thieves and murderers in the late nineteenth century.<sup>137</sup> It was a place where in 1879, for instance, the biggest sheep theft in the history of Cyprus took place at the village Celocera where during one night 130 sheep were stolen<sup>138</sup> and where assassins charged five to twenty Cyprus Pounds to kill anyone.<sup>139</sup> Weakened public safety and the inability of the British police forces to cope with crime made it necessary to set up the Cyprus Military

Police two months after the island's handover. Policemen are called *zaptiye* throughout the original epic, who were used for different operations apart from their original duties such as tax collecting.<sup>140</sup>

The Turkish and the Greek versions of *Hasanbulliler Destanı* were both written some 10-15 years after the actual happenings. Although the out-laws had been supported by Turks and Greeks alike, the opinions formed in the Greek and Turkish poems about them are clashing. While the Turkish version sees the Hasanbullis as mighty young men who rose against the regime, the Greek poem describes them as raging rascals.<sup>141</sup>

Although they committed more crimes, the epic tells us only how the Hasanbullis kidnapped Feride, Pembe Mulla and Alethora (Theora), how they killed Cüce Yanni, Kiracı Sava at the same time with two innocent women by mistake and how they killed Mahmut, Bayram (informers to the police and by that traitors), Yero Hristagi (while being mugged), Sergeant Hüseyin and Corporal Hakkı (the latter two killed while trying to catch the criminals).

The *Hasanbulli Epic* in its form does not follow the criterion of the genre epic, if not the rhythmic pace which inevitably has a more or less satisfactory 4+4+3 system. The lines cannot be grouped into stanzas and the rhyme pattern does not follow any sequence. It should rather be classified as a long *türkü* with looser formal fidelity than an epic.

The epic has been published in four texts. In Oğuz M. Yorgancıoğlu's *Kıbrıs Folkloru*, in Haşmet Muzaffer Gürkan's *Bir Zamanlar Kıbrıs'ta*, in Bülent Fevzioğlu and Suna Atun's *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Araştırmalar* all of which documenting the same text. In Gökçeoğlu's *Hasan Bullilerin Destanı* the epic consists of 398 lines, eight lines more than in other sources.<sup>142</sup>

***Hasan Bulliler Destanı***<sup>143</sup>

*If you ask us where we are from, "From Mamonya" – says Kaymakam*

*Look what this world has done to us*

*We do not know the dark side of this world*<sup>144</sup>

*We have experienced the malice of Talha*

*He wanted us to be captured by the English*

*Hüseyin Bulli says: I am Hüseyin Bulli and I am like a fearless sovereign*

*I do not have mercy; I can chop anyone into pieces*

*I do not have respect; I live out all my desires*

*I died but I did not surrender to the English*

*Kaymakam says: If I had stayed alive*

*My brother, you would have left neither Talha nor other enemies alive*

*It would have been me the first to kill our enemies*

*Had I known about that slander*  
*Your home would be the dark ground*  
 Hüseyin says: *Thank God, I stayed alive*  
*I have got fed up of living like this*  
*And of using bad language against my enemies*  
*Had I stayed alive I would have shown my enemies*  
*How the shroud covers them*  
 Hüsnü says: *I am a dead shot*  
*With one bullet I shot ten enemies*  
*I set people against each other*  
*Go blind, Talha, did you not have any pity?*  
*Did the fact that we are alive make you sick?*  
 One day when they went to Alehtora  
 There was no place in the café, there were so many people  
 They raped Feride that day  
 And by that the Bullis courted danger  
 Even the madman is afraid [but they are not]  
 One night they raided Bladanisya  
 Having abducted some other girls, they ran away  
 They abducted Pembe Mulla with force  
 They surrounded Pembe Mulla  
 They striped her of her nightgowns  
 They went to Istavroz<sup>145</sup> and they stopped  
 All the girls and Pembe Mulla were corralled together  
 They were happy for a moment  
 Hüseyin shot a bullet for Hasan<sup>146</sup>  
 The gendarmes invaded the place  
 While Cüce Yanni was going to the fair  
 Hüseyin shot him when he was passing by  
 The three outlaws stood in front of him  
 It is an eye-for-an-eye world  
 Suffering follows all pleasures  
 Kaymakam says: *He has not yet fallen off the horse*  
 Cüce Yanni's body fell to the ground  
*Here you are, get this from me, you traitor*<sup>147</sup>  
 Hüseyin says there will always be traitors  
 But they will be done away with like this  
 Crying, Aliye left<sup>148</sup>  
 Everyone<sup>149</sup> got the order  
 Her husband in grief and always crying



But no-one could hear it  
Hüseyin says: *Fire your guns*  
*If he<sup>150</sup> hears these shots*  
*He will not follow us*  
Let Allah punish you, murderers  
Receive the anger of Allah  
The commander decided to capture them  
Mahmut and Bayram were handed an order  
The commander commanded Hasib and Feride<sup>151</sup> to be found  
Eventually they were all captured  
Hüseyin shot them  
Mahmut and Bayram, these two youngsters  
Received a lot of money to have them caught  
They pretended to be friends but they were enemies  
*Still, it was Talha who caused us be captured*  
*And it was a tragedy that happened to us*  
*When we discovered their matters*  
They killed both of them  
The truth passed from person to person until it reached them  
*We learned that it was Talha who betrayed us*  
*See what happened to us*  
Mahmut said: *Hey brothers, it is a lie*  
– The outlaws were listening to this lie –  
*My enemies want me to be killed*  
The Hasanbullis are silent, their mouths are tight shut  
They finish him with one bullet  
Before they had always been forgiven  
But this time Hüseyin says: *Hit the dog, let him die*  
Kaymakam wanted to kill Bayram  
Let us just finish and burn them  
Let us see whether there is anyone brave enough to rebuke us  
Look what Mahmut had done before  
Only later did he betray them  
He received a lot of money to report about the outlaws  
The outlaws heard about his dishonesty  
And buried him in the dark ground  
One night they entered a house in Ayyorgi  
They shot them through together  
They sent Bayram after Mahmud to death  
What a pity, Talha that you turned on us

Eventually you caused both of us to be executed  
 Zehra, Feride and Hasip came  
 Kaymakam and Feride drew back together  
 They went to the olive groves  
 They went behind the olive trees to hide  
 Hasip Ali<sup>152</sup> heard a gun fired  
 Mahmut and Bayram died immediately  
 This is an eye-for-an-eye world  
 Suffering follows all pleasures  
 Everybody says: *Hüseyin shot Mahmut*  
*Hüsnü fired the second shot that hit Bayram*  
 Hüseyin Eyüp said: *He died for nothing*  
 Go blind Talha, you called us to death  
 You dipped English hands in our blood  
 Şükrü was running, he saw Bayram shot  
 There was blood turned into red ruby all over him  
 In fact he was soaked in blood  
 Then he asked Şükrü for water  
*Hasip Ali shot me* he said  
 On his way from Fasulla to Leymosun  
 Yero Hristagi was riding a mule  
 And they suddenly cut his way  
 He fell off when he was shot  
 His two legs turned upside down  
 So much so that his testicles hit his forehead  
 Kaymakam took the mule's rein  
 Hüseyin quickly grabbed his money-bag  
 The other two gripped the mule's mane  
 They left him there and slipped off  
 They got accustomed to the taste of having money  
 Do you know how this case happened, brother?  
 They wanted money from the Greek<sup>153</sup>  
 The Greek did not want to give them money  
 Hüseyin, however, pulled a double-barrelled gun  
 And shot the dog in the forehead instantly  
 The Greek kicked the bucket in that hour  
 Having shed his soul they left with his money  
 They went to Kabikfu from there  
 They were dripping the Greek's red blood  
 They abducted Theora together, too

And they wounded a few Greeks  
They wanted to catch Captain Delivando very much  
Kiracı Sava was coming on the road  
While they were waiting for Cüce in Trodoz  
They killed Sava by mistake  
Further two women fell victim, as well  
Hüseyin Eyyub was an informer to the police  
He made villagers go to jail  
He informed the sergeant about everything he heard  
*The villager is telling lies* – Hüseyin keeps swearing to God  
A liar's candle burns quickly<sup>154</sup>  
*Hüseyin should come here* – they gave the order  
Hüseyin came, they talked and then he left  
Someone must have told Hüseyin about their location  
He was told it was the grazing land of Pissouri<sup>155</sup>  
Hasan ran home quickly  
Wherever he went from the police headquarters  
He spread the news, everything he knew  
The policemen were sent there and got ready  
There were gendarmes everywhere  
In the same hour soldiers arrived  
So that they would surround the hiding place of the outlaws  
They thought they would be in the Pissouri Mountains  
The policemen were sent there and got ready  
There were gendarmes everywhere  
Sergeant Hüseyin was among them  
*I will not let anyone else be decorated for solving this case* – he said  
He went; he did not wait for the gendarmes  
He strapped his weapon on and sat on the horse  
He left haughtily  
He had four gendarmes altogether  
The outlaws saw them  
They decided to move in their direction  
The Hasanbullis took an aim at them one by one  
They wanted to kill to shed their souls  
Kaymakam said: *Let us stop here*

When I say "ahead", let us suddenly come forth  
 With this order let us aim at them  
 And finish them  
 Let us shed their souls  
 Sergeant Hüseyin [said]: *There you go, infantrymen!*<sup>156</sup>  
 We were aimed at with guns  
 Look, they are looking forward to catching us  
 Be cautious, my friends  
 Because our lives are precious, brothers  
 Kaymakam suddenly started shooting  
 The other gendarmes cried out to Allah  
 Sergeant Hüseyin fell off the horse dead  
 They dipped the stirrups in the sides of the horses  
 They did not have courage to shoot  
 Those gendarmes who heard the gunshots from close  
 Approached in hundreds  
 They were all planning something  
 Some were looking for a place to hide  
 Kaymakam says: *Kneel down,*  
*Whoever comes, a sergeant or a private*  
*Shoot without stopping*  
*Let them drop off their horses*  
*Let the fire of the English be put out*  
 The gendarmes say: *We were afraid of them*  
*Because we had heard many different stories about them*  
*Our sweat was burning us*  
*May Allah protect us*  
*These vile ones will eat us up*  
 Kaymakam and Hüsnü were bloodthirsty  
 Hüseyin says: *I rather die but I will not surrender*  
 They let the abducted girls go  
 And aimed at the gendarmes  
 A big satanic war started  
 Although no-one's blood was shed  
 Pembe Mulla and Feride were arrested  
 The gendarmes had followed them  
 Hüseyin and Mehmet were escaping in the same direction  
 The fight was getting more violent as they went on  
 On both sides the anger was growing  
 All the gendarmes started to shoot

Everything went dark around them because of the smoke  
Piercing bullets fell like rain  
Finally the outlaws saved their souls  
The gendarmes got exhausted  
They found a place on the seashore  
Where they surrounded Hüseyin and Mehmet  
It was a cave; they went in one by one  
And then bullets started to come endlessly  
No-one could be seen from the smoke  
A bullet came and hit the ground  
It suddenly disappeared,  
Hüseyin Bulli saw there was no solution  
Corporal Hakkı started to run  
Because the place was empty of the outlaws  
Corporal Hakkı, that bastard, taking his gun  
Said: *I will make him kick the bucket*  
He turned pale in his fury  
He was hit in the head with the stock of the rifle  
A bullet entered his heart and his soul left him  
Hüseyin stayed alone surrounded  
The gendarmes were ordered to stay as they were  
There was a gun they picked it up  
The gendarmes were fighting hard  
Still, Mehmet did not catch an outlaw  
Hüseyin says: *There are mountains behind me; there is the sea in front of me*  
*Do not be afraid, come closer*  
*If you are bold guys, if you are brave fighters*  
*Try the taste of my bullets*  
*Let the world talk about Hüseyin*  
While the shooting goes on Hüseyin is sitting  
Corporal Hakkı is standing and shouting  
He is reloading his gun:  
*Ah, my friends, I am going to die*  
*Is there no-one to feel pity for me at least once?*  
The squad of Sergeant Mehmet can hear him  
While they surround the mountain  
They are like the Sarı Zeybek:<sup>157</sup> *We walk on the mountains*

*We are betrayed even by our friends*  
*Sergeant Mehmet, retreat from us*  
*Leave us before you get hurt*  
 Hüseyin says: *We are dead, we are dead!*  
*If you are coming, do not come in tens, come in hundreds*  
*Sergeant Mehmet, we are the seeds of Bulli*  
*Our mother did not teach us what fear is*  
*We were standing in the entrenchment and fired our guns*  
*If we have a chance, we will catch them and hang them*  
*We can afford to shoot even at butterflies in the head*<sup>158</sup>  
 Do not believe that we are Satans  
 We are the sons of humans, too, even if we are Muslims  
 Kaymakam says: *Lean against the rocks*  
*Shoot your bullets like this to the Sergeant and his people*  
*Let us see what will happen to us*  
*We either get shot and we will leave our bodies*  
*Or we shoot and retreat from this place*  
 Hüseyin escapes from the cave again  
 The gendarmes comb out the area  
 Hüseyin aims his gun at the cave's entrance  
 They found a boy; they sent him in  
 However, he cannot find anyone inside; he goes home  
 The gendarmes fled when facing hardships  
 They were all running back towards the village wounded  
 They have a hard job<sup>159</sup>  
*If it was not for Talha, we would not have been caught ever*  
 We could have seen what would have happened to us  
 The gendarmes said: *We got into trouble*  
*Run to the meadow, my friends*  
*Had we known this we would not have come here*  
*Our souls may be saved from bullets*  
*Let our blood not be shed on this meadow*  
 A bullet hit Hüseyin  
 The gendarmes said: *That was it for him*  
 The bullet tore a piece off Hüseyin's hand  
 Still, they were afraid to go closer  
 They did not have the courage to arrest him  
 Lieutenant Mustafa Şevki Efendi  
 He received an order and sat on his horse  
 He did not want to be hanged  
 As the government was tired of this case

And obviously, they wanted to capture them  
Hasan Osman came to them<sup>160</sup> one day  
*I am wretched, only God knows my situation*  
*I am burning for a dark-blue-eyed woman*  
*Can you help me?*  
*Listen, Hüseyin, I am serious*  
Hüseyin said: *I will go right now*  
*Actually, I like blue-eyed girls*  
*If there is anyone to go, I will accompany him*  
*All right, let us go*  
*Either together or separately*  
They left in the night together  
All three of them together  
They did not look left or right  
They went and entered the girl's house  
They raped her  
The little girl started to shout  
Nobody came to help  
Or to ask around for help  
The outlaws say: *Do not shout too much, it is pointless*  
*We will take you even if you die*  
*They went to Kara Ali's vineyard*  
They had the little girl kneel down  
And they did all kinds of perversity to her  
Kara Ali felt pity for the little girl  
He came and said: *Let her go now*  
Hüseyin says: *What are you talking about, you shepherd?*  
*Why did we abduct her if we let her go?*  
*When you have a young girl, like this*  
*It is impossible to let her go*  
*Even if the English kill us for it*  
Then they get up to leave to Ciyas  
Where they eat and drink and have fun  
There they have pleasure with the Halayık Rebiye<sup>161</sup>  
In that hour they fell asleep  
Because there was hashish in their food  
After they went to bed  
The house was surrounded immediately  
Talha and Kamil (Salise) were very much afraid  
The lieutenant was informed right away  
The gendarmes gathered together with an order

They came up to the door  
 The gendarmes thanked God for that day  
 As if they were going to a wedding  
 They nailed the door at its hinges  
 The outlaws fell into a hard situation<sup>162</sup>  
 They were put in handcuffs  
 Hüseyin and Hasan were panicking  
 The end came now; their fate wanted it that way  
 Hüseyin jumped up and leaped ahead  
 He learned that the hinges were pinned  
 They saw, there was no way to escape  
 They saw that the situation was very dangerous  
 There are gendarmes everywhere in front of the door  
 Hüseyin's fired his gun from the inside  
 The leg of one of the gendarmes was shot off  
*I cannot stand the gendarmes*  
*I will not run into this situation voluntarily like a horse into a treadmill*  
*And let the English hang me, poor me*  
*Death is better than this disgrace*  
 Lieutenant Mustafa Şevki Efendi  
 Ordered twelve guns to be pointed at the door  
 He gave the gendarmes an order  
 They all shot at once  
 Hüseyin was struggling behind the door  
 To break the door to go out  
 When his friends saw this situation  
 They were shot and they fell on the ground  
 The day they surrendered was a Tuesday  
 The whole group was caught  
 They put handcuffs on all of them  
 None of them said anything  
 They fell in the trap of the English  
 The fame of the Bullis reached an end  
 (They were called "Bullis")  
 The group was sentenced to death  
 They finally got into such trouble  
 They bade farewell to this world  
 Kaymakam says: *Mother, it is enough crying*  
*When I die do not mourn me*  
*It makes no sense, do not torture yourself*  
*There is no salvation for us, anyway*



The cage broke and the bird flew out<sup>163</sup>  
His mother says:  
*How would I not cry  
I will cry and you may be saved  
Out of my three sons did not stay one  
I am old and weak, my son  
If they hang you I will be alone*  
Kaymakam says: *Mother, if my eyes were full of blood,<sup>164</sup>  
If the queen was the sister of the king,  
If the king's wife was my sister  
If Judgement Day happened in this hour  
We will be hanged, there is no hope  
They are called "English" and it means no mercy*  
Kaymakam says: *Do not cry, Mother  
Do not feel sorrow, go now and call and  
Bring the imam of our district  
Ask him to console us a bit and pray for us  
I do not have anything more to ask from you*  
Kaymakam says: *The gallows are ready  
Our lives ended that day  
The ropes were soaped, everything is ready  
Dear Mother  
Tell God that you are not sorry for having a  
Son like this  
Fatih...*

### *Nazım Destanı*

Nazım was the son of Hasan Ağa (Kambur) of Meluşa (Kırıkkale), a wealthy Turkish Cypriot nobleman in the 1900s. One of the family's servants, Bali Cemali was sentenced to detention for having denied a week's compulsory public work. Nazım raped Bali Cemali's wife, who worked on their premises while her husband was serving his sentence in jail. As revenge, Bali Cemali helped a local teacher elope with the sister of Nazım, Sultan. Nazım did not resign himself to the revenge taken on him and decided to have Bali Cemali killed. He hired Mehmet Salih of Köfünge and on 18<sup>th</sup> December, 1925 they murdered Bali Cemali. The servant died a savage death: he was killed with an axe. Trying to flee, the murderers were captured while they tried to get Bali Cemali's broken car going. Nazım was sentenced to death and was executed in 1926.<sup>165</sup>

Nazım, like the protagonists of some other Turkish Cypriot epics, is no more than a bloodthirsty criminal who still became part of the Cypriot col-

lective memory by poems composed in his name. And what is more, the poet feels sympathy with his anti-hero: "Poor Nazım Bey / Was hanged on the day of the Bayram" and "Poor Nazım Bey / Turned into a fistful of dust."

The poem follows an AAXA, BBXB, CCXC, etc. rhyme pattern, except in the antepenultimate stanza where it is EEEE. Its rhythmic pace is an unpredictable variety of 4+3, 5+3, 4+4 lines. The poem of Nazım is rather a *türkü* than a *destan*. The Nazım epic is available in printed version only in the first volume of Bülent Fevzioğlu, Suna Atun's *Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağutlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Araştırmalar*.

### *Nazım Destanı*<sup>166</sup>

The peaks of the mountains of Meluşa  
Have seen things happen  
Nazım Bey's eyebrows  
Resemble a stretched bow

They sat them on horses  
They killed Cemal;  
As the car was not working,  
They were reported to the police

Nazım went to the court  
Mehmet Salih achieved what he wanted  
Two judges presided  
They inflicted punishment upon Nazım Bey

They were looking at the clock  
They pulled the lever<sup>167</sup>  
Poor Nazım Bey  
Was hanged on the day of the Bayram

They took him away after the hanging  
They put him in a car  
They took him to Meluşa  
They placed him in a grave

I was drinking coffee from a cup  
(When) My Nazım shed his soul  
The hanging of Nazım  
(Was) Because of his sister, Sultan

The weather was cloudy  
The mourning covered his mother  
Poor Nazım Bey  
Turned into a fistful of dust.

***Anayıla Muallime Gızın Gatili Destanı***

According to the third volume of Bülent Fevzioğlu and Suna Atun's *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Araştırmalar*, on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1931, Feriha Zişan Beyaz, a village teacher's mother and sister fell victim to the 19 year-old Mehmet Emir Mustafa in the village of Köfünye (Geçitkale). Mehmet's proposal was turned down by the 23 year-old school teacher. In his raging fury the youngster wounded Feriha and killed her mother and sister with a pocket-knife.

The epic's writer is unknown. Its rhyme pattern is unsystematic, although it has a tendency for three rhyming lines in a row escorted or not by a fourth one. The line length ranges from ten to twelve syllables. The *hece* division of the lines is either a 4+4+3 or a 4+4+4, depending on the number of syllables. The importance of the epic lies in the storyteller's strong Cypriot accent by which *Anayıla Muallime Gızın Gatili Destanı* is a literary warehouse of linguistic peculiarities of the Turkish Cypriot dialect. An interesting aspect of this epic is its confusing title which refers to the murder of a teacher and her mother, although the teacher herself turns out to be only wounded.

***Anayıla Muallime Gızın Gatili Destanı*<sup>168</sup>**

In the first night, Mehmed entered the room  
And hid his pocket knife in the laundry room  
Garib Melek could not take the pocket-knife strikes  
At ten thirty they were thrown out to the street

Dear Beyaz Ahmet Feriha is crying and swearing  
My mother has passed away as well as my Rasiha  
Corporal Apostole recorded the testimonies  
The world had not seen such a crime

Everyone in Köfünye gathered there  
They took Feriha and Rasiha away  
They put both of them in a car  
They had found Feriha dead on the street  
They wrapped their coffins in white  
They covered Rasiha's head  
They buried her in the cemetery of Lefkoşa

My dear Melek and Rasiha turned into a legend  
 Both of them were buried in the ground  
 They died a martyr's death because of us  
 The prison's gate looks upon the sea  
 The eyebrows of my dear Feriha set my soul on fire  
 My Feriha caused me  
 To be hanged in front of the people and the whole world

Mehmet was hanged on 7<sup>th</sup> March  
 His mother and father were shocked to see him on his way  
 His brothers gathered around his head  
 Their hearts were burning in grief  
 They all gathered around his head

Raging with a knife is wrong  
 In a *destan* about the truth  
 The truth never dies...

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#### Endnotes

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- 59 Sweet cake made of walnuts, almond and sugar syrup (see: Misli Albrecht, *Turkish Cypriot and Mediterranean Cookery*, London, 1994, 102)
- 60 Sweets made of wafer, cinnamon and sugar syrup (see: Misli Albrecht, *Turkish Cypriot and Mediterranean Cookery*, London, 1994, 102)
- 61 The name of the Greek hanged man
- 62 Today's Selimiye Camii in Lefkoşa
- 63 The first *sura* of the *Holy Koran*
- 64 *Aya, ayet, ayat*: A miracle or token verse of the *Holy Koran*
- 65 *Bismilla, basmala* (i. e. *bismillahi l-rahmani l-rahim*): "In the name of God, the clement, and the merciful"
- 66 A chapter of the *Holy Koran* (note: it occurs only twice in the *Holy Koran*)
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- 68 *Şalvar*: Turkish traditional trousers (T. K.)
- 69 Today's Atatürk Square in Lefkoşa
- 70 Named after the Governor's residence
- 71 Muhsinin Ahmet was an infamous bully of Cyprus who later migrated to Turkey.
- 72 *Paça*: trotters (T. K.)
- 73 *Mintan*: Turkish traditional shirt (T. K.)
- 74 *Onyedi*: 'seventeen', a nickname referring to the number plate of the person's car
- 75 An English police commander famous for his good relationship with local Turks
- 76 Kahveci Haşım Ağa was the owner of a cafe in Lefkoşa
- 77 Sarayönü Square in Lefkoşa
- 78 The stepbrother of Halid Arab

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- 80 *Halkbilimi Gazetesi*, 1, 1992, 23
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- 84 Paphos
- 85 The representative of a village or a neighbourhood
- 86 Hasan Kara Mehmet, the village muhtar
- 87 World War II
- 88 The original text says: *to catch a rabbit with a car*
- 89 Turkish proverb
- 90 Kazim Ali Rıza's wife
- 91 Cemal Mida
- 92 A village in the Limassol area; its Turkish name is Gökağaç.
- 93 Heavy automatic gun
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- 104 *Kıbrıs* 28 Şubat, 2000, Sayı 3815, 32
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- Destanlar ve Ađıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Arařtırmalar 2'nci cilt, 2002, 126*
- 110 To Kalahar (T. K.)
- 111 Bullet (T. K.)
- 112 Dark-skinned
- 113 After she had washed the corpse
- 114 A bench on which the corpse is washed
- 115 *Munkar wa-Nakir* – the names of the two angels who examine, and if necessary, punish the dead in their tombs
- 116 Farewell to the dead according to Muslim traditions
- 117 Mosque (T. K.)
- 118 Funerary elegy
- 119 A stone table in mosques serving as a catafalque
- 120 The cemetery in Lefkořa was at the Girne gate at those times, where the Atatürk roundabout is today
- 121 According to Muslim belief the fate of people is written on their foreheads
- 122 The first chapter of the *Holy Koran*
- 123 Behiç's (T. K.)
- 124 The door-wings of Behiç's house
- 125 2.8 pounds (T. K.)
- 126 Babacan, the poet (T. K.)
- 127 *Christian* meaning 'Greek'
- 128 *Kuruř*: piaster (T. K.)
- 129 To England (only the sovereign can reprieve a cast death penalty) (T. K.)
- 130 Lefkořa
- 131 The bridge leading to the gate of the jail
- 132 The mourners standing in a line next to the dead body on the catafalque
- 133 Bülent Fevziođlu and Suna Atun, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ađıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Arařtırmalar 2'nci cilt, 2002, 60*
- 134 Bülent Fevziođlu and Suna Atun, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ađıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Arařtırmalar 2'nci cilt, 2002, 75*
- 135 Bülent Fevziođlu and Suna Atun, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ađıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Arařtırmalar 2'nci cilt, 2002, 50*
- 136 Bülent Fevziođlu and Suna Atun, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ađıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Arařtırmalar 2'nci cilt, 2002, 49*
- 137 Yařar İsmailođlu, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyal Yařamundan Bir Yaprak 1878-1896*, Lefkořa, 10
- 138 Yařar İsmailođlu, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyal Yařamundan Bir Yaprak 1878-1896*, Lefkořa, 10
- 139 Yařar İsmailođlu, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyal Yařamundan Bir Yaprak 1878-1896*, Lefkořa, 15

- 140 Altay Sayıl, *Kıbrıs Polis Tarihi*, Lefkoşa, 1985, 16
- 141 See: İsmail Bozkurt, 'Ethnic Perspective in Epics: The Case of Hasan Bulliler', in: *Electronic Journal of Folklore* vol. 16, 2001, 97
- 142 Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi 4 (1) Winter 1998 pp. 36
- 143 Oğuz M Yorgancıoğlu, *Kıbrıs Folkloru*, Mağusa, 1980, 92
- 144 The original text says: *We did not know neither Hanya nor Konya* (proverb)
- 145 The Istavroz Mountain
- 146 To encourage him (T. K.)
- 147 These two lines should be inverted so as to represent the chronological sequence of the happenings
- 148 One of the abducted girls
- 149 In the Hasanbulli gang
- 150 Aliye's husband
- 151 Further traitors from the village
- 152 Hasan Ali
- 153 Yero Hristagi
- 154 Proverb
- 155 The name of a village
- 156 Referring to his gang members
- 157 The legendary Yellow Infantry, a heroic squad during the Turkish War of Independence. The quotation refers to a türkü whose relating part is the following: "*Ben bir Köroğluyum, dağda gezerim / Esen rüzgârlardan hile sezerim [...]*"
- 158 We have so many bullets
- 159 Proverb
- 160 Hasan Bullis
- 161 Halayık: nickname meaning 'of dark complexion'
- 162 Proverb
- 163 Proverb referring to the soul leaving the body at death
- 164 Because of crying
- 165 Bülent Fevzioğlu and Suna Atun, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Araştırmalar* 1'inci cilt, 2001, 270
- 166 Bülent Fevzioğlu and Suna Atun, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Araştırmalar* 1'inci cilt, 2001, 269
- 167 The lever that operates the flap-door of the gallows
- 168 Bülent Fevzioğlu and Suna Atun, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler-Belgeler-Araştırmalar* 3'üncü cilt, 2003, 153

## A Comparative Look at Greek and Turkish Literature in Ottoman Cyprus Between Periphery and Centre

Matthias Kappler

A striking feature of the traditional description of literary activity in Ottoman Cyprus is the centre-orientated attitude in both Greek and Turkish literature accounts. The concept of periphery is an overstressed rhetorical device in the portrayal of Turkish culture in Cyprus in order to prove its complete dependence on the 'roots in the motherland',<sup>1</sup> while the hellenocentric interpretation of the 'dark centuries' under Ottoman rule consists in the isolation from the centre of Hellenism on one hand (without specifying where this centre is situated in the given period of time) and the 'shared destiny with the Greek motherland' on the other.<sup>2</sup> This usage of the periphery-centre structure for an ideological purpose has little to do with its scientific employment, as it has been applied to both Greek and Turkish Cypriot literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>3</sup> It is a well-known *topos* from colonial and post-colonial literary theory that in a context of periphery/marginality and metropolitan/imperial centre, writing addresses itself to the metropolitan culture as the privileged addressee - it 'writes back to the Empire'.<sup>4</sup> Although this cannot be generalized for Cypriot literatures, the term 'periphery' appears more suitable for the situation of Cyprus than 'diaspora' often used for Greek literatures in their connection to Hellenism. Furthermore, in history the relation of periphery and centre has recently been discussed as a possible theoretical approach to the transfer of power in 16<sup>th</sup> - century Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> As a comparative history of the literatures of Cyprus does not exist yet, nor can a thorough insight into the texts be given in the framework of the present contribution, this approach is an attempt to consider the literary expression in two languages during Ottoman supremacy on the island as one and the same expression from a peripheral context toward the centre(s).

Given the highly centralized power structure of the Venetian rule and the peripheral, since centre-orientated, literacy in pre-Ottoman Cyprus<sup>6</sup> (including the Byzantine period), the two following questions concerning Ottoman Cyprus arise: 1) How does the peripheral situation expressed in terms of literary production in the Greek language appear after 1571?, and 2) How, and when, did a hypothetically still peripheral voice take shape in Turkish literature in Cyprus? Speaking about literary tradition in Cyprus, however, another crucial question emerges: what kind of literature are we talking about, since we are dealing with a rich production of Greek Cypriot 'popular', hence, mainly oral literature (love and epic songs, the Acritic tradition) and, on the other hand, of 'learned' literature transmitted in written form? Can we, thus, presume the same bipolarity for Ottoman Turkish Cypriot literature, too? The approach adopted here is to find parallelisms

within the conflict situation of cross-cultural Ottoman Cypriot culture<sup>7</sup> between the two binomials 'periphery-centre' and 'popular-learned', being aware of the fact that we will be confronted with a temporally shifted parallelism, since obviously, a Cypriot expression in Turkish can take place only after a necessary period of political, administrative and demographic adjustment.

### Periphery and Centre

It appears clearly that even after the Ottoman conquest of the island, the Cypriot élites of Greek language continued to rivet their eyes upon Venice, due mainly to the fact that a strong cultural centre of Hellenism was lacking (it will become, at a later stage, again Constantinople, long before Athens). This fact is illustrated by all the salient names of the Cypriot intelligencia during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries: Iásonas Danóres (professor at the University of Padua); Stéfanos Louziniános (born 1577 in Nicosia and historiographer working in Italian); Ioánnis Sozómenos (studied law in Padua, taught in Venice and wrote in Italian); from 1657 to 1660 Ilaríon Kigálas, (Archbishop of Cyprus, directed the Greek Gymnasium in Padua); and the famous *Chronological History of the Island of Cyprus* (*Ιστορία Χρονολογική της Νήσου Κύπρου*), written by Kyprianós, appeared in 1788, in the Venetian printing-house of Nikólaos Glykýs<sup>8</sup>. In the same period of time, however, the cultural orientation moved away from the Italian models expressing itself more and more (or again) in Greek. This is particularly true for the educational activity undertaken by Greek Cypriot intellectuals under the auspices of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, obviously due to the very system of Ottoman power and rule. After the conquest, the privileges granted to the Patriarch of Constantinople that designed him to be not only the religious, but also the political leader of the Orthodox dimmî, were automatically transferred to the Church of Cyprus. In this way, it represents the leading institution of the Christian flock on the island, reinforced by the increasing economical power of the big monasteries.<sup>9</sup> The Orthodox Church, which in the preceding periods under the Lusignans and the Venetians was oppressed, and in danger of being suppressed, now participated in power, becoming also the guarantor for a Hellenic-Cypriot culture in an Ottoman context.<sup>10</sup> This Church also contributed to the re-transfer from a now obsolete centre (Venice) to Constantinople, together with the rise of a Greek aristocracy in the City after the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Assuming the triple role of a 'centre' of the Hellenic world where these so-called Phanariotes, Greeks, but not only, gathered around the Oecumenical Patriarchate in the quarter of Fanari/Fener on the Golden Horn: 1) a political role (holding high positions in the Ottoman administration, from the rank of the Princes of Valachia and Moldavia, to the Dragoman of the Fleet, up to the powerful post of the Great Dragoman of the Porte); 2) a cultural role (as 'illuminated despots' creating a network of cultural and educational institutions, schools, academies, libraries, in the Transdanubian Principalities and in Istanbul); c) an economical role (as representatives of the central

economical power, e.g. as tax collectors in the provinces, especially in Cyprus, and by the emerging bourgeoisie of Greek merchants forming an association of interest with the Phanariotes and the post-Phanariotes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>11</sup> This 're-imagined' aristocracy of presumed Byzantine origins occupying an intermediate position between the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman State is termed by Anagnostopoulou as 'Ottoman-Orthodox bureaucracy'.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, they took an active part as poets and writers in Greek literary life marking the future development of Modern Greek letters in Greece, and they participated in cultural activities in a broader Ottoman context as translators into Turkish or as members of the Ottoman academies formed after European models in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as the *Cem'iyet-i İlmiyye-i 'Osmâniyye*.<sup>13</sup>

In the case of Cyprus, apart from the orientation toward a newly created political and cultural centre, Constantinople, on behalf of the ecclesiastic, and therefore learned, élite of the island, the Phanariotes, and particularly the institution of Dragomanate, influenced in a very direct way the early specimens of Ottoman Cypriot literature in both Greek and Turkish. Around 1700 a member of the Orthodox clergy, a certain Konstantinos Diákonos, drew up a long poem (more than 800 verses) entitled 'Song of the Dragomans' (*Ἄσμα των Διερμηνέων*) narrating the story of the Dragoman of Cyprus, Markoullís (around 1670) and his antagonist Georgís, and their complicated struggle involving all the representatives of power, Archbishop, Músellim and metropolitans, at the expense of the oppressed population.<sup>14</sup> Beyond the linguistic importance of the work, which is destined to become a part of pan-Cypriot folk literature, written in Greek Cypriot dialect garnished with numerous Turkisms, it reflects the ruling situation in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, since the author deplors with very harsh words the misuse of power by the Church and their network partners.<sup>15</sup> The editor of the poem argues that this text covers the large gap of grammatological tradition between the 'Lament of Cyprus' from 1572 (see below) and the 'Song of Chadjigeorgakis Kornesios' (1809), which is another example of 'Cypriot dragoman literature', implying the general absence of written literary activity during the 'Tourkokratía'.<sup>16</sup> But interestingly enough, the 'genre' of poems dealing with the theme of the Dragoman of Cyprus is wide-spread in Turkish Cypriot folk literature too. The best-known, and also probably oldest specimen of this kind is the *Tercüman Destanı* or *Tercüman Türküsü* (Ballad or Song of the Dragoman), not as extensive and historically precise as its Greek counterpart in its content, but still accusing the Dragoman for his excesses in tax collecting and applauding his execution by the central government. The somewhat unspecified historical setting in the Turkish variant of the poem, in any case not pertaining to the same 17<sup>th</sup> century episode narrated in the Greek song, leads to a diverging individuation of the Dragoman in question referring, according to some researchers,<sup>17</sup> to Chadjigeorgakis Kornesios (beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), and according to others, to Dragoman Christofakis (middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>18</sup> Be that as it may, the overlapping of themes and settings, the common narrative discourse and the shared

concern of social criticism between the Turkish and Greek versions is noteworthy enough to be recorded. The poem is also a good example of the common strategy in Ottoman Cypriot, both Greek and Turkish, literature as an explicit expression in literary terms from a periphery (both socially and geographically) to a centre (of local power but related to the imperial centre).

This centre, Istanbul, where imperial and ecclesiastical centralism was united and therefore relevant for both communities on the island, was shifting somewhat for the Greek Cypriots in the late Ottoman and the British periods, due to a massive migration of middle class Greek Cypriots to Egypt, contributing substantially to the development of Greek literature produced in Alexandria and Cairo.<sup>19</sup> Together with the newly rising centres of Athens and London, this modified historical scenario created a plurivalent situation of centres and periphery in the Greek case,<sup>20</sup> though it obviously remained more monochromatic for the Turkish side, where Istanbul (and later also London) kept its intellectual central position long after the end of the Ottoman period.

The central role of Istanbul for Ottoman Turkish Cypriots after 1571 needs no further comment, since in the historical context of the still ongoing Ottoman expansion (although we are in the epoch of Lepanto, but still almost one hundred years before Candia), where the institutions were founded on the tradition of conquest and central power, an emerging literature, necessarily relied on a strong political, administrative, religious and cultural centre. An Ottoman Turkish Cypriot literature in the proper sense, (i.e. 'learned' texts produced by Cypriots of Turkish tongue,) put down roots very much later, though sporadically in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but essentially only between the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, the first texts dealing with Cyprus are, immediately subsequent to the conquest, the *Gazevât-nâme*, stories and chronicles, praising the conquerors of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the newly gained territories.<sup>21</sup> These texts belong to a widely diffused genre of Ottoman 'occasional literature',<sup>22</sup> deep-rooted in the Islamic tradition of the *gâzî*, the Muslim warrior against infidels and the struggle between the *Dâr al-Islâm* and the *Dâr al-Harb*. Cyprus as a historical paradigm for interreligious conflicts is particularly exposed to this kind of narration, especially if we consider the importation of the Byzantine Acritic tradition, forming part of the Greek Cypriot folk repertoire until today, which has the same historical ground and uses the same strategy of epics as the *gâzî*-tradition, only at the other side of the border (*ákri*)<sup>23</sup>. In another parallelism of narrative discourse of the events, the Greek Cypriot genre of 'lament' (Θρήνος) relates the same subject from the other point of view, i.e. the loss and destruction because of the conquest. The oldest and best-known of these texts is the so-called 'Lament of Cyprus' (Θρήνος της Κύπρου), probably written by Solomós Rodinós in 1572, although there are several other versions, too.<sup>24</sup> The genre is evidently connected to the large corpus of 'laments' dealing with the loss of Constantinople after 1453, and it is, therefore, inscribed into a tradition, exactly as the Ottoman Turkish *Gazevât-nâmes* are inscribed into an Islamic tradition. Both kinds of texts deal with the theme of conquest; on the one hand the loss, on the other the

gain, and both are linked to the same centre, Istanbul, as outgoing or ruling capital, both narrating - praising or deploring - the transposition of the symbols of central power.

### Oral and Written, Folk and 'Learned' Literature

The above mentioned hint at the equation - folk literature equates to oral tradition, and learned literature equates to written (manuscript or printed) transmission, as it has been stated elsewhere,<sup>25</sup> must be reviewed when referring to Cypriot literatures. In Greek Cypriot folk literature, popular forms such as ballads, epic poems or laments are not necessarily transmitted anonymously and orally, but can be inscribed into a written manuscript tradition<sup>26</sup> with signed authorship, which can be proved by instances like the above mentioned 'Song of the Dragomans' or the 'Lament of Cyprus'. This written tradition, or rather transmission path, does not exclude the entering of the discourse, or the subject, into proper folk culture, with the birth of variants in popular textual forms and modes. On the other hand, oral texts which are written down, or even printed, can still be part of popular culture, although it could be considered as an 'alteration in quality'. Although the stage of the investigation of Turkish Cypriot folk literature is still in its infancy, it seems that the rich corpus of *mani* (short rhymes), *ağıt* (elegies), *destan* (epics) and *türkü* (songs) are principally transmitted orally.<sup>27</sup> The poet/troubadour Âşık Kenzî (1795-1839) combining classical *dîvân* literature forms (*gazel*, *kaside*) with the popular form *destan*, merging into the heritage of a folk culture represents a significant exception.<sup>28</sup> Apart from the *destans*, also his *semâî* poems (in *murabba'* and *müseddes* form) are an interesting instance of his intermediate position, linking his work to the central 19<sup>th</sup> century production of urban *güftecis* in Istanbul, and to the provincial *âşıks* in Anatolia and elsewhere in the Turkic world.

An important issue when talking about folk and learned literature is the linguistic vehicle, since the *diglossia* situation of both communities in Cyprus between standard language and dialect offers the possibility of a double linguistic pattern also for artistic expression. Here lies one of the substantial differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriot literary expression. Although in both literatures the orally transmitted path uses the dialect almost exclusively, in the Turkish Cypriot literature, however, the written tradition is expressed exclusively in standard Ottoman Turkish. Âşık Kenzî, for example, transposed the canonical linguistic usage of classical Ottoman poetry to the rather 'popular' forms *destan* and *semâî* without the employment of dialectal elements. In the Greek Cypriot tradition, on the other hand, already from pre-Ottoman times (Machairas, G. Boustronios) dialect forms were widely used in written works, leading, in the late Ottoman and British period of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to the outstanding example of Vasilis Michailidis (1851/53-1917) who as a 'learned' poet relied entirely on the dialectal linguistic register.<sup>29</sup> Still today, Turkish Cypriot writers and poets very seldom use the dialect, unlike modern and contemporary Greek Cypriot poets such as Mários Móntis or Michális Pashardís.<sup>30</sup> On the side of proper

folk literature, the Greek Cypriot dialect tradition led also to the production of the famous Poiitárides – folk poets improvising poetic lines, but also bearers of the epic and lyric oral tradition.<sup>31</sup> The reason for this divergence in Greek and Turkish Cypriot literature lies exactly in the differentiated standardization process of artistic language during the Ottoman period, when the first Ottoman Turkish Cypriot poets were productive at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>32</sup> The literary development in the centre (Istanbul) had already gone beyond its peak and was seeking new expressive means, being at the same time highly canonized and linguistically standardized. The Greek Cypriot poets, on the other hand, could already rely on a vast corpus of dialectal, ‘peripheral’, texts at a moment when literature in Turkish had not yet been born on the island. In other terms, we can say that ‘learned’ poetry produced by Greek Cypriots could maintain its peripheral character until today, whereas that produced by Turkish Cypriots was too strong under the central influence to develop its own artistic code of expression.

This can be impressively illustrated by the example of the salient Ottoman Turkish Cypriot poets in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> -century, not least by the work of Hilmî Efendi (1782-1847).<sup>33</sup> Of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century ‘triad’, whose *dîvâns* have reached us (Hilmî, Kenzî and Handî), he was the only one to be born *and* to be productive in Cyprus, since Âşık Kenzî spent most of his life in Anatolia and Edirne, and Handî (d. 1845) was born in Rumelia.<sup>34</sup> Hilmî, as the Müftî of Nicosia, being also an exponent of the Ottoman Turkish religious élite of the island, is principally known because of his ‘occasional’ poetry in praise of Sultan Mahmud II, and particularly by his chronograms (*tarîh*) on the library donated to Cyprus by Mahmud in 1829,<sup>35</sup> on the Selimiye in Nicosia and on the Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca.<sup>36</sup> All three poems are classical compositions in *kaside* form, and related as such narrowly to the central power in Istanbul. Thanks to his panegyrics, Hilmî was even awarded, by the Sultan himself, the title *re’îs üş-şu’arâ* (‘Chief of the Poets’).

Interestingly, Hilmî’s imperial discourse was not limited to the praise of the person of the Sultan, his justice and mercy, but included also the ruler’s concrete political deeds, i.e. the reforms initiated by Mahmud and preparing the *Tanzîmât* period. One of the characteristic examples of this production are two *gazels* with the *redif* (post-rhyme) “*fes*”,<sup>37</sup> commending the fez as the new (though existing, i.e. transposed) symbol of ‘Ottoman’, introduced by Mahmud II in place of the obsolete turban. In a succession of alliterations and rhetorical devices Hilmî writes:

“*Fes geyüb ben de nefeslensem büzüb destârımı / Bâ’is olmuştur  
teneffüs étmege mâ’nâda fes.*”<sup>38</sup>

If I draw breath wearing the fez and puckering up my turban, it is because the meaning of *fes* is ‘to breathe’.<sup>39</sup>



Hilmî's 'centre orientation' can also be seen by his style following to a large extent the famous masters of Ottoman poetry, especially the 18<sup>th</sup> century poet Nedîm, *par excellence* the voice of the central Court at that time. As such, he is inscribed into a collective narrative canon, together with a number of other poets using the *tarz-ı Nedîm* during the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, though, or exactly because he follows also the innovations in poetical discourse introduced by Nedîm.<sup>40</sup> In fact, Hilmî deliberately tries to find new expressive means and rhetorical devices, denying imitation and canonicity. One of the most illustrating examples is probably the following verse:

“Élleriñ şîriyle şâirlik satılmaz herkese / Él sikiyle gerdek olmaz kendi sikiñle gerek.”<sup>41</sup>

Poetry cannot be sold to anybody by using the poems of the others; there can be no wedding night with the dick of someone else, you need to use your own dick!

The 'court poet in the province' Hilmî Efendi, with his eyes turned to Istanbul and striving for recognition by the centre through his panegyric poetry, also looked for his own way of expressing himself, though inside the canon of the classical Ottoman literature and by the vehicle of the standard language of the centre. On the other hand, some 60 years later, when Vasilis Michailídis wrote his epic work 'The Ninth of July 1821 in Nicosia (Cyprus)' (Η Ενάτη Ιουλίου 1821 εν Λευκωσία [Κύπρου]), relating the tragic events concerning the execution of the Archbishop Kyprianos by the Ottoman authorities, the poet (writing now under British rule) was trying, through his own linguistic vehicle, the dialect, to give shape to his disdain in front of the central power. Both of them are the two sides of a peripheral voice 'writing back' to the metropolitan centre.

### Endnotess

<sup>1</sup> See: Gülgün Serdar, *Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatında Kaynak Eserler*, Lefkoşa, 1993, 1-6

<sup>2</sup> See: Panos Panagiotounis, *Ιστορία Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνίας*, Athína, 1981, 5, 60

<sup>3</sup> Kechagioglou, 1992, Yaşın 1990, Kappler forthcoming

<sup>4</sup> See: Ashcroft *et al.* 1989, in particular 3 4, 7 8. For a further discussion see: Gandhi, 1998, 161-163

<sup>5</sup> Vera Costantini, *Chypre, Venise, les Ottomans* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University Ca' Foscari, Venice / EHESS, Paris).

<sup>6</sup> Outstanding paradigms for centre-orientated products of medieval Cypriot literature, though written in Cypriot Greek dialect, are the *Chronicle of Leontios Machairas* (d. ca. 1432) concentrated around the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Lusignan court of Pierre I. (see: generically Pieris 1998, cfr. also Pieris 1987; diplomatic edition of the manuscripts Pieris and Nikolaou-Konnari 2003, a critical edition is in preparation by the same researchers), or the Petrarchian poems from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (edition Siapkarakas-Pitsillidès, 1952). For the linguistic use of dialect as a vehicle for peripheral expression see below.

<sup>7</sup> The term Ottoman is here not used as an ethnic (Turkish) denominator, which would be in any case anachronistic for all periods of Ottoman history, but in its superordinate denotation for any of the 'ethnic', religious or linguistic components in multicultural Ottoman society.

<sup>8</sup> See for all names Panagiotounis, 1981, 54-55; Kyprianós' Chronicle has been edited by Pavlidis, 1997

<sup>9</sup> For the Ottoman privileges given to the Church of Constantinople in the first century after 1453 see: Zachariadou, 1996. Concerning the role of the Church in Ottoman Cyprus see: Anagnostopoulou, 2002 for the period between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and Anagnostopoulou, 1998 for the *Tanzimat* period and the British rule. As for the importance of the monasteries, particularly that of Kykkos, in Ottoman Cyprus see the introductory chapters of Michail, 2003, xv-xix, 1-69

<sup>10</sup> The fervent activity of the Church in establishing schools and appointing teachers during the Ottoman rule can be easily seen from the compilation work Filippou, 1930.

<sup>11</sup> For the rich bibliography on the Phanariotes and the institution of the Dragoman, see: Anagnostopoulou, 2002, 122 and Kappler 1995, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Sia Anagnostopoulou, 'Les rapports de l'Église Orthodoxe avec le Kapudan Pacha (fin du XVIIIe début XIXe siècle)', in: *The Kapudan Pasha. His Office and His Domain*, E. Zachariadou, ed, Rethymnon, 2002, 120-130

<sup>13</sup> Concerning the Greek participation in Ottoman learned societies see: Strauss, 1995, in general for the *Cem'iye* and other associations see: İhsanoğlu, 1995/96

<sup>14</sup> See the complete edition with extensive comment by Papadopoulos, 1981. For the historical context and bibliography see: Anagnostopoulou, 2002, 106, 107

<sup>15</sup> Verses 481-490 of the poem; see Papadopoulos, 1981, 100, and in French translation Anagnostopoulou, 2002, 107

<sup>16</sup> Theodoros Papadopoulos, 'Το Άσμα των Διερμηνέων', *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 1981, 72

<sup>17</sup> Oğuz Yorgancıoğlu, 'Destanlar ve Topluma Yaptıkları Etkiler', in: Atun and Fevziöğlu, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler – Belgeler – Araştırmalar vol. II.*, Mağusa, 2002, 3-5; Mahmut İslamoğlu, *Kıbrıs Türk Folkloru*, Lefkoşa, 1969, 47

<sup>18</sup> Fadıl Niyazi Korkut, 'Tercüman Destanı', in: Atun and Fevziöğlu, eds, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Edebiyatında Destanlar ve Ağıtlar Üzerine Bilgiler – Belgeler – Araştırmalar vol. II.*, Mağusa, 2002, 207, 208

- <sup>19</sup> Lefkios Zafeiriou, *Η νεότερη κυπριακή λογοτεχνία – Γραμματολογικό σχεδιάσμα*, Lefkosia, 1991, 14; Giorgos Filippou Pieridis, 'Τα νεοελληνικά γράμματα στην Αίγυπτο', in: *Kypriaká Chroniká*, 67, 1971, 11-22
- <sup>20</sup> Matthias Kappler, 'Cypriot literatures as part of the Eastern Mediterranean contact area (1850-1960)', in: *Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, Papers of the International Conference*, Sinclair and Strohmeier, eds, Nicosia, forthcoming
- <sup>21</sup> See for the genre (and also texts concerning Cyprus) the introductory chapters in: Levend, 1956, a cursory overview also in: Serdar, 1986, 9-11
- <sup>22</sup> The term is usually used for Islamic *qasida* poetry (panegyrics), but can be applied here, too. See for this instance Andrews, 1996, 284, 285
- <sup>23</sup> Cfr. Bellingeri, 1992, with suggestions for a comparative analysis of the *Battal-nâme* (the well-known Turkic epic tale about Seyyid Battal Gâzî) and the Byzantine story of Digenis Akritas
- <sup>24</sup> S. Menardos, 'Θρήνος της Κύπρου', *Deltion tis Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias tis Elládos* 6, 1906, 405- 432
- <sup>25</sup> Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge, Mass., 1960
- <sup>26</sup> Theodoros Papadopoulos, 'Το Άσμα των Διερμηνέων', *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 1981, 56-58
- <sup>27</sup> For *mani* see: Saraçoğlu, 1989, 11-51. For *destan* and *ağit* see: Atun and Fevziöğlu, 2001 and 2002
- <sup>28</sup> See the extensive discussion about Âşık Kenzî in books dealing with folk culture, such as: Atun and Fevziöğlu 2001 and 2002: passim. For Kenzî's work see the edition of his poems by: Fedai, 1993. About his intermediate position between *dîvân* and folk literature see: Mengi, 1999 and, from the metrical point of view, Özarslan, 2000
- <sup>29</sup> See: Zafeiriou, 1991, 21-23 and Pieris, 1987
- <sup>30</sup> 'Local' elements in contemporary Turkish Cypriot poets are isolated and confined to single words, quotations, toponyms or Greek loans, see: Özgür, 2000. On the other hand, dialectal elements are wide-spread in popular prose genres, like fairy-tales, see: Saraçoğlu, 1989, 70-82
- <sup>31</sup> See: Giangoullis, 1986. The Poiitárides texts, though being composed in Greek Cypriot, were and are transmitted not only by Greek Cypriots, but by Turkish Cypriots as well, leading to a noteworthy syncretism in both the vehicle of transmission and the treated subjects, such as the common theme of the Hasanbulli Brothers, or the shepherd Yusuf, until the Greek Cypriot poiitáris Charámbos Azínas, giving to print in 1938 a 'destan' on the occasion of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death – in Greek Cypriot but in the Latin orthography newly shaped by the Turkish language reform. See: Atun and Fevziöğlu, 200, 117-141
- <sup>32</sup> Although *dîvân* poets in Cyprus are known from the 17<sup>th</sup> century on (e.g. Siyâhî Dede), the bulk of their production is to be sought in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For an overview of Ottoman Turkish Cypriot poets (according to the *tezkires*) see: Genç, 2000, and briefly İsen, 2000
- <sup>33</sup> Hilmî Efendi's *Dîvân* has been edited by Fedai, 2000

<sup>34</sup> Concerning the latter poet, see: Fedai, 2003, who cleared up the intricate issue about the former confusion of Handî with the 18<sup>th</sup> century poet Hızır Dede (still so in Genç, 2000, 170 and İsen, 2000, 158) and edited Handî's *Dîvân*. The forth significant Turkish Cypriot poet and writer of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Kaytâz-zâde Nâzım (1857-1924), falls out of this framework, due to the chronological limit given to the present contribution. His works (poetry and one novel) are published by Azgın and Fedai, 1993, and Fedai and Memduh, 2004

<sup>35</sup> İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, *Kıbrıs Sultan İkinci Mahmud Kütüphanesi*, Ankara, 1964, 9, 10

<sup>36</sup> Harid Fedai, *Kıbrıs Müftüsü Hilmi Efendi. Şiirler*, Lefkoşa, İstanbul, 2000, 13

<sup>37</sup> Harid Fedai, *Kıbrıs Müftüsü Hilmi Efendi. Şiirler*, Lefkoşa, İstanbul, 2000, 76-78

<sup>38</sup> Harid Fedai, *Kıbrıs Müftüsü Hilmi Efendi. Şiirler*, Lefkoşa, İstanbul, 2000, 77

<sup>39</sup> Relating the Arabic root *nfs* 'to breathe' and its Ottoman derivatives *nefeslen-* and *teneffüs* by specific forms of 'homonymy' (*tecnîs-i zâ'id* and *tecnîs-i iştikâk*) to the word *fes*

<sup>40</sup> Kemal Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, Bloomington, 1994, 108-117

<sup>41</sup> Harid Fedai, *Kıbrıs Müftüsü Hilmi Efendi. Şiirler*, Lefkoşa, İstanbul, 2000, 68

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## Pembe Marmara's Dwelling

Mehmet Yaşın

— In memory of Pembe Marmara —

Pembe Marmara (b. 1925 - d. 1984), came from an established Nicosian family, and played, with other family members, an important role in the cultural life of the Turkish Cypriot community. Her work was most ironic among the other women exponents of the highly emotional 'Syllabic-Romantic Poetry' (*Hececi-Romantik Şiir*) in the 1940s. Although she shared a common artistic understanding and used similar cultural and literary sources, such as a folkloric approach and a romantic naturalist imagery, she distinguished herself from the others with her free verse poems at an early stage. Pembe Marmara's poetry was influenced by two different schools of mainland Turkish poetry, namely the 'Five Syllabic Poets' (*Beş Hececiler*) and 'The Strange' (*Garip*). The Strange 'school' of Orhan Veli Kanık displayed an anti-establishment poetic tendency in 1940s' Turkey. But mainland Turkish literary critics who were interested in Cyprus, such as Nihat Sami Banarlı, led her to laud the 'motherland' in her poetry in the traditional way, in order that she could be published in prestigious Istanbul magazines. Most of her poems, published in Istanbul's literary journals in the 1940s, therefore, were written in a syllabic-romantic understanding and failed to show her talent. The complexity of her poetic language, which related to the daily life of Turkish Cypriots, could not flourish in the Istanbul magazines edited, as they were, by the literary establishment.

Perhaps it is possible to examine Pembe Marmara's language, style and theme in many different aspects, for example in relation to gender issues. Her female sensitivity is obvious in her poems entitled 'My Room' (*'Odam'*), 'My Suffering' (*'Derdim'*), 'This Room' (*'Bu Oda'*), 'Our Home' (*'Bizim Ev'*), and 'My Room II' (*'Odam II'*). On the one hand, her observations, imagery and language are cleverly ironic, sharp and complex in comparison with many other Turkish Cypriot poets of the same era. On the other hand, she has a kind of childish, naïve language and a direct way of writing. These contradictions make her poems more lively, like a simple building with many sophisticated details in its inner design.

Let me briefly examine her relations with her inhabitants. The poems I will refer to here are all based on her relationship with her house, streets and buildings of her neighborhood, and city squares, etc. Here is a poem reflecting on the architecture of her room and exemplifying the aesthetics of her poetry:

"Two windows,  
 One door.  
 A building  
 with peeling plaster,  
 Four walls  
 And a roof...  
 O, my room, how pretty it is.  
 On the wall  
 [...]

Fading lines  
 By my dead poet grandfather  
 And the unspoken dreams of  
 Other  
 Hundreds of people  
 Four walls  
 A roof,  
 O, my room, how pretty it is!

(*'Odam'*)

Not only her grandfather, to whom she refers in this poem, but also her sister, Selma Yusuf were poets. Pembe Marmara's only poetry collection 'Ladders' (*Merdivenler*) was edited and published by Selma Yusuf in 1986, two years after Pembe Marmara's death. Pembe Marmara's dwelling, "the building surrounded by four walls" witnessed many bitter funerals, such as her brothers' Ahmet and Cevdet who died while they were children; those of Ecvet Yusuf and Necdet Yusuf, who were killed during the war, and Alper Orhon's and her sister Duygu Orhon's, both of whom died of cancer. Each death in that house was another farewell to the Turkish Cypriot's cultural heritage and social existence in Nicosia as well as in Cyprus.

The works of most Nicosian poets following Pembe Marmara's generation (1943 *Kuşağı*) are received as 'nostalgic' by literary circles. It is true that the following generations, particularly recent ones, have put a lot of emphasis on the old Nicosia, its streets, houses, gardens, inhabitants, and other characteristics with an emotional 'Nicosianness'. I think the dramatic changes in Nicosia cannot be analyzed as if they were 'normal' social and cultural changes in the way of life one can observe all over the world, but as the distraction brought about by wars. Turkish Cypriot Nicosians lived in an enclave for forty years and experienced isolation behind a border line in a divided city. After the poets of Pembe Marmara's generation, no one has been able to enjoy Nicosia as a whole. Central Nicosia became a dark backyard area where the old squares of centuries no longer represented the city

centre. Busy high streets have not been functioning for decades. Nicosia's architectural development was shaped differently and unexpected built-up areas appeared in both parts of the city. Even the meaning of the word 'wall' has been shifting since Pembe Marmara. The walls mean the military dead zone for the recent poets, while walls refer to home life for her:

"All walls are grey and four-sided  
Windows are at the same level with the desk  
The ceiling is blue  
The table against the wall  
Desks lined up like soldiers  
Chairs are trigger-ready guns  
There is no picture on the walls  
O, this room, this room."

(*'Şu Oda'*)

Readers can see here that the blue ceiling turns out to be the sky, the windows, which open to the garden, replace the pictures on the wall, and the furniture represents the aggression of the outside world.

The furniture is in bitter dreams  
Each corner's like a sad memory  
[...]  
The walls are sorrowful with a secret suffering  
My dust-covered violin's hanging untouched  
Even my books are cross with me  
[...]  
The coward windows are still shut  
And there is no fire any more in the magical fireplace  
[...]  
But the carpet on the floor still seems in excitement  
[...]"

(*'Odam II'*)

Pembe Marmara identifies herself with the room. Her room becomes a living soul belonging to a person. The windows of Pembe Marmara open widely to her house's backyard garden and to the narrow streets of the old city, which is called the 'Walled City' (*Suriçi*). On the one hand, she feels frustrated and a prisoner in her room, and on the other hand, she is calm in her room and enjoys it. Most Nicosians experienced these contradictory feelings in old Nicosian houses. Traditional Nicosian houses are spaces of life and

death. They have large rooms with high ceilings, low-level big sized windows and doors which open to orchard courtyards, rich with varieties of trees and usually surrounded by walls. One can happily live there without going into the outside world, even if sometimes feeling melancholic. This is particularly the case for the women inhabitants of those houses.

In one of her essays, published by *Kültür-Sanat Dergisi* in its special issue on Pembe Marmara, she wrote about the orchard in detail. Each tree, flower and path in the courtyards turn into the inner part of the house and its inhabitants. She wrote about “the very rear Venetian tree, the sweet lemons, the Damascus mulberry, which father was proud of.” The ongoing argument at home between her father and mother was about “daddy’s trees and mummy’s flowers”. In the end the father took “The upper-garden for his trees such as myrtle, tangerine, plum, and pomegranate”, and the mother took “the lower-garden for her flowers such as jasmine, scented rose, carnation, tulip, and violet”. They separated the upper and lower gardens with a pool. One of her brothers (Cevdet) fell into the pool and died when he was nine years old. But the family had respected the soul of the garden – the pool, the orchard, the flowers, and the trees with their birds – long before that incident. The plants in the garden were considered to be part of the family: “Fruits on the trees were untouchable and we bought the same fruits from the bazaar.” There is no difference for Pembe Marmara between the rooms and the trees of the house. In fact, the garden is not part of the building, but the building is part of the garden. Together they make her dwelling.

The family house of Pembe Marmara, which produced many writers, and gave inspiration to poets is luckily still there, but abandoned. Her son Ulus Baker, an editor and well-known writer in the social sciences and cultural studies, lives in Ankara. Her husband was killed and the extended family members, like most Nicosians, left their home town for far-away cities. This beautiful dwelling is waiting for the attention of local Turkish Cypriot cultural authorities, as well as architects, to restore it back to life.

The peculiarity of Pembe Marmara’s dwelling did not only have to do with its inhabitants, but with the building’s architecture itself. The main section of the house is Venetian. The second floor (*hanay*) was added to the previous building in a typical Ottoman Cypriot architectural style. The earlier Venetian part is of yellow stones (*huri taşı*) and the added parts are mainly of sun-dried bricks (*kerpiç*). The wooden ladders, which became her poetry collection’s title, all lead to the garden, not to the inner ground floor. My recollection is that there are different exits to the garden through ladders. The ground floor is at the same level as the garden and it is detached. For example, the toilet, bathroom (*hamam*) and kitchen are separate entities facing the ground floor’s sitting room. The main entrance rooms have an arched balcony

opening to the garden. There is a lavatory with a white marble cylinder tub (*tekne*) for hand washing outdoors, and this is just opposite the arched balcony. I remember that the tub was still in use by Duygu Orhon, one of the latest inhabitants of the house in the late 1980s, and even the family furniture and pictures remained in the rooms.

Pembe Marmara's dwelling also takes a central part in Alev Alatlı's novel entitled *Are Jasmines Still Smelling? (Yaseminler Tüter mi Hala?)*. Alev Alatlı is Pembe Marmara's sister-in-law and she also used to live in this house. Just like the characters of that jasmine-smelling novel, Pembe Marmara watches the street from the upstairs bay window at the common room of the family pavilion in her poems. She makes fun of men passing by on the street in one of her poems entitled 'The Familiar' ('*Aşına*')

"He would pass by under the window of the pavilion everyday

Neither does he look back nor up to me

Just like a walking stick

[...]

His hairy chest

Would flash from under his tieless shirt

[...]

I wish to throw my roasted-chickpeas

Onto his crooked hat while he passes by

But neither is he tall like a poplar tree

Nor am I skillful enough to target him

From upstairs.

Alas, he passes no more under the bay window!"

(*'Aşına'*)

One should not think that Pembe Marmara watched the men only from the upstairs window. Her melancholic, adventurous and funny love stories are known from her poems as well as the essays on her life. Pretentious theatre actors, a Turkish Cypriot painter, a Turkish diplomat, incompetent but insistent good family guys, even street people, and her romantic Turkish poet fiancée, Ümit Yaşar Oğuzcan, whose engagement scandalized literary circles – all take their place in her writing. Her love stories were 'pink' just like her name. Pembe means pink in Turkish and it is a common female name among Turkish Cypriots while it is rare in Turkey. One of her 'pink' love poems called 'Rendezvous' shows that she could not wait for love in her grey room:

"I waited, waited and waited  
 And at the end, I said 'He won't come'  
     O, my love.  
 You didn't come to our rendezvous at the Metaksas Square  
     On time, as usual.  
 Nevertheless, I run there  
     I run by foot  
     Even without having my lunch.  
 I walk on the streets  
     As if I measure the pavements  
     While I was starving so badly.  
 I waited, waited and waited  
 And at the end, I said 'He won't come'  
     O, my love.  
 You didn't come to our rendezvous at the Metaksas Square  
     On time, as usual.  
 If I just knew  
 That you'd persuade your stupid girlfriend at the end  
 To come there for me  
 How could I leave the Metaksas Square?  
 I am sorry..."

(*'Randevu'*)

Pembe Marmara describes Nicosians' city life in the 1940s and the early '50s with lots of hidden references to architecture in her lines. 'The Store of Yavuz' (*Yavuz'un Dükkanı*) and 'Plastic Poem' (*Naylon Şiir*) are about the rise of modern shopping habits, while the traditional Nicosian shops are left to dust by their owners.

She was inspired by traditional *bayrams*, common *bayram* jingles and *bayram* places of Nicosia. She created a visual atmosphere of the places within the context of the *bayrams*, including celebrations at the home, patisserie shops, squares, festival parks, etc. She sang the songs of the traditional Turkish Cypriot everyday life when it was rare in that era to write such poems. One should read the poem below in Turkish just to feel the richness of its sounds:

"Şingiliyi sıyrdım  
 Eski saraya kandil astım  
 Bir ayağımı mağrıba  
 Bir ayağımı masrika bastım  
 Gittim Yavuz'a bindim

Durdu aşağı indim  
Küfi dayıdan  
Tulumba tatlısı yedim  
Kırmızı mendili başına sarılı  
sarı gömlekli İsmayılı  
Çifte telli oynarken gördüm  
Heeeee diye çocuklara bağurdım  
Fakat sonra yağmur düştü  
Kadınlar bucaklara üşüştü  
Az kaldı gözlerimden yağmur yağacaktı  
Bayram acı oldu...”

(‘Bayram’)

In many of her poems there is no concrete reference to architecture, but the structure of the places can be felt in the structure of the poem. I think we should examine the relations between poetry and architecture in the context of language, poetic style, and structural elements more than its theme, imagery, and other obvious references. It is possible to say that Pembe Marmara’s naïve, direct, ironic, and also romantic way of writing came from her high-ceiling room, the bay window of her house, the orchard surrounded by walls, the narrow streets, and the squares of Nicosia. For this reason, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that, while an architect designs a house, s/he also designs the country’s literature and poetry. Architects offer construction materials, views and space to poets. Architecture means more than technical and environmental issues. As one can see in Pembe Marmara’s example, the space she lived in made her poetry, and her poetry made contemporary Turkish Cypriot poetry what it is today.

Turkish Cypriots like to present themselves as a separate entity, having a cultural identity different from Greek Cypriots and mainland Turks. It is common among Turkish Cypriot scholars and critics to exaggerate the artistic quality and the literary position of Turkish Cypriot poets’ works. On the other hand, modernist and nationalist literary discourses have not given much chance to the Turkish literary establishment to analyze Turkish poetry outside of Turkey’s national borders without marginalizing it. Although Pembe Marmara was widely published in Turkey’s literary journals in the 1940s and 1950s, there is no place for her in Turkish poetry anthologies. There was no poetic movement among women in Turkey at the time when there was a strong one in Cyprus. Only this case would be enough to pay attention to Pembe Marmara’s and her Turkish Cypriot female poet friends’ works. They deserve recognition even if their works should be analyzed in their peripheral position within Turkish-language poetry.

Pembe Marmara was one of the leading representatives of Nicosian and, indeed, Cypriot poets writing in 1940s and 1950s. If one looks at more recent Turkish Cypriot women poets (and men poets too), there can be found many elements of continuity from Pembe Marmara's poetic tendencies, though she had not benefited from the luxury of such powerful predecessors. Perhaps, this is the main reason for the importance of her poetry in Cyprus. Though other women poets, such as Urkiye Mine Balman, from the same generation were noteworthy, only Pembe Marmara challenged the traditional Turkish Cypriot poets in an innovative way and became one of the founders of contemporary Turkish Cypriot poetry.

### Dedication Note

One of Pembe Marmara's ironic poems, dedicated to her 'Friends Who Share Pain' (*Ağrı Arkadaşları*), gives an idea, not only of the dwellings where the girls' tea parties took place, but also of the atmosphere where the early works of contemporary Turkish Cypriot poetry were read in the 1940s. One of the girls named in that poem was my mother. Pembe Marmara and my mother died almost at the same time (1984) from the same disease and were buried side by side in the Nicosia Turkish Cemetery. Every time I come to Cyprus, I visit their final dwellings. But visiting her street in old Nicosia makes me even more upset. It is sad to see her dwelling and the 'Walled City' abandoned like her grave. This poem of mine was written in memory of Pembe Marmara :

### Şezlong

Kafalong'un Leyla'ymış  
annemin en samimi arkadaşı  
gencecik kızlığında. Bir şezlonga uzanmışlar  
kız kıza  
bir kah-kaha bir kih-kihi... Diğer fotoğraflarda  
Kraliçe Victoria Mektebi'nden çıkan  
bütün kızlar da ağzı kulağında :  
Şaziye, Edibe (Dırdır), Melda, Suzi, Dilâra, Müjgân  
*ebedi bir hâtıra 3.7.1947.*  
Ama isimlerini hatırlayamazdım  
Pembe Marmara bir şiire yazmamış olsa.  
Annemile yanyana, zaman sonra şimdi  
bir şezlonga uzanmışlar gene  
Lefkoşa Gayrı-Hıristiyan Mezarlığı'nda. Ve ben  
şu anda bunları düşündüğüm Manhattan'da



cinsel tercihi her an değişebilir  
bir arkadaşımda, 12.9.1997  
ipek sesli Çin kuşlarının öpüştüğü bir kumaşta  
çektiği filmin başoyuncusu benmişim gibi bir pozla  
yayıldığım bu şezlongda...  
“Çocukluk ölümler’ni kendiyile taşır” diyor karım,  
“gömecek yer bulamadığından.”  
Evet, ama çocukluğudur en güvenilir yakını  
insanın, zor zamanlarında sığınabileceği kadar  
sağlam, candan, sadık.  
Ve hatırlanmakla taşınan bir şezlongdaki ferahlık..

(New York, 1997)

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## **Famagusta and its Image in Historical Travel Literature: A Town Between Orient and Occident**

*Carolina Petry*

Famagusta is a small town of about 29,000 citizens situated on the North-eastern coast of Cyprus, which has passed through a chequered history from its assumed foundation as Arsinoe by the Egyptians in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. up to the present time. Politically, economically, and culturally it has undergone several major changes in characteristics through the Romans, Franks or Venetians, until it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1571. The Christian inhabitants were banned from the inner city to the areas outside the city walls, where they built up a new quarter named Varosha. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the British Empire was interested in Cyprus, Famagusta was investigated by British ambassadors to find out if the harbour could be used. Finally, it was rebuilt and extended, under colonial administration, and became an important commercial harbour. In the 1960s and 1970s, Varosha became a huge tourist centre outside the walls and was one of the most attractive tourist destinations. Since the Turkish intervention in 1974, Famagusta has been situated in the internationally unrecognized Turkish part of Cyprus, therefore limiting its participation in the tourism business. Since the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is only recognized by Turkey, all flights must stop in Turkey. Although the Republic of Cyprus (the Southern part of the island) entered the European Union on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2004, the arrival to the island through one of the Northern ports is still interpreted as an illegal action by the Greek administration. Notwithstanding, free movement over the entire island is possible today for Cypriots and for members of European Union countries. Nevertheless, tourism in Famagusta is still in its infancy. Looking for the reasons, one might consider the uncomfortable flight connections, the low bed capacity (compared to the Greek Cypriot tourism facilities), and the missing quality in service and entertainment compared to international standards and expectations. But the arguments mentioned above do not sufficiently explain the low rate of visitors nor do they elucidate the motivation for the superficial and sometimes even negative style in which Famagusta tends to be described in international travel guides. In evaluating historical travel literature, it is remarkable to notice that the perception of Famagusta seems to be an inherited dilemma rather than a problem resulting from political circumstances. This can lead one to the hypothesis that the tourist scepticism is the outcome of the objectified 'other'. This paper will give an overview of the discordant European travel literature that cites and describes this specific town and try to discuss the possible reasons for a specific kind of perception and evaluation.

Original records used for this article are found in the Research Centre for Travel Literature in the Regional Library of Eutin, Germany. A detailed collection of travel accounts, the *Excerpta Cypria*, edited by Claude Delaval Cobham,<sup>1</sup> is another unique resource concerning the travel records of Cyprus. Atun's<sup>2</sup> collected writings about Famagusta from the *Excerpta Cypria*, and Jennings,<sup>3</sup> in taking the entire island of Cyprus into consideration, also gives detailed information about Famagusta in focusing on the period between 1571 and 1640. Zeilinger<sup>4</sup> compiled citations of travel literature related to Cyprus as the first publication in the German language. The problem with edited compilations of travel literature lies, of course, in the fact that those collections are selected by an individual person and are chosen by personal interest or special scientific emphasis. In this paper, I shall focus on the period after the Ottoman landing on Cyprus in 1571. I selected those travel literatures whose authors presumably entered Famagusta's fortifications and described not only the town's architecture and history but also mentioned its citizens and their life circumstances.

Entering the fortifications nowadays for the first time, on the one hand, everyone feels impressed by the enormous walls and the numerous church ruins. But, on the other hand, one becomes horrified by the maze of narrow streets without any green vegetation, by the immense heat and dust in the summer, and the sometimes flooded streets in the wintertime. Walking through the small streets facing windowless walls and closed doors, the tourist, most probably feels deserted. The traveller vainly searches for romantic, green, and shady cafés, but instead is faced with strip-illuminated coffee shops filled with chatting and gambling men. Small supermarkets sell everything from soap to cigarettes and a few restaurants offer either *kebap* – a general Turkish term describing meat dishes – or fast food. The pedestrian area includes numerous boutiques and jeweller's shops. In the entire city centre only two souvenir shops exist, offering Turkish culture related items rather than specialties from Cyprus. After six o'clock in the afternoon the shops roll down their iron shutters and most of the cafés and small restaurants close. The inner-city turns into an empty, lonely place. This is still the impression the average traveller gets nowadays and it probably leads not only to lonely feelings and disappointment but to a palpable experience of strangeness too. I strongly believe that it is the originality of the town and its cultural genuineness and intactness, as city between Orient and Occident that turns this place into a counterpart of the European traveller's imagination of Oriental and Mediterranean life.

### Imagination and Reality

In analyzing the historical travel literature related to Famagusta, one faces an interesting and evident fact: among numerous records dealing with the entire island of Cyprus – in which the island is widely described as beautiful, charming and wonderful – the city of Famagusta seems somehow neglected. Within the frame of the pilgrimages in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Cyprus' role was as a transit place for changing shipping lines. The travellers arriving, usually in the harbours of Limassol or Paphos, were welcomed and hosted by Greek monks. They offered not only board and lodging in one of the numerous monasteries but also 'sightseeing-tours'. The standard program included a visit of Nicosia, of nearby monasteries or shrines or a walk through attractive landscapes. As the travellers stayed for only a couple of days, the time was too short for a visit to Famagusta, located on the island's opposite North-eastern coast. Taking into consideration the historical background, one possible reason for the avoidance of Famagusta could have been the Ottoman landing in 1571 and the banning of all Christians out of Famagusta to the suburban areas. Nevertheless, some guests visited the Ottoman inhabited place but we read descriptions of Famagusta like "ruin and destruction,"<sup>5</sup> "a lifeless place,"<sup>6</sup> or "now suffered by the Turks to moulder away in ruins".<sup>7</sup> What did these European travellers expect and why were they so disappointed?

In order to understand both the connotation of the term 'foreign' and the European imagination of the Orient one has to go back to Marco Polo. He postulated the Orient as the prototypical 'wonderland' but also described the invincible barriers between Islam and Christianity. Taking Muslim lifestyle as morally unacceptable and uncivilized, the Christians interpreted the oriental human being as a bad character. The belief of Christian religious and moral superiority went hand in hand with the developments in European military and technology, especially during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>8</sup> Europeans categorized the people of the world by putting themselves on the top of the list because of their high quality education and progress in technology and military. In separating the imagination from the concrete experience, the idea of the magic Orient nevertheless persisted. Travellers to the Orient came into contact, mainly, with the Muslim high society, whose members' houses and lifestyle better fitted into the visionary paradise. Further contact with the Oriental lower classes underlined European prejudices and established an inevitable ethnocentrism.

Simmel<sup>9</sup> in his essay '*Der Fremde*' (The stranger) tries to define the characterizing features of positioning the other. If we apply his idea in our context, that the stranger is as far from us as common features become reduced to general items, connecting many people, we can interpret the perspective of European superiority, facing the oriental 'other', as a result of a

general sense of community only. In contemporary vocabulary one might call this 'cultural universals', issues common in all known cultures of the world, including communication, labour division, education of children, and so forth.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, considering the undoubted higher social background of the European travellers, we may even think of a kind of selection: common features of social or occupational character have been associated with the oriental elites, while the lower social classes with their poverty and miserable life conditions were too far away. Finding the oriental reality, as it was a disappointment, was far reaching, and it seemed to prove the European belief of intellectual and technical superiority. The ignorance of Arabic sciences, with their impulse for European academic disciplines, is remarkable within this ethnocentric viewpoint. Comparing Greek and Arabic philosophy Hellmich points out the two different standpoints: while Greek philosophy discusses the world order the Arabic one tries to make use of it.<sup>11</sup> Plessner emphasizes understanding as the prerequisite for the association of human being and things and as the basis of human intellectual life.<sup>12</sup> According to Plessner understanding requires a reflection of the viewed or experienced and is strongly influenced by the individual's fantasy. The philosopher criticizes the practice in which foreign cultures are described by exaggerations of their otherness in order to make them more comprehensible.<sup>13</sup> But I think misunderstandings, because of the absence of reflection, are primarily responsible for the exaggeration of negative facts. Simmel points out both: the mechanism within a society to rank individuals above or below one another and to elevate the dominant position of the stranger.<sup>14</sup> Relating Simmel's thoughts to our context we can suppose that the travellers judged the 'subordinated' Oriental society from a dominant position accumulating negative evaluations because of their presumed European intellectual-cultural and scientific-technical supremacy, or, as Said puts it: "Having in common an identity best described as lamentably alien."<sup>15</sup> Said in focusing on Western superiority argues not only that the relationship between Europeans and the Orient was a relationship of power and dominance but that the Orient as "imaginative geography" simply has been created and that the oriental man has been portrayed rather as a problem to be solved than as a citizen.<sup>16</sup> Turner interprets the East-West relationship as contests not only of physical or military character but as a dilemma of controversial representation.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Travel Literature**

Taking into account the perspectives mentioned above, the travel literature used for this article can be classified into two main categories: A considerable number of authors absolutely reject the Islamic 'other' (Anonymous 1779, Bars'kji 1778, Cassel 1880, Della Valle 1674, Forneris 1849, Hasselquist 1769, Kinneir 1818, Pococke 1743/45, Pfeiffer 1844, Ross 1852,

Sonnini de Manoncourt 1801, Speer 1683, Turner 1820, Villamont 1598, Walpole 1818),<sup>18</sup> the other part consists of writers with a possible, often romantically inspired interest. The ways of coming to an understanding and finding results vary and an initially good intention often turns into a negative conclusion (Ali Bey [Badia y Leblich] 1816, Baker 1879, Dixon 1879, Heyman 1759, Niebuhr 1774/1837, Mariti 1971, Salvator 1873, Schillinger 1707, Schultheis 1942, Vezin 1804).<sup>19</sup> From the authors listed above only a very few visited Famagusta, nevertheless, the town was mentioned sometimes. In the following, I shall focus only on those travel writings whose authors explicitly talked about Famagusta.

A vivid example for the horrified 'other' is the pilgrim Marquis Jacques Villamont, accompanied by a Greek monk, who arrived in Cyprus in 1589. The Ottoman conquest in 1571 with its banishment of Christian citizens from Famagusta presumably had been very well remembered by the Christian people of Cyprus. Villamont, as a Christian pilgrim himself, felt not only threatened but was highly disappointed by the real Oriental world. The outcome of this displeasure was a defensive reaction expressed in descriptions like "*Schweinställe*" (pigpens) for Turkish houses or exploring Turkish table manners comparing them with pigs.<sup>20</sup> Villamont, who was probably influenced by the idea of the Orient as a magic place, could not deal with the poor and miserable circumstances he found in Cyprus. From his point of view, the poverty just proved the incorrectness of Islam and the bad character of its supporters. Villamont described the Turkish people as "barbarians" who remain in "*Irrtümern und abergläubischen Vorstellungen*" (errors and superstitious imaginations).<sup>21</sup> After his travelling companion told him a story of a Muslim who had executed himself in public, Villamont refused to visit Famagusta. The fact that Villamont reported a rumoured 'horror-story' of a town he did not even enter underlines the viewpoint of Plessner concerning the categorization of the 'other'.<sup>22</sup> A further example, in the sense of Plessnerian exaggeration, can be found in the documents of the German archaeologist Ludwig Ross published in 1852. He describes Famagusta's main place, today called Namık Kemal Meydanı, in front of the Gothic cathedral, since 1571 used as a mosque:

*"Jetzt aber wandelt auf ihm ein Volk das in seiner Versunkenheit von dem Adel und der Pracht dieser Bauten keine Ahnung hat. Und selbst der Ausdruck 'wandelt' ist noch zu edel! Auf niedergetretenen Pantoffeln, in zerrissenen Beinkleidern, schleichen und schlottern die vom ewigen Sitzen und Kauern krummbeinigen Söhne Mahomets unter diesen Trümmern einher."*<sup>23</sup>

(But now there is a kind of wandering people who in their degradation, have no idea about the nobility and magnificence of these buildings. And even the expression 'wandering' is too noble! In tread backless slippers, with ragged trousers and with bandy legs, because of their permanent sitting and crouching, these sons of Mahomet creep and stroll around these ruins. Translation C.P.)

Ross characterizes the Turkish population as being "*ekelhaft schmutzig*" (disgustingly dirty) and "*zerlumpt*" (ragged) which legitimizes, from his point of view, the use of the term "primitive".<sup>24</sup> Analogous to Villamont, Ross obviously has not only been influenced by the vision of the magic Orient but also by the belief in the grandeur of Greek art and philosophy. To make Turks responsible for all negative events is also the tendency in the record by William Turner. He wrote:

"From the gate to the port there is a subterraneous passage which the Turks leave unexplored [...] streets of levelled palaces, choked up with ruins and rubbish [...] It is hardly credible that a city so lately flourishing should be so completely ruined as is Famagosto [...] It is now inhabited by not more than one hundred souls."<sup>25</sup>

The Turkish inhabitants of Famagusta are not only held responsible for the "sand and rubbish that has been suffered to accumulate",<sup>26</sup> and for having ruined "the greater part of the city,"<sup>27</sup> but also as being "the worst architects in the world."<sup>28</sup>

The second main category of perceiving the 'other' consists of travel accounts in which the authors were principally interested in viewing something 'strange' and were willing to begin a process of understanding. In those travel records the investigation of the 'other' is based on diverse motivations. On the one hand, on the emphasis of scientific interest including both positive and negative approaches which can be identified and, on the other side the romantic-fantastic impetus. Probably most neutral is the record by the Italian priest Giovanni Mariti living in Cyprus from 1760 to 1767 as a diplomat of the Habsburg Empire. Differing from the widespread habit of being not only informed but rather influenced by other travel documentations Mariti used his period of office to explore the island on his own. Concerned with being objective and neutral, he wrote:

"The city has lost on the outside nothing of its original works; the ditches are thoroughly cleared, the walls in order, except that a few towers damaged by the enemy's guns remain unrepaired. It is very difficult within, where in every street you meet only ruin and destruction. [...] Who would believe it? So deserted is the city that it contains but 200 souls."<sup>29</sup>

Although it is a relatively objective description, even Mariti could not avoid a certain amount of disappointment speaking of "only ruin and destruction", but in analyzing carefully the choice of his words one does not find any kind of Islamic recrimination. Today one could suppose that the Western travellers, influenced by a "baroque ideal landscape"<sup>30</sup> as one pattern of representation, had a certain imagination of oriental architecture which differed from the reality they perceived as a picture of "only ruins and destruction" leaving out the fact that several earthquakes had an influence on Famagusta's appearance as well.<sup>31</sup> The Western vision of oriental houses as wonderful peaceful gardens and spacious palaces did not correspond in any way to the houses in Famagusta. Owned by the lower Turkish class, the architecture was adapted to the social and climatic needs of their inhabitants. The historical houses, partly still existent, represent one type of the Oriental courthouses, which is a widespread form of architecture within the Near East. Built of sandstone and mud and facing the street without any windows, the centre of the house remains invisible from outside. The impression of empty streets and ruined houses can easily rise if people from other cultures are used to painted and decorated frontages.<sup>32</sup>

The records by Samuel Baker and William Hepworth Dixon represent scientific intention, primarily, in the concern of the British Empire.<sup>33</sup> Baker undertook a journey to the Karpaz Peninsula, in those times a difficult, uncomfortable and time-consuming enterprise. Baker just passed by Famagusta but had the idea of the city's possible restoration in mind in order to establish Famagusta as the main British harbour.<sup>34</sup> Dixon, who had a similar concern, noticed Famagusta as being "our future port".<sup>35</sup> For further information about its structure, he stepped into the town. After a detailed description of the fortification's architecture and geological circumstances, he remarked: "Famagosta is a heap of sand and dust; not a city of the dead, and yet a city without life; a middle-age Pompeji, riven and rent by one disaster, and then shut up from human sight."<sup>36</sup>

Dixon stresses the lifelessness, the destruction and the mistrust of the inhabitants:



“A female figure clothed in white shrinks timidly round a corner. At the sound of human foot, she draws the yashmak round her eyes, as though she were afraid [...]. A turbaned brow puts out from a half-open door in a garden-wall. [...] As you salute and smile, he seems to feel that he has done his duty, and he drops behind his garden-wall.”<sup>37</sup>

Revealing is Dixon’s ethnic exploration of the people in Famagusta. While describing the “two hundred and eighty men, children of those soldiers and their native wives”,<sup>38</sup> he identifies the Christians outside the fortifications as Cypriots.<sup>39</sup> The “prisoners” within the walls are characterized as:

“Under a mouldering wall, in the recesses of a sacred court, the Moslem rakes his bit of earth, turns on his jet of water, and sows his onion and his sugar-cane. Warmth and his daily round of prayer suffice for body and for soul. He drinks no wine, he rarely touches flesh. A mat, laid under his fig-tree, offers him a bed. What else his nature craves – a bit of Syrian leaf, a bag of mocha, and a cotton-print, he can purchase from the proceeds of his pomegranate-trees.”<sup>40</sup>

These few pages contain undoubtedly more information about Famagusta than Baker’s notes. Nevertheless, they also exemplify the full range of European misunderstanding, misinformation, and even ethnocentrism. In reading such illustrations, one could believe that further investigation on Islamic culture is not requested because of its absence. Moreover, in exploring the fig-tree as the often depicted symbol for the Garden of Eden as well as the pomegranate-fruit as the sign for recreation and fertility, Dixon could also not avoid romantic dreams of Oriental life as real paradise.<sup>41</sup>

This leads us to the interested travellers who were inspired by romantic-fantastic imagination. Within the analyzed travel literature there were authors who hoped to find Cyprus as a paradise and magic place on earth – Aphrodite, the Goddess of Love, was born there – but for them Famagusta, not surprisingly, was not of much importance. Lili Schultheis,<sup>42</sup> a German traveller, explored Famagusta trying to locate the origins of the Shakespeare drama, *Othello*. Despite admiring the “shining golden city” (“*goldschimmernde Stadt*”) with its impressive shape she stated:

“[...] die] leeren Schalen ihrer zahlreichen Kirchen, gotischen Skeletten mit den toten Augen leerer Fensterhöhlen, aus denen der Geist so lange, lange schon geflohen war. Nur

*der Sankt-Sophien-Kirche hatte man ein Scheinleben gegeben: über der schönen Gotik ihrer Fassade erhob sich baumlang und dürr ein Minareh, wie ein drohender Finger. Und überall, wohin sich das Auge wandte, die Spuren eines großen Untergangs, die Trümmer einer alten Kultur, auf denen der junge Eroberer seine naiven Lehmhütten errichtet hatte.”<sup>43</sup>*

([... the] empty shells of their numerous churches, gothic skeletons with the dead eyes of empty windows, from where the spirit went away a long, long time ago. Only the St. Sophia Church<sup>44</sup> got an illusory life: Over the beautiful gothic frontage there is a minaret tremendously tall and scrawny like a warning finger. And everywhere one can see the remains of a big decline. The ruins of an ancient culture on which the young conqueror has built his naïve mud huts. Translation C. P.)

In the following text Schultheis claims that the place in front of the cathedral which is surrounded by small shops in which the Turks sit, smoke and chat, shows similarities to a painting by Rembrandt.<sup>45</sup>

### **Imagination and Reality Revisited**

In its entirety, it is to be realized that Famagusta and its Muslim inhabitants are represented with an increased complexity only in a very few travel writings, and within this small number of accounts only that by Giovanni Mariti could be considered being free of prejudices mentioning Turkish speaking people. Most of the travelers did not enter the fortifications of Famagusta but judged the town, nevertheless, by taking into consideration previous travel accounts or stories rumored by others.<sup>46</sup> The use of terms like “ruin”, “destruction” and “lifelessness” in revealing Famagusta is frequent for all texts studied here. We shall distinguish now several factors responsible for such perceptions. First, in remembering Simmel, Said and Plessner, Famagusta can be interpreted as representative for both ‘otherness’ and misunderstanding. On the one hand, the island of Cyprus symbolized the border of the ‘Old World’ with its known horizon, behind which the Oriental fairytales began. On the other hand, a visit to Famagusta, with its life reality, turned the Oriental dream into frustration and lead to overgeneralization and prejudices. The process of understanding is only possible by being directly confronted with the ‘other’ and by the will to reflect the images in the viewer’s mind – a process requiring too much from a visitor who is just passing

through. As cited before, Giovanni Mariti presumably is the only author whose records can be evaluated as being objective. But even he, considering the long period that allowed him to enter the process of understanding, used words like “ruined and destroyed” for Famagusta, that leads to another factor influencing the perception. Osterhammel differentiates between three discourses: that of decline (*Niedergangsdiskurs*), that of degeneration (*Degenerationsdiskurs*) and the discourse of stagnation (*Stagnationsdiskurs*).<sup>47</sup> The discourse of decline has its basis within the frame of antique imaginations about the rise and fall of empires. The discourse of degeneration focuses on the border between former myths of the Golden Age and new theories about the origin of cultures. And finally, the discourse of stagnation assumes, that the progressing development of the human being, with its culmination in modern Western Europe, patterns the discourse of stagnation.<sup>48</sup> All these different ideas include the widespread use of the ‘ruin-metaphor.’ The picture of the “ruined and destroyed” Famagusta corresponds to that which Osterhammel identifies as “loss of shape” (*Formverlust*).<sup>49</sup> When the plan is, in its entirety, not to recognize anymore, the ruin loses both its aesthetic attraction and historical meaning. This “loss of shape” is impressively reflected in the travel accounts cited in this article. The absent comprehension of the Muslim culture, the rejection of the Islamic religion and lifestyle and the dissatisfaction regarding Oriental truth cause those pessimistic literary outcomes.

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### Endnotes

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- <sup>16</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York, 1979, 207
- <sup>17</sup> Brian S. Turner, 'On the concept of axial space. Orientalism and the originary', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 1 (1), 2001, 62-74; See also Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial fantasies*, Cambridge, 1999
- <sup>18</sup> Anonymous, *Journal kept on a Journey from Bassora to Bagdad in the Year 1779*, Horsham, 1784, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 323; Paulus Cassel, *Vom Nil zum Ganges. Wanderungen in die orientalische Welt*, Berlin, 1880; Pietro Della Valle, *Petri Della Valle, Eines vornehmen Römischen Patritii Reiß-Beschreibung in unterschiedliche Theile der Welt*, Genf, 1674; Anna Forneris, *Schicksale und Erlebnisse einer Kärntnerin während ihrer Reisen in verschiedenen Ländern und fast 30 jährigem Aufenthaltes im Oriente*, Klagenfurt, 1985 (Laibach, 1849); Frederic Hasselquist, *Diaries*, Paris, 1769, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 412; John MacDonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan*, London, 1818 in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 412; Richard Pococke, *Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger andern Länder. Theil 1-3*, Erlangen, 1791/92 (London, 1743-45); Ida Pfeiffer, *Reise einer Wienerin in das Heilige Land*, Stuttgart, Hamburg, 1968 (Wien: Bibliothek Klassischer Reiseberichte, Georg A. Narciss, 1844); Ludwig Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern*, Halle, 1852; Sonnini de Manoncourt and Charles Nicolas Sigisbert, *Reise nach Griechenland und der Türkei auf Befehl Ludwigs XVI. Unternommen von C. S. Sonnini*, Berlin, 180; Daniel Speer, *Türckischer Vagant*, (?), 1683; William Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London, 1820, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 434 f
- <sup>19</sup> Ali Bey (Domingo Badia y Leblich), *Travels of Ali Bey*, Reading, 1993 (1816); Samuel White Baker, *Cyprus as I saw it in 1879*, London, 1879; William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, London, 1879; John Heyman, *Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago*,

*Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, etc.* London, 1759, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 249; Carsten Niebuhr, *Carsten Niebuhr's Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern. Bd. 1-3*, Kopenhagen, Hamburg, 1774-1837; Giovanni Mariti, *Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, ed, *Excerpta Cypria*, London, 1971 (1769); Ludwig Salvator, *Levkosia: the Capital of Cyprus*, London, 1983 (1873); Franz Caspar Schillinger, *Persianische und ostindianische Reise*, Nürnberg (?), 1707 (?); Lili M. Schultheis, *Auf der Insel Aphroditens. Eine Cypernfahrt*, Berlin, 1942; Michael de Vezin, *Reisebeschreibungen*, vol. XII, Weimar, 1804, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 369

<sup>20</sup> Johannes Zeilinger, ed, *Cypern. Orient und Okzident*, München, 1997, 111

ff

<sup>21</sup> Johannes Zeilinger, ed, *Cypern. Orient und Okzident*, München, 1997, 111

ff

<sup>22</sup> The Dutch traveller Olfert Dapper (1688) published a map of the castle of Famagusta. Obviously he never entered the town. While the harbour is drawn in its exact shape, the cathedral visible even from the sea was forgotten. The design of the depicted houses and street scenes rather follow myths than reality. After his visit in 1730 the pilgrim Bars'kij in his sketches emphasizes on the cathedral while neglecting the rest of the town shape (Alexander D. Grishin, 'A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Bars'kyj's Travels in Cyprus', in: Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides, eds, *Sources for the History of Cyprus*, vol. III., New York, 1996, Appendix, plate 7). Grishin assumes Bars'kij did not enter Famagusta during his visit to Cyprus in 1730 (Alexander D. Grishin, 'A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Bars'kyj's Travels in Cyprus', Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides, eds, *Sources for the History of Cyprus*, vol. III., New York, 1996, 24) but the pilgrim visited Cyprus several times and in 1736 he reports about the inner view of Famagusta's cathedral mentioning the destroyed city, the cracked churches and the collapsed houses as a result of an earthquake. The Turks are equated with evil (Alexander D. Grishin, 'A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Bars'kyj's Travels in Cyprus', Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides, eds, *Sources for the History of Cyprus*, vol. III., New York, 1996, 97)

<sup>23</sup> Ludwig Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern*, Halle, 1852, 120

<sup>24</sup> Ludwig Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern*, Halle, 1852, 121

<sup>25</sup> William Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London, 1820, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 434 f

- <sup>26</sup> John MacDonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan*, London, 1818, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 412
- <sup>27</sup> Michael de Vezin, *Reisebeschreibungen*, vol. XII, Weimar, 1804, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 369
- <sup>28</sup> Frederic Hasselquist, *Diaries*, Paris, 1769, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1969, 307
- <sup>29</sup> Giovanni Mariti, *Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, in: Claude Delaval Cobham, ed, London, 1971 (1769), 65, 67
- <sup>30</sup> Peter Märker and Monika Wagner, 'Bildungsreise und Reisebild', in: Petra Bopp, Ludger Fischer, and Gustl Früh, eds, *Mit dem Auge des Touristen. Zur Geschichte des Reisebildes*, Tübingen, 1981, 7 ff
- <sup>31</sup> Jennings mentions not only eight or ten earthquakes in 1569 but also a whirlwind in 1566. See: Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640*, New York, London, 1993, 266
- <sup>32</sup> Detailed descriptions of the Oriental courthouse are given in: Stefano Bianca, *Hofhaus und Paradiesgarten. Architektur und Lebensform im islamischen Stadtwesen*, Zürich, München, 1979; Orhan Göçer, 'Die türkische Stadt. Städtebau in Anatolien', *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 3, 1973, 277-284; Oleg Grabar, 'Städte und Städter', in: Bernhard Lewis, ed, *Die Welt des Islam*, Braunschweig, 1976, 89-100; Carolina Petry, *Zwischen zwei Welten. Die Zyperntürken: eine Gesellschaft zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, Berlin, 2000; Ronald Wellenreuther, *Nikosia-Nord (Zypern). Stadtentwicklung und Sozialraumanalyse einer geteilten Stadt zwischen Orient und Okzident*, Liliana, 1996
- <sup>33</sup> Samuel White Baker, *Cyprus as I saw it in 1879*, London, 1879; William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, London, 1879
- <sup>34</sup> Samuel White Baker, *Cyprus as I saw it in 1879*, London, 1879, 98 ff
- <sup>35</sup> William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, London, 1879, 279
- <sup>36</sup> William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, London, 1879, 284 f
- <sup>37</sup> William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, London, 1879, 285 f
- <sup>38</sup> William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, London, 1879, 290
- <sup>39</sup> William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, London, 1879, 288
- <sup>40</sup> William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, London, 1879, 291
- <sup>41</sup> I doubt that anyone had prepared a bed under a fig-tree because this species secretes a milky, sticky liquid that causes an immense itch when touching the skin. Furthermore it is interesting that Dixon does not mention the many palm trees which are seen as holy in Muslim culture and are still one characteristic of Famagusta in present times.

- 42 Lili M. Schultheis, *Auf der Insel Aphroditens. Eine Cypernfahrt*, Berlin, 1942
- 43 Lili M. Schultheis, *Auf der Insel Aphroditens. Eine Cypernfahrt*, Berlin, 1942, 134
- 44 The correct name of the cathedral is St. Nicolas but by the travellers often referred to as St. Sophia. See: Alexander D. Grishin, 'A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Barsk'kyj's Travels in Cyprus', in: Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides, eds, *Sources for the History of Cyprus*, vol. III., New York, 1996, 23
- 45 Lili M. Schultheis, *Auf der Insel Aphroditens. Eine Cypernfahrt*, Berlin, 1942, 137
- 46 Osterhammel mentions the practice of 'copy and paste' as *modus operandi* within the travel writing business in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. See: Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, München, 1998
- 47 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, München, 1998
- 48 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, München, 1998, 385-393
- 49 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, München, 1998, 387

## Kıbrıs Türk Romanının Gelişimi

Mihrican Aylanç

“Roman, dünyayı yansıtmıyor, kurmaya, yaratmaya gidiyordur-üstelik, bunu ancak gediklerle, çatlaklarla tanımlanan, bölük pörçük bir deneyim malzemesiyle yapmaya kalkıştığını bile bile.”

(Lukacs)

Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatında ilk roman, birinci bölümü 1894'te yayınlanan Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım'ın *Yâdigâr-ı Muhabbet* adlı eseridir. *Yâdigâr-ı Muhabbet*, Türk edebiyatının tesirinde ele alınır. 1894'ten günümüze ulaşan çizgide Ada'da yaşanan savaşlar, savaşın neden olduğu göçler, dünyadaki siyasî gelişmeler ve Ada'ya etkisi; Ada'nın geleceğinin belirsizliği, toplumsal yapının kadınlara yönelik baskıcı tutumları, kadının birey olma çabası ve isyanı, insanın ferdî ve sosyal hayatı, Türk ve dünya edebiyatının tesiri gibi faktörler Kıbrıs Türk romanının gelişimini etkiler. İlk yıllarda sağlam bir roman tekniğine sahip olmayan, yer yer anı ve deneme gibi türlerin özelliklerini de taşıyan romanlardaki ortak özellik “yaşanmışlık” olur. Roman, Ada'da yaşanan hayatı, sosyal, siyasî ve kültürel cepheleri ile aksettiren bir ayna görevini üstlenir. İlk dönemlerde Hikmet Afif Mapolar'ın romanlarında görülen iç monolog, rüya ve bilinçakışı teknikleri ve çatışma unsurları yeterli görülmesi de roman tekniği açısından tüm bunlar Kıbrıs Türk romanında önemli adımlardır.

1994 yılından sonra yayınlanan *Soydaşınız Balık Burcu* (1994), *Ares Harikalar Diyarında* (1995), *Sana Sevdam Sarı* (1998), *Lâle Yüreğın Beyaz* (1999), *Karpaz* (2000), *Gelincik Meseli* (2002) ve *Üzgün Kızların Gizli Tarihi* (2002) gibi eserlerde roman tekniğinin geliştiği gözlenir. Bu çağdaş örneklerde yazarlar, modern ve postmodern tekniklerle toplumsal sorunlara dönük eserler verirken karakterlerin iç dünyalarına da yönelirler. Neşe Yaşın ve Mehmet Yaşın, “metinlerarasılık” çerçevesinde farklı okumalara açık roman örnekleri verirler.

Kıbrıs Türk halkının belleğini yansıtan romanlar, toplum merkezli eleştirel yaklaşımlar ve psikolojik, otobiyografik okumalarla farklı anlamlar kazanarak sosyo-kültürel değişimleri yansıtırlar ve Ada'nın sosyal tarihine özel bir veri tabanı sunarlar.

Bu çalışmada Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatında ilk romanın yayınlandığı tarih olan 1894'ten 2002'ye uzanan zaman diliminde Kıbrıslı yazarlar tarafın-



dan yazılan ve kitap olarak basılan romanların bibliyografyası verilmekte ve bu çerçevede Kıbrıs Türk romanının gelişimi üzerinde durulmaktadır.

Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatında kitap olarak yayınlanan ilk roman Kaytaz-zade Mehmet Nazım'ın, ilk bölümü 1894'te, ikinci bölümü 1895, üçüncü bölümlü 1896'da yayınlanan *Yâdigâr-ı Muhabbet* adlı eseridir (Turan 2000: 307-319).<sup>1</sup> Muzaferreddin Galib'in 1892'de Zaman gazetesinde tefrika edilen *Bir Bakış* adlı eseri ve 1897'de tefrika edilen M. Sadrettin'in *Saika-i Sevda* adlı romanı ise bu türün ilk tefrika örnekleridir (Bozkurt 1996: 211).

İstanbul'un edebiyat çevrelerinde yer edinmeyi amaçlayan Kaytaz-zade, *Yâdigâr-ı Muhabbet*'te İstanbul'da geçen bir aşk öyküsünü işler (Fedai 2003: 33-34). Eserde, tema, kahramanların özellikleri ve üslûp bakımından Servet-i Fünûn döneminin izleri görülür. Kaytaz-zade Mehmet Nazım'ın 12 tefrikadan sonra tamamlanmamış *Leyle-i Visal* adında bir romanı daha bulunmaktadır. Bu romanın konusu ise Sakız Adası'nda geçmektedir (Yılmaz ve Ramazan 1996: 27).

1890'lı yıllarda karşılaşılan birkaç roman denemesinin ardından 1930'lu yıllara kadar yeni roman örneğine rastlanmaz. 1939 yılında İsmail Alptekin tarafından *Ebediyen Benimsin* adlı roman yayınlanır (An 1997). 1930'lu yıllarda romancılığıyla ön plana çıkan Hikmet Afif Mapolar, Kıbrıs Türk romanının doğuşu ve gelişmesinde önemli bir rol oynar. Romanlarda konularını Kıbrıs'tan alır. Kıbrıslı Türk'ün yaşantısını, acılarını, duygularını, geleneklerini edebî metinlere taşır.

İlk romanlarında Muzaffer Gökmen adını kullanan Mapolar'ın romanlarının bir çoğu gazetelerde tefrika olarak yayınlanır, bir kısmı da kitap olarak basılır. İstiklâl gazetesinde *Mermer Kadın* (1949-50), *Aşk Vadisi* (1950), *Günah Cenneti* (1950), Devrim gazetesinde *Şeytan Taşları* (1963), *İngiliz Kemal Kıbrıs'ta* (1963), Kıbrıs Postası gazetesinde *Şantöz* (1982-83), *Potuğun Pembesi* (1984), *Asu'nun Dönüşü* (1986-87) ve *Özgürlük Savaşçıları* (1988) (Güneyyeli 2003), İnkilâp gazetesinde *Ayıışığı* (1945) ve Memleket gazetesinde de *Kıyamet* adlı romanları tefrika edilir (Turan 2004: 57). 1935'te *Kahraman Kaplan*, 1937'de *Son Damla*, 1938-39'da *Diken Çiçeği* (*Diken Gülü*), 1939'da *Son Çıldırış*, 1944'te *Kasırğa*, 1953'te *Kök Nal*, 1956'da *Üçümüz* ve 1962'de *Beyaz Gül* romanları kitap olarak yayınlanır (Güneyyeli 2003).

*Son Çıldırış*, *Kasırğa*, *Kök Nal*, *Üçümüz* ve *Beyaz Gül* Mapolar'ın günümüze ulaşan romanlarıdır. Yazar, *Son Çıldırış* adlı romanında kötü yollara düşen kadının konumunu, ruhî tahlillerle zenginleştirilen, akıcı ve etkileyici bir anlatımla işler. Yapıtta toplumun kötü yola düşen kadına bakışını sorgular ve bu konumdaki kadınların iç dünyalarını açığa çıkarır.

Mapolar, 1944'te yayınladığı *Kasırğa*'da, aşk temasını ele alır. Ah-

lâki değerlerin de vurgulandığı eserde, ilk katmanda aşk/sorumluluk (Tamara-Kudret ilişkisi), ikinci katmanda ise iyi/kötü (Kudret-Tamara/Lüvenya-Kardinal) karşıtlığı işlenir. Tema, kurgu ve esere hakim olan “trajik duygusu” itibarıyla tragedyaları hatırlatan eserde teknik olarak rüya ve geriye dönüşlerden yararlanır. 1953’te yayınladığı *Kök Nal* romanında, ahlâk temini işler. Toplum ahlâkını bozan kişileri eleştirirken bu kişilerin bilinçaltında yatan yaraları dışavurur. Para kazanabilmek için kanunu çiğneyen ve paranın verdiği rehavetle çevresine zarar veren İdris aracılığıyla toplumdaki maddeye düşkünlüğü ve yozlaşan ahlâk anlayışını sorgular. Batıda 1900’lü yıllarda gelişen bilinçakışı tekniğini kullanır. *Üçümüz* romanında, çocukluk ve gençlik yılları ile ilgili hatıralarını ve babasının yaşama tutunma çabalarını; mutsuz evlilik, başarısız iş yaşamı, iş ve aile yaşamının etkileşimi ve ailede yarattığı parçalanmışlıklar çerçevesinde işler.<sup>2</sup> Yine geriye dönüş, rüya ve içmonolog tekniklerinden yararlanır. Mapolar’ın son olarak yayınladığı *Beyaz Gül* romanında ise Afrodit’in mitolojik güzelliği üzerine inşa edilen bir hikâye işlenir. Güzelliğin yaratılışının gizli olduğu Afrodit mitiyle paralellikler kurularak Afroditten sonra eşsiz bir güzelliğin Kıbrıs Adası’nda yeniden ortaya çıkışı anlatılır. Eserde, mitolojik kahraman ve hikâyeler, efsanevî bir yerde ve malsalsı bir anlatımla verilir.

Mapolar’ın döneminde İsmail Karagözlü ve Rauf Raif Denктаş ahlâkî konulu romanlarıyla dikkati çekerler. Karagözlü, *Saadet Yolcuları* (1940) adlı eserinde birtakım ahlâki değerleri sorgular. Babasının ölümü üzerine çeşitli maceralara atılan, bir bar kadınıyla ilişki kuran ve babasından kalan mirası boşa harcayan bir gencin, sevdiklerinin yardımıyla hayatını yeniden düzene koymasını anlatır. Tezli romanlar sınıfına giren eser, iyi ahlâklı olmanın birey ve çevresine mutluluk getireceğini vurgular. Karagözlü’nün 1942’de *Halkın Sesi* gazetesinde tefrika edilen *Sarı Mektuplar* isimli bir roman denemesi de bulunmaktadır (Bozkurt 1996). Denктаş’ın 1944’te Dante’nin *İlâhî Komedya* adlı eserini model alarak yazdığı *Ateşsiz Cehennem* ise din ahlâki üzerine bilgiler içeren öğretici bir eserdir. Nitekim yazar, eserin girişinde toplumumuzdaki din anlayışı üzerine bilgiler verir ve öğretici olmayı amaçlayan eserin yazılış sebebi üzerinde durur. Ahlâk konusunu işlerken kendi toplumunu eleştiren yazar, cinayet, ihanet, rüşvet, dini inkar, yetersiz eğitim, zaman israfı, içki ve kumar düşkünlüğü gibi noktalarda toplumun eleştirilmeye ihtiyacı olduğunu savunur. Mektup tekniğinden yararlanarak düşüncelerini samimi bir üslûpla ortaya koyar.

1951 yılında Argun Korkut, *Kore Yollarında* ile Uzak Doğu maceralarını ve bu çerçevede II. Dünya Savaşı’nın insanlar üzerinde bıraktığı psikolojik etkileri işler. Anı-roman özelliği taşıyan romanda girift bir olay örgüsüne rastlanmamakta, kimi bölümler akıcı bir dille işlenmektedir. Argun Korkut’un 1952’de yayınlan *Sönen Yıldız* adında bir romanı daha bulunmaktadır

(An 1997).

Özker Yaşın, 1955'te yazdığı *Bütün Kapılar Kapandı*'da yalın bir anlatımla, insanın okuduğu kitaplarının tesirinde kalarak geçirdiği bunalımı işler. Kitap-insan ilişkisini ele alan romanın kahramanı, gerçek hayatı okuduğu kitapların kurmaca dünyası ile karşılaştıran ve büyük bir hayal kırıklığı yaşayan Emma Bovary tipini hatırlatır.

1955'te Vergi Halil Bedevi'nin *Son Yalan* ve 1958'de A. Sedat Törel'in *Kıbrıslı Şehit Nihat* adlı romanları yayınlanır (Hakeri 2003). 1960'ta yayınladığı *El Kapılarında* romanında Orbay Mehmet (Deliceirmek), sade ve anlaşılır bir dille kadın sorunsalını işler. Kadını merkez alan romanda, kadının iş gücü ve cinsel yönden sömürüldüğü toplumda genç bir kızın kendi kendini gerçekleştirme çabasını ele alır. Fikret Demirağ'ın 1963'de yayınladığı *Yağmur Ağaçları* romanı, çağının gerçekleri içinde bunalan, topluma karşı hiç bir sorumluluğu olmayan, kararsızlıklar, inişler ve çıkışlar arasında gidip gelen bir gencin, hayata tutunamayarak bunalıma sürüklenişini işler.

1969'da Konur Alp'in, biyografik roman özelliği taşıyan *Aşkına İthaf* adlı eseri yayınlanır. Alp, burada Türkiye'ye yaptığı gezi gözlemlerini, sonu gelmeyen bir aşk öyküsüyle harmanlayarak verir. Romanda gelişen olaylar kurgunun zayıflığından ötürü yapay bir görümdedir. Yapay görümlü olaylar insan ilişkilerine de yansır. Aytaç Ali Rıza'nın 1974'te yayınladığı *Kâmuran* adlı eserde de *Aşkına İthaf*'da olduğu gibi sonuçsuz kalan bir aşk öyküsü işlenir. Roman kurgu bakımından zayıftır.<sup>3</sup>

Ada'da 1950'li yıllarda toplumsal yapıda önemli değişiklikler gözlemlenir. Rumların, Ada üzerinde Yunanistan'ın desteğinde geliştirdikleri politika (*Enosis*) neticesinde Türk-Rum çatışmaları sıcak savaşa dönüşür. 1960'ta Birleşmiş Milletler'in denetiminde, İngiltere, Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ın garantörlüğünde, Zürih ve Londra Antlaşmaları uyarınca Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti kurulur. Rumlar memurluklar, terfiler ve belediyeler hususunda yasa dışı girişimlerde bulunurlar. Yönetim ve memurluklardan uzaklaştırılan pek çok Kıbrıslı Türk yurt dışına göç etmek zorunda kalır.<sup>4</sup> Cumhurbaşkanı Makarios, garantör devletlere Türklere verilen hakların kaldırılmasını, garanti ve ittifak antlaşmalarının feshedilmesini teklif eder. Rumlar, Kıbrıs'ı ele geçirmek üzere hazırlanmaktadırlar. 1963'ten 1974'e kadar Ada'da Rum baskı ve saldırıları devam eder. Bu saldırıların sonunda da Türkiye Garanti ve İttifak antlaşmaları uyarınca 1974'te Ada'ya müdahale eder. Rumların 1821'le uzanan *Enosis* emelleri ve bunu gerçekleştirecek olan Akritas Planı, başarısızlıkla sonuçlanır (Alasya 1998: 203-221).

Siyasî hayattaki bu gelişmeler yazarların romanlarındaki temaları da etkiler. 1974 sonrasında yazarlar romanlarında savaş, savaşın sonuçları arasında yer alan göç ve göç sonrasında yaşanan uyum sorunlarını işlerler. Bu romanlar savaşın Kıbrıs Türkü üzerinde bıraktığı izleri ortaya koymaktadır.

Özker Yaşın, 1974'te yayınladığı *Kıbrıs'ta Vuruşanlar – Bir Mücahidin Romanı* ile Ada'da yaşanan tarihsel olayları ele alır. Ada'da Aralık 1963'ten, 8-9 Ağustos 1974'e kadar yaşanan Türk-Rum çatışmalarını kronolojik olarak anlatır. Rumların Türkleri yok etme planlarını ve bunu gerçekleştirmek üzere kısa bir süre içinde tüm Ada'da başlattıkları saldırıları, Türk halkının kurtuluş umudu arayışlarını gerçekçi gözlemlerle aktarır. 1976'da yayınladığı *Girne'den Yol Bağladık* romanında ise 1974 sonrasında Ada'da meydana gelen toplumsal değişimleri ele alır. 1974'te Ada'nın Kuzey ve Güney Kıbrıs olarak ikiye bölünmesinden sonra güneyde yaşayan Türklerin kuzeye göç edişi ve yeni yerleşim alanlarında yaşadıkları istihdam sorunları romana yansır. Yaşın, romanda göç sorunlarını işlerken geriye dönüşlerle savaşın insanlar üzerinde bıraktığı izleri de ortaya koyar. Romanlarında sağlam bir dil ve akıcı bir anlatım kullanır. Romanlarıyla bir dönemin toplumsal panoramasını çizer.

1975 yılında Ahmet Gazioğlu, *Kıbrıs'ta Aşk ve Savaş*'ı adlı eserini yayınlar. Romanda, Ada'da 1974 yılında gelişen olayları, bir aşk öyküsü etrafında ele alır. Teknik açıdan zayıf olan eser, milli mücadele tarihine ışık tutması bakımından önem taşır. Ağırlıklı olarak savaş temasının işlendiği bu dönemde yayınladığı *Sevinci İkiye Böldüler* (1979) romanı ile Çetin Kasapoğlu bunalım temasına yönelir. Sade bir dil ve klasik roman kuralları çerçevesinde yozlaşmış toplumda bunalan ve kurtuluşu intiharda bulan genç bir erkeğin psikolojisini yansıtır.

Saygın Akanyeti 1977'de yayınladığı *Yarınslık* yapıtında dönemin roman anlayışına bağlı kalarak, mücadele ve savaş yıllarının Türk toplumunda bıraktığı psikolojik ve sosyolojik izleri, günce ve mektuplardan yararlanarak ele alır. Aynı yıl yayınlanan ve uzun öykü olarak nitelenen, ancak bizim "roman" türü içinde değerlendirdiğimiz Numan Ali Levent'in *Sen De Direneceksin* yapıtı da mücadele ve savaş yıllarını işleyen eserlerdendir. Levent eserde, "Akıncılar Direnişi" etrafında milli mücadeleye ışık tutar ve çocukların gözüyle savaşı işler. Uzun süre Rum ve Yunanlıların esareti altında yaşayan ve varoluş mücadelesi veren Kıbrıs Türkünün bir sonraki nesli olan çocuklarında bu mücadeleyi sürdürmesi ve soykırıma direnmesine yönelik çeşitli mesajlar verir.

1978 yılında yayınladığı *Kıbrıslı Kâzım* adlı eserinde Özker Yaşın, iç polikadaki yozlaşmayı dile getirir. Politikacı bir kimlikle Ada'daki seçim süreçlerini ve süreçlerde yaşanan politik oyunları irdeler. 1974 sonrasında ülkede gelişen ve değişen toplumsal yapıya bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan politik yozlaşma temi, ileride İsmail Bozkurt gibi politikacı kimliği bulunan yazarlar tarafından da ele alınacaktır.

Fikret Demirağ, 1985'te yayınladığı *Şu Müthiş Savaş Yılları* ve Sa-

bahattin İsmail 1986'da ortaya koyduğu *Savaşların Gölgesinde* yapıtları ile Ada'da çetin çatışmaların yaşandığı Türk-Rum mücadeleleri öncesinde yaşanan II. Dünya Savaşı ve Kıbrıs Türkünün bu savaştaki konumunu ele alırlar. Kıbrıslı asker Bilâl Denizal'ın anılarından oluşan *Şu Müthiş Savaş Yılları*, Almanlar tarafından esir alınan insanların esirlik yaşamının gizli kalmış kimi yönlerini açığa çıkarır. Sabahattin İsmail, *Savaşların Gölgesinde* adlı romanında I. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Ada'daki ekonomik ve toplumsal yapıya dikkat çeker ve Kıbrıslı Türkleri II. Dünya savaşında fiili olarak rol üstlenmeye iten nedenlerle, savaşın getirilerini değerlendirir. Ada'da yaşanan Türk-Rum savaşlarına da yer verir.

1993 yılında ele aldığı *İki Halkın Hikâyesi* romanıyla Sevim Baran, milli mücadele edebiyatı örneklerine bir yensini ekler. Akıcı bir üslûp ve sade bir dille Ada'da yaşanan Türk-Rum çatışmalarını işler. Özellikle Rumların Türklere uyguladığı insanlık dışı uygulamalara dikkati çeker.

1980'li yılların sonu ve 1990'lı yılların başlarında İsmail Bozkurt, Mehmet Yaşın ve Derviş Zaim'in yapıtlarında bunalım ve aşk temlerinin işlendiği görülür. İsmail Bozkurt'un 1987'de yayınladığı *Yusufçuklar Oldu mu?* romanı, bir aşk öyküsü etrafında Kıbrıs'taki siyasal değişimleri ve gelişmeleri ele alır. Sade bir dille ele alınan romanda olaylar kronolojik olarak gelişmekte, zaman zaman geriye dönüşlerle Ada'nın elli yıllık sosyal, siyasî ve toplumsal yapısına dikkat çekilmektedir. Bozkurt, 1995'te yayınladığı ikinci romanı *Mangal*'da ise politika etrafında bir aşk öyküsünü işler. *Yusufçuklar Oldu Mu?* romanında aşk, politik görüşlere ve tutumlara yön verirken, *Mangal*'da politika aşka yön verir. İki kuşak arasında yaşanan politik çatışmalar aşkın önüne geçer. Yapıtta politik içerik, *Kıbrıslı Kâzım*'da olduğu gibi politik yozlaşma etrafında döner. Yönetimde olan siyasî partiler ve politikacıların politik tutumları eleştirilir. Gençlerin bu politik düzene başkaldırısına yer verilir. Roman, halkın yaşantısı ve düşüncelerini mercek altına alan içeriği ile önem taşır.

Mehmet Yaşın'ın 1994'te yayınladığı *Soydaşınız Balık Burcu* romanı, teknik açıdan Kıbrıs Türk romanının gelişim ve modernleşmeye doğru yöneldiğini ortaya koyan bir örnektir. Romanda Yaşın, farklı teknikleri bir arada kullanır. Roman iki bölümlü rapor ve raporların gerisinde on beş ayrı hikâyeden oluşur. Birinci bölümde on bir, ikinci bölümde dört ayrı hikâye yer alır. Farklı okuma tekniklerine de açık olan romanda her bölüm ve her hikâyeye kendi içinde bir bütünlüğe sahiptir. Ayrı bütünlüklerin birleşiminden oluşan ayrı iki metinde iki kahramanın yaşamöyküsü meydana gelir. Kitabın ikinci kısmında verilen ilk bölümde yazar kendi yaşamından, ikinci bölümde ise yazarın yarattığı bir kahraman olan ve Mehmet'in yaşamöyküsel raporunu tutan Michel Solomon Oscar'ın yaşamından kesitler verir. Üstkurmaca (*metafiction*) tekniği ile farklı metinlerden yararlanır. Hikâyelerde yer verdiği anlatı

içinde anlatılarla kendi yaşamöyküsünü ve yaşadıklarının belleğinde bıraktığı izleri açığa çıkarır. Anlatı tekniği olarak hikâye, mektup ve günceden yararlanır. Romanın iç yapısını ören hikâyeleri farklı tekniklerle kullanır. Dipnotlara aldığı hikâyelerle öncelendiği temel iletileri pekiştirir. Kimi hikâyelerinde astrolojik veriler kullanır. Yapıt, parçalanmış kimliklere sahip gençlerin iç dünyasına ve kimliksiz, coğrafyasız insan tipinin içsel yaşamına dikkat çeker. Kimlik sorunsalı yaşayan insanların sorunsal haline gelen yaşamına ışık tutarken, bir nevi kimlik sorunsalının kökeninde yatan nedenleri ortaya koyar.

1995 yılında yayınladığı *Ares Harikalar Diyarında* adlı romanı ile Derviş Zaim, Mehmet Yaşın'ın kullandığı üstkurmaca (*metafiction*) tekniğinden yararlanır. Dünya edebiyatında 1970'lerden sonra kullanılmaya başlayan bu teknik doğrultusunda Zaim, yapıt içinde başka yapıtlarla gerçekliğin değil, kurmacanın var olduğunu ve okuyucuya bir illüzyon dünyasında gerçekle yüz yüze olmadığını fark ettirme gereğini belirtir. Bu açıdan yapıtta öğeler kurmaca içine sokulur ve kurmaca gerçeklikle gerçek gerçeklik arasındaki çizgi muğlaklaştırılır. Böylelikle okuyucunun metin karşısındaki tavrı da değişken bir yapıya bürünür. İzlenen-izleyen, yazar ve kahramanı, insanın kendini nasıl gördüğü ve nasıl görüldüğü arasındaki karşıtlık, insan duygularının karmaşalığı metnin çekirdeğini oluşturur.

1995'te yayınladığı *Bedel* adlı eseriyle Hacer Tuncer, Kıbrıs Türk romanında kadın ve kadın sorunsalına yeni bir bakış açışı getirir. Kadın araştırmalarının ve feminist kuramın ortaya çıkışında etkili olan kadının sömürsü, ailede ve toplumda edilgen duruma itilişi meselelerini tartışır. Ataerkil toplumda ezilen, insanî duyguları bastırılan ve insanca yaşamdan mahrum edilen kadının konumunu ve bu konumdan rahatsızlık duyan yeni nesil kadının edilgenliğe karşı mücadele etme arzusunu dile getirir. İç çözümlemelerle sömürülen ve ezilen kadının ruhsal durumunu yansıtır.

1997 yılı ve sonrasında Kıbrıs Türk romanında savaş yeniden ağırlıklı olarak işlenen temalar arasında yerini alır. 1997'de Bekir Kara *Bellekteki İzler I*'i yayımlar. Burada 1955'li yıllarda Rumların Ada'yı ele geçirme ve Yunanistan'a bağlama çabaları doğrultusunda önce İngilizlere yönelen ve sonrasında da Türkleri hedef alan saldırıları karşısında Türk halkının oradan oraya sürüklenişine ve 1974 sonrasında Ada'nın ikiye bölünmesiyle, kuzeye göç eden Türklerin karşılaştıkları çeşitli sorunlara değinir. Tarihi olayları işleyen eserde, rüyalar önemli bir yer tutar. Savaş yıllarının etkileri ve insan zihninde açtığı yaralar rüyalar aracılığıyla psikolojik boyutu ile işlenir. Ancak kurgunun zayıf olması, "rüya"ların sağlam bir tekniğe dayalı olarak kullanılmamış olması eseri tekniği, psikolojik boyutundan çok içeriği ve bugün taşıdığı toplumsal verileri ile öne çıkarmaktadır. Ahmet Tolgay, 1997 yılında yayınladığı *Kıbrıs Çarmıhtan İnerken* adlı eserde Ada'da yaşanan Türk-Rum mücadelelerine farklı bir açıdan yaklaşır. Mağusa çarpışmaları etrafında 1974

Barış Harekâtı'nın iç yüzü ve harekâtın ilerleme yönü hakkında tarihî bilgiler verir. Eserde akıcı ve etkileyici bir üslûp kullanır.

Bener Hakkı Hakeri'nin 1997'de yayınlanan *Kurtuluşa Kaçış* romanında da Türk-Rum mücadeleleri işlenir. Bu mücadelede garantör devletler ve Birleşmiş Milletlerin izlediği uluslararası politika ve bu politikaların Ada'da ki gelişmelere etkisi üzerinde durulur. Yazar, geniş bir olay örgüsü yerine, Kıbrıs üzerinde söz sahibi devletler ve Birleşmiş Milletlerin tarihî nitelikli demeçlerini ve sorunu çözmek için gerçekleştirilen Cenevre Görüşmeleri süreçlerini Ada'da yaşayan bir Kıbrıslı gözüyle ele alır. Romandaki halkı bilgilendirme misyonu dikkat çeker. Tarihin bir dönemi, "belgesel" özelliği ile anlatılır. Sultan tarafından 1998 yılında yayınlanan *Kurşun Sesi Duymadan Yaşamak*'ta da benzer özellikler görülür. Sultan, Türk-Rum çatışmalarından daha da gerilere gider ve 1930'lu yılların toplumsal yaşamından kesitler verir. 1950-1974 yıllarında su yüzüne çıkan Türk-Rum savaşlarını toplumsal ve politik boyutu ile ele alır. Güney Kıbrıs'tan, kuzeye geçmeye çalışan ve bunu başarabilmek için önce İngiliz üslerine sığınan Türklerin burada sürdürdükleri insanlık dışı yaşamı yansıtır. Altı ana bölüm ve çeşitli alt bölümlerden oluşan romanda olaylar kronolojik olarak işlenir. Her bölümün başında anlatılan olaylara ışık tutacak, gerçeklere dayalı tarihî bilgilere yer verilir. Havva Tekin 1998'de yayınladığı *Yeşil Ada'nın Çocukları* romanında, savaş-çocuk ilişkisini ele alır. Sade ve kolay anlaşılır bir dille savaş ve savaşın içinde yaşanan dostluklara dikkat çeker. 1970'li yıllarda Ada'da yaşanan gerginlik ve korkular, bu korkuların çocuklar üzerindeki etkisi, Barış Harekâtı'nda ve Ada'nın ikiye bölünmesiyle yaşanan duygular romanın ağırlık merkezini oluşturur.

1998 yılında yayınladığı *Pembe Kitap*'ta Sultan, aşk temasını işler. Eserde iki yazar arasında gelişen aşkı ve bu aşk öyküsündeki kadın kahramanın yaşadığı travma sonrasındaki durumunu, hafızasını yitirliğini, geçmişini ve kimliğini arayışını anlatır. Zamanın biçim verici öge olarak kullanıldığı romanda, art zamanlı düzlemden eş zamanlı düzleme geçen olaylar silsilesiyle aşkın insanı yaşama bağlayan gücü açığa çıkarılır. 1998'de Özden Selenge'nin *Sana Sevdam Sarı* adlı romanında da zamanın farklı kullanımı dikkat çeken bir özelliktir. Sultan'ın zamanı kullanarak birbirine bağladığı düzlemlerden farklı olarak Selenge burada zaman ve mekanı kullanarak, pek çok düzlem yaratır. Her düzlemde aşkı, ayrılığı ve nihayetinde de aşkın imkânsızlığını vurgular. Kadın bakış açısı ile aşkın nedensizliğini ve sonu ayrılık olan birlikteliklerin iç yüzünü sorgular. Eserde yer yer Kıbrıs ağzını kullanır. Resamlığın verdiği bir tecrübe ile çevresini gözlemler. Selenge, 1999'da yayınladığı *Lâle Yüreğin Beyaz* romanında da yerel kullanımlara yer verir. Adalı bir kimlik ve kadın bakış açısıyla 1974 sonrasında Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a göç eden insanların burada yaşadıkları uyum sorunlarını işler. Kıbrıs'a uyum sağlama-

ya çalışan göçmen kadının konumunu, iç dünyasını, dış dünya ve iç dünyasında yaşadığı çatışmaları derinliği olmayan iç çözümlenmelerle anlatır. Bu iç çözümlenmeler Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan kadının iç dünyasını ortaya koymaları açısından önem taşırlar ve sosyolojik araştırmalar için önemli veri oluştururlar.

2000 yılında yayınladığı *Vatanım Kıbrıs* adlı yapıtla Emine Selçuk, dış göç ve dış göçün yarattığı problemleri ele alır. Eser, işsizlik nedeniyle İngiltere'ye göç eden Kıbrıslı bir gencin Kıbrıs'a yaptığı ziyarette, Ada'daki sosyal ve ekonomik yaşam ile ilgili gözlemlerini içerir. Tek bir kahramanın iç çözümlenmeleri ve dış gözlemleri üzerine kurulu roman, zayıf bir kurgu ve basit düzeyde bir anlatımla İngiltere'ye yerleşen insanların iç dünyalarını, göç ettikleri ve yerleştikleri bölgelere bakışını ortaya koyar. İngiltere'de yeni bir kimliğe bürünen insanların vatanlarının sosyal yapısına yönelik muhasebelerine yer verir. Bu yönüyle roman yaşantı edebiyatının örneklerindedir, deneme-roman sınırında kalır.

2000 yılında yayınlanan Seher Bilgehan'ın *Karpaz* adlı eseri, son yıllarda teknik açıdan gelişme gösteren Kıbrıs Türk romanın başarılı örneklerindedir. 17 ayrı bölüm ve hikâyeden oluşan yapıt, eski çağlarda "Karpaz Bölgesi"ndeki halkın korsanlar ve kendi aralarındaki mücadelelerini işler. İlk bölümlerde geriye dönüşlerle baş kahraman Su'nun çocukluk yıllarına inilir. Üçüncü bölümden sonra kronolojik olarak gelişen olaylar silsilesinde Su'nun yaşamı destansı bir yapıya bürünür. Eser, gerek dil ve anlatım gerekse kurgu bakımından sağlam bir yapıya sahiptir. Genellikle bölüm başlarında kullanılan doğa üstü tabiat tasvirleri de yapıta ayrı bir renk katar.

2001'de "savaş" hâlâ romanlarda işlenen temalar arasındadır. Şerife Münevver Özgerek, *Yorgun Yollar* (2001) adlı romanında savaş temini işleyen diğer romanlar gibi savaş yılları ve milli mücadele üzerinde durur. 1958-1974 tarihleri arasında Mağusa bölgesinde Türkler ve Rumlar arasında yaşanan olaylar ve bu dönemde Türklerin kendi arasındaki ilişkileri ele alınır. *Kıbrıs Çarmıhtan İnerken* romanında olduğu gibi Mağusa Çarpışmalarını merkez alan, Türk direnişini ve Barış Harekâtı'nı anlatan romanda Kale İçi'nde yoğun ateş altında kalan halkın umutsuzluğu, Türkiye'de öğrenim gören gençlerin Ada'daki direnişe katılımı ve Türkiye'nin harekâta gösterdiği başarı, eseri milli mücadelede gösterilen şanlı direnişi yansıtmaları bakımından önemli kılar. Roman tarihî bir kesiti aktarmakla birlikte tarihî roman olmaktan çok anıroman özelliği taşır. 2002'de İsmail Bozkurt tarafından yayınlanan *Bir Gün Belki*'de de geniş bir sosyal ve kültürel arka plan içerisinde savaş teması işlenir. Bozkurt romanda, savaş yıllarının gergin ve korkulu havasını Boğaziçi köyündeki sosyal ve kültürel yaşamla paralel olarak ele alır. Bir Rum kızı ile Türk delikanlısı arasında gelişen aşkı kültürel ve toplumsal yaşamın aktarılmasında bir araç ve sürükleyici unsur olarak kullanır. İki toplum arasındaki



ilişkileri ve bu toplumların bir araya gelemeyişini, birbirinden kopuşunu bu aşkla somutlar.

Bekir Kara tarafından 2001 yılında yayınan *Kavuni*, başkaldırı edebiyatı çerçevesinde ele alınan eşkiya öykülerine bir örnektir. Yapıtta daha önceki yıllarda Nazemin Gelen tarafından ele alınan, ancak yazılış tarihi belirtilmeyen *Hasanbulliler* romanında işlenen Hasanbulliler olayı ele alınır. Kara, yapıtta İngiliz Devrinde yaşanan ve daha sonraları halk arasında destanlaşan Hasanbullilerin yaşamını gerçek hayat hikâyelerine dayanarak ele alır. Okuyucuyu çeşitli nedenlerle suç işleyip, dağa çıkan ve zamanla canavarlaşan insanların ruhî portreleriyle yüz yüze bırakır. Rüya tekniğini kullanarak, kanunlara karşı gelen ve eşkiyalığı seçenlerin bilinçaltında yatan yaraları dışa vurur. *Hasanbulliler* ve *Kavuni* gibi eşkiya romanları sınıfında değerlendirilebilecek bir diğer eser, *Vreççalı Mida*'dır. Yazılış tarihi belirli olmayan ve konusunu yine İngiliz devrinde yaşayan bir şahsın destanlaştırılan yaşam öyküsünden alan yapıt, İngiliz yönetimi döneminde kıtlık ve açlıkla karşı karşıya gelen halkın çözümü hırsızlıkta buluşunu işler. Eserde özentsiz ve yerel kullanımların ağırlaştırdığı bir dil kullanır.

2002 yılı Kıbrıs Türk romancılığı açısından oldukça parlak geçer. Bu tarihte *Bir Gün Belki* adlı eserin dışında Ömer Hacıolak'ın *Binbir Tepeler*, Raşit Pertev'in *Gelincik Meseli*, Bekir Kara'nın *Bellekteki İzler 2* ve Neşe Yaşın'ın *Üzgün Kızların Gizli Tarihi* adlı eserleri yayınlanır. Hacıolak'ın ele aldığı ve ütöpik roman örneği olan *Binbir Tepeler*'in konusu Türkiye'de geçer. Yazar burada Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın izlerinin henüz silinemediği Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinde meydana gelen toplumsal yozlaşmalara değinir ve yozlaşmaya başkaldıran aydın insanların ütöpik bir kent yaratışını anlatır. Cumhuriyet yılları Türkiye'sinin toplumsal panoramasını çizen eser, bu yönüyle Ada'nın toplumsal yapısını açığa çıkaran veya arka planda bu toplumsal yapıyı esas alarak çeşitli temleri işleyen romanlardan ayrılır. Bekir Kara, *Bellekteki İzler 1* romanının devamı olan *Bellekteki İzler 2* adlı eserinde 1974'ten sonra farklı bölgelerden göç alan Güzelyurt bölgesinde yaşanan sorunları dile getirir. 1980'li yıllarda Ada'nın toplumsal yapısı çerçevesinde Ada'nın geleceği meselesi ve Güzelyurt'a yerleşen halkın endişe ve beklentileri üzerinde durur.

Ada'nın yıllar süren kavga ve savaşlarla alt üst edilen toplumsal yapısı ve bu yapının insan yaşamına ve ilişkilerine yansımaları *Soydaşınız Balık Burcu*'ndan sonra Neşe Yaşın'ın *Üzgün Kızların Gizli Tarihi* adlı eserinde de görülmektedir. Yazarın postmodern bir yaklaşım ve tekniklerle ele aldığı eser, metin içinde metinlerden oluşur. Her metin İnci'nin parçalanmış yaşamını açığa çıkaran bütünü parçalarıdır. Metinler bir araya geldiğinde ve bütün tamamlandığında Ada'nın paramparça edilen toplumsal yapısının içinde, Ada gibi kendini arama kavgası veren İnci'nin tarihiyle karşılaşırız. İnci'nin

tarihini okurken, Ada'nın tarihini de okuruz. Parçalanmış bir aile ve toplumda kadının tutunma, kendini bütünleme çabalarına tanık oluruz.

Son dönemlerde yayınlanan *Gelincik Meseli* de *Üzgün Kızların Gizli Tarihi* romanında olduğu gibi sağlam kurgusuyla dikkat çeker. Pertev eserinde, insanî duygular ve değerlerin önemini anlamakta güçlük çeken insanın öyküsünü ele alır. Adem mitosu ile insanlık tarihinin başlangıcına iner ve toplumun önceden kabul ettiği yargıları sorgular. İnsanların farkına varamadığı dostluk, sevgi ve doğruluğu hak ettiği yere oturtur ve kâinatı yeniden kurgular. Bir anlamda da Ada'nın parçalanmış yapısı ve Hıristiyan-Müslüman kavgalarını metaforik bir yaklaşımla irdeler.

Günümüzde de Kıbrıs Türk romanı Türk ve dünya edebiyatının tesirinde teknik gelişimini sürdürür. Ard arda Mehmet Yaşın'ın *Sınırdışı Saatler*, Özden Selenge'nin *Alkolye Denizkuşu*, Ömer Hacıolak'ın *Selma*, Serpil Yalçın'ın anı-roman özelliği taşıyan *Bir Resim Çizdim Tuvale* ve Baysal Rağıp Gülboy'un *Necip'le Şenlenen Geceler* adlı romanları yayınlanır.

Ada'da yaşanan savaşlar, savaşın neden olduğu göçler, dünyadaki siyasî gelişmeler ve Ada'ya etkisi; Ada'nın geleceğinin belirsizliği, toplumsal yapının kadınlara yönelik baskıcı tutumları, kadının birey olma çabası ve isyanı, insanın ferdi ve sosyal hayatı, Türk ve dünya edebiyatının tesiri gibi faktörler Kıbrıs Türk romanının gelişimini etkiler. Aşk, ahlâk, kadın, bunalım, savaş, kahramanlık, göç, göçe bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan uyum sorunları, politika, başkaldırı, kimlik bunalımı ve mitolojik konulu eserler verilir.<sup>5</sup> Savaş en sık işlenen tema olur. Savaşa bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan ve arka planında savaş ve savaşın insan zihninde açtığı yaraları barındıran göç ve göç sorunları ile bu tema ağırlığını daha da hissettirir. Farklı temaları işleyen romanlarda da savaş, toplumsal ve bireysel bir sorunsal olarak kendini hissettirir.

Kıbrıs Türk romanında tarihî olayların, ferdi tecrübelerin yazıya aktarıldığı anı-deneme arasında kalan bir kurgudan, özyaşamöyküsel romana; yer yer belgelerle beslenen belgesel romana yaklaşan örnekler görülmektedir. Genellikle yazar kahraman kimliğiyle ele alınan romanlar, tarihe tanıklık eder. Tarihî olaylarla birlikte güncel olaylar da doğal yansıtmacı bir tarzda romana aktarılır. "Kahraman anlatıcının bakış açısı"ndan ele alınan Kıbrıs Türk romanının merkezinde kahraman anlatıcının "ben"i yer alır. Burada "ben" in sosyal çevresi ve bireyselliği birlikte verilir.

İlk yıllarda sağlam bir roman tekniğine sahip olmayan eserlerdeki ortak özellik "yaşanmışlık"tır. Kıbrıs Türk romanı "yaşantı edebiyatı"dır. Roman, Ada'da yaşanan hayatı, sosyal, siyasî ve kültürel cepheleri ile aksettiren bir ayna görevini üstlenmiştir. Yazarlar, romanlarda duygu ve düşüncelerini yoğun bir şekilde harekete geçiren deneyim malzemesini işleyerek, kendileri için bir sorunsal alanı olan yaşanmışlıkları dışa vurmuşlardır. Ada'da toplumsal yaşamda meydana gelen değişim ve gelişmeler romana yansımış, roman

toplumsal tarihe tanıklık etme işlevini üstlenmiştir. Toplumsal sorunları irdeleyen ve “tezli roman” olarak nitelenen bu eserlerde kurgusal özellikler 1990’lı yıllara kadar arka planda kalmaktadır. Olay örgüsü, kahramanlar arası ilişkiler, çatışma unsurları, zaman ve mekan kullanımının zayıflığı eserleri roman tekniği açısından başarısız kılmaktadır. İlk dönemlerde Hikmet Afif Mapolar’ın romanlarında görülen iç monolog, rüya ve bilinçakışı teknikleri ve çatışma unsurları yeterli görülmesi de roman tekniği açısından Kıbrıs Türk romanında önemli adımlardır.

1994 yılından sonra ise romanlardaki gelişme dikkat çekicidir. *Soydaşınız Balık Burcu* (1994), *Ares Harikalar Diyarında* (1995), *Sana Sevdam Sarı* (1998), *Lâle Yüreğin Beyaz* (1999), *Karpaz* (2000), *Gelincik Meseli* (2002) ve *Üzgün Kızların Gizli Tarihi* (2002) gibi eserlerde roman tekniğinin geliştiği gözlenir. Bu çağdaş örneklerde yazarlar toplumsal sorunlara dönük eserler verirken karakterlerin iç dünyalarına da yönelirler. Modernizm ve postmodernizmin kalıplarından yararlanırlar. Neşe Yaşın ve Mehmet Yaşın, “metinlerarasılık” (*intertextuality*) çerçevesinde farklı okumalara açık roman örnekleri verirler.

Romanlar Kıbrıs Türk halkının belleğidirler. Toplum merkezli eleştirel yaklaşımlar ve psikolojik, otobiyografik okumalarla farklı anlamlar kazanan eserler sosyo-kültürel değişimleri yansıtır, Ada’nın sosyal tarihine özel bir veri tabanı sunarlar.

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### Dipnotlar

<sup>1</sup> Gülgün Serdar'ın belirttiğine göre Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatında ilk roman, yazarı meçhul *Bir Gece Sohbeti*'dir (Serdar 1998: 6).

<sup>2</sup> *Üçümüz*, Hikmet Afif Mapolar'ın çocukluk ve gençlik yıllarını anlatan bir anı-romandır. Yapıtta, yaşadığı toplumda tutunamayan baş karakter Mapolar'ın babasıdır (Nesim 2003).

<sup>3</sup> *Ada* dergisinde, *Kâmuran* adlı eserin ikinci cildinin de yayınlandığı ve yazarının isminin Aytaç Çağın olduğu belirtilmektedir (Sarı 2004).

<sup>4</sup> İngiliz yönetimi altında yaşamış ve İngiliz vatandaşlığına geçirilmiş olan Kıbrıslı Türkler, özellikle İngiltere'ye göç ederler. 1950-1960'lı yıllar İngiltere'ye göçün yoğun olarak yaşandığı yıllardır. Bu göçler sonucunda 1971'e gelindiğinde İngiltere'de yaşayan Türklerin sayısı 72665'e ulaşır (Alicik 1997: 23). Rumların 1950'li yıllarda başlayan ve 1974 yılına kadar devam eden baskıları sonucunda Türklerin belli yerleşim yerlerine sıkıştırılmaları ile ortaya çıkan işsizlik, Ada'da can güvenliğinin kalmaması, yine Rumların bilinçli bir politika ile Türklerin mallarını satın alarak, onlara İngiltere pasaportu ve İngiltere'de iş olanağı sağlamaları, İngiltere'ye göçün boyutlarını etkiler (Gökdemir 2001: 8-10).

<sup>5</sup> Kıbrıs Türk romanının tematik gelişimi üzerine daha geniş bilgi için Mihrican Aylanç'ın *Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatında Roman* adlı yayımlanmamış yüksek lisans tezine bakınız (Aylanç 2004).

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# The Politics of National Identity and the Idea of 'Home' in Taner Baybars' 'Letter to Homeland' and Mahmoud Darwish's 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn' and 'Identity Card'

*Hakan Karahasan*

"Every country is home to one man, and exile to another"<sup>1</sup>  
(T.S. Eliot, 'To the Indians who died in Africa')

The questions 'Who am I?' and 'What am I?' are hardly new. Neither has got a definitive answer, though philosophers, poets, and intellectuals still search for definitions. Identity, both the identity of the self and national identity, is therefore, still problematic. In order to make a distinction between you and someone else, one may use the 'other' as a discourse, which can be summarised as 'anyone or anything that is not me'. National identity is like the identity of the 'self'. In other words, national identity could be seen as an extension of the self, and thus defined as "[...] attached to a particular group who lived in a specific geographical location with common beliefs and kinship ties".<sup>2</sup> Anthony Beavers explains in his online essay *Introducing Levinas to Undergraduate Philosophers*:

"The meaning of my being a self is found in opposition to the other, as an essential ability to respond to the other. I am, above all things, a social self indentured *a priori*, made to stand in the place of the other."<sup>3</sup>

Like self, the establishment of national identity is based upon oppositions, whereby one nation sees itself superior towards the other nation, bonded by particular beliefs and linguistic traits. If one puts Levinas' definition of self, and adapts it to national identity then:

"[...] the meaning of being a nation is found in opposition to the other nations, as an essential ability to respond to the other. My nation, above all things, indentured *a priori*, made to stand in the place of the other".

This example clearly shows how national identity can become an extension of the self-identity. In national identity, like in the self, 'the other' becomes a distinction towards another nation.



If one talks about the old times, then one easily can substitute the nation for religion. Then, by using this argument, one can say that, national identity is just a substitution of religion; and religion was a substitution of something else. The list goes on and on. What can one say about national identities? Is it just an 'imagined entity' as Benedict Anderson claims in his book *Imagined Communities*, or is it an extension of the identity of the self? Why are we so attached to national identities? In Anderson's terms, why are we so attached to an 'imagined entity'?

According to Eddie J. Girdner, one who lives abroad usually has stronger nationalistic feeling than one who was born and lives in his/her country. Eddie J. Girdner claims:

"In fact it is often the case that when people go abroad, and live in a foreign country, their nationalistic feelings grow stronger. This is partly because they are likely to feel alienated or out of place when in a different country, at least for a period of time. Identifying with one's country gives a sense of identity, and perhaps pride in his or her own people, culture and traditions."<sup>4</sup>

If his generalisation is correct, then, how can we explain people who are living abroad and choose another national identity? Does being/living in exile make one's feelings towards his/her nation stronger than one who lives in his/her country? What about Mahmoud Darwish, a Palestinian poet, exiled from his place of birth because Israel 'occupied his lands'? What about one who voluntarily leaves his/her country? For example, Taner Baybars was born in Cyprus and lived there until he was eighteen years old, when he left the island, never coming back and rarely mentioning his national identity. He is known in the international arena as a British, not Turkish Cypriot, poet.<sup>5</sup>

According to Natasha Levinson "social identities are contingent in the sense that they are historical and cultural formations"<sup>6</sup> and "[...] Michel Foucault has exposed the ways in which social identities that we take for granted today [...] are actually recent phenomena".<sup>7</sup> This recent phenomena, social identities, Louis Althusser claims in his influential essay are 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' or I.S.A.s. For Althusser:

"I shall call Ideological State Apparatuses a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions. I propose an empirical list of these which will obviously have to be examined in detail, tested, corrected and reor-

ganized. With all the reservations implied by this requirement, we can for the moment regard the following institutions as Ideological State Apparatuses [...]"<sup>8</sup>

The education system, family, political parties, trade unions, media, literature, arts, sports, and so on, are all I.S.A.s. On the contrary, Repressive State Apparatuses (R.S.A.s) "[...] function 'by violence', whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses function 'by ideology'".<sup>9</sup> Education is an I.S.A. and we learn our social and national identities during the educational process. He makes this clear when he talks about school: "What do children learn at school? [...] the school [...] teaches 'know-how', but informs which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its 'practice'".<sup>10</sup> By learning this, Althusser claims "all the agents of production, exploitation and repression, not to speak of the 'professionals of ideology' (Marx), must in one way or another be 'steeped' in this ideology in order to perform their tasks 'conscientiously' [...]".<sup>11</sup> In other words, in order for people to confirm their 'tasks', which is learning/accepting his/her national identity, the state uses I.S.A.s, and by doing this one easily 'learns' his/her national identity during educational process. National identities are thus manufactured using education, religion, family, in other words by using I.S.A.s. I.S.A.s are 'hegemonic', so in the end people voluntarily, in a conscious or unconscious way, give their consent for manufacturing.<sup>12</sup> How are I.S.A.s 'hegemonic'? In order to answer this question it is useful to consider Antonio Gramsci's definition of hegemony:

"[...] dominant groups in society, including fundamentally but not exclusively the ruling class, maintain their dominance by securing 'spontaneous consent' of subordinate groups, including the working class, through negotiated construction of a political and ideological consensus which incorporates both dominant and dominated groups".<sup>13</sup>

Strinati feels that hegemony may work in two different modes: it may be a "coercive control, [which] manifested through direct force or its threat (needed by a state when its degree of hegemonic leadership is low or fractured); [or] [c]onsensual control, which arises when individuals voluntarily assimilate the world view of the dominant group (hegemonic leadership)".<sup>14</sup>

What does 'homeland' mean? David Morley and Kevin Robins talk about the 'images of home (land)' by giving Germany as an example. Their concern is "the questions of identity and memory in the construction of

definitions of Europe and European culture”,<sup>15</sup> however, at the same time, their essay can be adapted to the question of what ‘homeland’ is.

Taner Baybars was born in Cyprus, a Turkish-Cypriot, but now lives in France and in the international arena is considered a British poet, who rarely mentions his national, Turkish Cypriot, identity. On the contrary, for Mahmoud Darwish, his national identity, a Palestinian, is important. Taner Baybars writes:

“Homesick?

I am not because I’ve never had a home  
but you are not responsible for that.

Yet I still remember the sea and the mountain  
together, at night infinitely apart,  
and the space between them my cradle.

I must have no digression in a letter  
so I stop living in that alien past.

In that present, I mean right just now  
the summer rain is beating on the sash  
and a conceited sun is falling on the mirror.

Very, very strange.

Nevertheless I have to burn a fire in June

It’s so cold

although there’s nothing wrong with the equinox.”<sup>16</sup>

‘Letter to Homeland’ is a poem written by Taner Baybars to his father. Baybars has not got a ‘home’ as Peter Berger argues “modern man has suffered from a deepening condition of ‘homelessness’. The correlate of the migratory character of his experience of society and of self has been what might be called a metaphysical loss of home.”<sup>17</sup> Taner Baybars left the island when he was eighteen and now feels himself ‘a man without home’ or ‘a homeless’ man. One of the reasons for that might be found in the writings of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Mehmet Yaşın mentions their book, *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature*, in which Deleuze and Guattari argue:

“[...] the minority’s struggle to maintain its existence causes minor literature to become political, a common anonymous poetry is being created against individuality difference based on common values. The poet who isolates himself from the common will find himself isolated from the Turkish Cypriot society”.<sup>18</sup>

On the contrary to Baybars, Mahmoud Darwish wants and misses his

'homeland'. David Morley and Kevin Robins refer to this in a different way when they talk about being homeless in Europe. "There is a desire to be 'at home' in the new and disorientating global space."<sup>19</sup> Mahmoud Darwish desires his 'homeland' back because his village and his country were 'occupied' by Israel. That is why in 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn' he says:

"A gentle rain in a distant autumn  
 And the birds are blue, are blue,  
 And the earth is a feast.  
 Don't say I wish I was a cloud over an airport.  
 All I want  
 From my country which fell out of the window of a train  
 Is my mother's handkerchief  
 And reasons for a new death."<sup>20</sup>

In his poem, Darwish talks about his situation. He does not have a 'home' so he gives 'cloud' and 'airport' as examples; non-places. It is a non-space because no one lives in the airport, and also a cloud is a non-space because no one lives in/on the clouds. By giving airport and cloud as a metaphor, Darwish tries to say that memory becomes a non-space, because without place there is not any home. That is why he says "Don't say I wish I was a cloud over an airport."<sup>21</sup> A cloud might also be an image of the wanderer, because he does not have a home and so all he can do is wander as a cloud. Also, a cloud is the image of exile and alienation because he lost his home (land), all he can do is be a cloud so that he can see 'his place'. However, at the same time, by being a cloud, because he is not living on the land, he becomes alienated from his home (land). Darwish's idea of home is very much like *Heimat* with a difference. According to David Morley and Kevin Robins "*Heimat* is a mythical bond rooted in a lost past, a past that has already disintegrated: 'we yearn to grasp it, but it is baseless and elusive; we look back for something solid to lean on, only to find ourselves embracing ghosts'"<sup>22</sup> However, at the same time Morley and Robins point out that "for, indeed, *Heimat*-seeking is a form of fundamentalism" because for them *Heimat* is also:

"[...] about conserving the 'fundamentals' of culture and identity. And, as such, it is about sustaining cultural boundaries and boundedness. To belong in this way is to protect exclusive, and therefore excluding, identities against those who are seen as aliens and foreigners. The 'other' is always and continuously a threat to the security and integrity of

those who share a common home. Xenophobia and fundamentalism are opposite sides of the same coin.”<sup>23</sup>

Darwish wants to live in his home again, al-Birwa, but, at least for the moment, it is impossible to go back and live there. We know that “al-Birwa was mostly destroyed with the exception of three houses, shrines, and one of the village schools remain standing” and Israeli people have settled there.<sup>24</sup> Kibbutz Yas’ur and Achihud are the Israeli settlements on town lands. The reason why Darwish wants his ‘homeland’ back is because, according to David Morley and Kevin Robins, when they talk about Germany, “If *Heimat* is about security and belonging, *Fremde* evokes feelings of isolation and alienation. *Fremde* is a ‘synonym for separation, hardship, privation, homesickness, and the loss of a sense of belonging’.”<sup>25</sup> In Morley and Robins’ term, Darwish feels that he is living in *Fremde* because Israel forced him to move from his ‘home’. By using force, the government of Israel separated him from his ‘homeland’ and that is why he feels homesick, whereas Taner Baybars does not feel the same thing. Unlike Darwish, when he talks about Cyprus, he says: “Yet I still remember the sea and the mountain / together, at night infinitely apart, / and the space between them my cradle”.<sup>26</sup> The place that he talks about is his village, Vavilya. When Baybars talks about Cyprus, his ‘homeland’, he remembers Cyprus like a dream. For him Cyprus is “a far-off land”,<sup>27</sup> however, at the same time as Mehmet Yaşın says about Baybars, “the poet’s not becoming British is the reason of his success in England, his effort of losing his relations with the past and his being unable to do so is obvious. He does not return to Cyprus, however, he shuttles between the motherlands of Cypriots like Greece, Turkey, England and France”.<sup>28</sup> Although, “the minority poet who identifies himself with the imaginary lands is stateless”<sup>29</sup> he still remembers Cyprus. On one hand, he feels himself homeless; on the other hand, he still remembers it. He is in a dilemma. Nevertheless, Mahmoud Darwish says:

20

“A gentle rain in a strange autumn  
And the windows are white, are white,  
And the sun is a citrus grove at dusk,  
And I, a stolen orange.  
Why are you running away from my body  
When all I want  
From the country of daggers and the nightingales  
Is my mother’s handkerchief  
And reasons for a new death”<sup>30</sup>

Darwish uses an orange as a metaphor for his ‘homeland’. Just like

an orange is stolen from a tree, Darwish's village, al-Birwa, and Palestine, his 'homeland', is stolen. When he says, "My country is the joy of being in chains"<sup>31</sup> he talks about his country's situation. Because Israel 'occupied' his lands, and because Israel has a powerful army, while Palestinians do not, 'his country is... being in chains'. He wants, or dreams to go back to his home, just like Turkish Cypriot immigrants in London, most of whom went with the idea of coming back to Cyprus.<sup>32</sup> Uluç Han Unç claims:

"It is like, as John Berger says, 'The final return is mythic... it gives meaning to what might otherwise be meaningless'. Therefore, Cyprus is a mythical place for Ms. T., [the interviewee] in the sense that London is for the Turkish Cypriot asylum-seeker".<sup>33</sup>

Darwish's idealisation, or nostalgia can be considered similar. "The final return', says Berger, '[...] is also mythic in the sense that, as imagined, it never happens. There is no final return [...] Hence the final return [...] becomes impossible'".<sup>34</sup> Even if Israel withdrew its troops, his village and his 'homeland' would not be the same place that he imagined, because neither Darwish nor Palestinians and his 'homeland' remain the same. One can say that there are some similarities between Turkish Cypriot immigrants and Darwish at this point, however, immigration as a word/term may not be considered as forced to being/living in exile, but immigration might also be related with force. It is more related with economic reasons, especially for Turkish Cypriot immigrants, so there might be a difference between Darwish's situation and Turkish Cypriot immigrants in London. Nonetheless, Baybars' position can be categorised in a voluntary immigrant category because we know that he went to London to study law, gave up the idea and started to work in the British Council libraries.<sup>35</sup> That is why one should note that Baybars and Darwish's positions are different. If one looks at Darwish's situation, by using Girdner's argument, because he was forced to leave his country, he has strong nationalistic feelings towards Palestine.<sup>36</sup> Then, one can say, by using these, Turkish Cypriot immigrants and Darwish share the same idea, which is coming back to their 'home'. However, being forced to live/being in exile might create different psychologies on people, and because of that the experience of Turkish Cypriot immigrants in London and the experience of Mahmoud Darwish may not be seen as the same thing.

In one of his latest poems, after forty-two years, Taner Baybars writes in Turkish, in his poem, '*Kaybolmuş Kardeşler... Ben?*' ('Lost Brothers... Me?'):

“Yess... like that, I am lost, so, many years have passed,  
gorgeous heavy years hurt in the roots of my shoulder.  
That distant country, the place where I was born, farther  
than distant  
dreams,  
names, pictures, memories, there my future in a coffee cup:  
in my small skull, my wide memory thunders,  
ah, no, don't let it to explode! In French valleys now, car-  
nation  
voiced warmth of those summers and emigrant clouds fol-  
low the cranes  
I observe if it may be, my misty emotions with my memo-  
ries”<sup>37</sup>

What Baybars says with this poem, Mehmet Yashin suggests, is that he is homeless but at the same time he does not cut all his relationships with Cyprus. He does not feel Cyprus as his ‘home’, yet, at the same time he still remembers Cyprus like a dream. By talking about his place of birth, Vavilya, one can say that Baybars is not completely homeless. He is in ‘between lands’<sup>38</sup> and he is in between identities.

In his poem ‘Identity Card’ Mahmoud Darwish talks from a Palestinian’s perspective. According to Muhammad Siddiq:

“In general, it is possible to distinguish three distinct phases in Darwish’s poetry. The first phase spans the period before his departure from Israel in 1971, the second from 1971 to 1982, and the third from 1982 to the present. Thematically, Darwish’s poetry deals with the loss of Palestine. Although Darwish’s preoccupation with Palestinian concerns has remained constant, his treatment of these concerns has evolved considerably through the years.”<sup>39</sup>

Muhammad Siddiq argues that ‘Identity Card’ was in the first phase of Darwish’s poetry. In the first phase Darwish’s poetry dealt with “The common images of daily life in the homeland, such as the faces of family and friends and the topography of the landscape, become the object of poetic meditation in exile”.<sup>40</sup> ‘A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn’ can be considered in the second phase because:

“A gripping note of nostalgia for Galilee, Haifa, Mount Carmel, and the coast of Palestine reverberates through the poems of the second phase. Darwish’s first collection in exile, *Uhibbuki aw la Uhibbuki (I love you, I love you not)*, suggests the direction and scope of the change in his poetry. Away from the homeland, it becomes a constant struggle to retain intact the details of its identifying characteristics.”<sup>41</sup>

In ‘A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn’ Darwish has a nostalgia to go back to his ‘occupied’ country, and by reading the poem one can say that it demonstrates an intactness of Palestine and the Palestinians. By shouting “Record! / I am an Arab” Darwish tries the impossible as it is very hard to say loudly “I am an Arab” in Israel. In his poem, by saying “I am an Arab” he means, even in the worst circumstances, he can resist the oppression of Israel. It is, as Michel Foucault claimed, where there is oppression there is also resistance, and this poem represents just that. Both in ‘A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn’ and ‘Identity Card’ Darwish talks about the Palestinians’ situation. In ‘A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn’ Darwish talks about Palestine as a ‘home’ that is lost, and in ‘Identity Card’ he talks about a Palestinian’s situation because Palestinians have a name without a title. Edward Said says in *The Question of Palestine*:

“The fact is that ‘Arabs’ were always being represented, never able to speak for themselves; this plus, paradoxically, their more and more evident political visibility, is why they have been so overwhelmingly refused a decent place in actuality – even when they sit on the land. Today... the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) is recognized by over 100 nations, and of course by all Palestinians, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and yet neither the United States nor Israel concedes that P.L.O. represents Palestinians. On the contrary, Camp David specifically arrogated the right of Palestinian representation to the United States, Israel, and Egypt.”<sup>42</sup>

Said suggests that the most significant problem of the Palestinians is representation. That is why Darwish himself claims “I have a name without a title”.

The other theme that Darwish talks about in ‘Identity Card’ is the idea of ‘home’. In ‘A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn’ he says his ‘home’ is



stolen like an orange. However, in 'Identity Card' Darwish states:

"Record!  
I am an Arab  
You have stolen the orchards of my ancestors  
And the land which I cultivated  
Along with my children  
And you left nothing for us  
Except for these rocks.  
So will the State take them  
As it had been said?!"<sup>43</sup>

By reading both 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn' and 'Identity Card' one can easily find the similarities between them; in the first 'a stolen orange' and in the latter a stolen orchard.

Benedict Anderson quotes Tom Nairn in *Imagined Communities*:

"'Nationalism' is the pathology of modern developmental history, as inescapable as 'neurosis' in the individual, with much the same essential ambiguity attaching to it, a similar built-in capacity for descent dementia, rooted in the dilemmas of helplessness thrust upon most of the world (the equivalent of infantilism for societies) and largely incurable."<sup>44</sup>

If Tom Nairn is right, then, how can one explain Taner Baybars' position? Unlike most of us, Baybars' rejection of his belonging to a particular nation or a land (or he just tries to reject?) is the opposite of Mahmoud Darwish's situation. Contrary to Baybars, Mahmoud Darwish feels himself attached to his country and his nationality. Another feature is, as Benedict Anderson argues, nationalism as a cultural artefact. He alleges:

"My point of departure is that nationality, or... nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind. To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy."<sup>45</sup>

Anderson also cites Ernest Gellner in *Imagined Communities*: “Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.”<sup>46</sup> By using these arguments, is it possible to argue Taner Baybars resists his national identity because nationalism did not construct him? Mahmoud Darwish is so attached to his ‘homeland’ and his nation because he has been forced to live/being in exile all his life? If the answer is yes, then, one should argue that the idea of belonging to a nation and nationalism is not only related with a particular land. The experience of the Palestinians and Turkish Cypriot immigrants in London in Uluç Han Unç’s *Self-identifications of Turkish Cypriot Immigrants in London* shows that one does not need to have a particular land in order to be a nation.<sup>47</sup> ‘Images of home(land)’, as Morley and Robins suggest, might be enough for that. The majority of the Turkish Cypriots live outside of their ‘homeland’, and many Palestinians live outside of the land of Palestine.<sup>48</sup> Then, by noticing these experiences, one might easily question what ‘home/homeland’ means. Is it *imagined* as Anderson claims? Anderson defines the nation as:

“[...] *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”.<sup>49</sup>

By using Anderson’s definition of the nation, if one considers Turkish Cypriot immigrants’ and the Palestinians’ experience, one can say that the idea of ‘home’ “is also *imagined* because the members of these nations also may not know and see their ‘home’, even the image of it”. Although, I do not want to propose a new definition of what ‘home’ means, throughout the essay I have used ‘home’ and ‘homeland’ in inverted commas because the meaning of ‘home’ is open to debate. Can one say that the country that you have been born in is your ‘homeland’? If so, then, how can one explain Mahmoud Darwish’s words: “I had been a refugee in Lebanon, and now I was a refugee to my own country”.<sup>50</sup> We have to think again on Darwish’s comments about being/living in exile because what Darwish offers us is a very different concept to what we usually think when we talk about ‘home’. Is it a *Heimat* that you can just imagine but can never have?

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See: D. Morley and K. Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*, London, 1995, 85

<sup>2</sup> K.S. Gül, *Orwellian Studies in the Age of Globalism*, (Eastern Mediterranean University, Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis in English

Studies) Gazimağusa, 2001, 6

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Beavers, *Introducing Levinas to Undergraduate Philosophers*, in: [http://cedar.evansville.edu/~tb2/trip/levinas\\_intro.htm](http://cedar.evansville.edu/~tb2/trip/levinas_intro.htm)

<sup>4</sup> E.J. Girdner, *People and Power: An Introduction to Politics*, Istanbul, 1994, 21

<sup>5</sup> This essay's main concern is trying to show that although national identity is a significant entity, people have their free will as well. That is why this essay uses poems of two different poets.

<sup>6</sup> Natasha Levinson, *Unsettling Identities: Conceptualizing Contingency* in: [http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES/-Yearbook/97\\_docs/levinson.html](http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES/-Yearbook/97_docs/levinson.html)

<sup>7</sup> Natasha Levinson, *Unsettling Identities: Conceptualizing Contingency* in: [http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES/-Yearbook/97\\_docs/levinson.html](http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES/-Yearbook/97_docs/levinson.html)

<sup>8</sup> L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New York, 1971, 143

<sup>9</sup> L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New York, 1971, 145

<sup>10</sup> L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New York, 1971, 132-133

<sup>11</sup> L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New York, 1971, 133

<sup>12</sup> I take the phrase 'manufacturing consent' from Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman's book *Manufacturing Consent*

<sup>13</sup> Dominic Strinati, in: Monica Stillo, <http://www.theory.org.uk/ctr-gram.htm#life>

<sup>14</sup> Dominic Strinati, in: Monica Stillo, <http://www.theory.org.uk/ctr-gram.htm#life>

<sup>15</sup> D. Morley and K. Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries*, London, 1995, 85

<sup>16</sup> T. Baybars, 'Letter to Homeland', in: Mehmet Yaşın (Yashin), ed, *Kıbrıslı Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*, İstanbul, 1994, 221

<sup>17</sup> D. Morley and K. Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries*, London, 1995, 86

<sup>18</sup> See: Mehmet Yaşın (Yashin), '3 Kuşak, 3 Kimlik, 3 Vatan Arasında Bir Türk Azınlık Şiiri: Kıbrıslı Türk Şiiri (18. yy-20. yy)', in: *Kıbrıslı Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*, İstanbul, 1994, 40

<sup>19</sup> D. Morley and K. Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries*, London, 1995, 86

<sup>20</sup> Mahmoud Darwish, 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn', in: *Victims of a Map – A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry: Samih Al-Qasim, Adonis, Mahmud Darwish*, trans. Abdullah al-Udhari, London, 1984, 47

- <sup>21</sup> Mahmoud Darwish, 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn', in: *Victims of a Map – A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry: Samih Al-Qasim, Adonis, Mahmud Darwish*, trans. Abdullah al-Udhari, London, 1984, 47
- <sup>22</sup> D. Morley and K. Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries*, London, 1995, 89
- <sup>23</sup> D. Morley and K. Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries*, London, 1995, 89
- <sup>24</sup> <http://www.palestineremembered.com/Acre/al-Birwa/>
- <sup>25</sup> D. Morley and K. Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries*, London, 1995, 102
- <sup>26</sup> T. Baybars, 'Letter to Homeland', in: Mehmet Yaşın (Yashin), ed, *Kıbrıslı Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*, İstanbul, 1994, 221
- <sup>27</sup> Taken from Baybars' autobiographical work. Taner Baybars, *Plucked in a Far-Off Land: Images in Self-Biography*, Gollanz, 1970
- <sup>28</sup> See: Mehmet Yaşın (Yashin), '3 Kuşak, 3 Kimlik, 3 Vatan Arasında Bir Türk Azınlık Şiiri: Kıbrıslı Türk Şiiri (18. yy-20. yy)', in: *Kıbrıslı Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*, İstanbul, 1994, 41
- <sup>29</sup> Mehmet Yaşın (Yashin), '3 Kuşak, 3 Kimlik, 3 Vatan Arasında Bir Türk Azınlık Şiiri: Kıbrıslı Türk Şiiri (18. yy-20. yy)', in: *Kıbrıslı Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*, İstanbul, 1994, 41
- <sup>30</sup> Mahmoud Darwish, 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn', in: *Victims of a Map – A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry: Samih Al-Qasim, Adonis, Mahmud Darwish*, trans. Abdullah al-Udhari, London, 1984, 47
- <sup>31</sup> Mahmoud Darwish, 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn', in: *Victims of a Map – A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry: Samih Al-Qasim, Adonis, Mahmud Darwish*, trans. Abdullah al-Udhari, London, 1984, 49
- <sup>32</sup> Uluç Han Unç, *Self-identifications of Turkish Cypriot Immigrants in London* (University of London, Goldsmiths College, M.A. Cultural Studies), 2000
- <sup>33</sup> U. H. Unç, *Self-identifications of Turkish Cypriot Immigrants in London* (University of London, Goldsmiths College, Unpublished M.A. Thesis in Cultural Studies), London, 2000, 25
- <sup>34</sup> U. H. Unç, *Self-identifications of Turkish Cypriot Immigrants in London* (University of London, Goldsmiths College, Unpublished M.A. Thesis in Cultural Studies), London, 2000, 20-21
- <sup>35</sup> However, according to some arguments (they are not written documents, so it is not possible to give a scientific reference here) Baybars left Cyprus because of the E.O.K.A. and T.M.T. movements in Cyprus.
- <sup>36</sup> E.J. Girdner, *People and Power: An Introduction to Politics*, İstanbul, 1994

- 37 Cited in: [http://www.adanasanat.com/siir200/taner\\_baybars.htm](http://www.adanasanat.com/siir200/taner_baybars.htm), trans. Zarif Şener
- 38 See: U. H. Unç, *Self-identifications of Turkish Cypriot Immigrants in London* (University of London, Goldsmiths College, Unpublished M. A. Thesis in Cultural Studies), London, 2000
- 39 Muhammad Siddiq, *Encyclopedia of The Palestinians: Biography of Mahmoud Darwish*, in: <http://www.palestineremembered.com/Acre/al-Birwa/Story170.html>
- 40 Muhammad Siddiq, *Encyclopedia of The Palestinians: Biography of Mahmoud Darwish*, in: <http://www.palestineremembered.com/Acre/al-Birwa/Story170.html>
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- 44 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York, 1991, 5
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# Cyprus in the Year 1970: Recently Published British Official Documents

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## Introduction

Four major developments dominated the political scene in Cyprus in the year 1970: 1. The continuation of the inter-communal dialogue; 2. The assassination attempt on Archbishop Makarios; 3. The murder of the former Greek Cypriot Interior Minister Polycarpos Georghadjis, nicknamed the 'Houdini' of Cyprus; and 4. Rumours of clandestine plans for a *coup d'état* to remove Makarios and declare *Enosis* or double-*Enosis*. There were other interesting developments, too, such as the increase of tension between Greece and Turkey, Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the Communist bloc and N.A.T.O., the general elections held among both communities, the appointment by Makarios of Turkish Cypriot dissident Dr. Ihsan Ali as his adviser, a rift among the Turkish Cypriot community, and unconstitutional measures by the Greek Cypriot administration.

## The Inter-Communal Dialogue

The inter-communal dialogue had begun in June 1968, and dragged on throughout 1969 and 1970 without success. There was some excitement on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1969 when the Greeks claimed that Rauf Denктаş, the Turkish Cypriot interlocutor, had made some concessions on local government against increased Turkish Cypriot rights in central government, which Glafkos Clerides, his Greek Cypriot counterpart, had accepted. However, this was later revoked by Denктаş, who had come under heavy criticism from his own side for being too lenient, and who also had elaborated that what he had suggested was misunderstood. Nevertheless, according to the Greeks, the chance of a major break-through had been offered and withdrawn and they blamed the Turkish side for this U-turn. Peter Ramsbotham, the British High Commissioner in Cyprus, informed the British Foreign Office on 28<sup>th</sup> January 1970 that what Denктаş had suggested was, since no agreement on local government could be reached, that the discussion of other constitutional issues should take place, on the assumption that the constitutional provisions on local government pertained, and were acceptable, to both parties. The confusion had arisen from the different interpretation of the terminology used by Denктаş whose reference to the mutual acceptance of the pre-1963 situation was intended as a hypothesis to provide for discussions on other issues, and was without prejudice to a final settlement on local government. This was

also Clerides's understanding. However, the Athens government appeared convinced that the Turks had deliberately prevented the chance of a major break-through. The Turks, on the other hand, believed that Athens had influenced Makarios and Clerides to adopt a more intransigent line. This led to suspicion on both sides. But the talks festered with no prospects for a solution.<sup>1</sup> Seconde of the Foreign Office warned Ramsbotham:

“From the horrifying glimpse I have had of this Byzantine world, anything said to one party inevitably finds its way to the other side, and in a distorted form. We must just now be especially careful to appear detached, and to avoid saying anything which could be represented as taking sides”.<sup>2</sup>

The reference to Byzantine politics prompted Sir Roderick Sarell, the British Ambassador in Ankara, to inform Seconde that the history of the Cyprus problem was full of misunderstandings and changes of minds by the various parties, and went on:

“It is the belief in this Embassy, and of our US and Canadian colleagues, that the Greeks and Greek Cypriots tend to be more devious than the Turks (we are not sure about some of the Turkish Cypriots.) On the other hand, the Turks may be more stubborn – as indeed the side with the relatively consistent, straightforward and ‘unimaginable’ policy, is liable to be. The Greek counselor here [in Ankara] recently confessed to Edmonds that, in Athens, you could easily get ten different versions of a story in one day, whereas in Ankara it would take ten days to get a single version.”<sup>3</sup>

On 23<sup>rd</sup> February Greek Foreign Minister Panayotis Pipinellis told British envoy Sir Michael Stewart that things had been going badly in Cyprus, and that unless matters were brought under firm control, there was a danger of a crisis on the scale of November 1967. Part of the trouble, he went on, had been Makarios. If Makarios and the Turks had shown goodwill there could have been settlement. Makarios, however, had resisted or managed to evade almost every pressure from the Greek government. He must be brought to see that the talks must end successfully soon, Pipinellis warned.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile Makarios, in statements to the Greek press, gave the impression that he had no intention of seriously pursuing the inter-communal dialogue as a means of a settlement. In Athens, Stewart suggested that the

Greek government should be helped to stop Makarios from making further untimely remarks.<sup>5</sup> But who could silence Makarios? By the first week in March Sir Roderick Sorell, the British Ambassador in Ankara, began to refer to immediate threats to the “benign stalemate” in Cyprus, which previous documents had revealed to be in the interests of the West. He warned the Foreign Office that the continuation of the inter-communal talks provided the best hope of avoiding another crisis, but there was an increasing air of desperation as to how Denktaş and Clerides could keep going on in any meaningful or constructive way. He suggested that a third party should be introduced as a mediator, and warned as follows: “The benign state may turn malignant before long. We must do something about it.”<sup>6</sup>

A confidential memorandum of 30<sup>th</sup> March spelled out the British policy towards the Cyprus problem, which was:

“[...] to stand back from the inter-communal dispute, to encourage the talks and to sustain all parties in the belief that the talks were the best, though admittedly inadequate, means of making progress.”<sup>7</sup>

But unfortunately there was hardly any progress, and on 21<sup>st</sup> September Ramsbotham reported to London:

“The omens for success are not good. A hesitant Greek government, a weak Turkish government, an embattled Turkish Cypriot community, and an obstinate and ingenious Archbishop, are not the right ingredients for a settlement.”<sup>8</sup>

#### **Assassination Attempt on Makarios**

As early as January 1970 Archbishop Makarios, while visiting Kenya, was warned by a U.S. diplomat in Nairobi of a plan to assassinate him on his return to Cyprus.<sup>9</sup> On January 19<sup>th</sup> the *Evening Standard* newspaper reported that the Greek Cypriot newspaper *Tharros* had revealed a terrorist plot to assassinate Makarios. Before Makarios touched down in Nicosia a gang of armed, masked, men had raided the harbour police station at Limassol dockyard, blown up the building and escaped with some guns. The National Guard took effective precautions to guard the Archbishop.<sup>10</sup> Suspicion fell on the extremist Greek Cypriot National Front which was creating havoc on the island. On 23<sup>rd</sup> January Michael Stewart reported from Athens that there had been some suspicion about the involvement of the Greek Intelligence Service (K.Y.P.) with the National Front.<sup>11</sup>

On 5<sup>th</sup> February Stewart reported to David Randall of the Foreign



Office that there was a mounting body of "confirmatory evidence" that Greek militant elements were involved in the National Front, and warned of Greek involvement on the scale of the 1967 crisis. Greek Prime Minister Papadopoulos had recently publicly condemned the activities of the National Front, but the mainland Greek elements continued to be involved. Some reports confirmed that the Greek Intelligence Service (K.Y.P.) might be aiding or abetting the Front. K.Y.P. was the instrument of Papadopoulos and Stewart believed that militant revolutionaries were involved. As certain Greek officers serving with the National Guard were "infected with the idea of *Enosis*", an instrument was readily at hand if there were elements of the Greek regime wanting to make trouble. Several of the military revolutionaries, notably Lekkas and Aslanides, had already paid secret visits to the island in 1969. Stewart surmised that they might desire to unseat Makarios or make things difficult for him. He believed that extremist figures like Ladas and Ioannides were working for the partition of Cyprus, with the Greek part of the island eventually uniting with mainland Greece.

According to the Austrian Ambassador Steiner, Makarios thought that Papadopoulos was contemplating the partition of Cyprus. Makarios, the ambassador believed, could not give administrative autonomy to the Turks, because if he did, he would be opposed by some Greek Cypriot groups who were at the time prepared to tolerate him. Sooner or later Greece would have to settle for the political elimination of Makarios, and partition, in order to keep in with Turkey.<sup>12</sup>

At the end of February the U.S. ambassador in Cyprus, David Popper, told Makarios to expect an attack on his life in the next fortnight.<sup>13</sup> In Moscow, where the authorities had learned, through their intelligence service, that a plot was being organized in Cyprus, the T.A.S.S. agency issued a statement on 18<sup>th</sup> February claiming that "international imperialist circles", with the assistance of reactionaries in Cyprus, had recently been laying plans for a large-scale conspiracy against the "independent Cypriot state". The terrorist organization known as the National Front and other "reactionary forces" associated with the Greek military regime, were serving the interests of N.A.T.O., and spreading propaganda for *Enosis*. They aimed at turning the island into a N.A.T.O. base and establishing a military dictatorship on the Greek model. The Soviet Union the statement went on, was following the developments closely; and it supported the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, calling for the removal of foreign military bases from the island, and for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem without foreign interference of any kind.<sup>14</sup>

On 23<sup>rd</sup> February Greek Foreign Minister Pipinellis told British envoy Stewart that certain Greek elements were not entirely innocent. There

were elements in the Greek Intelligence Services and army who did not entirely understand what Greek policy was. The Greek government was determined to put an end to these irregularities, and to apply maximum pressure on Makarios to take effective action on matters where he was concerned. Pipinellis believed that a situation was building up in Cyprus where rival groups, competing for political popularity, were attempting to out-bid each other in so-called patriotic action or gesture. *Enosis* was again becoming a dangerous slogan, remarked Michael Stewart.<sup>15</sup>

Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig also support this contention in their book, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*. According to them, U.S. President Nixon and the Greek Colonels did not trust Makarios, as he was also courting with the Communists. Papadopoulos's intelligence organization, K.Y.P., and military officers made repeated attempts to solve the Makarios problem by trying to assassinate or oust him by force. In several instances the C.I.A. had advance knowledge of Papadopoulos's plans for Makarios; but every time a plot looked like being made public, American diplomats applied pressure to have it stopped.<sup>16</sup>

Since the T.A.S.S. statement of 18<sup>th</sup> February a general impression was created in the Greek press that a crisis was impending. The Greek Information Department in Athens had heard from a number of sources that the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs was leaking information about the connection between the extremist elements in Athens and the National Front. The theme was that Papadopoulos and Pipinellis were the voices of reason, trying to control the irresponsible elements within the regime; and that the National Front was not a wholly Cypriot Greek organization, but had an Athens branch headed by Colonel Ioannides and Lekkas, with General Gerakinis as a kind of general branch secretary in Cyprus.

It was said that this group had been supplying arms to the National Front, and had been operating without the approval of the Greek Prime Minister. The theory was that this group believed that the inter-communal talks had reached a stalemate, and that they were worried about Soviet intentions. The time had come to get rid of Makarios and to enforce *Enosis*. The group were said to have agreed with the Turks (but the point of contact was not specified) to revive the 1964 Acheson Plan, ie. a Turkish base in Greek Cyprus.<sup>17</sup>

In Cyprus British High Commissioner Peter Ramsbotham saw Makarios on 4<sup>th</sup> March and expressed concern at the general feeling that the situation was slowly deteriorating. Makarios responded that the feeling of anxiety was false. It was wrong to speak of an impending crisis. He assured Ramsbotham that the National Front was split, and the two sides in Nicosia

and Limassol were denouncing each other.<sup>18</sup> Despite Makarios's assurances, on 13<sup>th</sup> March there was an unsuccessful assassination attempt on his life. Suspicion immediately fell on Polycarpos Georghadjis. Makarios, too, believed that Georghadjis was this immediate enemy.<sup>19</sup>

### **Assassination of Georghadjis**

On 15<sup>th</sup> March the former Greek Cypriot Interior Minister Polycarpos Georghadjis was found dead in a car a few miles outside Nicosia. He had been shot.<sup>20</sup> Rumours and theories as to the causes of his death were rife, and included the following: (a) the police had evidence that one of the policemen arrested on 10<sup>th</sup> March named Solonondos was a very close associate of Georghadjis, his political associates were convinced of Georghadjis's complicity. Rather than see him destroy their party, they contrived his execution; (b) the National Front/National Resistance, possibly backed by Greek mainland elements, were responsible for the attack on Makarios; Georghadjis might have produced evidence to this effect in order to clear himself. He was therefore eliminated before he could do so; and (c) a revenge killing by another group – possibly Sampson's – not directly connected with the attack on Makarios.

On the morning of 16<sup>th</sup> March Ramsbotham called on his Greek colleague, Alexandrakis, who had been summoned by the Archbishop the night before, shortly after the news of Georghadjis's death. The first question that Makarios had asked him was whether the National Guard was on the move. Alexandrakis had assured Makarios that his government had no intention of interfering, and had later returned with General Yerakinos, the National Guard commander, to assure the Archbishop that the armed forces remained loyal and would obey his instructions.<sup>21</sup>

There were no incidents at Georghadjis's funeral on 17<sup>th</sup> March. Large crowds had attended but Makarios and all but one of his Ministers did not. Apparently Makarios had instructed his Ministers not to attend because he would soon be publishing conclusive evidence of Georghadjis's complicity in the attack on him. There were signs of increased nervousness on the Turkish Cypriot side. Meanwhile the documents entrusted by Georghadjis to an associate had been handed over to the Archbishop. These documents implicated the Greek mainland elements with the National Front and with the attack on Makarios; but Makarios had no doubt that Georghadjis was responsible. His closest associates had done it, and the finger-prints of some of them were on the guns. Makarios said that he was sorry about Georghadjis's murder, but that he was undoubtedly responsible for most of the recent troubles. The Archbishop explained that Georghadjis's type of life, his methods and associates, had led to the formation of extremist groups and cliques of all

sorts, who had feuds among themselves. Makarios also added that the document left for him by Georghadjis was a forgery.<sup>22</sup>

### Plot to Remove Makarios

While Cyprus was reeling under a double crime, on the 19<sup>th</sup> March Turkish Foreign Minister Çağlayangil met the President and Prime Minister of Turkey in order to discuss Cyprus. After the meeting he stated to the press that he had received intelligence reports that there was a plot to declare *Enosis*.<sup>23</sup> The Turks also thought there might be a Greek plan (perhaps unknown to Pipinellis) to mount a *coup* against Makarios.<sup>24</sup>

The most plausible account of the developments was given by Glafkos Clerides, in confidence, at a dinner given by British High Commissioner Ramsbotham, on 23<sup>rd</sup> March. Clerides had no doubt that the attempted assassination of the Archbishop, and the killing of Georghadjis, were instigated by mainland Greek officers of the National Guard. The first was to be a prelude to a *coup* in favor of *Enosis*, the second to eliminate their main local accomplice and to create the presumption that Georghadjis was the prime mover. The source of the plot was in Athens, among the hard-liners in the army and the cabinet. Their main purpose was to get rid of Papadopoulos. Faced with denouncing *Enosis* and unwilling to risk a war with Turkey, he would therefore have to resign. The next step would be a quick deal with Turkey aimed at partition and double-*Enosis*. However, the plan went awry, and the conspirators in Athens would now probably call a silent truce and bide their time before deciding how and when to move again (as in fact they would in the summer of 1974). Clerides also claimed, without evidence, that there was some suspicion over the past four months that contacts existed between the Greek army hard-liners and their opposite numbers in Turkey, unknown to the two Foreign Ministers and to the moderates among their colleagues.<sup>25</sup>

On 23<sup>rd</sup> March Ramsbotham reported to London that there still remained a danger of further assassinations attempts in Cyprus, and Clerides was one of the potential targets. He therefore asked the Foreign Office to be discreet about Clerides's confidential statement.<sup>26</sup> It is interesting to note here that the C.I.A. station in Athens fiercely opposed a request by their own diplomats in the Greek capital for a C.I.A. investigation into Georghadjis's execution (Is it a coincidence that file no: F.C.O. 9/11.59 at the Public Record Office, entitled 'Attitude of the USA towards Cyprus' has been withheld and not released?). The following year Makarios would ask the C.I.A. station chief in Nicosia, Eric Neff, to leave Cyprus. Apparently Neff shared former acting Secretary of State Ball's sentiment that Makarios should go, and had also worked closely with Georghadjis, when he was in office, against communist targets, as confirmed by O'Malley and Craig.<sup>27</sup>

These developments in Cyprus had also affected Turco-British relations. In the middle of April British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart visited Ankara and had a conversation with the Turkish counterpart, Çağlayangil. Çağlayangil told Stewart that there had been no concrete progress in their inter-communal talks because the Greeks wished to keep open all the routes that might lead to *Enosis*. He also added that he had much difficulty in explaining the British attitude to his colleagues. The U.K. government was a party of the Treaties relating to Cyprus, yet its policy was one of remaining aloof. To the Turkish government this did not seem to amount to impartiality but to encouragement of extremism in Cyprus. The Turkish government was trying to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, and it would be easy to solve by *fait accompli*, Cyprus was so near. The other side provided Turkey with ample opportunities for such action, but the Turkish government did not wish to take advantage. Stewart evaded the criticism of British policy, and suggested that Cyprus should be independent, with proper rights ensured to the communities.<sup>28</sup>

In June Spyros Kyprianou visited Athens and Denктаş went to Ankara, not long after the N.A.T.O. Ministerial meeting in Rome. *The Christian Science Monitor* claimed that there was a Greek and Turkish collusion with N.A.T.O. in a plan for a *coup d'état* in Cyprus, followed by partition.<sup>29</sup> On 5<sup>th</sup> June the Greek Foreign Ministry issued an official denial; N.A.T.O. also described the story, which had originated in the left-wing *Haravghi* newspaper, as without foundation.<sup>30</sup>

#### **Dr. Ihsan Ali and Makarios**

Meanwhile, on 1<sup>st</sup> July Makarios appointed Dr. Ihsan Ali, a Turkish Cypriot dissident, as his advisor. He had even thought of giving him a ministerial portfolio, but had been told that this would be considered too provocative. Dr. Ali would have an office, but would not be much in evidence. When Denктаş heard of this appointment, he tried to telephone Clerides to say that he could not continue with the inter-communal talks, and that these would have to be broken off; but failed to contact him. At a reception the Soviet Ambassador congratulated Denктаş on the inclusion of a Turkish Cypriot in the 'government', and in reply Denктаş asked Tolubeyev rather sharply what his reaction would have been to a proposal to include the Tsar in the first Soviet government. The Turkish Cypriot press had described Dr. Ihsan Ali as a quisling.<sup>31</sup>

#### **The Elections**

On 5<sup>th</sup> July elections were held all over the island. In the Greek community Clerides's Unified Party came first, followed by communist A.K.E.L.

The *Enosis* parties had fared badly. On the Turkish side the Denктаş supporters had won overwhelmingly. Nevertheless the Western Powers were alarmed by the increase in the number of seats of A.K.E.L.<sup>32</sup>

In the middle of August relations between Athens and Nicosia were deteriorating because of Greek involvement in the National Front activities and the reluctance of the Greek government to act against those involved; Greek frustration at Makarios's inflexible approach to the inter-communal problem; and Greek Cypriot suspicion of a Greek/Turkish deal over their heads. Between June and his death, Pipinellis appeared to be exerting frenetic pressure on Makarios to make progress in the talks, told off Kyprianou and hinted at 'independent action' to break the *impasse*. He implied a federal solution might be acceptable to Athens, and attempted to recruit Clerides to his side in opposition to the Archbishop. Makarios was seen as an obstacle to *Enosis* and to an inter-communal settlement, all of which helped the left-wing movement to grow. Palamas, who replaced Pipinellis, believed that the Greeks had to bend Makarios, but they lacked the political lever to do so.<sup>33</sup>

The Greek leaders began to use the excuse that any concessions given to the Turks would entail reaction by extremist groups. Clerides explained to American Ambassadors Popper on 28<sup>th</sup> September that Grivas was organizing new groups all over the island under the slogan 'self-determination', camouflaging *Enosis*. If there were to be serious negotiations over, for example, local government and the National Front, there would need to be communal dialogue, as Rauf Denктаş revealed to Bendall of the Foreign Office, in London, on 2<sup>nd</sup> November.<sup>34</sup>

### Violations of the Constitution

There were also a few constitutional issues. On 17<sup>th</sup> February when Robin Day of the *Panorama* programme on the B.B.C. asked Sir Douglas Home: "Do you accept that Turkey has a legal right under the Cyprus Treaty to take military action?" he replied: "Oh certainly, all three of the guaranteeing powers have a right to do so if the Constitution breaks down." Robin Day went on: "What would happen if Turkey moves in? Would we stand aside, or what?" to which Sir Alec replied:

"I don't want to anticipate that, because I think that we must use every possible political means to try and see to it that there is a solutions within the framework of the present constitution but with no doubt some amendments if those are possible."<sup>35</sup>

Meanwhile the British government overlooked any minor constitu-

tional violations by the Greek Cypriot administration; but with regard to major violations, particularly involving British interests, they did not fail to lodge protests. For example, the appointment on 5<sup>th</sup> October of Greek Cypriot Glykys by Makarios as Minister of Health, a portfolio which was allocated to a Turkish Cypriot in 1960, and constitutionally which he still held, the British government acted quickly. Seconde of the Foreign Office had recommended that they should make a written protest, and argued that, it was in Britain's own interest to be seen to consider the whole package of the 1960 treaties as still legally in force. Seconde suggested:

“If, through silence on the major violations of the constitution we were to give a contrary impression, we shall be treading on soft ground in the event of our own rights under the treaties ever being called in questions. We must also take into account our relations with the Turkish Government. It would damage our relations if we were to remain silent”.<sup>36</sup>

On 27<sup>th</sup> October Michael Scott of the British High Commission duly delivered the British protest to the Greek Cypriot Foreign Ministry and remarked that Britain regarded the 1960 Treaties as alive, and acknowledged British obligations as a guarantor Power as well as claiming British rights under the Treaty. The British Government, therefore had to consider the whole package of the 1960 settlement as still operative, and this included ministerial appointments, and so for this reason she had to reserve the position on serious breaches of the Constitution. And there the 1970 Cyprus documents end.

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**Endnotes**

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- <sup>2</sup> Public Record Office (P.R.O.), Foreign and Commonwealth Office (F.C.O.), Class no.9, File no.1147, F.C.O. 9/1147, Seconde to Ramsbotham, confidential and personal letter, F.C.O., 6.2.1970
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- <sup>4</sup> F.C.O., 9/1147, Sir Michael Stewart to F.C.O., cipher telegram, Athens. 23.2.1970

- <sup>5</sup> F.C.O., 9/1161, Stewart to F.C.O., Cipher telegram, Athens, 27.2.1970
- <sup>6</sup> F.C.O., 9/1165, Sarell to F.C.O., dispatch, Ankara, 4.3.1970
- <sup>7</sup> F.C.O., 9/1165, Confidential Memorandum dated 30.3.1970
- <sup>8</sup> F.C.O. 9/1148, Ramsbotham to Sir Alex Douglas Home, confidential report, Nicosia, 9.9.1970
- <sup>9</sup> Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, London, 1999, 133
- <sup>10</sup> *The Evening Standard*, London, 19.1.1970
- <sup>11</sup> F.C.O. 9/1153, Stewart to Seconde, confidential dispatch, Athens, 23.1.1970
- <sup>12</sup> F.C.O. 9/1147, Stewart to David Randall of F.C.O., secret dispatch, Athens, 5.2.1970
- <sup>13</sup> Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, London, 1999, 133
- <sup>14</sup> F.C.O. 9/1158, Statement by T.A.S.S., S/9655, 18.2.1970
- <sup>15</sup> F.C.O. 9/1162, Stewart to F.C.O., Cipher telegram, Athens, 23.2.1970
- <sup>16</sup> Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, London, 1999, 133
- <sup>17</sup> F.C.O. 9/1147, P. L. O'Keefe to J. M. O. Snodgrass, confidential dispatch, Athens, 25.2.1970
- <sup>18</sup> F.C.O. 9/1147, Ramsbotham to F.C.O., cipher telegram, Athens, 4.3.1970
- <sup>19</sup> F.C.O. 9/1147, Ramsbotham to F.C.O., cipher telegram, Athens, 4.3.1970
- <sup>20</sup> F.C.O. 9/1154, Ramsbotham to F.C.O., *en clair* telegram, Nicosia, 16.3.1970
- <sup>21</sup> F.C.O. 9/1154, Ramsbotham to F.C.O., cipher telegram, Athens, 16.3.1970
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- <sup>23</sup> F.C.O. 9/1162, Sarell to F.C.O., *en clair* telegram, Ankara, 20.3.1970
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- <sup>25</sup> Ramsbotham to F.C.O., cipher telegram, Nicosia, 23.3.1970
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- <sup>27</sup> Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, London, 1999, 133
- <sup>28</sup> F.C.O. 9/1317, Record of a conversation between the British and Turkish Foreign Ministers, Ankara, 16.4.1970
- <sup>29</sup> F.C.O. 9/1148, R. O. Miles to P.R. Fearn, confidential dispatch no.1/2, Nicosia, 17.6.1970
- <sup>30</sup> F.C.O. 1155, Athens to London, *en clair* dispatch no. 299, 6.6.1970.
- <sup>31</sup> F.C.O. 9/1182, D. Beattie to P. R. Fearn, dispatch, Nicosia, 8.7.1970.



32 F.C.O. 9/1151, Ramsbotham to F.C.O., cipher telegram, no.464, Nicosia, 7.7.1970

33 F.C.O. 9/1162 Secret minutes on Cypriot/Greek relations, by P. R. Fearn of the Southern European Department F.C.O., 14.8.1970.

34 F.C.O. 0/1149, David Beattie to P. R. Fearn, confidential dispatch no.1/4, Nicosia, 6.10.1970

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## The Cyprus Regiment: Greek and Turkish Cypriots in a Joint Military Force

*Jan Asmussen*

The mention of fighting involving Greek and Turkish Cypriots normally implies the struggle of both, against each other. One is mainly inclined to remember the activities of Grivas' E.O.K.A. against Turkish Cypriots in 1958 and the subsequent counter attacks carried out by T.M.T. Or people might well recall the 1963-64 fighting between both communities in Cyprus. However, there was an experience of common brotherhood in arms, which occurred just before the Cyprus problem as such gained violent momentum. During the Second World War there were about 35,000 Cypriots engaged in fighting, a considerable contribution by Cyprus to the Allied war effort, and this needs to be examined against the background that both Turkish and Greek Cypriots joined the British Army even before Greece was attacked by Italy or despite the fact that Turkey only declared war on Germany in 1945 when the war was almost over.

Based on British archive material (Colonial and War Offices) and interviews with both Greek and Turkish Cypriot former British soldiers made in South and North Cyprus, this paper aims to provide an account of the different motivations which drove Cypriots of both communities to take up arms in an alien war.

It will demonstrate that the main reason for this initially was the terrible economic situation in Cyprus and the fact that the British army offered a good and attractive salary. Other motivations included the Greek Cypriot hope that Cyprus would be given to Greece after the war was won – a notion inevitably resisted by Turkish Cypriot war veterans. Another reason was a decision by the communist party A.K.E.L., in 1943, which called upon its members to join the British to fight for the sake of the Soviet Union. But how did Greek-Turkish Cypriot relations develop within the ranks of the Cyprus Regiment?

Finally two other questions are to be addressed: Did the different political perspectives on the outcome of the war regarding a post-war Cyprus affect this relationship?<sup>1</sup> And did the skilled military training have any consequences for the subsequent build-up of Greek and Turkish Cypriot armed organizations like E.O.K.A. and T.M.T.?

In early 1939 there was a considerable growth in the number of applications by Cypriots volunteering for the British army in Britain, and this growth was grounded in the difficult economic conditions in Cyprus. Many

Cypriots had to face the alternative of either leaving the island or applying for recruitment in the British forces, and the outbreak of the Second World War did not at first change this main motivation. A publication edited on behalf of the Cyprus Veterans' Association describes this as follows:

"In the years which preceded the Second World War and in the early part of the war, the island of Cyprus was facing a serious economic crisis. This was true of almost every other country, but the problems were more acute in our case since at that time we were a neglected and unimportant British Crown colony. Widespread unemployment was prevalent, possibly encouraged by the policies of the then Colonial Government, and this was the main reason why Cypriots - both Greeks and Turks - were forced to join the British Army."<sup>2</sup>

Since there was not much in the way of recruitment made in Cyprus before the war, many Cypriots tried to join the army in London. However, most of them were rejected there as well, because the authorities questioned their loyalty to Britain.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, there were apparently racist motives, which resulted in a policy to separate British European troops from,<sup>4</sup> as a Colonial Office official put it, "dark-skinned Cypriots, whom the normal person could class as coloured".<sup>5</sup>



*Symbol of the Greek-Cypriot Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II*

The Air Force regarded Cypriots as unfit for keeping military secrets. They might be under the temptation of betraying such secrets to foreign agents. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to persuade any Cypriots who were thinking of joining the Royal Air Force to divert their attention to

the Army, which was ready to accept Cypriot recruits from the summer of 1939.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the Air Force abandoned their objections to Cypriot recruits; yet, they reserved the right just to accept Cypriots, who were "European in appearance and habits".<sup>7</sup>

After the outbreak of war the War Office abandoned all previous objections towards Cypriot recruits. The only precondition for enlistment remaining was that they had to have a positive medical examination and could communicate in English "reasonably well".<sup>8</sup> The removal of racial objections paved the way for the opening of recruiting offices in Cyprus. The first Cypriot recruits in Cyprus volunteered shortly after the outbreak of war<sup>9</sup> at the first recruiting office established in Nicosia in October 1939, and the training of new recruits started at the same month at the Polemidhia Training Camp.<sup>10</sup>

A Cyprus Regiment was established in February and a Cyprus Volunteer Force in June 1940. The latter aimed to defend the island in case of a German attack.<sup>11</sup>

Cyprus Regiment volunteers were well paid – the wartime pay of two shillings a day was three times that of a labourer in Cyprus.<sup>12</sup> In the first years of its existence this good payment together with tough economic conditions on the island remained the main reasons for Cypriots joining the Regiment. Mehmet Ali İzmen, a former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, recalls:

"At the beginning as the war broke out all the mines C.M.C., Copper mines Mathiadis, Mitsero, Poli, Asbestos in Troodos Mountains were closed down. All these mines were absorbing a great number of the Greeks. Once everything was shut, they had no other thing to do. Everyone went to his village, there was nothing [to do]. All the imports and exports stopped. There was nothing exported from Cyprus, because Cyprus was mainly exporting carobs, olive oil, wine and spirits and to some extent grain and potatoes including oranges. All these exports stopped immediately. The crops were just getting rotten in the stores. People had nothing to eat – they starved. So when the government called for joining the British army they were compelled to join the British army. This is how it happened for the first two years."<sup>13</sup>

Another motivation was the adventure of an engagement in the British Army, which offered an alternative to young people seeking to escape the monotonous life in Cyprus:

“For most it was [a] sort of an adventure, because they were mostly young people, who used to rise [overstate] their age. They were fifteen, they were making false documents in order to be older, because they took only people between the ages of 18 to 42.”<sup>14</sup>

The Cyprus Regiment was mainly composed of pioneers and muleteers, in units delivering supplies by mule.<sup>15</sup>

“Muleteers were positioned primarily in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Eritrea, Italy and France, in mountainous areas which could not be reached by lorries behind the lines delivering supplies.”<sup>16</sup>

The first Cypriot recruits fought in Egypt and France.<sup>17</sup> The Cyprus Regiment had a British commander and a Turkish Cypriot was second in chief:

“It [the Regiment] was commanded by British and Cypriot officers. The regiment commander was a British officer, with his second in command a Cypriot major, Faik Müftüzade.”<sup>18</sup>

The exact number of Cypriots in the British army is unclear but estimated to be between 25,000 and 35,000.<sup>19</sup> The number of Cypriot war victims is estimated by the Veterans Association to be 600,<sup>20</sup> of which 338 are known by name, and include 272 Greek and 63 Turkish Cypriots.<sup>21</sup> Records of the Turkish Combatants' Association mention only 58 Turkish Cypriots (instead of 63) who were buried overseas but could not be identified, as men then had no surnames. Most Cypriot casualties of the conflict were in Italy.<sup>22</sup> Mehmet Ali İzmen estimates that the death toll of Cypriots was much higher, believing that about 650 Cypriot soldiers lost their lives for Britain. Explaining the difference between these estimates and the official numbers, İzmen comments:

“There are so many graves that have not been established. For instance at the port of Solum [Greece] when there was a bombardment of German aeroplanes on the ships which had supplies and Cypriots were at that place clearing the supplies from the ships, the bombardment came suddenly and the ships sank. And also the small boats which were put

in and then taken out and all the lorries [were bombed], which were just outside the port area waiting to carry the supplies. All those then – there were 60 Greek Cypriots – only one or two survived. All the others were killed. The British policy then was to conceal the actual deaths of people killed in the army. They just opened a [hole in the ground] just near the seaside, on the shore somewhere near Solum at the port, and they put them in a mass grave. Those were about more than 50, I think. And I didn't see anything in the books where they established it there. And likewise in many other places. The actual deaths of Cypriots fallen in the war were probably at least another quarter [of] what actually they show here [in official records]. And the same with the Cypriot Turks. Also equally share the same. Especially at Solum, there were many Cypriot Turks.”<sup>23</sup>

2,500 Cypriot prisoners of war found themselves in Italian or German P.O.W. Camps;<sup>24</sup> among whom was the later Greek Cypriot president Glafkos Clerides, who was a pilot in the R.A.F. Some 600 Turkish Cypriots were among those taken prisoners of war during the Nazi onslaught against Greece in 1941 and were held at prison camps in Kalamata before being transferred to camps in Germany, where most were held for four years.  
25

“In the Prison Camp of Kalamata there were many Turkish and Greek Cypriots together, but they didn't have any friction between them. Because there was a common cause in that case. It was something that they had to fight with the enemy and all they cared about was their life, that's all. The friendship continued”<sup>26</sup>

“Once the war was over, the prisoners were allowed to return to Cyprus, (although) many Turkish Cypriots are also known [to be] buried in cemeteries in Germany.”<sup>27</sup>

Very few Prisoners of War managed to escape. One example is Mehmet Yeşlida, known as ‘Çörenci’. He was one of the few Turkish Cypriots who managed to escape from the German prison camp at Kalamata. He had asked a Greek child who used to deliver rolls to the prisoners to have his mother bake a pair of pliers into the bread for him. The next day, he recov-

ered the tool from his roll and that evening worked to cut through his chains. The only problem that remained was how to escape unseen in the moonlight, but just as he finished his cutting, clouds came across the moon. Mr. Yeşlida was able to make his escape successfully under cover of darkness. He made his way to Turkey and then home to Cyprus.<sup>28</sup>

### Greek Cypriot Motivations to Join the British Army

The Italian attack on Greece in October 1940 and the consequent cooperation of Greece with the Allied Forces fostered hopes among the Greek Cypriots that Cyprus might be handed over to Greece after the end of the war. The Greek Cypriot Archbishop Leontios declared that the Greek Cypriots were prepared to cooperate with the (British colonial) Government for the common cause (i.e. England's and Greece's fight against the Axis Powers).<sup>29</sup>

“After the entry of Greece into war Archbishop Kyprianou (sic), made a call that the Greeks should join the army to run to the aid of Greece. That is how the people started in mass to join the army. And there was a great enthusiasm. The bells rung, the church bells rung all over Cyprus that people [should] join *en masse*.”<sup>30</sup>

The Colonial government deliberately used the Greek Cypriot enthusiasm by issuing the following recruiting slogan: “By enlisting in the British Army you fight for Greece and for your freedom!”<sup>31</sup> The number of Cypriot volunteers increased indeed, and the Cyprus Regiment grew until it had some 30,000 soldiers by the end of the war.<sup>32</sup> Additionally many Greek Cypriots – mostly students – fought in Greece, first in the Greek army and afterwards within the guerrilla resistance.<sup>33</sup> It is difficult to estimate how many Greek Cypriots actually joined in because of this. The Turkish Cypriot Combatants' Association claims, however, that their number was rather small:

“This [Greeks joining to help their motherland] might be true, because they – in those days – because of the British colonial rule there were some super nationalist Greek Cypriots, who also joined the Balkan Wars against the Ottomans, during the First World War against the Germans and the Ottomans. And always Greek Cypriots volunteered. But in this case not so much. Still there might have been some fanatics. There were Greek Cypriots studying in the Greek Military Academy and they became officers in the Greek Army, like Grivas. Very few!”<sup>34</sup>

The Greek government repeatedly explained expectations concerning the *Enosis* of Cyprus, for example during a visit of the British foreign secretary, Anthony Eden, to Athens in 1941. After consulting with the government in London, Eden informed the Greeks, that this question should be dealt with after the war.<sup>35</sup> During a speech in London the leader of the Greek Government in Exile, Tsouderos, described Cyprus as a part of Greece, which would be returned after the war.<sup>36</sup> Reacting to protests by the Turkish Cypriots the Governor of Cyprus officially denounced Tsouderos' declarations,<sup>37</sup> though the Government in Exile remained firm on its position nevertheless. On the occasion of a visit of King George II to Roosevelt on 12.06.1942, a memorandum was published, wherein the Greek government claimed the right to annex Cyprus, the Dodecanese, Northern Epirus, as well as corrections of the borders with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.<sup>38</sup> The position of London towards *Enosis* remained unchanged.

#### A.K.E.L.'s War Campaign

Nevertheless, the Colonial authorities eased their regime on the island in acknowledgement of the Cypriot contributions to the war efforts, and Governor William Battershill, in 1941, reauthorized political parties.<sup>39</sup> The most important Greek Cypriot parties were the left-wing Progressive Party of the Working People<sup>40</sup> (A.K.E.L.),<sup>41</sup> and the Cypriot National Party (K.E.K.).<sup>42</sup> The latter was a right-wing branch of the *Enosis* movement, backed by the church. On the Turkish Cypriot side the Federation of the Turkish Minority on the Island of Cyprus (K.A.T.A.K.),<sup>43</sup> (1943) and the Turkish National Peoples Party (K.T.M.H.P.)<sup>44</sup> (1944) were founded.

In the beginning A.K.E.L.'s position towards the enrolment of Cypriots in the British army was ambivalent. Even though there were expressed views supporting Cypriot engagement on the side of the allies already during A.K.E.L.'s first congress, the Party's leadership thought it enough to state that whoever wanted to fight, could join the British Army.<sup>45</sup> The interior defence policy of Cyprus was first orientated towards a presumed German invasion of the island, though the high German casualties during the invasion of Crete, combined with the beginning of the campaign against the Soviet Union (22.6.1941) diminished such fears.<sup>46</sup> Unlike other European communist parties, A.K.E.L. still refrained from directly calling upon its members to join the fight against Nazi Germany. The reasons for this reluctance were related, on the one hand, to the initially structural organizational weakness of the party and in its fundamental opposition towards the British administration. Interior political problems regained focus after the threat of a German invasion became more improbable. During the municipal elections of



1943 (the first since 1931) A.K.E.L. scored great victories and secured control over Famagusta and Limassol.<sup>47</sup> Now A.K.E.L.'s leadership felt strong enough to ask their members to join the British Army *en masse*. The appeal – which most probably came about partly due to Soviet pressure – took the British authorities by surprise:

“Mr Servas made the most of the element of surprise in disclosing his party's *volte face* on the recruitment issue, without any previous public intimation, at a United Nations Day concert organized by the Limassol municipality. The remarks of this prominent obstruc-ter of the war effort on that occasion were neither more nor less than a recruiting speech and his second-in-command specifically called upon all supporters of A.K.E.L. to join the Forces. Before the astonished public could draw breath what is already known as ‘the historic decision’ had been taken by the party's central committee at Nicosia on the 16th June. On this occasion, after deciding to appeal to all members to join the army and fixing a party conference for the 27<sup>th</sup> to endorse this decision and approve the first volunteers, all seventeen members of the committee are reported to have volunteered for service in the forces. It was ruled that the service of Mr Servas himself, Mr Adamantos, Mayor of Famagusta, and four other members of the party hierarchy would be more valuable on the home front (to look after the party's interests) but the remaining eleven should be free to enlist. The appeal to members to follow this example urged them ‘to help in the struggle for the liberation of Greece and all other countries from Nazi oppression and to secure the national, political and social future of Cyprus’. No time was lost by district committees in setting about the task of ensuring a satisfactory response [...]. By the date of the conference at Limassol, Nicosia had mustered some 280 and Famagusta 240: a total of 700 volunteers assembled in Limassol after the movement had been going for 10 days.”<sup>48</sup>

The Greek Cypriot Cyprus Veterans Association, which is close to A.K.E.L., explains the party's late call for recruitment, along the following lines:

“It must be remembered that A.K.E.L. was founded in the middle of 1941. It was the first political party to be formed

on modern lines in this country with few members and limited administrative or political experience. It did take time to establish the party machinery and recruit members. It was the first time in the history of this country that an appeal was to be made for massive enlistment to the army. The moment of the appeal therefore had to be considered very carefully since success or failure depended on that. The appeal was not made as a result of Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. It urged members and sympathisers to enlist in the British Army in order to help the Allied Forces in their fight against fascism."<sup>49</sup>

The appeal proved to be a great success, and before long over 500 volunteers went to the recruitment offices.<sup>50</sup> At first the new recruits were looked at with suspicion by the authorities because of their communist background:

"The A.K.E.L. Party's recruits for the army now number some 500. Those training at Polemidhia are evidently beginning to feel the restraints of army life, and a few of them on a visit to Limassol passed the time singing the 'Red Flag' in the streets and shouting 'Long Live Communism' and sundry insults against local opponents of the party."<sup>51</sup>

These concerns were, however, diminished as the new soldiers proved to be of extraordinary quality:

"On the other hand, the O. C. Polemidhia Training Depot reports that these A.K.E.L. recruits are among the best he has had, that they have shown more than usual intelligence and sense of discipline, and that although many of them are older than the average recruits they have responded well to the rigorous military training."<sup>52</sup>

Other soldiers of the Cyprus regiment recalled that the A.K.E.L. recruits were mostly well educated and devoted to their ideological cause:

"The A.K.E.L. in June 1943 – I remember, because I was in the army, that they started to come in mass groups. Mostly they were educated, some of them were very well educated. Venizelos the son of Kotsabas [a famous merchant] of Limassol, he was the richest man of Limassol, he also

joined the army. I found them in there and they were just doing communist propaganda in the army. So, that propaganda spread to the whole army.”<sup>53</sup>

In August 1944 the Greek Cypriot parties demanded from the British Undersecretary of State, Sir Cosmo Parkinson, the abolition of all ‘illiberal’ laws and acts, as well as the implementation of *Enosis* after the termination of war. Parkinson’s reply, that he was not entitled to negotiate the separation of Cyprus from the Commonwealth, was answered by the A.K.E.L. and the Greek Cypriot Trade Unions with a call for a general strike, which failed.<sup>54</sup> Thus, a major goal (*Enosis*) that Greek Cypriots connected with their personal engagement in the allied war efforts, remained unfulfilled.

Towards the end of the war and particularly after Germany surrendered, the A.K.E.L. members of the Cyprus Regiment started to provoke strikes in order to foster the demobilization of the unit and to provoke political confrontations with the British. Minor revolts occurred in Italy and North Africa. In Italy disturbances broke out in a hospital:

“The Greeks started to make some propaganda for *Enosis*. That was the wounded soldiers taken to hospital. They said we have been fighting, we have been wounded and while they were in hospital, the Greeks and the Turks (because they were both wounded) there was a captain Ahmet, a Turkish captain, later he became a major. He was testing the food of the soldiers, before they eat, which is a custom. They drank some of the lemonade [which] actually was for the soldiers. But he drank one glass. The Greek Cypriots made a problem for that: ‘Why should you take our ration? You didn’t have the right to drink this! We are going to complain to the major.’ The Turkish soldiers, the other wounded, they said: ‘We give our share, we don’t want! Take all our share and use it! But don’t complain for such a trivial thing.’ They continued to insist: ‘We want *Enosis*, we want this and want that... That was a provocation there just to start a complaint and see the major – otherwise they couldn’t see the major. But then the major came and said ‘Why do you cause all this trouble for a glass of lemonade?’ They said ‘But we came here to the army, we fought, we shed our blood and we are wounded and we don’t know what will happen at the end. We want our security. Our national security. We want *Enosis*.’ ‘Well, if you want

*Enosis*, you can claim it when you go back to your country after the war. It's no time to start a trouble for such a thing!"

In an interview I asked a veteran "Do you believe that any of the Greeks joined the army because they wanted *Enosis*?" to which the following answer was given:

"I think: Yes! But some of them, they said: 'Liberty!' and then through Liberty to *Enosis*. That was two kinds of things. And the soldiers there, who took part in that strike. Because they didn't want to take food, they started hunger strike, for weeks they didn't have anything. And then they started to quarrel between Turkish and Greeks. 'Why do you want me to come to your cause for *Enosis* and to join to this hunger strike?' 'We don't want to strike! We want our food!' A Turkish Cypriot told to the major: 'We don't participate in this hunger strike. We are innocent. We are just dragged in without knowing what happened. They started from the lemonade and they came to [the] hunger strike.' So the major punished the first elements. They got imprisonment, three-month imprisonment, and the less responsible got lesser punishments."<sup>55</sup>

In North Africa Cypriot soldiers refused to clear up mine fields in the Libyan desert:

"Towards the end of the war, the soldiers who came from Greece and soldiers who were from the A.K.E.L., they just said: 'Why should we be sent to Libya to gather all those mines, because there were mines in the desert?' So a portion of the Greek Cypriots was actually refusing to go. And of course as it was a unit, a company all together, there was Turkish Cypriots as well and there was a strike again. It was politically motivated, but the reason behind it they didn't want to go to the desert to collect all those mines and all that. They were also punished; they were taken to detention camps in Egypt."<sup>56</sup>

The biggest revolt for the dismemberment of the Regiment occurred in Cyprus, though the British immediately suppressed it. Among the many

Greek Cypriots there were some Turkish Cypriots as well, who found themselves imprisoned, as was reluctantly admitted by the Turkish Cypriot Combatants Association:

“They revolted, they rebelled. [They revolted before and after the war and] they were imprisoned. They were put behind the wires and they were guarded by Indian soldiers. They wanted to leave the army. They thought that they did their job and they couldn't be free to realize their purpose. ‘Course they wanted to influence all the Cyprus Regiment and get more members to A.K.E.L., the Communist Party.’”

Again, when I asked “Were there any Turkish Cypriots among the A.K.E.L. recruits?” the reply was straightforward:

“I don't think so! Even if there were they didn't know what they were doing. They were caught in the same company. And they were uneducated. They thought that it might be good and they might have been driven into the wrong way, but not intentionally. I only know, that they were imprisoned, put behind the wires in Polemidhia. Perhaps there were one or two Turkish Cypriots, who unintentionally were caught in the riots. It was the policy of A.K.E.L. in those days also to register Turkish members. I remember one of them wanted to join the police and when the British found out that he was a member of A.K.E.L. they did not take him. They called them ‘fellow travellers’.”<sup>57</sup>

### **Turkish Cypriot Reasons to Join the British Army**

Many Greek Cypriots aimed for *Enosis* as the reward for their engagement on the side of the allied forces, but how can an explanation be found for the fact that quite a few Turkish Cypriots joined the war as well? The predominantly Greek Cypriot Veterans Association claims economic difficulties as the main incentive for Turkish Cypriot volunteers, saying that they had simply no other choice, but to join the ranks of the British army:

“Following the Italian attack against Greece, it became evident that [the] advantage of the ideological aspect would be exploited by the Colonial Government since one of the recruiting campaign's slogan was ‘[By] Fighting for Greece

you are fighting for the freedom of Cyprus'. It is true that many more Greek Cypriots joined the army during this period because of ideological reasons, but it must be remembered that the economic reasons had not vanished. The ranks of the unemployed were enlarged and joining the army was one, if not the principal, option available."<sup>58</sup>

The Cyprus Veterans Association estimates the proportion of Greek to Turkish Cypriots as 80% Greek to 20% Turkish. The actual share of the Turkish Cypriots might be even higher and according to the Turkish Cypriot Combatants' Association, which was founded in 1995, about half of the Cypriots who joined the Cyprus Regiment were Turkish Cypriots, of whom about a dozen were officers.<sup>59</sup> In a letter to the Secretary of State for the Commonwealth, the British Governor of Cyprus, Woolley, quoted his statistical department's estimate that 23% Turkish Cypriots (Moslem) provided 'casual work' for the Army.<sup>60</sup>

Despite any official statements made by the *Evkaf* Office,<sup>61</sup> the main motivation of Turkish Cypriots to fight in the British Army remained financial.

I asked "Were there any other than economical motives of Turkish Cypriots to join the army?" to which I received the very straightforward answer: "No – Economic and Unemployment."<sup>62</sup> Fighting for a higher goal was of only second importance for some Turkish Cypriots:

"The Turkish Cypriots joined the army just with the idea of earning some money. And secondly, to see that they're fighting for a common cause, but not for communism or anything else."<sup>63</sup>

In the eventuality of a possible post-war *Enosis*, the political perceptions of Turkish Cypriots regarding an allied victory were rather negative.

"[...] the belief that life here after an Allied victory will become intolerable for Moslems, as a result of the Greeks increased wealth and influence, or at worst *Enosis* itself, does not make for their enthusiastic co-operation in our war effort."<sup>64</sup>

These fears almost amounted to a pro-German tendency of opinion among a limited number of Turkish Cypriots, as the colonial authorities reported.<sup>65</sup> Many Turkish Cypriots serving in the British Army had at least no

bad feelings about Germans, as the example of the General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Hasan Fehmi illustrates.

Hasan Fehmi was a sergeant in the army, serving near the Suez Canal just after the war as the British withdrew from Palestine into Egypt. One of 150 Turkish Cypriots in a 350-strong Cyprus Regiment deployment in Egypt, he was in charge of logging and guarding supplies brought to their base.

"I didn't see any active duty, but we had to deal with Arabs raiding the garrison, trying to steal weapons and supplies or to pay bribes."<sup>66</sup>

Mr. Fami said they had German prisoners of war, and treated them as "fellow human beings". They played bingo on Saturdays and the Germans even organized a jazz concert for them. As a young sergeant, he said he had treated the P.O.W.s to beers in the canteen – but the attempt at good will had cost him a warning for "fraternising" with the Germans.<sup>67</sup>

This statement clearly indicates that the ideological motivation was of at least secondary importance for Turkish Cypriots to take part in Britain's war efforts.

### **Greek-Turkish Cypriot Relations Within the British Army**

Despite the different reasons and motivations which drove Greek and Turkish Cypriots to join the British army, within its ranks they shared the same fate. The Greek Cypriot Cyprus Veterans Association qualified this fate as a rather heroic adventure:

"Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, voluntarily enlisted in the same army [...] they fought the same common enemy, they fell in the same battlefields and were buried next to each other."<sup>68</sup>

The Turkish Cypriot Combatants' Association rejects this view:

"This was late Christofis nonsense! [The deceased Andreas Christofi was long standing President of the Veterans Association]. I can say that Cypriots, who joined the army, had no purpose at all, except for advantage, money, [un]employment. To me it was a second sort of prison. Anybody who had a problem and run away and couldn't go out of Cyprus because of war: 'So let us join the army! To

see other countries, to travel to other countries.' We were not at that period so politically influenced, politically prepared to know what the Nazis were or what the fascists were."<sup>69</sup>

There are, however, Turkish Cypriot soldiers who talk about a "common, global cause" for which members of both Cypriot communities fought.<sup>70</sup> The British eager not to encourage ethnic strife did not allow separate Turkish or Greek Cypriot units to exist within the Cyprus Regiment:

"No distinctions were made by the British between Turkish and Greek Cypriots enrolled in the army. We now appreciate that this was a clever policy on the part of the British authorities."<sup>71</sup>

"No, [distinctions] it was the same, because every company had one or two British officers and one or two Cypriots. In my first company the major, the commanding officer, had an English mother and a Greek Cypriot father, Major Palmas. They were going to make promotions and the sergeant major was a Turkish Cypriot. He called ten soldiers for promotion, out of [which] eight were Turkish and two were Greek. He promoted them all, but then he asked the sergeant major to come in and say: 'You brought me eight Turkish Cypriots and two Greeks, were you going to baptise us and make us Muslims?' That was a joke, but he promoted them all."<sup>72</sup>

There are no hints in the British public records towards any ethnic conflicts within the Cyprus Regiment. This is exactly in line with the combined memories of Turkish and Greek Cypriot war veterans. The relations are generally referred to as 'comradeship'.

"We were just like brothers! We didn't have any differences at all. It was comradeship, true comradeship. There was no difference, because we spent all our time together."<sup>73</sup>

There appear to be certain differences in the judgment of intercommunal relations within the Cyprus regiment between Turkish Cypriot soldiers,



who spent most of their service during the Second World War, and those who served in the post-war years. As political conflict and ethnic distrust grew in Cyprus towards the end of the 1950s it appeared to affect the Regiment as well:

“The private life was on an individual basis. We used to work in the same office. We used to sleep in the same tent. But it was rather on the surface. Because there were even some quarrels and fighting between Greeks and Turks in some places. Not political but mainly as I said to you there were strange people as well. There were people who dealt in drugs [...] Greeks, those days, mainly. And there were people who used to steal the arms, the rifles and other guns [...] selling them to the Arabs or to the Jews in Palestine and Egypt. One case I remember: the rifle of a guard, a Turkish boy, was stolen by some Greeks in Egypt. He was taken to the Military Court and I was the translator and he didn't have a defence officer. The defence officer was a British Lieutenant and he didn't know Greek. They had to take me, as a translator and instead of translator I became defence officer secretly, without the court knowing about it. So I had to defend him. [...] We later knew that the rifle was stolen by some Greek sergeants and corporals and sold to the Arabs for £60.”

In an interview I asked “So the Turkish Cypriots had an image of the Greeks that most of them were not reliable?” to which I got the following answer:

156

“Yes! They couldn't trust them and they knew that there were some Greeks who were [of] older age who would manipulate things, or report them or if they saw there was a sort of intentional campaign of not promoting. Both sides! The sergeant and the sergeant major, that I told you, he wanted to promote the Turks and the same was with the Greeks. When they saw somebody who was educated and might have been an officer, they found something wrong with him or they created an offence just to dismiss him from the army. It was going on underground like that from one side to the other side and the trust of a Turkish soldier to a Turkish officer was bigger from a Greek officer, because he

didn't know the language he couldn't approach a Greek officer and ask for help and he would prefer a Turkish officer around. So the English tried to have both sides, one Greek and one Turkish Cypriot as an officer in a company so that there would be a balance."<sup>74</sup>

In contrast to this statement an older Turkish Cypriot serviceman qualifies these events as rather insignificant:

"Well, in some cases, when it comes to promotion, some were just helping [their] own race. But the British were just judging themselves. But sergeants and sergeant majors who were the first to recommend the soldiers were Greeks and usually they pulled for the Greeks. But at the end the British use their own common sense."<sup>75</sup>

The fact that big differences hardly existed between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is underlined by the fact that many Turkish Cypriots joined their Greek comrades voluntarily as they went from North Africa to fight in Greece:

"After Greece entered the war they moved most of the soldiers from the desert from North Africa and they took them to Greece. That was voluntarily. They all asked if anyone wants to go to Greece to be there and defend Greece, it will be welcomed. So many Cypriots, Greeks and Turks alike..."

On this subject I asked "Why were Turks volunteering as well to go to Greece?":

"Once he was a soldier, once he was in the army, there was no difference between whether you are in Greece or in Africa. Probably, I think, the idea was to get a better chance. Because in Greece the climate was better than North Africa. They got fed up in Libya, in the desert. No water, no supplies – everything was left as it comes. They preferred to go to Greece. First of all, the idea was to run to the help of Greece. The Greek Cypriots actually felt that necessity because of [their] Greek origin and [of] being

Christians, Orthodox and all that. But the Turks wouldn't mind about whether he was a creature or a Turk or a Muslim. But they preferred to be with their comrades, with their friends."<sup>76</sup>

The official language of the Regiment was of course English. Nevertheless the working language of the Cypriot soldiers and officers remained Greek, which was widely spoken and understood by the Turkish Cypriots as well:

"Communication between Greek and Turkish Cypriots during their army service was almost invariably carried out in Greek."<sup>77</sup>

In few cases Turkish was used too, as it was spoken by some Greek Cypriots as well:

"We used our own language, anyway. But we had British officers and all that. We could speak English as well, but the communication between us was either Greek or Turkish. The Greeks also spoke Turkish in those days."<sup>78</sup>

Among the Greek Cypriots, on the other hand, just a few were able to speak Turkish, and despite some basic knowledge of English, in neither community was proficiency of that language perfect.

Political conflict among the Cypriot soldiers concerning *Enosis* was rare, as after the British defeat in Crete the Regiment ceased to serve in Greece and focused on other tasks in Africa, Italy and Syria.<sup>79</sup> Political discussions were consequently not concerning the young soldiers:

"It was not a topic, because mostly we were youngsters and we didn't have that ideological things. Mainly, [it was] an adventure rather than an organised thing, except from A.K.E.L., the adventure stealing and selling the uniforms, selling the blankets, selling the arms, you see? Drugs [...] There were no hot discussions about politics."<sup>80</sup>

Politics were only introduced through the above-mentioned A.K.E.L. campaign, which failed to influence especially the Turkish Cypriot element of the unit:

"We never discussed anything, except after A.K.E.L. [people] came into the army. They just started to spread their propaganda. But the propaganda did not start with *Enosis* - they started with 'liberty'. And after they gained their liberation the intention was to make *Enosis*."<sup>81</sup>

As a result, the only recorded differences between soldiers of both communities were subjective testimonies given by British drill sergeants. The District Commissioner, Maurice Henry W. Swabey, asked for example during a visit at the Polemidhia Training Centre in 1942, one of the sergeants in charge of the training of new recruits, about the differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriot soldiers:

"I asked him of his opinion of comparative merits of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. He said he thought the Greeks were clearer and the Turks were more stable and harder workers. [...] He had been impressed by the linguistic abilities of the Cypriots."<sup>82</sup>

As Greek and Turkish Cypriots returned to their island after the demobilisation of their units in May 1950,<sup>83</sup> they did so as 'comrades', who felt they had fought for a just cause. This cause was either the 'fight against fascism' or the struggle for the Greek fatherland. The common enemies had been the Axis powers and the common goal to defeat them had been accomplished. With this success the only uniting political aims of the Cypriot soldiers were fulfilled. Now the struggle would focus again on the future status of the island of Cyprus.

The common engagement of Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the Second World War did not widen the national gap between them, but it had not helped to narrow it either. At its best it distracted attention away from it for a short period.

One major factor that would indeed contribute to the island's future development was the fact that many Greek and Turkish Cypriots received a substantial military training and were now experienced in combat. These skills were to be reactivated ten years later – this time not as comrades in arms, but as enemies. During the fight of the Greek Cypriot E.O.K.A. against the British Auxiliary Police in 1955, former Greek Cypriot members of the Cyprus Regiment were engaged in the training of young rebels:

"Surely I believe they [former members of the Cyprus

Regiment] played a role during the E.O.K.A. struggle. They were just the first elements that created E.O.K.A. Elements, actual elements, were those who had experience in the British army, either to lead them or to give them directions how to use guns and all that. I can't say for the Turkish the same thing. Actually the Turkish Cypriots didn't need [military training] because the struggle was against the British. Then the Turkish Cypriots joined the Auxiliary force on the British side. And those who were just fighting against E.O.K.A. in those days, they just gained some experience. But the new generation which joined the Auxiliary Force with the British, they have started to learn about how to [fight]. But the Turkish Cypriots from the old times, I don't think they had any role to play with the new generation. Except some ideas or something like that. Because they had the British with them to train them when they were in the police force, who as an auxiliary force go with the gendarmerie and go to the mountains and search for the E.O.K.A. men. So they were taking there training as well."<sup>84</sup>

There were, however, former Cyprus Regiment members engaged in the Turkish Cypriot resistance organisations of Volkan and T.M.T., which fought against E.O.K.A. in 1958.<sup>85</sup> The engagement of former British Cypriot soldiers should nevertheless not be overestimated, since most of the fighters who engaged in the struggles of the late 1950s and early 1960s were youngsters.<sup>86</sup>

What remains to be noted is that it took only ten years between the period when Cypriots of both communities fought together as comrades, to the time in which members of the very same communities engaged in violent struggle among themselves. Thus the intercommunal character of the Cyprus Regiment did not alter the course of political events in Cyprus. Strife, division, hatred and intolerance dominated the years to come. Nevertheless the Cyprus Regiment experience might carry one element of hope for the future: Given the right circumstances Cypriots of both communities are quite capable of engaging in a common course!

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### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> For intercommunal relations outside the British forces see: Jan Asmussen, *Wir waren wie Brüder. Zusammenleben und Konfliktentstehung in ethnisch gemischten Dörfern auf Zypern* [We were like brothers. Co-operation and

*emerging conflict in ethnical mixed villages in Cyprus*], Hamburg, 2001

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Loizos Demitriou, General-Treasurer, Cyprus Veterans' Association, World War II, 14.10.1996.

<sup>3</sup> "[...] question of the recruitment for the Army of Cypriots who are in London. At the present time the Army authorities allow the Cypriots to apply for recruitment and ostensibly consider them on their merits. But, in fact, Mr. Thorne Thorne said that they more or less continuously reject them because they would not fit in. [...] And they are aware that certain Cypriots in this country are inclined to voice sentiments which were not consistent with an unquestioned loyalty." C.O. 67/297/9 Armed Forces of the Crown: recruitment of Cypriots for; Notice A.B. Acheson, 1.2.1939.

<sup>4</sup> Contrary to the multicultural composition of other troops of the empire.

<sup>5</sup> "The only possible objections [are] that the news may spread to Cyprus & that we may have numbers of Cypriots coming here & them being rejected. Dark-skinned Cypriots, whom the normal person could class as coloured, will not be accepted. But I think we can risk that." C.O. 67/297/9 Notice W.(?) Calder, 3.2.1939.

<sup>6</sup> "Mr. Thorne Thorne's present view is that in the Air Force the Cypriot would probably have access to technical secrets of a kind which would probably not be available to the average infantry man and that therefore he might be under the temptation of betraying them to foreign agents. Mr. Thorne Thorne did not of course imply that all Cypriots would be unreliable in this respect, but he felt that it would be risky to rely too much on their powers of resistance to temptation, and he said that there were few individuals whom he would feel perfectly happy about vouching for. [...] Mr. Thorne Thorne and I came to the conclusion, as a result of our talk, that the best plan would be for him to try and persuade any Cypriots with whom he comes into contact, who are thinking of joining the Air Force, to divert their attention to the Army, which is now ready to welcome Cypriot recruits." C.O. 67/297/9 J. B. Williams, Colonial Office to Calder, 11.5.1939.

<sup>7</sup> "The Inspector of Recruitment explained to me the view of the Air Ministry, and said that there was now no objection to a Cypriot joining the Royal Air Force provided he had the necessary educational and physical qualifications, had a good knowledge of English, and was European in appearance and habits. (The Air Force will not consider anyone who has, for example, long curly black hair, is of dark complexion, or is of Asiatic or African appearance.)" C.O. 67/297/9 J.B. Williams, Colonial Office to C.S., Cyprus, 6. 6.1939.

<sup>8</sup> "Cypriots will be accepted for enlistment on 'Duration of War' engagements without the need of obtaining verifications of character from you, provided

that they can pass the medical examination and can speak and understand English reasonably well." C.O. 67/297/9 A.J.K. Pigott, War Office, to R.J. Thorne Thorne, Liaison Officer, Government of Cyprus Office, London, 8.9.1939.

<sup>9</sup> "This will simplify matters as Cypriots now desiring to enlist will be able to do so by applying to any recruiting office in England. A few Cypriots have enlisted since the outbreak of war." C.O. 67/297/9 Thorne Thorne to A.B. Acheson, Colonial Office, 12.9.1939.

<sup>10</sup> Pankyprios Syndesmos Polemiston B' Pankosmiou Polemou, *50i Epeteios tis Antifasistikis Nikis 1945-1995. Symmetochi kai Syneisfora tis Kyprou sto B' Pankosmiou Polemou*/Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: 50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, *Participation and Contribution of Cyprus in The Second World War*, Nicosia, 1995, 27. The Polemidhia Camp was already established in 1895 by Kitchner. It was situated two miles from Limassol, see: H.D. Purcell, *Cyprus*, London, 1969, 338

<sup>11</sup> Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: 50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, *Participation*, *op. cit.*, 33

<sup>12</sup> 'Forgotten Heroes', in: *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002. Mr. İzmen joined the army in 1942, his brother in 1940. He served in Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Italy. He is currently preparing a book on the history of the Cyprus Regiment.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002.

<sup>15</sup> 'Forgotten Heroes', *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>16</sup> Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, in an interview with *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>17</sup> Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: 50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, *Participation*, *op. cit.*, 27

<sup>18</sup> Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, in an interview with *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>19</sup> Pankyprios Syndesmos Polemiston B' Pankosmiou Polemou: *50i Epeteios tis Antifasistikis Nikis 1945-1995 stin Evropi, Apokalyptiria Mnimeiou Pesonton Ekdilosi Mnimis kai Timis, Amfitheairo P.A.S.Y.D.Y., Levkosia, 14 Maiou 1995*, Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: 50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory in Europe 1945-1955, *Unveiling of the Monument for the Fallen and Remembrance Celebration, P.A.S.Y.D.Y. Amphitheatre, Nicosia 14th May 1995*. (Nicosia 1995), 45/49. The General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Hasan Fehmi, believes that the number of 35,000 Cypriot soldiers is too high: "Our service numbers start from one and

go to 5,000. And then they start from 15,000 and go to 24,000. That makes 14,000 altogether. [...] If those numbers were also used still it will be 24-25,000". Interview with Hasan Fehmi, Nicosia, 15.4.2002. According to the sources of the private researcher Mehmet Ali İzmen, the numbers given by the Greek Cypriot Veterans are correct. Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, 15.5.2002.

<sup>20</sup> Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: *50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, Participation, op. cit.*, 11

<sup>21</sup> Brief address by A. Christofi, President of the Cyprus Veterans' Association of World War II, in: Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: *50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955 in Europe, Unveiling, op. cit.*, of the Monument for the Fallen and Remembrance Celebration, 47

<sup>22</sup> 'Forgotten Heroes', *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12, 13

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne 13.5.2002

<sup>24</sup> Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: *50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, Participation*, 31

<sup>25</sup> 'Forgotten Heroes', *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12, 13

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne 13.5.2002

<sup>27</sup> Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, in an interview with *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>28</sup> Story related by Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, in an interview with *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 13

<sup>29</sup> George Hill, *The History of Cyprus*, 4 Vol., Cambridge, 1940-1952, 559

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002.

<sup>31</sup> Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: *50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, Participation, op. cit.*, 28

<sup>32</sup> Among them were 5,000 Cypriot volunteers from Egypt; Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: *50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, Participation*, 28

<sup>33</sup> Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: *50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, Participation, op. cit.*, 29

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002. N.B.: Georgios Grivas later became the leader of the Greek Cypriot E.O.K.A..

<sup>35</sup> Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: *50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, Participation, op. cit.*, 48



- <sup>36</sup> George Hill, *The History of Cyprus*, 4 Vol., Cambridge, 1940-1952, 650
- <sup>37</sup> Eugen Oberhummer, 'Cypern und England', *Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft Wien*, 85, 1942, 160-165
- <sup>38</sup> Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, 'Außenpolitik', in: Klaus-Detlev Grothusen ed, *Südosteuropa-Handbuch. Vol. 3 Griechenland*, Göttingen, 1980, 147-190, 158
- <sup>39</sup> Peter Zervakis, 'Historische Grundlagen', in: Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, Winfried Steffani, Peter Zervakis eds, *Südosteuropa-Handbuch. Vol. 8 Zypern*, Göttingen, 1998, 38-90, 80
- <sup>40</sup> T. W. Adams, *A.K.E.L.. The Communist Party of Cyprus*, Stanford, 1971, 21 ff
- <sup>41</sup> Anorthotikon Komma tou Ergazomenou Laou (Progressive Party of the Working People)
- <sup>42</sup> Kypriakon Ethnikon Komma, K.E.K. – (Cypriot National Party)
- <sup>43</sup> Kıbrıs Adası Türk Azınlığı Kurumu – (Federation of the Turkish Minority on the Island of Cyprus)
- <sup>44</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Milli Halk Partisi – (Turkish National Peoples Party)
- <sup>45</sup> "Various representatives spoke during the meeting. Kyriakos Apostolou of Limassol wanted conscription to which [Lysandros] Tsimilis [Editor of *Anexartitos* newspaper, Nicosia] replied that those who wanted to fight could join the Cyprus Regiment or the C.V.F [Cyprus Voluntary Force]." C.O. 67/314/14 Political Situation. Report on Workers Reform Party, Pancyprian Meeting of A.K.E.L. at Limassol on 5.10.41.
- <sup>46</sup> The 11. Fliegerkorps (Paratroops) alone suffered 6,000 dead, missing and wounded. Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg. Vol. 3* (Stuttgart 1984), 508 f; concerning Cyprus and the prospects of German invasion see: Robert Stephens, *Cyprus. A Place of Arms. Power Politics and Ethnic Conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean*, London, 1966, 122
- <sup>47</sup> H. D. Purcell, *Cyprus*, London, 1969, 226
- <sup>48</sup> C.O. 67/314/12 Political Situation in Cyprus. June 1943; A.K.E.L.'s Recruiting Campaign, Woolley (draft approved) Signed for Governor on tour to Stanley, 26.7.1943
- <sup>49</sup> Interview with Loizos Demitriou, General Treasurer, Cyprus Veterans' Association, World War II (official statement), 14.10.1996
- <sup>50</sup> In the following British official statement (next quotation) the estimate is "some 500" new recruits. The Veterans Association estimates 800 recruits, which lead to mainly A.K.E.L. dominated units: "Of course there were no A.K.E.L. units as such. But when you have some 800 young men volunteering for army service on the same day it is almost unavoidable that you will

end up with some units consisting exclusively or mainly of A.K.E.L. members, at least during the initial training period." Interview with Loizos Demitriou, General-Treasurer, Cyprus Veterans' Association, World War II (official statement), 14.10.1996. Presumably the actual number of A.K.E.L.-recruits, which grew over the following years, was significantly higher than 500.

<sup>51</sup> C.O. 67/314/12 Political Situation in Cyprus. August 1943; Woolley to Stanley, 1.10.1943

<sup>52</sup> C.O. 67/314/12 Political Situation in Cyprus. August 1943; Woolley to Stanley, 1.10.1943

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>54</sup> Franz Georg Maier, *Cypern, Insel am Kreuzweg der Geschichte*, Stuttgart, 1964, 155, The strike lasted 23 days and was mostly carried out by civil servants; Purcell, *op. cit.*, 226

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002

<sup>58</sup> Interview Loizos Demitriou, General Treasurer, Cyprus Veterans' Association, World War II, (official statement), 14.10.1996

<sup>59</sup> Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, in an interview with *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>60</sup> "Fearful as always of Greek Cypriot discrimination against them, Moslems were heard to complain that an insufficient number of their community was employed on military works. Statistics showed, however, that 23% of Army casual labour was Moslem, which suggests that if anything there has been discrimination in their favour." C.O. 67/314/12 Political Situation 1942-43; Woolley to the Viscount Craborne, Secretary of State, 18.6.1942

<sup>61</sup> "In 1944 on the days appointed by His Majesty the King Special Service were held in the Mosques. Throughout the year prayers continued to be offered after the regular Services in all the Mosques of the colony for a speedy and glorious victory for our Noble King and his Majesty's Armed Forces and for the preservation and the prosperity of the British Empire." C.O. 70/27 government gazettes 1942-45; Evkaf Report of Delegates on Accounts, Nicosia, 29.3.45 *The Cyprus Gazette*, 18th April 1945, 83

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>64</sup> C.O. 67/314/12 Woolley to the Viscount Craborne, 19.10.1942

<sup>65</sup> "The *Enosist*' recent expressions of conviction that Cyprus will be ceded to Greece after the war have not improved the state of Turkish Cypriot sentiment. The association with British victory of a prospect which is thoroughly noxious to the Moslem community encouraged in some quarters the belief that British defeat alone would forestall it. Consequently a pro-German tendency of opinion is developing among a limited number of Turkish Cypriots and will continue so long as Turkey's intentions in the event of a German attack are in doubt." C.O. 67/314/12 Wolley to Lord Moyne, Secretary of State, 17.2.1942

<sup>66</sup> Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, in an interview with *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 13

<sup>67</sup> Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, in an interview with *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>68</sup> Andreas Christofi, in: the preface to: *Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: 50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, Participation*, *op. cit.*, 11 f

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Loizos Demitriou, General Treasurer, Cyprus Veterans' Association, World War II, 14.10.1996

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>77</sup> Interview Loizos Demitriou

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>79</sup> Parts of the Regiment fought first in France and Northern Africa, then in Ethiopia and on the Greek mainland as well as in Crete before they were

transferred to Syria and finally to Italy (Monte Cassino); Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: 50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory 1945-1955, Participation, *op. cit.*, 29 f

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002

<sup>81</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002

<sup>82</sup> RHL MSS. Medit. s. 13 Swabey, Maurice Henry W.: Informal diary 1942/43 as D. C., Cyprus, dated 20.8 (?) 1942 (unclear).

<sup>83</sup> Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, in an interview with *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>84</sup> Interview with Mehmet Ali İzmen, former soldier in the Cyprus Regiment, Girne, 13.5.2002.

<sup>85</sup> The story of Hüseyin Mehmet Kavas underlines this legacy: He signed up to the regiment for six years soon after its formation. He was taken prisoner in Greece and held in Kalamata before being moved to a camp in Germany, where he spent the remaining four years of his military service. A policeman before joining up, he continued his career upon his return to Cyprus, eventually retiring as a chief inspector. His military duties however had not ended with the British army: as turmoil grew in early 1960s Cyprus, he took up arms again, this time as a high ranking member of the Turkish Resistance Fighters' Organisation (T.M.T.). 'Forgotten Heroes', *Cyprus Today*, 10-16 November 2001, 12

<sup>86</sup> Hasan Fehmi supports the view that Cypriot military skills were not sophisticated enough for Guerrilla warfare: "Well, I think, even if it was done, it was on a very small scale, because the T.M.T. and the E.O.K.A. people were mostly young people. Very young 18 and... [Question: But they needed at least somebody to train them.] They were trained by the Greek officers of the Greek army. I don't think so because the Cypriots – the training that we got was, how to use the rifle, how to use the bayonet, small machine guns and Sten guns and throwing hand grenades, that was all. We didn't have any special training and not sophisticated things. It was just for defence purposes and some guard duties around the camps. We didn't have a sort of artillery; we didn't have other special groups or teams to use special arms. I don't think they went into these secret organisations because of the training that the got from the British army. The young chaps who went into the underground organisations were mostly as I said 18 to 20. Also the weapons that we had were very old [compared] to the new ones. The rifles that we were using were from Victorian dates." Interview with Hasan Fehmi, General Secretary of the Turkish Combatants' Association, Nicosia, 15.4.2002

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1995/Cyprus Veterans' Association World War II: 50th Anniversary of the Antifascist Victory in Europe 1945-1955, Unveiling of the Monument for the Fallen and Remembrance Celebration, P.A.S.Y.D.Y. Amphitheatre, Nicosia, 14th May 1995

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## Kıbrıs'ta Türk Savaş Esirleri: Kesitsel Bir Bakış<sup>1</sup>

Ulvi Keser

### Giriş ve Çalışma

Doğu Akdeniz'de jeopolitik önemine bağlı olarak Avrupa, Asya ve Afrika kıtaları arasında kilit noktada bulunan Kıbrıs özellikle 1571 yılından Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na kadar olan sürede Anadolu çiftçisi ve zanaatkarlarının göç ettiği bir adadır.<sup>2</sup> 1745 yılında İngiliz Konsolos Alexander Drummond'un yaptırdığı sayıma göre de adada 150000 Türk ve 50000 Rum yaşamaktadır.<sup>3</sup> Akdeniz'in ortasında Cebelitarık, Süveyş Kanalı ve Ege deniziyle dünyaya açılma olanağı veren Kıbrıs'ın Türkiye ve dünya devletleri açısından stratejik önemi çok büyüktür. "Akdeniz'in medeni çevresinde her zaman sevilmiş, fakat hiç sevmemiş fattan bir kız olarak tasvir edilen,"<sup>4</sup> Ortadoğu'nun anahtarı ve önemli bir üs olan Kıbrıs için eski İngiliz Başbakanlarından Disraeli de "Batı Asya'nın anahtarı" olarak bahseder.<sup>5</sup>

Dünya coğrafyası açısından bu kadar önemli olan Kıbrıs Adası, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın başlamasıyla yeniden gündeme gelir. Adayı stratejik üs olarak kullanan İngiltere, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na bağlı olarak Kıbrıs adasında bir esir kampı açmaya karar verir. Bununla ilgili olarak sıkıyönetim uygulamalarına başlar ve İngiliz Yüksek Komiserliği aracılığıyla 4 Haziran 1915'te bir duyuruyla esirlerle ilgili hareket tarzlarını belirler.<sup>6</sup>

Osmanlı Devleti'nin Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na etkin olarak katılıp Almanya'nın yanında yer almasıyla İngiltere 5 Kasım 1914'te<sup>7</sup> Kıbrıs'ı topraklarına kattığını ilan eder.<sup>8</sup> Kıbrıslı Türklerin büyük tepki göstermesine karşılık,<sup>9</sup> Enosis'i gerçekleştirmek isteyen Rumlar ise, bunu adanın Yunanistan'a ilhakı için önemli bir adım olarak görürler.<sup>10</sup> Ayrıca 5 Ağustos 1914'te<sup>11</sup> ilan edilen sıkıyönetimden 4 ay sonra, 3 ve 5 Aralık 1915'te İngiliz Yüksek Komiseri Binbaşı Sir John E. Clauson<sup>12</sup> yayımladığı sıkıyönetim bildirimleriyle adada silah bulundurma ve taşımayı yasaklar.<sup>13</sup> Adanın doğal kaynaklarını çok iyi bilen İngilizler Mağusa'da denize kıyısı olan,<sup>14</sup> meskenin olmadığı,<sup>15</sup> devlete ait, suyu bol ve yeni su kuyuları açma imkanının bulunduğu yerde esir kampı açar. Ardından aynı bölgede Fransızlar da Ermeni Doğu Lejyonu için bir kamp açacaklardır. Monarga (bundan sonra Boğaztepe) bölgesinde kurulacak Ermeni askeri kampının<sup>16</sup> esir kampına yakın olması<sup>17</sup> ve iki kamp arasındaki bölgenin askeri eğitim alanı olarak kullanılması, Fransız ve İngilizlerin işbirliği içerisinde olduklarını gösteriyor. Kıbrıs'taki İngiliz Yüksek Komiseri'nin bu konudaki tek itirazı adaya Port Said kampından Ermeni kadınların ve çocukların getirilmesi konusundadır.<sup>18</sup> Ermeni kampının burada kurulmasının bir sebebi de Anadolu'daki Ermeni isyanlarında kullanılacak silahların Mağusa-Dörtyol güzergahıyla gönderilmesidir.<sup>19</sup> Demiryolu ve de-

nizyolu açısından ulaşım imkanının iyi olması, askeri açıdan çıkartma faaliyetlerine uygun olması, bölgenin doğusunda deniz,<sup>20</sup> diğer taraflarının da Rum köyleri ile çevrili ve güvenli bir bölge olması, bölgenin muhtemel bir Alman veya Türk saldırısına karşı sahil topları ile donatılmış olması ve belki de en önemli sebep olarak kampın İngilizlere ait askeri savaş esirleri kamp bölgesi içerisinde kalarak kolayca kamufle edilebilmesi başlıca sebepler arasında gösterilebilir.<sup>21</sup> Bu çalışmalar o kadar gizli yürütülmektedir ki Mağusa bölgesinin en büyük mülki amiri konumunda olan Mağusa Kaza Komiseri'nin bütün bu olup bitenlerden haberi ancak gayri resmi yollardan olmuştur. Ayrıca bu dönemde Kıbrıs adası, savaşın dışındaymış gibi görünse de yaklaşık 11000 Kıbrıslı Rum değişik görevlerde, doğrudan olmasa da savaşa katılmışlar<sup>22</sup> ve müttefiklere destek olmuşlardır.<sup>23</sup> İngiliz Yüksek Komiseri Binbaşı Sir John E. Clauson<sup>24</sup> imzasıyla Kıbrıs'ta 26 Ağustos 1916 tarihinde ikinci bir duyuru yapılır ve her türlü silah alım satımı, bulundurulması ve taşınması yasaklanır.<sup>25</sup>

26-29 Ekim 1916 tarihleri arasında Mağusa Limanı'nda karaya ayak basan ve derhal Karakol bölgesine sevk edilen ilk grupta Türk savaş esirlerinin sayısı 215'tir. Bütün esirlerin karaya ayak basmaları ve kampa götürülmelerinin tamamlanmasıyla kampta yaklaşık 3000 civarında esir toplanmıştır. 1923 yılına kadar faaliyette bulunan bu kamptaki Türk savaş esirlerinin sayısı sonraları 2000-4000 arasında değişmiştir.<sup>26</sup> İki ayrı grup halinde ve savaş gemilerinin refakatinde Mağusa Limanı'nda Othello Kulesi<sup>27</sup> bölgesine yanaşan gemilerden inen Türk esirler, İngiliz askerlerinin gözetiminde yaya olarak ve Mağusalı Türklerle konuşmalarına izin verilmeden Karakol bölgesindeki esir kampına getirilmişlerdir. Ancak İngilizler tarafından alınan her türlü güvenlik tedbirine karşın Surlariçi'nde yaşayan Kıbrıslı Türklerin Türk esirlerini görebilmek için bölgeye akın etmeleri sonucu ilk gün çıkan karışıklıkta bir askeri araç devrilir ve iki Türk esir hayatını kaybeder. Türk savaş esirlerinin adaya getirilişini bizzat gören Kıbrıslı Türk, 1904 doğumlu Hamide Akil o günleri anılarında şöyle anlatır, "Esirlerin vapurlarla ve ayakları zincirli olarak Mağusa Limanı'na getirildiklerini hisarlar üzerinden seyrettiğimi hatırlıyorum."<sup>28</sup>

Bu dönemde Mağusa'da 2000 kadar İngiliz askeri bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Mağusa kalesinin sahil cephesinde büyük çaplı sahil topları vardır.<sup>29</sup> Karakol bölgesindeki esir kampında ise 3000 kadar Türk savaş esiri bulunmaktadır. Bu Türk esirlerin muhafazasıyla görevli olarak da 500 kadar İngiliz askeri görev yapmaktadır. Bunlara ilaveten Boğaztepe'deki Ermeni kampında 5000 kadar Ermeni ile bunları eğitmek üzere bazı Fransız subaylar bulunmaktadır. Ermeni kamplarını kurmakla görevlendirilen Albay Louis Romieu<sup>30</sup> 28 Ekim 1916 tarihinde Port Said'den Savaş Bakanlığı'na gönderdiği 1/M.R. numaralı ve 124 sayılı raporda İngilizlerin faaliyetlerini de anlatır:



“Kıbrıs’taki İngilizler Mağusa’nın kuzeyinde yarım milyon Fransız Frangı harcayarak bir kamp kurmuşlar. 3500 Türk esirinin yerleştirilmesi için. Hiç şüphesiz, bizim kuracağımız kampta Ermenilerin bulunuş sebepleri, topraklarına yeniden dönmenin beklentisi olacak. Ancak burada bizlerin gösterdiği saygın bir davranış var ki; o da İngiliz topraklarında, hem de düşman (Türkler) unsuruyla temas halinde bulunulmasına rağmen, kendilerine iyi görünümlü bir tesis kurmamızdır.”<sup>31</sup>

Birinci Dünya Savaşı’nın bütün şiddetiyle devam ettiği günlerde, Kıbrıslı Rumların İngiltere’nin savaşıla ilgili faaliyetlerine yaklaşımları Yunanistan’ın Kıbrıs politikası doğrultusunda “son derece gönülsüz” olmuş. Kıbrıslı Rumlar arasında hiç gönüllü çıkmaması karşısında İngiliz Vali 19 Ekim 1916’da bir duyuru yaparak durumları askerliğe uygun olanların ikinci bir duyuruya kadar adadan ayrılmalarını yasaklamıştır.<sup>32</sup> Bütün bunlara karşın 5972 Rum, Yunan Ordusu’nda Anadolu’da Kuvayı Milliye karşı mücadele etmek için adadan ayrılır.<sup>33</sup>

Çanakkale, Hicaz ve Süveyş Kanal bölgelerinden<sup>34</sup> getirilen ilk Türk savaş esiri kafilesi er, onbaşı ve çavuşlardan oluşmaktadır ve aralarında birkaç başçavuş haricinde İngilizler tarafından “özellik arz eden esir”<sup>35</sup> olarak tabir edilen hiç kimse yoktur.<sup>36</sup> İngiliz esir kampında tutulan ve burada hayatlarını kaybedenler dışında Kıbrıs’ta esir düşerek şehit olan tek kişi 1921 Temmuz’unda şehit düşen makinacı deniz subayı Yüzbaşı Sudi Efendi’dir.<sup>37</sup> Bu Yüzbaşı dışında Türk esirlerin içerisinde istisnai olarak Doktor Şevket Bey isimli bir de askeri doktor vardır.<sup>38</sup> Kampta ayrıca 4. Ordu Komutanlığı’nca Kıbrıs’taki askeri faaliyetler hakkında bilgi toplamak üzere kayıklarla Taşucu’dan adaya gönderilen ve yakalanan 3 asker de vardır.<sup>39</sup> Bu esir kampında bulunan bir diğer Türk esir ise Kıbrıslı Hasan Hilmi Bey’dir.

Çok zor şartlar altında hayatta kalmaya çalışan, pek çok kısıtlamalarla hayatları çekilmez hale gelen Türk esirlerin bir kısmı özellikle Birinci Dünya Savaşı’nın son döneminde, Süveyş bölgesinde konuşlandırılan İngiliz askeri birliklerine gönderilecek olan kereste ve lojistik malzemenin Mağusa Limanı’ndan gemilere<sup>40</sup> yükletilmesinde de amele olarak çalıştırılmışlardır. Geniş bir arazi üzerinde tel örgülerle çevrilmiş barakalardan oluşan kampın güvenliği İngiliz askerleri tarafından sağlanmaktadır. Ancak kampın yeni açılması sebebiyle esirler daha ilk günden pek çok sıkıntılarla karşılaşır. Bu sıkıntılardan kurtulabilmek veya ihtiyaç duydukları ekme, zeytin gibi yiyecekleri veya yatak, yorgan, battaniye gibi bir takım malzemeyi temin edebilmek için en iyi fırsat ise çalışmak için kamptan dışarı çıkartıldıkları zamanlardır. Mağusa Limanı’ndan yükleme yapmak için esir kampından çıkarılan Türk esirler bu fırsatı en iyi şekilde değerlendirip kampta zeytin çekirdeklerinden gizlice yaptıkları tespihleri, tahtadan yaptıkları sigaralık gibi bir takım küçük eşyayı da hatıra olarak civarda yaşayan Kıbrıslı Türklere verirler. Ancak İn-

İngiliz askerlerinin bu görüşmelere sıcak baktığı ve müsaade ettiği de söylene-  
mez.

Türk esirlerin adaya getirilmesi sonrasında mütercim, doktor, kantin işletmecisi gibi faaliyetlerde bulunmak üzere İngiliz Yüksek Komiserlik'ine müracaat edenler yanında dikkati çeken müracaatlardan birisi de Avtepe köyünden Ali Fevzi isimli Türkün 1 Kasım 1916 tarihinde yaptığı müracaattır. Türk savaş esirlerine yakın olabilmek ve böylece onların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak ve destek olmak amacıyla böyle bir girişimde bulunan Ali Fevzi isimli Türk de İngiliz yetkililere baş vurur ancak esir kampındaki Türk askerlerine yardımcı olan kişi hep Mağusalı Mustafa Nuri Efendi olmuştur. Mustafa Nuri Efendi bir yandan "Allah kimseyi kafirin eline düşürmesin. Allah kafiri ıslah etsin" diye dua ederken, bir yandan da Türklerden topladığı yiyecek ve eşyaları Türk esirlere ulaştırır.<sup>41</sup> Ancak Mustafa Nuri Efendi de daha sonra Türk savaş esirlerine yardım ettiği gerekçesiyle kendisini Girne'deki hapishanede bulur:

"Harp içerisinde Mağusa civarında Karakol bölgesinde esir kampı kurulmuş ve Osmanlı esirleri o kampa tıkılmışlardı. Harbin devamı süresince Mağusa İmamı Mustafa Nuri Efendi müstesna olmak üzere hiçbir Kıbrıslı Türkün esirlerle temas etmesine müsaade edilmemişti. İmam Mustafa Nuri Efendi bile kendisine gösterilmiş olan müsaadenin cezasını çekmiş ve bir müddet sonra Girne Kalesi'nde hapse atılmıştı."<sup>42</sup>

Esirlerin adaya getirilmesi ve kampın faaliyete geçmesinden sonra da İngilizler'in bölgedeki toprak sahipleriyle sorunları bitmez. 18 Kasım 1916 tarihinde bir Rum köylü tarafından kamp komutanlığına yapılan müracaatta, askeri esir kampının kurulduğu bölgede bulunan kendisine ait arazideki çayır çimeni toplamasına müsaade edilmesi istenir. İngilizler işgal ettikleri bu tapulu arazileri askeri bölge ilan ederek köylülerin ellerinden almışlar ve herhangi bir tazminat da ödememişlerdir. Esirlerin getirilmesinden hemen sonra, 5 Aralık 1916 tarihinde Lefkoşa'da yapılan duyuruda İngiltere ile savaşa girmiş bir ülkenin mensubu olan düşman unsurlarına veya savaş esirlerine yardım ve yataklıkla kaçmalarına yardım etmenin en ağır şekilde cezalandırılacağı bildirilir. Kamp yakınlarında dolaşmanın, tekneyle gezmenin ve sahile çıkmanın yasaklandığı, fotoğraf çekmenin ve fotoğraf malzemesi bulundurmaının<sup>43</sup> İngiliz askerleri dahil herkes için sıkıyönetim uygulamaları arasında olduğudur. Bir diğer önemli yasaklama da içki satışı ve içki içilmesiyle ilgilidir. Sonuçta İngilizler bu şekilde adayı tam anlamıyla abluka altına almışlardır. Nitekim aksi davranışlarda bulunduğu gerekçesiyle Michael A. Stephani-dos isimli bir Rum tüccar ve bazı İngiliz askerleri mahkemeye sevk edilir.

Bu arada ağır esaret şartları içerisinde hayatta kalmaya çalışan, Mağusa'dan Ortadoğu'daki İngiliz birliklerine gidecek malzemenin ve kerestenin gemilere yüklenmesinde, inşaatlarda ve Gemikonağı'ndaki maden ocak-

larında çalıştırılan Türk esirlerinin bazıları, bunlara ilaveten zor koşullar, yetersiz beslenme ve sağlıksız şartlarda yaşamaya çalışmanın sonucunda duruma isyan ederek özgürlüklerine kavuşabilmek için kaçmış, bir kısmı İngiliz askerlerince vurularak veya esaret şartları sonucunda şehit olmuşlardır. Hayatını kaybeden Türk askerleri için önceleri herhangi bir tören yapılmaması ve şehitlerin tören yapılmadan ve elbiseleriyle gömülmesi, adada yaşayan Türkleri hem üzer, hem de tepkilerini çeker. Özellikle Mağusalı Mustafa Nuri Efendi'nin girişimleriyle İngiliz Kamp Komutanlığı daha önceki uygulamalardan vazgeçerek esirlerin dini törenle ve Türk Mezarlığı'na gömülmesine müsaade eder.<sup>44</sup> Türk savaş esirlerine her konuda yardımcı olmaya çalışan Kıbrıslı Türkler, zaman zaman Türk savaş esirlerinden bazıları kaçırılmayı başarmalarına ve özellikle Beşparmak Dağları'nda saklamalarına karşın, savaş esirleri İngilizler tarafından tekrar yakalanır. Buraların saklanmak için ideal yer olarak seçilmesinin ilk sebebi ormanlık arazi olması nedeniyle gizlenme, barınma, yiyecek ve su bulma imkanının daha fazla olmasıdır. Ayrıca Akdeniz aracılığıyla Anadolu'ya geçişin en kısa yolu olan Girne sahillerine varabilmek için de bu bölge bir ara geçiş niteliğindedir. Esirlerin bunun dışında kaçıp saklanmaya çalıştıkları Mağusa'ya bağlı Altınova ve Topçuköy gibi köyler de vardır. Türk savaş esirlerinin kendilerine yardım edeceklerine inandıkları Türk köylerini seçmeleri tesadüf değildir. Türk savaş esirlerinin kaptan kaçtıktan sonra gizlendikleri Türk köyleri Anadolu'ya geçişin nispeten daha kolay olduğu yerlerdir:

“Birinci Dünya Savaşı döneminde Çanakkale'de İngilizler tarafından esir alınarak adımıza getirilen Türk savaş esirleri çeşitli dönemlerde bu esaret hayatından kaçmaya çalışırlar. Kendilerine bu konuda en büyük destek ve yardımı ise Kıbrıslı Türkler yaparlar. Kaçtıktan sonra asıl önemli iş İngilizlere yakalanmamak ve hemen akabinde de mümkün olan en kısa sürede Anadolu'ya ulaşarak tekrar memleket için savaşa girmektir. Bu şekilde kaçan esirlerden bir kısmı da bizim köye gelirler. Onlara en büyük desteği de bizim aile yapar. Anadolu'ya geçiş için tek çare bir sal yapmak veya bir sandal bulmaktır. Sadrazam ailesi de bu Türk esirlerden yardımlarını esirgemez. Onlara kol kanat gerer ve yaptıkları sandallarla kaçmalarına yardımcı olurlar. Bu yardım ve desteğin sonucu olarak bizim köyün ismi değiştirilmiş ve aileme atfen Sadrazamköy olmuştur.”<sup>45</sup>

İngiliz esir kampından ilk kaçma teşebbüsü 29 Kasım 1916 tarihinde gerçekleşir ve bunun sonucunda iki Türk askeri vurularak hayatlarını kaybeder. Bu iki Türk askerinin dışında aynı tarihte kaçan ve yakalanamayan Türk askerleri de vardır. Bu askerlerden bir tanesi geceyarısı kaptan kaçma-

yı başaran 4470 esir numaralı olan Türk askeridir. Aynı gün kamptan kaçtığı tahmin edilen bir başka Türk esiri ise 4417 esir numaralı İbrahim Ali Mehmed Sabri'dir. İngilizler kaçan bu askerle ilgili duyuruları adanın dört bir yanındaki resmi makamlara dağıtarak ve kaçan askerın eşkalını bildirerek onu yakalamaya çalışırlar:

“29 Kasım 1916 gece saat 22.00 ile 30 Kasım 1916 sabah 06.00 arasında esir kampından kaçan Türk esirinin eşkali aşağıdadır;

Esir numarası: 4417 (Yuvarlak içerisine vurulmuş şekilde)

İsmi: İbrahim Ali Mehmed Sabri

Boy: Yaklaşık 1.60 metre

Ten rengi: Açık

Bıyık: Orta, siyah

Yaş: 30-35 arası

Kaçan savaş esiri en son görüldüğünde siyah keten ceket, siyah, kalın dokuma pantolon, askeri postal ve kırmızı fes giymekteydi. Kaçarken yanına muhtemelen 2 fanila, 2 çift çorap, 1 havlu, 1 palaska, 1 çift askeri postal, 1 kırmızı fes ve 1 teneke maşrapa aldığı tahmin ediliyor. Kamptaki savaş esirleri kaçan esirin parasının olmadığını söylüyorlar.

30 Kasım 1916, Mağusa

Gereği:

Bölge polis komutanlığı, İstihbarat Subayı, Mağusa Kaza Komiseri, Kraliyet Birliği İrtibat Subaylığı, Genel Komutanlık Lefkoşa, Liman İşletmesi, Telsiz İstasyonu, Fransız Bölge Donanma Yetkilileri.”

Gerek kimliği belli olmayan 4470 esir numaralı Türk askerinin ve gerekse 4417 esir numaralı İbrahim Ali Mehmed Sabri'nin isimlerinin Çanak-kale Şehitliği'nde mezarları bulunan Türk askerleri arasında olmaması, söz konusu iki askerın İngilizler tarafından yakalanmadıklarını ortaya koyuyor.

Çeşitli sebeplerle hayatını kaybeden Türk esirler için İngiliz Kamp Komutanlığı tarafından düzenlenen askeri cenaze törenine 30-40 civarında Türk savaş esiri de katılır. Törene katılan bu savaş esirlerine hemen hemen aynı sayıda İngiliz askeri de refakat eder. Saygı duruşu ve saygı atışını ardından tören biter. Türk askerlerinin cenaze merasimlerinde Mağusalı İmam Mustafa Nuri Efendi ve beraberindeki bir kaç Türk hafız görev alır ve şehitlerin yıkanıp dini bir törenle toprağa verilmelerini sağlar.

İngiliz esir kampının çevre emniyeti ve güvenliği önce İngiltere'nin

Kraliyet Manchester Alayı'nın 8. Bölüğü ile Kraliyet 1. Garnizon Liverpool Alayı tarafından ortaklaşa sağlanmış<sup>46</sup> ancak savaşın uzun sürmesi ve çeşitli cephelerden getirilen esir Türk askerlerinin sayısının devamlı artması nedeniyle kampın güvenliğini sağlama konusunda Ermeni kampında eğitim gören Ermenilerden yararlanılmıştır. Özellikle Çukurova bölgesinden Fransızlar tarafından Kıbrıs'a getirilen ve Çukurova'da bir Ermeni devleti kurma hayal eden Ermeniler de bu fırsatı çok iyi değerlendirerek Türk savaş esirlerinin hayatlarını iyice katlanılmaz hale getirirler. Bu arada, İngiliz yetkililer Anadolu'da Türklere karşı savaşmaları için Arapları ve Ermeni asıllıları Fransızların kurmuş olduğu Ermeni kampına gönderirken, zaman zaman söz konusu kamptaki Ermenileri de çalışmak ve İngilizlere yardım ve destek sağlamak üzere Türklerin esir tutulduğu kamplara getirilirler. Ancak bu şekilde kampta görev yapan bazı Ermeniler, kamptaki Türk esirlerle anlaşmak suretiyle firar ederler. Buna karşılık Ermeni askerleri de Türk askerlerin esir kamplarından kaçmalarına yardım ederlerken, Türk esirler de kaçan Ermenilerin Anadolu'da evlerine dönünceye kadar civardaki Türk köylerinde saklanıp barınmalarını sağlamışlardır.<sup>47</sup> Bu şekilde köylerde saklanmak suretiyle Türkiye'ye kaçma imkanı bulan Ermeniler, daha çok Çanakkale, Gaziantep, Adana ve Kahramanmaraş bölgelerinde yaşayan Ermeni gençleridir.<sup>48</sup>

İngilizler bir yandan kamptaki esirleri kontrol altında tutmaya çalışırken, bir yandan da önde gelen toplumsal liderleri tutuklamak suretiyle Kıbrıslı Türklere göz dağı verirler. Esirlerin adaya getirilmesinden sonra burada yakınları bulunanlar başta olmak üzere, Kıbrıs Türklerinin kamp komutanlığına ziyaret amacıyla yaptıkları müracaatlar ilk günlerde kabul edilse de, daha sonra İngilizler bu ziyaretleri ellerinden geldiğince engellerler:

“Babamı İngilizlere karşı Osmanlı ordusunda savaşırken Arabistan'da 'Bilbis Amarra'<sup>49</sup> esir kampına götürürler. Bu kampta babamdan başka pek çok esir daha vardır.<sup>50</sup> 1918 sonrasında, savaş bitince babam Kıbrıslı da olunca babamı Mağusa yakınlarındaki Karakol esir kampına gönderirler. Babam esir kampında karşılaştığı sıkıntıları bizlere hep anlatırdı. İngilizlerin kendilerine yedirdikleri tahta talaşı, öğütülmüş keçi boynuzu, kaynatılmış yağsız kabaktır. Başka neredeyse hiçbir şey yemek imkanları yoktur maalesef. Adaya Türk savaş esirleri getirildikten sonra bütün Kıbrıslı Türkler hep oraya akın ettiler soydaşlarını görebilmek için. Babam da bu esir kampına getirildikten sonra hep aynı şeyler olmuş. Çok sıkıntı çektiler bu kampta. O yüzden babam serbest bırakıldıktan sonra bile İngilizlere tepkisini böyle gösterdi ve İngiliz uyruğuna hiç geçmedi ölünceye kadar.”<sup>51</sup>

Gerek Mustafa Nuri Efendi, gerekse o dönemin Yasama Meclisi olan Kavanin Meclisi'nin Mağusalı üyesi Mahmud Celaleddin Efendi jurnalcilerin raporları sonucunda İngilizler tarafından Türk savaş esirlerine yardım ettikleri, esirlere yiyecek temin ettikleri iddiasıyla<sup>52</sup> *divan-ı harbe* verilmişler, daha sonra bu suçlamalardan beraat etmelerine rağmen mahkeme salonundan çıkarılmaz alelacele Girne'ye götürülüp Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonuna kadar Girne Kalesi'nde sürgün hayatı yaşamışlardır:

“Mustafa Nuri Efendi başta olmak üzere pek çok Kıbrıslı Türk o zamanlar Karakol bölgesindeki Türk esirlere yardımcı olabilmek için çırpınıp durdular. Bir yandan da korku ve şüphe hakimdi buralarda. Acaba jurnalciler bizi de ele verecekler mi diyerek çok dikkatli davranıyordu herkes ama yine de yardım etmekten geri kalmıyorlardı.”<sup>53</sup>

İngiliz yetkililer, yapılanların yasal olduğunu göstermek için bir mahkeme kurmalarına karşın mahkeme kararlarına uymaz ve tehlikeli gördükleri kişileri farklı sebeplerle tutuklayıp hapse atarlar. O günleri yaşamış olan Hamide Akil dönemle ilgili olarak şunları ifade ediyor:

“Ölümler için dini görev yapan Kıbrıslı hoca, esirlere canlarının çektiği bazı yiyecekleri gizlice kampa soktuğundan Girne Kalesi'nde iki yıl kadar hapis yatmıştır. Bu hocanın<sup>54</sup> adını ne yazık ki hatırlamıyorum.”<sup>55</sup>

Türk esirlerin çektikleri bu sıkıntıları görüp onlara yardım edebilmek için uğraşan Kıbrıslı Türkler arasında Mağusalı Ali Hüseyin Babaliki de bulunmaktadır. Yemeklerin yenilemeyecek kadar kötü olması nedeniyle Ali Hüseyin Babaliki de kendi evinden getirdiği ekmekleri gizlice esir Türk askerlerine verir.<sup>56</sup> Kamptaki yemek sorunu yanında, esir kampında görev yapan Rum ve Ermeni asıllı doktorların Türk esirlere karşı takındıkları tutum ve davranışlar da son derece kötüdür.

“O vakit Türk esirler hep eza çekerlerdi İngiliz askerlerinin elinde. Çok kötü davranırdı İngilizler Türk esirlere, eziyet ederdi hep. Bu esir kampında yapılan eziyetlerden bir tanesi de esirlere verilen yiyeceklerle ilgilidir. Ekmek verirdiler ya İngilizler esirlere. İçine kum karıştırırlardı hep. Türk esirler yesinler hasta olsunlar, ölsünler diye. Dedem Ali Hüseyin Babaliki bunları kızı Emete Babaliki'ye anlatırdı o günlerde neler çektiklerini gösterebilmek için.”<sup>57</sup>

Esir kampında bu kadar Türk esirin bulunması üzerine sadece kamp bölgesinde değil bütün adada tedbirlerini arttıran İngiliz idaresi, askerlere ilaveten İngiliz polisine de Lewis Gun makineli tüfek dağıtımını tamamlar.<sup>58</sup> Bu dönemde Türk esirler kampta tek tip esir kıyafetleri giymişlerdir. Ayrıca İngiliz Kamp Komutanlığı'nca esirlerin kıyafetlerine esir numaraları vurulmuştur. Esirlerin giydiği kalın kumaştan dokunmuş pantolon ve ceketten oluşan bu esir kıyafeti son derece perişan ve kötüdür:

“Dedem rahmetli Mehmet Nafi Mustafa Bey hep anlatırdı. Türk savaş esirleri çok sıkıntılar, çok gayileler çektiler burada çok. Zaten yedikleri talaş tozuyla hep kırmızı kabaktır. İngiliz başka bir şey yedirmezdi bunlara. Dışarı çıkma fırsatı bulurlarsa işte o zaman Mağusa'da yaşayan Kıbrıslı Türkler yardım ederlerdi hep savaş esiri Türk askerlerine. Dedem de hep özel ekme yapardı esirlere vermek için. Harp bitip de kampta hiç esir kalmadığında bile bir çoğu Türkiye'ye dönememişlerdi. Aç, bitap dolaşırlardı. Dedem özel ekme pişirirdi fırınında Türk askerlerine dağıtmak için.”<sup>59</sup>

Kampta özellikle kaçmaya çalışırken vurularak hayatını kaybeden savaş esirlerinin sayısında meydana gelen artış, İngilizlerde bu konularla ilgili adli soruşturmaları ne şekilde yapacakları sorusunu gündeme getirir. Adli soruşturma ve otopsiyle ilgili olarak görevlendirilen Kaza Komiseri vurulan esirlerin dışında zor kullanma ve şiddet neticesinde meydana gelen ölüm olaylarında da kendisine cesetler gömülmeden önce bilgi verilmesini talep eder. Kaçmak için teşebbüslerde bulunan ve bunun sonucunda da hayatlarını kaybeden Türk askerleri İngiliz görevliler için neredeyse yeni bir kazanç kapısı olur. Mağusa Kaza Komiseri'nin vurularak hayatını kaybeden Türk askerleriyle ilgili soruşturma ve otopside sorumlu tutulması ve bunun karşılığında belli bir ücret almasından sonra, kampta görevli subaylar da ölen Türk esirlerin otopsi ve kontrollerinde kendilerinin de görev yaptıklarını söyleyerek, aynı şekilde kendilerine de ödeme yapılmasını talep ederler.

30 Haziran 1917 günü 3105 esir numaralı Ali Hacı Ahmet ve 3109 esir yaka numaralı Hanefi Ahmet kamptan kaçmaya çalışırken, İngiliz er John Garnett tarafından vurulur. Nöbeti sırasında iki Türk askerini vurarak öldüren İngiliz er John Garnett derhal tutuklanır ve askeri mahkemede sorgulanır. Ancak bu adli bir görevi yerine getirmekten başka bir şey değildir. İki Türk askerinin öldürülmesini görenler arasında İngiliz Yüzbaşı Nicholson ile Lewis Hyde isimli bir sivil İngiliz, 29210 yaka numaralı İngiliz er F. Barrew, 3251, 3252 ve 3018 numaralı Türk esirler de bulunmaktadır.

Öte yandan Türk keşif uçakları da bu dönemde aralıksız istihbarat çalışmaları yapmaktadır. Bu bölgede bulunan çadır ve barakalardan oluşan askeri tesisler ve ordugahlar,<sup>60</sup> Boğaztepe'deki Türk savaş esirlerinin tutulduğu esir kampı ve hemen akabinde Fransızlar tarafından aynı bölgede kurulan Ermeni kampları hakkında bilgi 4. Hava Bölüğü tarafından en ince ayrıntılarına kadar toplanır.<sup>61</sup> Stratejik öneme haiz adanın bu bölgesinde yapılan keşif uçuşlarında imkansızlıklara karşın çekilen hava fotoğraflarında Boğaztepe civarındaki her türlü faaliyet ve değişikliğin anında görülüp en ince ayrıntısına kadar bildirilmesi, istihbarat açısından her türlü takdirin üzerinde bir başarıdır. Kampın açılmasıyla bu bölgeyi kazanç kapısı olarak gören özellikle Rum tüccarlar, Türk savaş esirlerine ve kampta görevli İngiliz askerlerine fahiş fiyatla satış yapmaya kalkınca sorunlar yaşanır ve bu kişiler çeşitli hapis ve para cezalarına çarptırılırlar.

Bu arada Mart 1918 tarihinde kamptan kaçan Türk savaş esirleri Topal Süleyman olarak bilinen Süleyman Osman, Nuri İbrahim ve Mustafa İsmail gündüzleri dinlenerek, geceleri de kaçarak adanın kuzeyine kadar gelmeye çalışırlar. Mağusa bölgesinden iyice uzaklaştıktan sonra gizlice geldikleri bir Rum köyünde bir Rumla anlaşarak ondan bir sandal temin etmesini isterler. Rum köylü parasını aldığı sandalı bir türlü getirmez ve onları aldatır. Esirler yine kaçarak Mallıdağ ve Yamaçköy arasındaki bölgeye kadar gelirler. Günlerdir kaçıktan yorgun düşmüş, karınları aç ve Anadolu'ya kaçacak bir sandal bulamadıkları için de moral olarak yıkılmış durumdadırlar. Ne yapacaklarına karar vermeye çalışırken tesadüfen bir mağara bulurlar. Burası o günden sonra Esirler Mağarası olarak adlandırılmıştır. Türk esirler mağaraya sığındıktan sonra karşılıklarına çıkan bir keçiyi yakalayarak yerler. Çobanın köye gidip babası Hacı Mehmet Ali'yle geriye dönmesi üzerine, esirler aç kaldıklarını, Türk olduklarını ve esir kampından kaçtıklarını söylerler. Kendisine ait bir hayvanın bu şekilde izinsiz yenmesi yüzünden sinirlenen Hacı Mehmet Ali daha sonra esirlerden para koparmanın yollarını aramaya başlar. Kendilerine yardımcı olabileceğini ve onlara küçük bir sandal temin edebileceğini belirtir. Ancak sandal yine gelmeyince esirler kimseye görünmeden köye inerek ne olup bittiğini öğrenmeye çalışırlar. Köyde görüştikleri kimse Kıbrıslı Mehmet Osman'dır. Mehmet Osman esirlere İngilizlerin ve Rum polislerinin köye baskın düzenleyerek esirleri yakalamaya çalıştığını, esirlere yardım ve yataklık ettikleri düşüncesiyle de babası Osman Ahmet'le beraber Yusuf Ahmet, Mehmet İbrahim ve Salih Musa'yı tutuklayıp Geçitkale'ye götürdüklerini belirtir. Bunun üzerine ne yapacaklarını düşünen üç Türk esiri kendileri yüzünden tutuklanan Kıbrıslı Türkleri kurtarmaya karar verirler. Üç Türk savaş esiri tekrar esir kampına dönünce köylüler serbest bırakılır. Köyde tutuklanan tek kişi ise Hacı Mehmet Ali'dir. Hacı Mehmet Ali 15 Aralık 1916 tarihli sıkıyönetim uygulamasına aykırı hareket etmek ve Türk savaş



esirlerine yardım etmek suçlarından hapis cezasına çarptırılarak Girne'deki hapis haneye sevk edilir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sona ermesi ve ateşkes ilanından sonra ilişkileri düzeltme gayretine giren İngiliz yönetimi, çeşitli bahanelerle hapse attığı Türklerle ilgili olarak ceza indirimlerine gitmeye karar verir. Hacı Mehmet Ali adlı Kıbrıslı Türk köylü de bu karardan yararlanarak dokuz ay sonra serbest bırakılır. Savaş sonrasında ilişkileri düzeltmeye gayret eden İngiliz yönetimi, Kıbrıslı Türklere ve Türk savaş esirlerine bakış açılarında gözle görülür bir yumuşama sergiler.

Birinci Dünya Savaşı bittikten sonra geçmişte pek çok baskıya maruz kalan Kıbrıs Türklerinin hükümetten ve İngiliz idaresi'nden hesap sormasını engellemek amacıyla İngilizler bir kanun çıkartır. Ancak İngilizlerce hapse atılanlarla ilgili olarak kamuoyu ve Kıbrıs Türk basını sağlıklı olarak bilgilendirilmediğinden, esirlerle ilgili bilgiler çok farklı şekillerde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu şekilde hakkında bilgi edilenlerden biri de Antalya'dan Limasol'a giderek burada liman bekçiliği yapan Antalyalı Ahmet Çavuş'tur. Zaman içinde birikimlerini değerlendirerek üç büyük gemi sahibi olan ve deniz ticaretine başlayan Ahmet Çavuş Girne Kalesi'nde hapsedilir ve ardından da iki gemisi denizaltılar tarafından batırılır.<sup>62</sup> Neredeyse bütün hayatı denizlerde geçmiş olan Ahmet Çavuş, hapisten çıktıktan sonra kendini toplayarak tekrar deniz ticaretine başlar. Bu arada o güne kadar Kıbrıs adasının gördüğü en büyük gemiyi inşa ettirir.

Öte yandan 26 Aralık 1926 tarihli Söz gazetesinde çıkan bir ölüm haberi de Girne Kalesi'ndeki zindanlara atılan Karpazlı Ali Hüseyin Babaliki Efendi'nin<sup>63</sup> ölümünden duyulan derin üzüntü belirtilmektedir:

"[...] Ali genç yaşta amcasından tevarüs ettiği emlak ve araziyi büyük bir dirayetle idare etmiş ve mevcut serveti bir misli daha artırmıştır [...]. Şüphe etmeyiz ki Ali'nin erken ölmesinde harp zamanında Girne Kalesi'ne hapis edilmesi amil olmuş ve bu fark-ı teessür ve asabiyetten tedavisi muhal olan hastalığa giriftar olmuştur."<sup>64</sup>

Esirlerle ilgili bir bilgi de 1916 yılında polis olarak Girne Kalesi'nde görev yapan Girmeli Derviş Onbaşı tarafından bildirilmektedir. Derviş Onbaşı kalede tutuklu bulunanların kimlerden oluştuğunu görüp yaşayanlardandır. Buna göre o dönemde Girne Kalesi'nde tutuklu bulunanlar Karpazlı Ali Hüseyin Babaliki, Mağusalı milletvekili Mahmud Naim Adil Efendi, Giritli Hasan Hüseyin Kaptan, kardeşi Ali, kayınbiraderi Kaptan Ahmet Çavuş, Limasollu Ahmet Çavuş, kardeşi Osman ve oğlu Ali, İskeleli tüccar Kenan kardeşlerden Raşid, Kamil, Said ve Hasan Efendi, Kamil Paşa'nın damadı Doktor Esat, Kormacit köyünden Kolya çiftliğinin sahibi olan Ahmed Sadrazam, Bi-

leleli Küçük Hacı Hüseyin Efendi, Mahmud Naim'in akrabası Mağusalı Hoca Mustafa Nuri Efendi, Baf'tan Kavanin Meclisi üyesi Dr. Eyyüp Bey'dir.<sup>65</sup> İngilizler, Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun ileri gelenlerini bu şekilde Girne ve Mağusa hapishanelerinde tutmak suretiyle Kıbrıslı Türklere gözdağı vermeye çalışmış ve onları baskı altında tutmuştur.

Bu hapishanede ayrıca Larnakalı bir Rum tüccarla yabancı bir papaz da hapis olarak tutulmaktadır.<sup>66</sup> Adi mahkumlar ise Girne'de kiralanmış ve hapishane olarak kullanılan iki odalı bir evde hapislik hayatlarını geçirmektedirler. Kıbrıslı Türklerin ayaklanma girişimleri ve Türk savaş esirlerine yardım etmeye başlamalarıyla adadaki güvenlik konusunun farklı bir boyut kazanması üzerine adi suçlar ve suçlular ikinci plana atılır ve bütün çalışmalar Kıbrıslı Türklerin bu faaliyetlerine yoğunlaştırılır. Gıneli Derviş Onbaşı'nın açıklamalarına göre, tutuklananların çoğunun ailesi Girne'de ev kiralamışlar, hapishanedeki yemekleri beğenmeyen mahkumlara evlerde yaptıkları yemekleri getirmişlerdir. Ailelerinden yardım alamayanlar ise hapishanede kendi pişirdikleri yemeklerin yanısıra, Zeytinlik köyünden gelen Şevki Nesim ve Kasım adlı oduncuların odun ve yiyecek getirmelerine müsaade edildiğinden bunlardan da istifade etmişlerdir. Günde iki saat silahlı polis gözetiminde dışarıya çıkarılan bu mahkumlar kalenin dışındaki Türk mezarlığında bekleyen aileleriyle uzaktan da olsa haberleşme ve görüşme imkanı bulurlar. Daha sonra, hapis Türklerin Girne'de bulunan hamama altışar kişilik gruplar halinde götürülüp polis denetiminde yıkanmalarına izin verilir.

Türk savaş esirlerine yardım eden, onları kurtarmaya çalışan ve bu arada Anadolu'daki Milli Mücadele'ye destek olanlar arasında Dr. Behiç Bey ve Dr. Esat Bey'in yanında Lefkoşa'nın Tahtakale eşrafından olan Hasan Karabardak da vardır. Ancak onun zenginliği sadece kendisine değildir. Etrafında ihtiyaç sahibi olan herkese elinden geldiğince yardımcı olmaya çalışır. Yardım ettikleri arasında Mağusa'daki Karakol esir kampında tutulan Türk savaş esirleri de vardır:

"Hasan Karabardak bize baba tarafından akraba sayılır. Onun malı mülkü yanında yardımseverliği ve herkesin derdine koşması da hep muhabbet konusu olmuştur. Lefkoşa'da neredeyse hiç bilmeyeni yoktu Hasan Karabardak'ın. Fakir fukaraya yardım ederdi. Daha sonraları Türk savaş esirleri adaya getirilince onlara da yardım ellerini uzattılar. Hatta babam rahmetli kasaplık yapan Hasan Karabardak'ın bu savaş esirlerine yardım etti diye pek çok defa başının derde girdiğini ve İngilizler tarafından tutuklanıp hapse de atıldığını anlatırdı hep."<sup>67</sup>

Milliyetçi, cömert ve cesur kişiliğiyle tanınan Karabardak, öküz ve davar ticaretiyle uğraşırken bir yandan da Kıbrıslı Türkleri Anadolu'ya yardım faaliyetlerine katılmaya çağırır. Bu bağlamda özellikle Lefkoşa'da Ayasofya Camii'nde (Selimiye Camii) yapılan yardım amaçlı toplantılarda öncülüğü hep kendisi yapar. Bu uğurda kendisinin binmekten pek hoşlandığı safkan bir Arap atını da bağışladığı söylenir. Dr. Esat Bey ve Dr. Behiç gibi tutuklanıp Girne Kalesi'ne gönderilen ve İngiliz Yüksek Komiseri Malcolm Stevenson'un hamallarla kasapların lideri olduğunu belirttiği<sup>68</sup> Hasan Karabardak'ın ne zaman kurtulduğu bilinmemekle beraber, gerek Kıbrıs'ta ve gerekse Türkiye'de Anadolu'daki Kurtuluş Savaşı'na mali kaynak ve gönüllü bulmaya önderlik ettiği bilinmektedir.<sup>69</sup> K.K.T.C. Cumhurbaşkanı Rauf R. Denктаş, dedesi Şehirli Memed'in o günlerle ilgili anlattıklarını şöyle ifade ediyor:

“Osmanlı zaptiyesi olan dedem Şehirli Memed, beş altı yaşlarındayken beni alır millet bahçesine götürür ve bana hep Osmanlı dönemini anlatırdı. Bir Karabardak'ın Asmaaltı'ndan geçtiğinde herkesin ayağa nasıl kalkıpta el pençe divan durduğunu anlatırdı. İrfan Efendi'nin<sup>70</sup> ipten nasıl adam aldığını, dolayısıyla Rumların da Türklere geldiğini ve Türklerin o yıllarda ne denli otoriter olduğunu anlatırdı.”  
71

Birinci Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sona ermesi ve 29 Ekim 1923 tarihinde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devletinin Mustafa Kemal Atatürk tarafından kurulmasıyla yeni Türk devletiyle sıcak ilişkiler kurma gayreti içerisinde giren İngiliz hükümeti, Kıbrıs'taki Türk askerlerine ait mezarları da koruma kapsamına alır ve Kraliyet Savaş Şehitlikleri Komiserliği<sup>72</sup> bünyesinde bunlarla ilgili düzenleme ve tanzim faaliyetlerine girişir.<sup>73</sup> Çeşitli sebeplerle İngiliz savaş esir kamplarında şehit olan Türk askerleriyle ilgili olarak zamanımıza kadar gelebilen şehit listelerinde sadece 271 Türk askerinin esir kamplarında hayatını kaybettiği belirtilmekle birlikte, bugüne kadar bulunamayan şehit listeleri ve kayıplar da göz önüne alınacak olunursa, bu sayının çok daha fazla olduğu ortaya çıkar. Ekim 1916 tarihinden itibaren İngiliz savaş gemilerinin refakatinde adaya getirilen Türk savaş esirlerinin sayısı her seferinde 1000-1300 civarındadır. Mağusa Türk Mezarlığı'nın çeşitli yerlerine gömülen ve bugüne kadar kaybolmaya yüz tutan bazı şehit mezarları, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan hemen sonra Türkiye Büyükelçiliği ile İngiliz Yüksek Komiserliği'nin ortak çalışmaları sonucunda bir araya toplanmış ve bugün Çanakkale Şehitliği olarak bilinen bölgedeki mevcut 33 şehit mezarının yanına topluca aktarılmışlardır. Diğer 217 şehit mezarında kimliklerini belli edecek mezar ta-

şı olmadığından bu mezarlarda hangi şehidin yattığı bilinmemektedir. Söz konusu 217 şehit mezarında neden mezar taşının olmadığı kesin olarak bilinmemekle beraber, doğal nedenlerle bu mezar taşlarının zaman içinde kırılıp kaybolması, şehitlerin isimlerinin mezarlardan değişik sebeplere bağlı olarak silinip gitmesi, veya İngiliz yönetimince mezar taşlarının hazırlanmasına izin verilmemesi ve engellenmesi sonucunda ortaya çıktığı sanılmaktadır.<sup>74</sup> Şehitlikte mezarları ve mezar taşları bilinen 33 şehit yatmaktadır ve şehitlerin mezarları üç sıra halinde bulunmaktadır. Diğer 217 şehidin ise mezar taşları bazılarında bulunmasına karşın hangi mezarda hangi şehidin bulunduğu konusunda yeterli bilgi bulunmamaktadır.

26 Ekim 1916 tarihinde ilk Türk savaş esirlerinin adaya getirilmesinden Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulduğu 1923 yılına kadar<sup>75</sup> sıkıntı, ihmal ve zorluklarla geçen bu yedi yıllık uzun süre düşünülecek olursa, I. Dünya Savaşı döneminde en uzun süreyle esir tutulan kişiler buradaki Türk esirleridir.<sup>76</sup> 1916-1923 yılları arasında esir kamplarında ve Kıbrıs'ın değişik bölgelerinde geçirilen bu süre Kıbrıs tarihinin yeniden şekillenmesinde ve Kıbrıs tarihinin değişmesinde de etkili olmuştur. Bu dönem Türk esirlerin Anadolu'ya geçip mücadeleye kaldıkları yerden devam etmek istedikleri, Kıbrıslı Türklerin onlara yardım faaliyetleri, Rumların Kıbrıs'ı Yunanistan'a ilhak etmeye çalışmalarına karşı koyma, Anadolu'ya destek çalışmaları, Türk esirleri kurtarma girişimleri ve Fransızların Ermeni Doğu Lejyonu'nun faaliyetlerine karşı koyma çabalarının iç içe geçtiği bir dönem olarak tarihteki yerini alır.

### **Dipnotlar**

<sup>1</sup> Bu çalışmanın ortaya çıkmasında yardımlarını gördüğüm Kıbrıs Türk Milli Arşivi personeline, ayrıca Sayın Cafer Ertuğrul ve Sayın Hüseyin Nafi'ye teşekkürlerimi sunuyorum.

<sup>2</sup> Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Milletlerarası Birinci Kıbrıs Tetkikleri Kongresi, Ankara, 1971, s. 82

<sup>3</sup> Mustafa Ş. Konuk, *Kıbrıs'ın Tek Meşru Devleti Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti*, İstanbul, 1984, s. 13

<sup>4</sup> a. g. e. s. 7

<sup>5</sup> Atilla Atan, "Yeni Bir Türk Devletinin Doğuşu-Kıbrıs", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, Sayı 14, Ankara, Nisan 1986, 57 s. Ayrıca Bkz. Huriye Sevay Öznacar, "Batırılmayan Ada Kıbrıs", *Kıbrıs Mektubu Dergisi*, Ankara, Kasım 1996, Cilt 9, No.7, s. 23

<sup>6</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Milli Arşivi, Basın Koleksiyonu, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 4 Haziran 1915, Sayı 1171, Karar No 13060

<sup>7</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Milli Arşivi, Basın Koleksiyonu, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 12 Kasım 1915, Lefkoşa

<sup>8</sup> Jorge Blanco Villalta, *Atatürk*, Ankara, 1982, s. 77

- <sup>9</sup> Hasan Ali Yücel, *Kıbrıs Mektupları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1957, s. 57
- <sup>10</sup> Sabahattin İsmail, "İngiliz Yönetimi'nin İlk 50 Yılında Türk-Rum İlişkileri", *Kıbrıs'ın Dünü Bugünü Sempozyumu*, Ankara, 1993, ss. 123-125
- <sup>11</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Milli Arşivi, Basın Koleksiyonu, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 2 Aralık 1916, Lefkoşa
- <sup>12</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Milli Arşivi, Basın Koleksiyonu, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 1 Ocak 1915, Lefkoşa
- <sup>13</sup> a. g. g.
- <sup>14</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.2680, D.210, F.1-37, 1-63, 1-64, 1-65
- <sup>15</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.2680, D.210, F.1-59, 1-60, 1-61, 1-62
- <sup>16</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.2680, D.210, F.1-37, 1-63, 1-64, 1-65
- <sup>17</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.2680, D.210, F.1-59, 1-60, 1-61, 1-62
- <sup>18</sup> Can Kapyalı, "Birinci Dünya Savaşında Müttefik Ordularında Görev Alan Ermeni Milis Kuvvetleri", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, Ankara, Mart-Haziran 1991, Sayı 73-76, s. 108
- <sup>19</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.531, D.2075, F.4.
- <sup>20</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.2680, D.210, F.1-77
- <sup>21</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.2680, D.210, F.1-86
- <sup>22</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K. 2680, D. 210, F. 1-31
- <sup>23</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.531, D.2076, F.5. Ayrıca Bkz. K.T.M.A. 539. D.30.
- <sup>24</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Milli Arşivi, Basın Koleksiyonu, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 1 Ocak 1915, Lefkoşa
- <sup>25</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Milli Arşivi, Basın Koleksiyonu, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 2 Aralık 1916, Lefkoşa
- <sup>26</sup> "Osmanlı üserası Mağusa'ya bir çarık mesafede şimalde barakalarda oturuyorlar. İki üç bin kişi kadardırlar. Barakaların etrafı tel örgülerle kapalıdır." Bir başka raporda ise esirlerle ilgili olarak şu bilgiye rastlanmaktadır; "Mağusa'nın yani San Magusa'nın şimalindeki Üseray-ı Osmaniye Ordugahı kema fi's-sabık mevcuttur. Ancak üseranın bazısı adadan bir başka mahalle nakledilmiştir. Elyevm yalnız 3000 kadarı kalmıştır. Üsera ile beş yüz kadar muhafız İngiliz askeri vardır." A.T.A.S.E., K. 2680, D.210, F.1-3, 24 ve 31
- <sup>27</sup> Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, T.S.K. Tarihi, III. Cilt, 3. Kısım Eki, *Kıbrıs Seferi*, Ankara, 1971, s. 44
- <sup>28</sup> Mehmet Ertuğ, "Çanakkale Şehitlerinden Bir Yadigar", *G. K. Dergisi*, Lefkoşa, Mart 1988, Sayı 4, s. 14
- <sup>29</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K.2680, D.210, F.1-24, 26 ve 27
- <sup>30</sup> Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, *Tarih Boyunca Ermeni Meselesi*, Ankara, 1979, ss. 246-250 Basın Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, Documents, Volume I, İkinci Baskı, 119-121 s. Ankara; H. Erdoğan Cengiz, *Ermeni Komitelerinin A'mal*

- Ve Harekat-ı İhtilaliyesi*, Başbakanlık Basımevi, Ankara, 1983, ss. 239-359
- 31 Can Kapyalı, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Müttefik Orduları'nda Görev Alan Ermeni Milis Kuvvetleri", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, Sayı 83-84-85, Ankara, Ocak-Şubat-Mart 1992, ss. 73-777
- 32 Kıbrıs Türk Milli Arşivi, Basın Koleksiyonu, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 24 Ekim 1916, Sayı 1252, Karar No: 514
- 33 Ahmet Tolgay, *Şahinler Yılı*, Lefkoşa, 1996, s. 11
- 34 Hüseyin Işık, *Şehitlerimiz Ve Gazilerimiz*, Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı, Ankara, 1995, s. 3
- Ayrıca Bkz. Erdoğan Sorguç, Yd. P. Tğm. İbrahim Sorguç'un Anıları, *İstiklal Harbi Hatıratı*, İzmir, 1995, s. 49 Aslan Ünlü, *Topçu Mülazım Fahri Pekiner'in Anıları*, (Yayın tarihi belli değil), Ankara.
- 35 A.T.A.S.E., K.3435, D.14, F.26-2
- 36 Jeff Ertughrul, *The Postal Services of Military Forces In Cyprus*, Londra, Mart 1996, s. 10
- 37 Milli Savunma Bakanlığı Arşivi, Dodurga, Ankara
- 38 Ahmet Sami, *Mağusa'da Toprağa Verilen Şehitlerimiz*, Mağusa, 1964, s. 10
- 39 *Türk Havacılık Tarihi*, II. Cilt, II. Kitap, Eskişehir, 1951, s. 185
- 40 A.T.A.S.E., K.2680, D.210, F.1-6, 29, 37, 38, 43, 50, 51, 53, 75, 77, 88
- 41 Ali Nesim, "İmam Mustafa Nuri Efendi", *Yeni Kıbrıs*, Lefkoşa, Nisan 1990, s. 28
- 42 Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Kıbrıs Araştırma Merkezi Arşivi, Fadıl Niyazi Korkut Hatıraları, Gazi Mağusa
- 43 K.T.M.A., Basın Koleksiyonu, *The Cyprus Gazette*, 16 Ekim 1916, Sayı 1250, Karar No 494
- 44 Ahmet Sami Topcan, "Birinci Cihan Savaşı Esnasında Mağusa Esir Kampalarında Kalan Türk Askeri Esirleri Hakkında Kısa Bilgiler", *Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Dergisi*, Lefkoşa, Mart 1990, Sayı 10, s. 21
- 45 Sadrazam köylü Emekli Albay Halil Sadrazam'la 11 Haziran 1998 tarihinde Ankara'da yapılan görüşme
- 46 K.T.M.A., Dosya 539. Belge 30
- 47 Halil AYTEKİN, "Kıbrıs Ermeni Askeri Kampları", *Kıbrıs'ın Dünü Bugünü Yarını*, Ankara, 1993, s. 314
- 48 a. g. e. s. 315
- 49 Bu kamp muhtemelen Kahire'den yaklaşık 65 kilometre uzaklıkta bulunan ve Bedeviler, siviller, Osmanlı Ordusu'ndaki Araplar, Suriyeli Türk askerleriyle bazı Mısırlıların da bulunduğu Bilbeis Esir Kampıdır.
- 50 Hasan Hilmi Bey'in Bilbeis Esir Kampı'nda çektiği ve arkasını imzalayarak ailesine gönderdiği fotoğrafta bu kampta tutulan başka esirler de vardır. Bu esirlerden en ilginç olanı ise kendisine bakacak hiç kimsesi olmadığı için kampa babasıyla beraber gelen 8-10 yaşlarında bir erkek çocuğudur.

- <sup>51</sup> Esir kampındaki tek Kıbrıslı Türk Hasan Hilmi Bey'in Gazi Mağusa'da yaşayan oğlu Erol Olkar'la 9 Ağustos 2001 tarihinde yapılan görüşme
- <sup>52</sup> Ali Nesim, "Bir Kalebend", *Yeni Kıbrıs*, Lefkoşa, Nisan 1989, s. 29
- <sup>53</sup> 1903 Lefkoşa doğumlu Emine Hasan'la 14 Temmuz 1992 tarihinde Lefkoşa'da yapılan görüşme
- <sup>54</sup> Burada sözü edilen kişi Mağusalı İmam Mustafa Nuri Efendi'dir.
- <sup>55</sup> Mehmet Ertuğ, "Çanakkale Şehitlerinden Bir Yadigar", *G. K. Dergisi*, Lefkoşa, Mart 1988, Sayı 4, s. 14
- <sup>56</sup> Ali Hüseyin Babaliki'nin kendisiyle aynı adı taşıyan ve halen Gazi Mağusa'da ticaretle uğraşan torunu Ali Babaliki ile 22 Mayıs 2002 tarihinde yapılan görüşme
- <sup>57</sup> Hüseyin Işık, *Şehitlerimiz Ve Gazilerimiz*, Ankara, 1995, s. 3
- <sup>58</sup> Altay Sayıl, *Kıbrıs Polis Albümü, 1878-1989*, (Yayın tarihi belli değil), Lefkoşa, s. 27
- <sup>59</sup> Hüseyin Nafi Bey'le 12 Ağustos 2001 tarihinde Gazi Mağusa'da yapılan görüşme
- <sup>60</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K 2680, D.210, F.1-67
- <sup>61</sup> A.T.A.S.E., K 2680, D.210, F.1-54, 1-63, 1-64, 1-65, 1-66, 1-71, 1-72, 1-73, 1-74
- <sup>62</sup> K.T.M.A., Basın Koleksiyonu, *Doğruyol* gazetesi, 8 Aralık 1919
- <sup>63</sup> K.T.M.A., Basın Koleksiyonu, *Vatan* gazetesi, 11 Mart 1912
- <sup>64</sup> K.T.M.A., Basın Koleksiyonu, *Söz* gazetesi, Lefkoşa, 26 Aralık 1926
- <sup>65</sup> Altay Sayıl, *Kıbrıs Polis Tarihi*, Lefkoşa, 1983, ss. 238-239
- <sup>66</sup> a. g. e. s. 238
- <sup>67</sup> Kıbrıslı filatelist ve emekli bankacı Bahir Pulhan'la 10 Ağustos 2001 tarihinde Lefkoşa'da yapılan görüşme
- <sup>68</sup> Ahmet C. Gazioğlu, *Kıbrıs Tarihi İngiliz Dönemi 1878-1960*, Lefkoşa, Eylül 1997, s. 53
- <sup>69</sup> Jeff Ertughrul, "Turkish P.O.W.s Held In World War I", *Turcoman International*, Londra, Winter 1996, s. 6
- <sup>70</sup> İrfan Efendi 31 Ağustos 1914 tarihinde, Birinci Dünya Savaşı başlangıcında İngiliz Yüksek Komiseri Gollad Adams'a bir mektup göndererek İngiltere'nin 2 Osmanlı gemisine el koymasını protesto eden, 10 Aralık 1918 tarihinde de Meclis-i Milli'yi toplayan Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun önde gelen liderlerinden İrfan Özcan Bey'dir.
- <sup>71</sup> Erten Kasımoğlu, *Eski Günler Eski Defterler*, Lefkoşa, 1986, s. 14
- <sup>72</sup> Konuyla ilgili ayrıntılı bilgi [www.cwgc.mil.uk](http://www.cwgc.mil.uk) adresinden temin edilebileceği gibi kurumun Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 2 Marlow Road, Maidenhead, Berks, SL6 7DX, U.K. adresinden de istifade edilebilir.
- <sup>73</sup> Imperial War Grave Commission Arşivi, 3328, 13 Temmuz 1936,

1190/16/2, 16 Aralık 1939, 145, 6 Mayıs 1941, R-183, HQ/CS/23, 11 Nisan 1949, Londra

74 Hasan Ali Yücel, *Kıbrıs Mektupları*, Ankara, 1957, ss. 25-26

75 Hamit Pehlivanlı, *Kurtuluş Savaşı İstihbaratı'nda Askeri Polis Teşkilatı*, Ankara, 1992, ss. 143-146

76 Jeff Ertughrul, *The Postal Services of Military Forces in Cyprus*, Londra, Mart 1996, s. 10



**N**ews

**H**aberler

# Güzelyurt Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırma Projesi I. Dönem Ön Çalışmaları

*Bülent Kızılduman*

## Giriş

Kıbrıs adası, jeopolitik konumu ve zengin maden yataklarından dolayı tarih öncesi dönemlerden itibaren çeşitli kültürlerinin ve devletlerinin ilgisini çekmiştir. Adanın zengin arkeolojik kültür mirasını daha iyi değerlendirmek ve tanıtmak amacıyla arkeolojik geçmişinin aydınlatılmasına yönelik olarak gerçekleştirilen G.A.Y.A.P. (Güzelyurt Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırma Projesi) I. dönem ön çalışmalarında önemli sonuçlar elde edilmiştir.

G.A.Y.A.P. kapsamında Güzelyurt İlçe sınırları içerisinde yer alan Philia (Filya) kültür sitelerinin jeopolitik, jeostratejik konumları göz önünde bulundurularak, Kalkolitik ve Erken Tunç Çağları arasındaki geçiş döneminin (M. Ö. 2500-2300) ekolojik sisteminin her yönüyle değerlendirilmesi ve ada içerisinde ve dışındaki çevre kültürleri ile kıyaslanması amaçlanmaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında ayrıca Neolitik dönemden Tunç Çağlarının sonuna değin bölgenin arkeolojik envanterinin hazırlanması öngörülmektedir.

Yapılan çalışmalar da incelenmesi düşünülen arkeolojik zamansal sınırların dışına çıkılması gündeme gelmiştir. Fakat arkeolojik kronolojinin genişletilmesi durumunda projenin tüm yönlerden geliştirilmesi zorunluluğu yüzünden, ilk başta belirlenen amaçlara sadık kalınarak çalışmanın sonuçlandırılmasının doğru olacağı kanaatine varılmıştır.

Proje yürütülürken Neolitik Dönemden Tunç Çağlarının sonuna değin arkeolojik kalıntılar değerlendirilmiştir. Ancak bu esnada bulunan ya da bundan sonra da keşfedilmesi muhtemel daha geç dönemlere ait (Arkaik Roma) taşınmaz arkeolojik kültür varlıkları da göz ardı edilmeden, diğer arkeolojik alanlar için doldurulan G.A.Y.A.P. standart arkeolojik kültür varlıkları envanter fişleri söz konusu alanlar için de doldurulmuş ve doldurulacaktır.

## Amaç

G.A.Y.A.P. I. dönem ön çalışmasının da amaç olarak öncelikle

- 1) Güzelyurt ilçesinin genelinde ve özellikle Serhatköy yakınlarında Ovgos vadisinde daha önceden yapılan teorik çalışmalar ile tesbit edilmiş bulunan arkeolojik alanların yeni baştan arazi üzerindeki konumlarının belirlenmesi;
- 2) Arkeoloji literatüründe bilinen söz konusu arkeolojik kültür varlıklarının günümüzdeki son durumlarının tesbit edilmesi;

3) Önceden yapılan çalışmalarda belirlenmiş, bilinen arkeolojik alanların yakınlarında yer alması muhtemel yeni ve ilk kez keşfedilecek arkeolojik alanların saptanması;

4) Trodos Dağının eteklerinde yer alan antik dönem bakır yataklarının yerlerinin açığa çıkarılması;

5) İlçe sınırları içerisinde yer alan antik dönem bakır curuflarının (atıklarının) günümüzdeki son durumunun kayıt altına alınması;

6) Güzelyurt ilçe sınırları içerisinde yer alan taşınmaz kültür varlıkları üzerinde insanlar tarafından yapılan tahribatin (varsa) belirlenmesi ve tehlike boyutunun ortaya koyulması düşünülmüştür.

### Kapsam

G.A.Y.A.P. kapsamının da yürütülen ilk ön çalışmada, literatür araştırması esnasında tesbit edilen ve aşağıda isimleri verilen 23 adet arkeolojik kültür mirasının arazi üzerindeki lokalizasyonunun belirlenmesine çalışılmıştır. Yapılan survey çalışmasında karşılaşılan yeni taşınmaz arkeolojik kültür varlıkları da değerlendirmeye tabi tutularak incelenmiştir.

### Yerleşim Yerleri

I. Dönem ön çalışma programının da arazide tesbit edilmesi planlanan yerleşim yerleri; Ambelikou Aletri, Ambelikou Ayios Georghios (Dikaios 1962: 141), Asomatos Potemata (Catling 1962: 154, 161), Kapouti Kapnistos (Catling 1962: 157, 164), Khrysiliou Aphendikia (Price 1979: 95), Khrysiliou Pala Eomylea (Catling 1962: 164), Khrysiliou Pano Eliokhori (Price 1972: 95), Khrysiliou Spillious (Price 1979: 95), Kyra Alonia, Kyra Chiflikia (Price 1979: 96), Pendayia, Philia Ayia Petra (Watkins), Philia Drakos A (Price 1979: 99 ), Philia Drakos B (Dikaios 1962: 150-151; Price 1979: 100; Webb-Frankel 1999: 10), Philia Kafkalla tou Koundourou (Price 1979: 100), Philia Pervola (Price 1979: 101).

### Nekropol Alanları

I. dönem ön çalışma programının da arazide belirlenmesi planlanan nekropol alanları; Asomatos Potemata (Catling 1962: 154, 161), Kapouti Kapnistos (Catling 1962: 157, 164), Khrysiliou Spillious (Price 1979: 95), Kyra Kaminia (Dikaios 1962: 156, Price 1979: 96, Webb-Frankel 1999: 10), Philia Drakos site C (Price 1979: 100), Philia Laksia tou Kasinou (Catling 1962: 153 ), Philia Vasiliko-Kafkalla (Catling 1962: 153; Webb-Frankel 1999: 11).

### Yöntem

Önceden yürütülen literatür çalışmalarının ardından tesbit edilmiş

olan merkezlerin arazide belirlenmesine yönelik arazi çalışmaları sırasında 1:2500 ve 1:5000 ölçekli kadastral ve 1:5000 ölçekli topografik haritalardan yararlanılmıştır.

İlk olarak haritalar üzerinde konumu belirlenen yerleşim veya nekropol alanlarının arazi üzerindeki lokalizasyonunun tesbit edilmesine çalışılmıştır. Bu gaye ile belirlenen parseller içerisinde 6 kişilik bir ekip 5'er m.'lik gözlem mesafesi düşünülerek, yürünüldüğü zaman 10'ar m. ara ile açılarak 60 m. genişliğinde bir alanın taranabilmesini sağlayan bir sistem kullanılarak çalışmaları yürütmüştür.

Belirlenen yerleşim veya nekropol alanlarında ise öncelikle alanın harita konumu tesbit edildikten sonra arazi ve arazi üzerindeki buluntuların genel resimleri çekilmiştir. Buna ek olarak tesbit edilen her alan için G.A.Y.A.P. standart arkeolojik kültür varlıkları envanter fişlerinden doldurulmuştur. Ayrıca yapılan çalışmanın ön rapor niteliği taşımasından dolayı arkeolojik alanın sadece genel kronolojisinin tesbitine yönelik olarak çok az sayıda kırık seramik parçası, ilgili alanların bazılarında toplanmıştır.

Arazi üzerinden toplanan kırık seramik parçaları ve taşlar öncelikle dikkatlice yıkanıp temizlendikten sonra her buluntuya survey envanter numarası verilmiş/verilecektir. Buluntuların çizim ve fotoğraf çalışmaları tamamlandıktan sonra kültür varlıkları Güzelyurt Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Dairesi Şube Amirliğine teslim edilecektir.

### **Ekip**

G.A.Y.A.P. kapsamında yapılan ilk arazi ön çalışmasında şahsımın yönetiminde oluşturulan ekip listesi alfabetik sıraya göre aşağıda yer almaktadır.

Arkeologlar: Ahmet Aşler, Çağan Türkoğlu, Demet Karşılı,

Erdoğan Usta, İpek Mesda, Mustafa Emre, Sefer Umay.

Jeolog: Erge Günsel

Seramik Uzmanı: Sinem Ertaner

Ayrıca çalışmalar esnasında Güzelyurt Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Dairesi Şube Amirliği'nden Emine Sivri ve Sevim Emre özverili yardımlarını esirgememişlerdir. Arazi çalışmalarına katılarak bilgilerini bizlerle paylaşmışlardır. Projeye yapmış oldukları katkılardan dolayı kendilerine teşekkür ederiz.

### **Filya Kültürü**

Adada yapılan ilk araştırmaları değerlendiren E. Gjerstad (1926: 299-301) Erken Kıbrıs Çağı (E.K.Ç.) buluntularının kökeninin karşı sahilde Anadolu da aranmasının gerektiğini, Batı Anadolu'nun Yortan, Babaköy ve Ovabayındır Nekropol alanlarıyla Troia I-II yerleşim yerinin (Harita I) Erken

Tunç Çağı (E.T.Ç.) kırmızı, kahverengi perdahlı, gaga ağızlı testileri, pithosları, çanak ve çömleklerini örnek vererek belirtmiştir.

1940'lı yılların başında P. Dikaios, (1962) Kıbrıs'da Ovgos Vadisi'nde, Philia Vasiliko nekropol alanında (Harita II) yapmış olduğu kazılarda E.K.Ç. ile ilişkili farklı kültürel özellikler taşıyan arkeolojik eserleri açığa çıkarmış ve bu farklı özelliklere sahip arkeolojik eserleri buluntu yerlerinden dolayı Philia (Filya) Kültürü olarak adlandırmıştır.

Dikaios, Filya Kültürünü Kıbrıs Kalkolitik Çağ ile E.K.Ç. arasında bir ara dönem olarak görürken (Dikaios 1962: 190-203), J. Stewart, Filya Kültürünün E.K.Ç. içerisinde bölge ve coğrafyadan kaynaklanan farklı bir oluşum olduğunu belirtmiştir (Stewart 1962: 269).

Her iki araştırmacı Filya materyal kültürü için farklı görüşlere sahip olup, farklı terminolojiler kullanırken, bu kültürün Anadolu, E.T.Ç. II'siyle çok yoğun ilişki içerisinde veya etkisinde olduğunu söylemişlerdir (Dikaios 1962: 190-203; Stewart 1962: 274-276).

Artık günümüzde Filya Kültürünün E.T.Ç. içerisinde farklı bir varyant olduğu hipotezi giderek yerini ayrı bir geçiş safhası olduğu görüşüne bırakırken bu konuda ki araştırmaların yetersizliği yine de birçok soru işaretini akla getirmektedir. G.A.Y.A.P. sonuçları ve ileride Güzelyurt Filya kültür sitelerinde yapılacak kazı çalışmaları bu konulardaki karanlık noktaların aydınlatılmasını sağlayacaktır.

M.Ö. III. bin yılda özellikle E.T.Ç. II de Anadolu'dan ve Ege Denizi üzerinden batıya bir yayılım olmuştur. Bu yayılım arkeolojik delillerin dışında filolojik delillerle de desteklenmektedir. M.Ö. III. binyılda eski Anadolu diline ait olan "-nd" ve "-ss" son ekli yer adlarının, Ege denizi üzerinden batıya yayıldığı varsayılmaktadır. Kıbrıs'taki Amamassos, Arbanda, Melanthos, Paphos, Tamassos, Arsos, Pergamon, Alampria gibi yer adlarının eski Anadolu diline ait olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Bu yer adlarının paralellerine ya da yakın benzerlerine Anadolu'da Karia bölgesinde ve güney Anadolu'da rastlanmaktadır (Erzen 1975: 100). M.Ö. III. bin yılda uzak bölgeler arasında ki, malların değiş tokuşu ve iletişimi erken çağlara oranla daha yoğun bir şekilde izlenebilmektedir. Bu dönemin ilerlemesiyle ticari bağlantılar deniz yoluyla hızlanmıştır. Bu bağlantılar Suriye, Filistin kıyılarındaki, Kıbrıs ve Girit adalarındaki limanlar, Argolis ve Ege'nin diğer alanlarındaki küçük limanlar aracılığıyla kurulmuştur. Bu bağlantılar gelişmiş bir ticaret organizasyonunu doğurmuştur. Bu organizasyonun varlığı Ege bölgesi deniz ticareti için kara arkeolojisi delillerinin dışında Yunanistan'ın Hydra ve Argolis kıyıları arasında Dokos adası (Harita I) yakınlarında, Erken Hellas II'ye tarihlendirilen batık bir geminin çıkartılmasıyla kanıtlanmıştır (Demakopoulou 1999). Olasılıkla bu zamanlarda Dokos batığı gibi gemiler Anadoluyla Kıbrıs arasındaki ilişkilerin oluşmasını sağlamıştır.

M.Ö. III bin yılda Kıbrıs'da Geç Kalkolitik dönem yaşanırken Adaya M.Ö. 2500'lerde Anadolu'dan göçmenler (sığınmacılar) gelmiştir. Anadolu bu göçmen akınları Kuzeybatı Kıbrıs'a aynı zamanda Trodos masifinin de kuzey batısına denk gelen alanı (Güzelyurt Bölgesi) merkez alarak yerleşmişlerdir. Bu bölge hem bereketli tarım alanlarına sahip, hem de savunmaya müsait olup yol ve ulaşım rotalarına hakim aynı zamanda kıyılara ve adanın diğer bölgelerine açılma özelliğini bünyesinde barındırmaktadır (Webb-Frankel 1999: 40, 43). Aynı zamanda göçmenler, Marki (Harita II) bölgesi gibi Kalkolitik habitata barındırmayan alanları seçmelerinin yanısıra sahil kenarı olan ve de Kalkolitik dönem iskan alanları bulunan bölgeleride kısmen dahi olsa yerleşim alanı olarak kullanmışlardır.

Anadolu kökenli bu göçmenler Trodos'un kuzeyindeki bakır kaynaklarını sistematik olarak kendi çıkarları için kullanmışlar ve önceden kullanılmayan tarımsal alanları işleyerek, ekolojik sisteme adapte olarak yaşamışlardır (Webb-Frankel 1999: 40). Adanın Kalkolitik dönem insanların kırmızı tek renkli kaba açkılı, beyaz üzerine kırmızı boyalı seramiklerini, göçmenler kendi kültürel özellikleriyle yoğurarak, özgün seramikler yapmış ve kullanmışlardır (Webb-Frankel 1999: 39).

Adanın yerli halkı, Anadolu göçmenlerle ortak bir sosyal organizasyon içerisinde politik bir kontrole bir arada yaşamışlardır (Webb-Frankel 1999: 39). Adanın yerli halkıyla göçmenler arasında değiş tokuşa dayanan bir organizasyonun olabileceği düşünülmektedir (Peltenburg 1991: 124-126). Vasilia Kafkalia'da (Harita II) ve Philia Laksia tou Kasinou'da bulunmuş olan pikrolit pendants ve Nicosia Ayia Pareskevi'deki (Harita II) pikrolitler Kıbrıs Kalkolitik merkezlerden gelen malzemeye örnek gösterilebilir (Webb-Frankel 1999: 41). Kissonerga Mosphilia (Harita II) 4 tabakası ve Lemba Lakkous (Harita II) 3. tabakasından itibaren diğer Kalkolitik merkezlerden farklı olarak bu yerleşim yerlerinde seramik gruplarında farklılıklar göze çarpmaktadır (Manning 1993: 38; Webb-Frankel 1999: 41).

Lemba Lakkous'un 3. tabakasında Filya Kültürünün izleri ve özellikle Tarsus Gözlükule E.T.Ç. II'nin etkisi ve benzerlikleri görülmekte (Peltenburg 1996: 24-26) ayrıca Kissonerga Mosphilia da Filya Kültürü özellikleri izlenebilmektedir (Webb-Frankel 1999: 40). Kissonerga Mosphilia'nın 5. tabakasinda ise yerleşim yerinin artık bir Philia yerleşmesi olduğu görülmektedir (Peltenburg ve diğerleri 1998: 52-54).

Anadolu'da Semayük Karataş, Tarsus Gözlu Kule, Beycesultan, Bozüyük, Çaykenarı, Troia (Harita I) ve diğer yerleşim yeri ve nekropol alanlarının oluşturmuş olduğu E.T.Ç. II kültürünün yansımaları ve paraleli Kıbrıs'da Filya Kültüründe izlenebilmektedir (Bolger 1991: 32; Hennesy 1974: 4; Mellink 1991: 173; Manning 1993: 36). Filya Kültüründe Ada'da seramik teknolojisinde, dinde mimari ve tarım alanlarında Kalkolitik döneme göre farklılıklar meydana gelmiştir (Webb-Frankel 1999: 41-42).

## Yüzey Araştırması

### Problemler

Güzelyurt ilçe sınırları içerisinde Serhatköy ve civarında 25-26 Şubat ve 3, 7-9, 14, 18, 28, 30 Ağustos 2004 tarihlerinde, Güzelyurt Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Dairesi Şube Amirliğinin gözetiminde kısa süreli bir ön çalışma yapılmıştır.

Yapılan literatür çalışmasında, Temmuz 1974 tarihinden önceki yıllarda survey yapılarak tesbit edilmiş veya kazısı gerçekleştirilmiş 23 taşınmaz arkeolojik kültür varlığının belirlenmesi düşünülmüştür. Bu amaçla yapılan çalışma esnasında daha önce keşfedilmemiş bazı merkezlerin bulunabileceği ve bunun yanında bölgenin arkeolojik tahribat raporunun çıkartılması öngörülmüştür.

1974 öncesinde çalışma yapılan arkeolojik alanların harita referans numaraları ile projede kullanılan günümüz topografik ve kadastral haritalarının bazen uyumsuzluğu hoş olmayan sürprizlere neden olmuştur.

Çalışmanın ilk bölümünün kış mevsiminde yapılmasından dolayı arazi üzerindeki doğal yeşil bitki örtüsü ve bazı özel mülkiyet arazilerinin hububat ile ekilmiş olmasından dolayı kısmen zorluklarla karşılaşmıştır. Rahatlıkla dolaşılabilir arazilerin yeşil otsu bitki örtüsü toprak üzerinde muhtemel eski kazı izlerini, yapı duvarları veya mezar izlerinin görülmesini veya bulunmasını muhtemel: kırık seramik, işlenmiş taş parçaları veya maden curuflarının tesbitini güçleştirmiştir. Bunun yanında bazı alanlara; ekilmiş olmasından dolayı ekili ürünlere zarar vermemek kaygısı ile ya girilmemiş ya da girilen arazilerde fazla yoğunlaşılammamıştır. Bu sebeplerden dolayı survey çalışmasına ara verilerek Ağustos ayında devam edilmiştir.

Arazi üzerinde yapılan incelemelerde literatür çalışmasında tesbit edilen taşınmaz arkeolojik kültür varlıklarının bazıları söz konusu bölgede arazi üzerinde belirlenememiştir.

Bunun sebepleri üzerinde düşünüldüğü zaman 8 neden belirlenmiştir. Bunlar:

- 1) Eski yayınlarda belirtilen bazı merkezler için sadece mevki adının kullanılması ve harita referans numaralarına yer verilmemesi;
- 2) Eski ve yeni haritaların referans numaralarının bir birine çevrilmesinde meydana gelen problemler;
- 3) Söz konusu alanların (Ambelikou Ayios Georghios, Ambelikou Aletri, Kyra Alonia) askeri bölgeler içerisinde kalmış olmaları;
- 4) Bölgedeki erozyona bağlı olarak yüzeyde yer alan arkeolojik buluntuların toprakla birlikte akıp gitmesi;
- 5) Güvenlik amacı ile yapılan askeri mevzi veya yığınakla-

rın arkeolojik yerleşim yerlerinin üzerine yapılması (Philia Pervola);

6) Arazinin bitki örtüsünden dolayı yüzeyde yer alan materyallerin görülememesi;

7) Yerleşim yerlerinin höyük tarzında yerleşimler olmamalarından dolayı stratigrafik olarak ancak 2, 3 arkeolojik dönemi içermelerinden ötürü günümüzde her zaman yoğun olarak seramiklere rastlanılmaması;

8) Eski yayınlardaki verilerin güvenilirliği (Pentayia).

Fakat yukarıda bahsedilen nedenlerin yanında bazı sebeplerin daha olabileceği düşünülmüş olup bunun üzerine Ovgos Vadisinde çok sayıda arkeolojik bilimsel çalışma yürütmüş olan T. Watkins ile dolaylı olarak bağlantı kurulmuştur.

Watkins, bu merkezlerin belirlenmesinin nerede ise imkansız olabildiğini savunmaktadır. Neden olarak kazı çalışmalarının yapılmış olduğu 1970'li yılların başlarında bile bu bölgede gerek insanlar tarafından gerekse doğa koşullarından dolayı yoğun bir tahribat yaşanmış olduğunu belirtmektedir. Ayrıca Watkins'e göre 1970'li yıllardan günümüze değin doğa koşullarının meydana getirdiği doğal tahribat ve insan etkisi de düşünüldüğü zaman bu merkezlerin belirlenememiş olması normaldir.

Sonuçta Watkins'in de belirttiği üzere bölgenin çok zengin bir arkeolojik geçmişinin olduğu arkeolojik verilerden tesbit edilmiştir. Ancak geçmişte yapılmış olan çalışmalarda birçok yerleşim yerinin üzerinin, hiçbir arkeolojik veri içermeyen alüvyon topraklar ile dolmuş olduğunu saptamıştır. Watkins bu verilere ise tamamen tesadüfen ulaşıldığını belirtmekte ve bu bilgileri şu örnekle açıklamaktadır: 1970'li yıllarda köylüler tarafından su bulmak amacı ile açılan kuyuların toprağının arasından metrelerce aşağıdan özellikle Kalkolitik döneme ait seramik parçaları çıkartılmıştır.

### **Veriler**

G.A.Y.A.P. kapsamında yürütülen çalışmalarda tesbit edilen her taşınmaz arkeolojik kültür varlığı için ayrı bir G.A.Y.A.P. standart arkeolojik kültür varlıkları fişi doldurulmuştur.

Proje kapsamında Güzelyurt ilçe sınırları içerisindeki çalışma alanı, Özhan Köyü sınırları içerisinde yer alan ve Girne İlçe sınırları içerisinde kalan alan da yer alan Asomatos Potemata yerleşim yerini incelemek amacı ile genişletilmiştir.

Survey esnasında yeniden tesbit edilen yerleşim yerleri; Asomatos Potemata (?), Kapouti Kapnistos, Khrysiliou Aphendika, Khrysiliou Pala Eomylea, Khrysiliou Pano Eliokhori, Khrysiliou Spillious, Kyra Chiflikia, Philia Ayia Petra, Philia Drakos A / Spilles, Philia Drakos B, Philia Drakos C, Philia Pervola;



Survey esnasında ilk kez keşfedilen yerleşim yeri: Kalkanlı Kuyubaşı;  
Survey esnasında tesbit edilen nekropol alanları: Kapouti Kapnistos (A), Kyra Kaminia, Asomatos Potemata (?), Khrysiliou Spillious, Philia Vasiliko-Kafkalla;

Survey esnasında ilk kez keşfedilen nekropol alanı: Kapouti Kapnistos (B), Kalkanlı Bodurağaç.

### **Tahribat Raporu**

Bölgenin antik dönem bakır yatakları ve bakır curuflarının incelenmesine yönelik yapılan ön çalışmada ise ilginç sonuçlara ulaşılmıştır. Özellikle geçmişte yapılan araştırmalar ile Mavrovouni / Karadağ Fenike-Roma Dönemlerine tarihlendirildiği kanıtlanmış olan maden curuflarında önemli ölçüde azalma olduğu görülmüştür. Yapılan araştırma sonucunda bu alanda yer alan ve içerisinde bakır, kurşun, arsen kalıntıları ile izleri bulunan maden curuflarının bölgede yaşayan halk ve hatta söylendiği üzere geçmiş belediyeler tarafından dolgu malzemesi olarak kullanıldığı öğrenilmiştir. Bunun yanında arkeolojik değerinin yanısıra insan sağlığı açısından zararlı olan bu kalıntılar üzerine bölge halkının hayvan barınaklarını inşa ettikleri belirlenmiştir.

Bölgede yapılan gözlemler neticesinde:

1. Bazı alanlarda yapılan tarla taşlarını temizleme (İlçe geneli);
2. Özel kullanım alanlarını genişletme çalışmaları (İlçe geneli);
3. Köylüler tarafından çöp dökme (Serhatköy, Lefke);
4. Ağaçlandırma girişimleri (Serhatköy);
5. Anayol (Serhatköy) veya tali yol (Mevlevi) yapım çalışmaları neticesinde bazı arkeolojik alanların tahribatı gerçekleşmekte veya belirlenmesi zorlaşmakta yada imkansız hale gelmektedir.

Kanımcı yukarıda 6 madde şeklinde belirtilen konularla ilgili olarak, Kıbrıs Türk Barış Kuvvetleri, Güvenlik Kuvvetleri, Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı, Devlet Karayolları, Güzelyurt ve Lefke belediyeleri ile ilgili köy muhtarlıklarıyla Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Dairesi arasında kurulacak bağlantılar bu sorunların aşılmasına yardımcı olabilecektir.

Bunların yanısıra incelemeler esnasında yakın zamanlarda bazı me raklıların ve/veya eski eser kaçakçılarının Mevlevi, Serhatköy de küçük çapta, Kalkanlı'nın Yakaçakyeri ile Bodurağaç Mevkisi ve çevresinde ise geniş çapta kaçak kazı çalışmaları yapmış oldukları belirlenmiştir. Genel kanımcı bu bölgede yapılacak bilimsel arkeolojik survey ve kazı çalışmaları neticesinde kaçak kazılan mezarlar içerisinde arkeolojik verilere ulaşılması muhtemel dahilindedir.

## Sonuç

Netice itibarı ile Güzelyurt İlçe sınırları içerisinde küçük bir ekiple yapılan survey ön çalışmasında arazide tesbit edilmek istenen 23 arkeolojik taşınmaz kültür varlığından 17 tanesi belirlenebilmiştir. Ayrıca ilgili çalışmalar yürütülürken Kalkanlı Kuyumevkinde Roma dönemine ait olabilecek bir yerleşim yeri, Kalkanlı Bodurağaç Mevkisinde Demir Çağlarına ait bir Nekropol alanı, Kalkanlı Yakaçakyeri'nde (Kapnistos B) Geç Tunç Çağı-Geometrik Çağa ait olabilecek Nekropol alanı ilk kez belirlenmiştir. Söz konusu 3 arkeolojik alanda eklendiği zaman yürütülen survey çalışmasında bölgede toplam 20 adet taşınmaz arkeolojik kültür varlığı belirlenmiştir.

Neolitik dönemden Roma dönemine değin farklı arkeolojik zamanlarda kullanıldıkları tesbit edilen 20 taşınmaz arkeolojik kültür varlıklarından 13 tanesini yerleşim yeri, 7 tanesini de nekropol alanı oluşturmaktadır.

Söz konusu kültürel mirasımızın korunabilmesi için, tahribat raporu bölümünden de anlaşılacağı üzere eski eserlerimize gereken önemin verilmediği ve bunların korunması için gerekli önlemlerin alınmadığı da açık bir şekilde ortadadır.

Kıbrıs'ın önemli bir bölümünü kapsayan Güzelyurt bölgesinin arkeolojik geçmişi adanın tamamı ile bir bütün oluşturmakta ve buradaki arkeolojik aydınlanma ve eski eserler ile ilgili tüm sorunlar tüm ada arkeolojisini etkilemektedir. Bu yüzden ada genelindeki arkeolojik geçmişe duyarsızlık sonuçta ülke gelişimine de olumsuz yönde yansımaktadır. Arkeolojik kültür mirasımızı günümüz eğitim sistemi ile örtüştürmeyi başarırsak ülkemizin geleceği için daha emin adımlar atma imkanı bulabiliriz.

G.A.Y.A.P. I Dönem çalışmalarına paralel olarak başlangıç amacına uygun yürütülen araştırma ve inceleme çalışmaları geneline uygun olarak sonuçlanmıştır.

Yürütülen çalışmalar esnasında yapılan gözlemler, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Kampüs inşaat çalışmalarının gerçekleştirildiği 3000 dönümlük arazinin taşınmaz arkeolojik kültür varlıklarını bünyesinde barındırma olasılığına sahip olduğudur. Bu noktadan hareketle çok geç kalınmasına rağmen, mevzu bahis olan alanda muhtemel arkeolojik alanların keşfedilerek tahrip edilme olasılığını önlemek amacıyla acilen arkeolojik survey çalışmasının yapılması gerekmektedir.

Ayrıca yukarıdaki paragrafta belirtilen konuya ek olarak Annan Planı çerçevesinde Güzelyurt ve çevre köylerde yaşayan ve planın yürürlüğe girmesi durumunda yer değiştirecek Kıbrıslı Türkler için kurulması ön görülen yeni yerleşim alanlarında arkeolojik açıdan da büyük bir hassasiyet gösterilmesi kesinlikle gerekmektedir. Çünkü Güzelyurt ilçe sınırları içerisinde Kalkanlı Köyü yakınlarında üzerine yerleşim alanları inşa edilmesi planlanan alan hakkında arkeoloji literatüründe herhangi bir veri bulunmamaktadır. Fa-

kat bu ilgili alanda, herhangi bir arkeolojik kültür mirasının bulunmadığı anlamına gelmemektedir. Proje ön çalışma sonuçlarının da ortaya koyduğu üzere arkeolojik survey yapılması durumunda daha önceden bilinmeyen arkeolojik kültür miraslarının belirlenmesi ihtimali bulunmaktadır. Bundan dolayıdır ki ilgili bir alanda yeni yaşam alanlarının kurulması söz konusu olacak ise mutlaka buralarda arkeolojik bilimsel çalışmaların yapılması zorunludur.

Ülkemizde inşaat sektöründeki gelişmeler de düşünülecek olur ise ivedilikle inşaat yapılmadan önce üzerine yapı inşa edilmesi düşünülen alanlarda mutlaka arkeolojik araştırmaların yapılması yönünde yasaların hazırlanıp onaylanması gerekmektedir. Ama ne acıdır ki ülkemizde Kıbrıslılar olarak henüz bu bilince ulaşabilmiş değiliz.

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#### **Ek I: Yerleşim yeri ve coğrafik isim anahtarı**

Ambelikou = Bağlıköy

Asomatos = Özhan

Güzelyurt = Morfou = Omorfo

Kapouti-Kalo Horio = Kalkanlı

Khrysihou = Hirsulu = Yuvacık

Kyra = Mevlevi

Ovgos Vadisi = Türkçe isimlendirmesi yapılmamıştır. Halk arasında genel olarak bir bölümü İkidere bölgesi olarak adlandırılmaktadır.

Pendayia = Yeşilyurt

Philia = Filya = Serhatköy

## **A Newly Discovered Bronze Age Site in Cyprus**

*Uwe Müller and Bülent Kızılduman*

Towards the end of June 2004 two instructors from the Music Department at Eastern Mediterranean University, Nathanael May and Benjamin Moritz, were hiking in the remoter areas of the Karpaz peninsula. Towards the end of their trip they decided to climb a single - standing hill providing a beautiful view on the small surrounding plain. A little hole in the ground, like an animal's burrow, caught their attention. On closer inspection, they were amazed to find themselves looking at a large pottery vessel, buried in the earth and filled with metal objects. Their reaction following this discovery was extremely responsible and cannot be commended highly enough: they left the finds untouched and returned to Gazi Mağusa to inform the proper authorities. They contacted the staff of the Department of Archaeology and Art History at E.M.U. who, in turn, informed the Department of Antiquities and Museums at Gazi Mağusa as the official authority in charge of archaeological finds in the eastern part of the T.R.N.C. It was agreed that the following day Nathanael May should lead some officials of the Department of Antiquities to the find-spot. Three archaeologists from E.M.U. were allowed to join the expedition as observers.

On Thursday 1st July, Mr. May led Hasan Tekel, the Head of the Department of Antiquities and Museums at Gazi Mağusa to the site, which was untouched from the previous day. Covered by a stone slab, the large storage jar was found to be dug into the soil and filled with metal objects made out of copper or bronze. The observing E.M.U. staff proposed to return the following day with the necessary equipment to do a comprehensive excavation and documentaion, though Mr. Tekel, as the responsible official, decided to remove the metal objects immediately to prevent them from being stolen. During the process of removing the bronzes photographs were taken to document the position of the objects inside the jar.

In all, twenty six bronzes were found. Most of them were vessels such as bowls, pot and ewers. A jug with a twisted handle and lid shows a high degree of craftsmanship, as well as three shallow bowls on high feet, interpreted as incense-burners. But also tools, such as sickleblades, a saw and a small shovel came to light. While the composition of the finds looks somewhat incoherent there is no doubt about their chronological position. Close parallels from Enkomi and Sinda date them to the last phases of the Late Bronze Age (1600 – 1150 B.C.). All the bronzes were removed from the site and are presently stored at the Department of Antiquities and Museums at Gazi Mağusa.

The location of the finds on top of a solitary hill certainly cannot be accidental. Already during the unearthing of the finds, the scientists of E.M.U. noticed traces of ancient building activity on the plateau. Several walls are clearly visible, as well as other architectural remains. A number of sherds from large jars (*pithoi*) indicate storage facilities inside the buildings. As with the bronzes, these structures date to the end of the Late Bronze Age. The quality of the archaeological remains reveal the importance of the site, which shows some characteristics of a sanctuary or temple. Further inspection made clear that not only the plateau, but all the slopes of the hill, and its multiple terraces, were used as a settlement area. The commanding position, the size of the settlement, the likely existence of a sanctuary and the high quality architecture leave no doubt that here a major center of Bronze Age Cyprus has been discovered, which up to this point had escaped the attention of archaeologists and historians.

The discovery of a central settlement in itself is to be considered as a major contribution to our understanding of the Bronze Age in Cyprus and beyond. It is to be doubted that many settlements of this quality in the eastern Mediterranean are still unknown. But, what is more, the location and plan of the newfound site is of a type so far unknown in Cyprus. Its study will eventually lead to a re-evaluation of the current theories and historical reconstruction of the period. Up to now the picture of Bronze Age development seemed pretty clear: thanks to the rich copper deposits in the mines of the Troodos, from the Early Bronze Age onwards, Cyprus became part of the international network of trade and politics in the Eastern Mediterranean. During the Middle Bronze Age coastal cities got more and more involved in overseas trade with the Levant and the Aegean and a process of urbanization started. Especially in the Late Bronze Age these urban centers increased their power, while the inland production sites lost influence. In a supposed period of turmoil the flourishing Late Bronze Age world came to an end. In a very traditional view, invasions and mass-migrations are held responsible for these 'crisis years', while more recent approaches try to develop a more differentiated view of events and processes that led to political and cultural changes in different regions, including Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

The location of the newly found site illustrates once more some problems with the picture drawn above. While the rich copper mines are situated in the west of the island, urban centers, or even settlements of more than regional importance, are virtually absent there. Instead, there is a concentration of major sites in eastern Cyprus. Despite some attempts to address these questions the structures of the Late Bronze Age settlement network are still poorly understood.<sup>2</sup> Considering the eastern location of almost all coastal sites, one also has to question the strong focus on cultural and economical

contacts to the Aegean.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, it made more sense for Bronze Age Cyprus to transport copper or copper ore all the way through the island to the east, than to establish trading ports in the west, close to the mines. While some authors, at least for the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C., allow for some influences from the Levant, possible connections to Anatolia or Egypt are usually not even mentioned.<sup>4</sup> This seems even stranger since the Late Bronze Age Levant was firmly controlled by either Egypt or the Hittite Empire, while the political importance of the Aegean region remains still rather doubtful. Only a few texts of only one of the real international powers of the time (the Hittites) refer to a political entity that might be identified as one of the Mycenaean palaces or a possible union of several of them.

Another question arises about the paramount importance for the Cypriot economy, usually attributed to copper production. Judging from the location of major sites, far from the mines, one might be tempted to think about alternative explanations for the apparent wealth of the local communities.

The newfound site certainly was a place of major importance. But its structure is very different from known centers like Kition, Enkomi or Myrtou-Pigades. These settlements are situated in the plains, some of them surrounded by fortification walls. The recently discovered site is situated on a steep hill, displaying a clear hierarchy of settlement parts, with the most important structures in high places. There are traces of wall visible that might be interpreted as fortifications of some of the terraces. This creates the impression of a citadel surrounded by supporting settlement structures, more than that of a city. Since this citadel clearly was a place of political control for at least the surrounding plain, again the question about the political structures of Bronze Age Cyprus must be addressed. Is there evidence for some kind of political unification or at least for the dominance of one of the major sites? How were the centers structured? Did they follow the Near Eastern model of temple economy or rather the Anatolian/Aegean model of palace economy? How did the different centers interact? How did they interact with dependent sites?

The newly discovered site has the potential to shed fresh light on all these and several other questions. The prerequisite to answer them is a thorough scientific exploration of the site according to modern standards of excavation, survey and conservation. Also an ethnographical survey and studies of the more recent local history of this highly interesting region should be included. Already there are solid contacts with several European universities and museums, interested in starting collaboration with E.M.U. and the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the T.R.N.C.

At present, the faculty of the Department of Archaeology and Art History at E.M.U. are preparing a scientific publication of the bronze hoard.

A further and very urgent step will be the conservation of the bronzes. At present, expertise and facilities necessary for that are lacking in Northern Cyprus. The creation of these facilities and the education of local experts will be one of the objectives of the research project. An application for funding is currently being prepared and will be submitted to the appropriate sponsors.

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### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See: E. S. Sherratt, 'Cypriot Pottery of Aegean Type in LC II-III: Problems of Classification, Chronology and Interpretation', in: Barlow, Bolger, and Kling, eds, *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, Philadelphia, 1991, 185-198; E. S. Sherratt, 'Sea Peoples and the Economic Structure of the Late Second Millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean', in: Cadogan, ed, *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan*, Jerusalem, 1998, 292-313; E. S. Sherratt and Crowel, 'Mycenaean Pottery from Cilicia in Oxford', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 6, Oxford, 1987, 325-352; A.B. Knapp, 'Emergence, Development and Decline on Bronze Age Cyprus', in: Mathers and Stoddard, eds, *Development and Decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age*, Sheffield, 1994, 271-304

<sup>2</sup> P. S. Keswani and A. B. Knapp, 'Bronze Age Boundaries and Social Exchange in Northwest Cyprus', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 22, Oxford, 2003, 213-223

<sup>3</sup> V. Karageorghis, *The End of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1990; V. Karageorghis, 'Cultural Innovations in Cyprus Relating to the Sea Peoples', in: Oren, ed, *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment*, Philadelphia, 2000, 255-279

<sup>4</sup> G. Cadogan, 'The Thirteenth-Century Changes in Cyprus in their East Mediterranean Context', in: Cadogan, ed, *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan*, Jerusalem, 1998, 6-16; B. Kling, 'Mycenaean IIIc:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus: Comments on the Current State of Research', in: Oren, ed, *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment*, Philadelphia, 2000, 281-295



## A New Archive at Eastern Mediterranean University

Özlem Çaykent

This is the first of a series of reports on available archives and resources in Northern Cyprus, made in the hope of shedding light on the little-accessed material that might contribute to research on the history and culture of the island. This report introduces the current work being done by the Department of History at the Eastern Mediterranean University.

The origin of the idea of establishing a small archive dates back to 2002, when Dr. Gül Barkay, then the head of the department, found out that the National Archive and Research Center at Girne, intended to dispose of copies of Turkish and Greek newspapers, official media reports and encyclopaedias. The efforts of E.M.U.'s History department were appreciated and soon an agreement was made, with the help of Gökhan Şengör, the director of the Archives, to acquire these materials for safe keeping and consultation at the University. Immediately the students of the history department became involved in making transcriptions of the Ottoman census records of the years 1877-78. Kemal Kasaboğlu and Slobodan Ilić have agreed to write an introduction to these transcriptions when they are complete, and publish their findings in book form, including the original versions of the documents, through E.M.U. Press.

The archive project is still in its infancy, but its objectives have been established. The main idea was, and is, to supply research possibilities for students at E.M.U.'s History department and to increase an interest in research through primary historical sources. However, the available materials will also be of some interest to other researchers on the history and politics of Cyprus in the twentieth century. At the moment there are substantial collections of the Greek and Turkish newspapers: *Simerini*, *Avrupa*, *Birlik*, *Bozkurt*, *Kıbrıs*, *Ortam*, *Dipkarpaz* (a local newspaper), *Halkın Sesi*, *Zaman*, *Sabah* and *Kıbrıs Postası*, though the collections are not all complete. There are also some magazines and journals like: *Kemalist Atılım*, *Kıbrıs Bülteni*, *Kıbrıs Mektubu*, *Yeni Kıbrıs* and *Tanıtım*. Additionally there are official news reports and some collections of Turkish and Greek newspapers from 1930 to the present date. Of interest too are the Greek Cypriot official gazettes for the years 1960-1974 and the Turkish Cypriot official gazettes for the years 1970-1996. Lastly, there are full sets of the Greek encyclopaedias: *Megali Amerikaniki*, *I Nei Ekiklopedia tu Petiou*, *Laografiki ke Geografiki Ekiklopedia*, *Kozmognosia*, *Nea Leksikon Olis Tis Ellinikis Glossis*, *Domi*, *Ekiklopedikon Leksikon*, *Unesco*, *Mega Leksikon Olis tis Ellinikis Glossis* and some volumes of *Ellas*, *Geniki Pankozmios Ekiklopedia*.

Currently the student assistants of E.M.U.'s Department of History are undertaking the task of cataloguing the newspapers, and further projects have been mapped out. First of all, after the initial cataloguing has been finished, the list of materials will be made available online. The next step has been determined as establishing a research fellowship, through which researchers can benefit from these materials along with various other sources available on the island. However, another opportunity that arises using the multiple copies of certain sets of encyclopaedias is for the department to exchange these with other resources in other libraries.

For any further information on the archive or interest in such an exchange, please contact the Department of History.

**L**ocal Interest  
**Y**erel ilgi

## The Pine of Çınarlı

*Dilek Latif and Kemal Latif*

On the south slopes of Beşparmak Mountain, just north of Gazimağusa, there is a village called Çınarlı, which is popular for its honey and beautiful environment, and intriguing because of a mysterious pine and the İncirli Cave. As there are many teachers in Çınarlı in relation to its very low population, the village is also known as the 'Teachers' Village'. You frequently hear of 'the mysterious pine', or by its other name, the 'round pine'; a legend in the village that has been spread by word of mouth over the centuries. The saying "Do not build houses on very high hills, and do not give our girls to farthest countries" is also reminiscent and common among Çınarlı youth since almost all the most beautiful girls of the village have been married to foreigners. This reality is the unchangeable fate of the village and the essence of this legend.

The village was established close to the Vurmes brook, and here the young women and the girls used to come in order to wash their laundry. The males, who were at marriage age, would take a position where they could watch them easily, and on one occasion, among those males, there were two dwarves. They both fell in love with the most gorgeous girl of the village, with blond hair and green eyes, at the same time. About dwarves people had been known to say "His height is small but his pride is huge", and so, for this reason, neither could tell of their secret love to anybody else.

One of the dwarves, who was a shoemaker, pounded the nails under all of the shoes that he made into the shape of the first letter of that girl's name. He was thinking that as the shoe owners walked on the soil, they would leave a mark and this way his love would be widespread and become greater. The other one made sieves in the village. In the middle of each sieve he pierced a hole in the shape of the first letter of that girl's name. He was thinking that when people sieved crops, his love would be widespread, carried by the wind.

One day the two dwarves learned that they in fact loved the same girl. Consequently, they made an agreement that they would wrestle, but not use any equipment which might cause bleeding. The one who lost the wrestling would give up his love. The wrestling lasted for several days since both dwarves had equal strength, and eventually, exhausted, both died. The villagers buried their corpses, and after a while, from the place where the two dwarfs were buried, a pine sapling started to grow. As the sapling grew, the owner of the field wanted to cut it down, but when he tried with an axe, a red liquid came out of the pine tree. Scared, he immediately decided to stop.

Later, the owner of the field told the villagers about this incident. The nobles of the village said that this liquid was the blood of the dwarves, which did not flow when they died, and so, from then on, people started to show a great respect for the tree. During its 300 year history, no damage has been done to the tree either by the people or by nature.

At the present time, the branches of the tree, which lie parallel to the ground, resemble two dwarves who embrace one another. On closer examination, callus-like tissue looks like a typical elbow, and the clarity of the muscles, as well as the five branches, which project like fingers, make this legend charmingly real. The characteristics of the hips which can be observed on the thick and short body (two meters in diameter) of the tree, as well as the branches on the main trunk that lie towards the north that form the shape of a heart and a stake stuck inside it, are the other features of this legend.

Unusual greatness has always attracted people's interest, and accordingly the legend of this pine has enchanted people for years, inspiring further stories. For example, many years ago, an old man who had tuberculosis was advised by his doctors to live in a place away from the city where there would be bright sunshine and fresh air all the time. After some exploration in the countryside, the old man eventually decided to settle under the pine with his wife. Not long after, the old man defeated his illness, and so returned to his home, but continued to visit the tree from time to time. During one of his visits, the old man forgot his waist band (sash) on the tree, and those who followed, on seeing the red waist band, thought it was a ribbon left by somebody who had made a wish. From that time, the number of visitors to the pine increased from day to day, including a man called Cemal who could not have a child. That man made his wish under the tree and promised that if he could have a child, he would find the way to bring water to the pine. Afterwards, he had a child but failed to bring water. Instead, he put a considerable amount of money into a hollow section of the pine to show his appreciation, and from then on, people started to leave money on the tree every time their wish came true.

During its centuries of life, including in the Ottoman and British periods, as well as our present time, the mysterious pine has listened to the troubles, pains and suffering of many people. It has witnessed the laments of many people who have lost their loved ones, such as a girl who died of cancer before coming together with her love; a young man who died because of his hopeless love; students who could not pass their exams; brides who could not give birth; mothers whose daughters were sold to Arabic countries; and mostly, the lovers who could not unite.

There is also a poem dedicated to the mysterious pine by Dr. Zdenek Vanicek written in 1993:

### The Wishing Tree<sup>1</sup>

Down the field path I am walking with the  
Wishing girl beside me  
and I steal her breath away

With the Wishing girl beside me  
to the tree beyond the hill-top  
a red ribbon in my hand

To the tree beyond the hill-top  
I am led by silent longing  
by the long rays of the Sun

I am led by silent longing  
to the branches of three ages  
where the two of us are left

To the branches of three ages  
I tie up my bright-red ribbon  
whispering my innermost wish

I tie up my bright red ribbon  
with the Wishing girl beside me  
thus I steal her breath away

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#### Endnote

<sup>1</sup> Zdenek Vanicek, *Among Memory's Ruins*, London, 1999, 99



## Travelling Artists in Cyprus 1700-1960

*Rita C. Severis*

(London: Philip Wilson Publisher, 2000), 278 pages, 350 illustrations.

Rita Severis proposes to travel through Cypriot cultural history from 1700 to 1960 by means of the painted image. Her focus on artistic production representing the island brings a new angle to, and a fresh way of looking at, the complexity of Cypriot culture. Through a contextual approach, the author is able to address a multitude of past and contemporary issues. Since visual testimonies of the time are rare, the sketches, drawings and paintings shown illustrate an island that no longer exists, may never have existed or that continues only in our imagination. Familiar or not with the island, the reader will be exposed to many facets of Cyprus and its history since 1700. Severis specifies site and location of each work and investigates the possible meaning of the respective scene in the light of the contemporary circumstances of its production. Since most of the works belong to a private collection, her insight and evaluation of the work is well grounded, yet personally charged.

In her analysis, Rita Severis includes the origin of each artist, the reason for his arrival and journey through the island, his route of travel, his surrounding company, as well as the social, economic, and historical conditions and circumstances of the day. The reader encounters a variety of travel-types such as well-prepared researchers, travellers with no other purpose but to visit the island on an obliged stopover, travellers in search for Aphrodite's beauty, or those in the service of propaganda presenting the island under a specific light. Her arguments are supported by contemporary quotes from the respective travellers' journals. Singling out a quintessential Cyprus, however, proves to be impossible, though emphasizes that in its variety and richness the reader can yet experience the island.

The book follows a chronological line starting with 18<sup>th</sup> century travellers. The reader can relive the journey of Basil Grigorovich Barskii, a Russian Orthodox monk who travelled on his own to the remaining Christian orthodox sites already then in desolate condition. Or the reader can follow the route of the Englishman Alexander Drummond, a privileged traveller who visited the island in 1745 and 1750, solely interested in classical Greek remains. Severis also presents the work of the connoisseur and collector John Skippe, who travelled the island probably during 1760, in his search of ancient sites to include in his paintings, and through which a mythical island appears. Severis also discusses works by the French draftsman Louis Francois Cassas, who presented the island under the light of European Romanticism. His drawings were distributed in the form of etchings and



engravings and influenced the visual reception of the island overseas. In 1787, the naturalists Dr. Sibthorp travelled to the island accompanied by draftsman Ferdinand Bauer and author John Hawkins in order to draw, classify and analyse the geological and botanical aspects of the island. Luigi Mayer, an accomplished Austro-Italian artist, was commissioned by the British Ambassador Sir Robert Ainslie to depict the beauty of the Ottoman Empire, and so visited the island in 1792. In 1806 a Spaniard, travelling through the various countries of Islam under the name of Ali Bey el Abassi came to Cyprus due to weather conditions that disallowed the continuation of the journey by sea. Ali Bey was the first to record with an objective eye the rapid deterioration of antiquities on the island.

The reader learns that Cyprus had already been an important stopover to and from the Holy Land in biblical times, as many Saints amongst them Saint Helena, are supposed to have passed by, or lived on, the island while travelling from East to West. Through the eyes of the illustrators, painters and draftsmen presented, the reader learns about the myth and history of Cyprus. Many travellers remained in the position of observers, few came in touch with the local population, and most of them showed a superior and/or imperialistic attitude.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century travellers came with a certain set of expectations. Attracted by the birthplace of Aphrodite, the missing beauty of the female Cypriot population, however, left them disappointed, much like the fact that the sight of Greek antiquities in their splendour was equally, conspicuously, absent. During the Ottoman times, 1571 through 1878, few excavations were undertaken and earthquakes destroyed the few surviving examples of Greek antiquities, so no temple structure or building actually remained intact.

While the 18<sup>th</sup> century travellers were men of learning or assigned to special duties, those illustrating and visiting the island in the 19<sup>th</sup> century came enchanted by the vogue of Orientalism as opposed to Hellenic magnetism. And yet comparatively few artists came, while the island itself was, seemingly, devoid of its own national artists. Severis divides the 19<sup>th</sup> century section of her book into the time before and after the British arrival. As an example of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century traveller she cites Benjamin Mary, an "inspired diplomat" who visited the island while on his grand tour around Greece. Mary concentrated on portraits of the local population, and, in general, from the 1830s, both French and British showed growing interest in the island and sent researchers and illustrators.

In 1878 however it was Britain that gained control over Cyprus by guaranteeing Turkey protection from a Russian invasion. The British influence on the culture of the island was tremendous. For the arts, this meant that

artists and illustrators were commissioned to depict the island as an exotic, distant, oriental site, attractive to tourists and investors. The British colonial attitude went so far as to aim at the creation of a non-Western Cypriot identity. Yet, given the Greek Cypriot desire to merge with mainland Greece, Britain abandoned this plan. Instead, argues Severis, Britain pushed for a communal identity, separating Turks and Greeks into two distinguished groups and dividing the two communities even further. Artists reflecting the British attitude represented the Islamic side of the country; with its mosques prominently displayed as seen in the watercolours of or Hugh Sinclair or Archduke Louis Salvador, son of the grand duke of Tuscany. Salvador's paintings and drawings of the island were made around 1873 and mainly concentrate on the Ottoman elements in Cypriot culture.

Under the British protection, the island became a place of tourism and many of the paintings started to reflect this new identity. Some were done to be reproduced as postcards, with charming watercolours, folkloric costumes and ancient architectural structures. Ann Villiers, the daughter of a Governor, and Tristram Ellis, a professional artist trained in Paris, revealed their personal view of the island at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Captured by the pictorial beauty of the sites, they worked according to the canon of their time or artistic education.

Altogether, the author presents Cyprus as a 'cultural mosaic', showing its particular position as a bridge between East and West, or West and East. Beautifully illustrated, informative and well-documented with detailed research, the book fulfils a long overdue task in the field of Cypriot visual history.

*Rose Marie Gnausch*

**Archive**

**Arşiv**

## The National Archive at Girne: Editor's Introduction

The *Journal of Cyprus Studies* is happy to present the first section of the published holdings at the National Archive at Girne. There is a substantial second and third section of miscellaneous holdings (in Turkish), but this is not, as yet, in a publishable format. They will appear in a later issue of the *Journal of Cyprus Studies*. What is presented in this volume, therefore, is a working list, as opposed to a finished bibliography of references relating to Cyprus.

1958	The White House	1958	1958	1958	1958
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Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayınlayan Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
Abbassi	Ali El	Eng.	Travels of Ali Bey	London	Longmans	1816
Adams	T.W.	Eng.	Akel: The Communist Party of Cyprus	U.S.A.		1971
Alastos	Doros	Eng.	Cyprus: Past and Future	London	H. Clarke & Co Ltd	
Alastos	Doros	Eng.	Venezelos	London	Percy Lund Humphires	1942
Alatos	Doros	Eng.	Cyprus Guerilla	London	The Windmill Press	1960
Alexandrakis	Alexandros	Eng / Fr / Ger / Gre	The War We Fought			1968
Allen	Eric Allen	Eng.	How Many Miles to Cyprus	London	Methuen & Co ltd	1955
Andreades	A.	Fre.	La Grece Devant Le Congres De La Paix	Paris		1919
Aquino	Francis	Eng.	World Food Program And The Cyprus Turkish Community	Nicosia	Turkish Agricultural Engineers	1971
Arcipelago	Dell	Ita.	Legeo Redivivo			1688
Arnold	Percy	Eng.	Cyprus Challenge	London	The Hogarth Press	1956
Arrianus	Flavius	Eng.	The Life of Alexander the Great	London	The Folio Society	1970
Arthur	George	Eng.	The Letters of Lord & Lady Wolseley	London	William Heinman	1922
Atkinson	B.F.C.	Eng.	The Greek Language	London	Faber & Faber Ltd	
Auge	Claude	Fre.	Nouveau Petit Larousse	Paris	Librairie Larousse	1928
Bacon	Francis	Eng.	Essays. Moral, Economical, And Political	London	John Sharpe	1822
Bagnall	P.S.	Eng.	The Geology and Mineral Resources of the Pano-Lefkara-Larnaca area	Cyprus	Geological survey department	1960
Baker	Samuel	Eng.	Cyprus As I Saw It In 1879	London	Macmillan	1879

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Bannermann	David A.	Eng.	Birds Of Cyprus	London	Oliver & Boyd	1958
Bardswell	Noel Dean	Eng.	Tuberculosis In Cyprus	London	Adlard	1937
Barker	Dudley	Eng.	Grivas: Portrait of a Terrorist	London	The Cresset Press	1959
Barozzi	Aloisius	Eng.	Coins and Medals of the Ionian Islands	Amsterdam	B. R. Grüner	1968
Baynes	Norman	Eng.	Byzantium	London	Oxford Univ. Press	1949
Bear	L.M.	Eng.	The mineral resources	Cyprus	Geological survey department	1963
Bear	L.M.	Eng.	The Geology And Mineral Resources Of The Akaki- Lythrodondha Area	Cyprus	The Government Of Cyprus	1960
Bear	L.M.	Eng.	The Geology and Mineral Resources of the Agros- Akrotiri Area	Cyprus	Geological survey department	1960
Beattie	William	Eng.	The Danube, Its History, Scenery, and Topography.	London	George Virtue	
Bilge	T.	Eng.	This Was Cyprus	Ankara	Ayyıldız Matbaası	1976
Binark	İsmet	Tur.	Arşiv ve Arşivcilik Bibliyografyası	Ankara	Başbakanlık Basımevi	1979
Birgen	Latif	Eng.	After Makarios	Nicosia		1976
Boyd	Eric Forbes	Eng.	Aegean Quest	New York	W.W. Norton & Co Ltd	1970
Brassey		Eng.	Sunshine Storm In The East	London	Longmans	1880
Brich	R.A	Eng.	The Modern Florist	London	Hazell Watson And Viney	
Brown	Margaret	Eng.	Preservation Supply Catalogue		Library Congress	1995
Bruyn	Corneille le	Eng.	A Voyage To The Levant Or Travels To The Principal Parts Of Asia Minor, The Island Of Scio, Rhodes and Cyprus	London	St Paul's Church Yard	1702

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Bucknill	Strachey	Eng.	The Imperial Ottoman Penal Code	1913	Oxford Univ. Press	1913
Burgess	Thomas	Eng.	Greeks In America	Boston	Sherman, French & Company	1913
Burrows	R.P.	Eng.	The 1958 Geranium year book		Peterborough Central Printers Ltd.	
Butterworth	G.W	Eng.	Clement Of Alexandria	London	William Heinman	1919
Byron		Eng.	The Works Of Lord Byron I	London	John Murray	1823
Byron		Eng.	The Works Of Lord Byron II	London	John Murray	1823
Byron		Eng.	The Works Of Lord Byron III	London	John Murray	1832
Caimi	Giulio	Fre.	La Comedie Grecque Dans L'ame Du Theatre D'Ombres	Athens	Hellinikes Technes	1935
Camm	F.J	Eng.	How-To-Make-It-Book	London	George Newnes	1961
Carne	John	Eng.	Travels In The East	London	Henry Colburn	1830
Carnegie	Dale	Eng.	Public Speaking And Influencing Men In Business	Great Britain	Windmill Press	1950
Casson	Stanley	Eng.	Ancient Cyprus	London	Methuen & Co	1937
Castle	Wilfrid T.F	Eng.	Cyprus Postal History And Postage Stamps	London	Robson Lowe Ltd	1971
Celarie	Henriette	Fre.	Iles De Lumiere	Paris	Jacques Haumont	1933
Cesnola	Louis Di	Eng.	Cyprus: It's Ancient Cities, Tombs And Temples.	London	John Murray	1877
Chacalli	George	Eng.	Cyprus Under British Rule	Nicosia	Phoni Tis Kyprou	1902
Chapman	Esther F.	Eng.	The Cyprus Eucalyptus 1953	Nicosia	Government Printing Office	1954
Chapman	Esther F.	Eng.	Cyprus Trees and Shrubs	Nicosia	Government Printing Office	1949
Chateaubriand	Par	Fre.	Le Genie Du Christianisme	Paris	Librairie De L. Hachette	1868
Chenier	Andre	Fre.	Idylles	Paris	Payoy & Co.	

Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayımlayan Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
Choisis	Morceaux	Fre.	Moeurs des insectes	Paris	Libraire Ch. Delegrave	
Christodoulou	D.	Eng.	Cyprus Certificate Geographies	London	Longmans	1954
Chyprite	Marinos	Fre.	La Tragedie	Athens		1964
Çiftçioğlu	A.M	Eng.	Declaration	Nicosia	State Printing Office	
Cobham	C. Devalal	Eng.	The Sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta with a Sketch of the Earlier History of Cyprus	London		1899
Cobham	C. Devalal	Eng.	The Churches And Saints Of Cyprus	London		1910
Cobham	C. Devalal	Eng.	A Journey To Cyprus	Nicosia		1910
Cobham	C. Devalal	Eng.	Excerpta Cypria	Larnaca		1896 1902
Cobham	C. Devalal	Eng.	Excerpta Cypria	Nicosia	Herbert E. Clark	1895
Cobham	C. Devalal	Eng.	Excerpta Cypria Materials For A History Of Cyprus	New York	Kraus Reprint	1969
Cobham	C. Devalal	Eng.	Laws & Regulations affecting Waqf Property.	Nicosia	Government Printing Office	1899
Cocceii	Henr. De	Lat.	Grotii De Jure Belliac Pacis	Lausanne	Marci-Michaelis Bousquet	1758
Cook	E.T	Eng.	Gardening Made Easy	London	Country Life	1931
Corneille	P.	Fre.	Choix Des Tragedies	Londres		1824
Cottrell	Leonard	Eng.	The Bull Of Minos	London	Pan	1956
Courouniotis	C.	Fre.	Le Musee D'Olympie	Athens	Imprimerie C. Vlasto	1909
Crossland	R.A	Eng.	Bronze Age Migrations In The Aegean	London	Duckworth	1974
Crviso	Martini	Ita.	Tvrcograeciae Libri Octo	Basile	Sebastini Henricpetri	1584



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Dapper	M.D	Fre.	Description Exacte des Isles De L'Archipel	Amsterdam	George Gallet	1703
Daskalakis	Apostolos	Eng.	Cyprus	Athens	The National University Of Athens	1954
D'auboeuf	Rene D'Aubert De Vertot	Fre.	Histoire De Malte	Paris		1726
Davidson	M.	Eng.	An Easy Outline Of Astronomy	London	Watts	1946
Delaporte	Rene	Fre.	L'ile De Chypre	Paris	Emile Larose	1913
Delehaye	H.	Fre.	Saints De Chypre	Bruxelles	Imprimerie Joseph Polleunis	1907
Demetriou	Louis	Eng.	The Comedy of Manners	Cyprus		1969
Dendias	Michel	Eng.	The Cypriote Question	Athens	Pyrros	1937
Dendias	Michel	Fre.	La Question Cypriote	Paris	Libraire R. Sirey	1934
Denktaş	Rauf R.	Eng.	A Short Discourse On Cyprus			
Denktaş	Rauf R.	Eng.	The Cyprus Problem	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1964
Denktaş	Rauf R.	Eng.	An Appeal for Cyprus	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1976
Department of Antiquities		Eng.	Acts Of The International Archaeological Symposium "The Mycenaeans In The Eastern Mediterranean	Nicosia	Zavallis	1973
Dept. Of Lands & Survey		Eng.	Kornoa Village Map		Crown Copyright	1916
Dickens	Charles	Eng.	Christmas Stories	Leipzig	Bernhard Taucchnitz	1862
Dicksee	Lawrence	Eng.	Office Organisation And Management	London	Isaac Pitman	1906
Dikaios	P.	Eng.	A Guide To The Cyprus Museum	Nicosia	Nicolaou & Sons	1961
Dixon	W.H.	Eng.	British Cyprus	London	Chapmann & Hall	1879

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Dodu	Gaston	Fre.	Histoire Des Institutions Monarchiques	Paris	Libairie Hachette	1894
Donne	Major	Eng.	Records Of The Cultural Centre Ottoman Conquest Of Cyprus and Cyprus Guide And Directory	Limassol	Laiki Group	2000 1885
D' Orleans	Le Duc	Fre.	Voyage Du Sieur Paul Lucas	Amsterdam	Steenwouher	1720
D' Orleans	Le Duc	Fre.	Voyage Du Sieur Paul Lucas Fait Par Ordre Du Roi	Amsterdam	Steenwouher	1714
Dreghorn	William	Eng.	North Cyprus Bays And Beaches	Cyprus	Cyprus Times	1984
Drummond	Alexander	Eng.	Travels Through Different Cities Of Germany, Italy, Greece And Several Parts Of Asia	London	W. Strahan	1754
Duckworth	H.T.F	Eng.	The Church Of Cyprus	London	Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge	1900
Durell	Clement V.	Eng.	A First Geometry	London	G.Bell and Sons, Ltd	1954
Dürer	Albrecht	Eng.	Paintings, Drawings And Prints	London	The Folio Society	1969
Dzelepy	E.N.	Fre.	Le Complot de Chypre			1965
Emilianides	Achille	Fre.	Histoire de Chypre	Paris	Presses Universitaires de France	1962
Enlart	Camille	Fre.	Manuel D' Archologie	Paris	Auguste Picard	1927
Ertekün	M.Necati	Eng.	Comments On The Working Paper Prepared And Presented By Mr. Loukis G. Loucaides To The U.N Seminar	Nicosia	State Printing Office	1979
Ertekün	M. Necati	Eng.	Inter-Communal Talks and The Cyprus Problem	Nicosia		1977

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Esin	Emel	Eng.	Aspects Of Turkish Civilisation In Cyprus	Ankara	Aspects Of Turkish Civilisation In Cyprus	1965
Evangelides	Socrates	Eng.	A Short Essay on the History of Cyprus	Nicosia	Theopress Ltd	1973
Fairfield	Edward	Eng.	The Colonial Office List	London	Harrison	1883 1892 1903
Farnell	L. Richard	Eng.	The Cults Of The Greek States	Oxford	Clarendon Press	1907
Farochon	P.A	Fre.	Chypre Et Lepante	Paris	Librarie De Firmin Didot	
Fisher	Stanley	Eng.	Ottoman Land Laws Containing The Ottoman Land Code	London	Oxford University Press	1919
Fitzgerald	Edward	Eng.	The Rubaiyat Of Omar Khayyam	London	Collins	
Foley	Charles	Eng.	The Memoirs Of General Grivas	London	Longmans	1964
Foscolo	Ugo	Ita.	Ultime Lettere Di Jacopo Ortis	Paris	Baudry	1837
Frazer	Sir James George	Eng.	Folk-lore in the Old Testament	London	Macmillan Co Ltd.	1918
Fyler	Colonel	Eng.	The Development of Cyprus	London	Percy Lund, Humphries & Co Ltd	
Garner	Frank H.	Eng.	The Cattle of Britain	London	Longmans, Green, and Co.	1945
Gatteschi	Dr. D	Eng.	Real Property Mortgage And Wakf	London	Wyman	1884
Gaudry	Albert	Fre.	Recherches Scientifiques En Orient	Paris	Imprimerie Nationale	
Gell	William	Eng.	Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, And Ornaments Of Pompeii	London	Rodwell and Martin	1817 1819
Genç	Alper Faik	Eng.	Cyprus From My Diary	Lefkoşa		

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Gennadius	Joannes	Eng.	Hellenism In England	London	Faith Press	1915
Gibbons	Harry Scott	Eng.	The Genocide Files	London	Charles Bravos	1997
Giguet	Par P.	Fre.	D' Homere	Paris	Librairie De L. Hachette	1863
Gordon	H.Cameron	Eng.	Love's Island	Nicosia	WJ Archer	1925
Gore	J.C	Eng.	List Of Buildings Belonging To Government			1902
Government		Eng.	Cyprus Telecommunications Authority 1965	Nicosia	Proodos	1966
Government of Cyprus		Eng.	Cyprus: Land And Water Use	Rome		1971
Graf	A.B	Eng.	Exotica	U.S.A	Roehrs Company	1963
Gratiani	A. Maria	Fre.	Histoire De La Chypre	Paris	Andre Pralard	1685
Graviere	Jurien De La	Fre.	La Guerre De Chypre Et La Bataille de Lepante	Paris	Librairie Plon	1888
Green	A.O	Eng.	Cyprus. A Short Account Of Its History And Present State	Scotland	Graham Coltart	1914
Greenwood	C.George	Eng.	The Tree- Lifter	London	Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans	1844
Gulliver	Lemuel	Eng.	The Life And Hard Times Of Goha Ibn Insha Allah Al Masri	Lebanon	Khayat's College	
Gunn	Edwin	Eng.	Farm Buildings	London	Crosby Lockwood & Son Ltd	1945
Gyalistras	Serge	Eng.	Hellas and Cyprus	Athens		1955
Hachisuka	Masauji	Eng.	The Dodo And The Kindred Birds	London	H. F. & Witherby Ltd	1953
Hadjioannou	Kyriacos	Eng.	From Alasia To Famagusta : A Historical Survey	Famagusta		1972
Hadjioannou	Kyriacos	Eng.	Orbis	Louvain		1970

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Hadjoannou	Kyriacos	Eng.	The Cataclysmos Feast In Cyprus And Their Origin	Famagusta		1960
Hadjoannou	Kyriacos	Eng.	On The Identification Of The Horned God Of Engomi-Alasia	Paris		1971
Hadjoannou	Kyriacos	Eng.	The Cataclysmos Feast In Cyprus and Their Origin	Paris		1960
Haggard	H. Rider	Eng.	A Winter Pilgrimage	London	Longmans, Green, and Co.	1901
Halsham	John	Eng.	Every Man His Own Gardener	London	Hodder and Stoughton	1904
Hamburger	S. Alge	Ger.	Leitfaden für den ersten Unterricht im Deutschen	St. Gallen	Fehr'sche Buchhadlung	1938
Hamson	Denys	Eng.	We Feel Among Greeks	London	Jonathan Cape	1946
Harbottle	Michael	Eng.	The Impartial Soldier	London	Oxford University Press	1970
Hardy	Jack	Eng.	Flower Production For Market	London	Crosby Lockwood & son, Ltd.	1950
Harlove	Clarisse	Fre.	Lettres Angloises Ou Histoire (Tome Neuvieme)	Paris	Libraries Associes	1766
Harlove	Clarisse	Fre.	Lettres Angloises Ou Histoire (Tome Premier)	Paris	Libraries Associes	1766
Hawkes	Jacquetta	Eng.	Dawn Of The Gods	London	Sphere books limited	1968
Heinze	Christian	Eng.	The Administrative Act	Cyprus	Ernest Forsthoff	1963
Hill	George	Eng.	A History Of Cyprus	London	Cambridge University Press	1948
Hilmi	Ömer	Eng.	A Treatise On The Laws Of Evqaf	Nicosia	Government Printing Office	1899
Hitti	Philip K.	Eng.	History Of Syria	London	Macmillan Co Ltd.	1951
Hoek	T.	Eng.	Eggs And Poultry in Cookery	South Africa	Government printing office	1942
Hollis	Leonard	Eng.	The Rose Annual	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1964

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Hollis	Leonard	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1965	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1965
Hollis	Leonard	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1966	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1966
Hollis	Leonard	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1967	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1967
Hollis	Leonard	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1968	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1968
Hollis	Leonard	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1969	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1969
Holmboe	Jens	Eng.	Studies On The Vegetation Of Cyprus	Bergen	Bergens Museums Skrifter	1914
Hoole	Carolus	Gre/Ita.	Testamentum	London	Herringman	1674
Houssai	Amelot De La	Fre.	Histoire Du Government De Venise	Amsterdam	Pierre Mortier	1695
Houssai	Amelot De La	Fre.	Histoire Du Government De Venise	Amsterdam	Pierre Mortier	1695
Hubatsch	Walther	Ger.	Der Deutsche Orden und die Reichslehnschaft über Cypren	Göttingen	Hubert & Co	1955
Hubbard	C.E.	Eng.	Grasses	Middlesex	Penguin Books Ltd.	1954
Hügel	Charles	Eng.	Travels In Kashmir And The Punjab	London	John Petheram	1844
Hutchinson	John	Eng.	More Common Wild Flowers	England	Penguin Books	1948
Hutchinson	Sir J. T.	Eng.	A Handbook of Cyprus	London	Waterlow and Sons Limited	1903
Hutchinson	Sir J. T.	Eng.	A Handbook Of Cyprus	London	Edward Stanford	1907
Hutchinson	John	Eng.	Uncommon Wild Flowers	England	Penguin Books Limited	1950
Hutchinson	Sir J.T.	Eng.	A Handbook of Cyprus	London	Edward Stanford	1905
ICA Secretariat		Eng.	International Council On Archives Bulletin No: 43	France	ICA	1995

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Ioannides	Alexander	Eng.	Cyprus Postal Stationery	USA	Comet Press	1993
Iorga	Nicholas	Fre.	France de Chypre	Paris	L'institut Noe Hellenique	1931
Ishaq	Ibn	Eng.	The Life Of Muhammad	London	The Folio Society	1964
Issaverdenz	James	Eng.	Armenia And The Armenians I	Venice	St. Lazarus	1878
Issaverdenz	James	Eng.	Armenia And The Armenians II	Venice	St. Lazarus	1875
James	G.P	Eng.	The Life And Times Of Louis The Fourteenth	London	Richard Bentley	1839
Jauna	Dominique	Fre.	Histoire Generale Des Roaumes De Chypre, De Jerusalem, D'Armenie Et D'Egypte	Aleide	Les Freres Murray	1785
Jeffery	George	Eng.	A Description Of The Monuments Of Cyprus	Cyprus Archer	William James	1918
Jeffrey	Geo.	Eng.	Cyprus Under Richard I	London	Zeno	1973
Jenness	Diamond	Eng.	The Economy of Cyprus	Canada	McGill University Press	1962
Jervis	Henry	Eng.	History of The Island of Corfu, and of the Republic of The Ionian Islands	London	Colburn And Co	1852
Johnston	George	Eng.	The Cyprian Woman	London	Collins	1955
Jones	W. Byford	Eng.	Grivas And The Story Of Eoka	London	Robert Hale Ltd.	1959
Joyner	A. Batson	Eng.	Cyprus: Historical And Descriptive.	London	W.H Allen	1878
Kammerer	Albert	Fre.	A Chypre L'ile D'aphrodite	Paris	Librairie Hachette	1925
Kamozawa	Iowa	Eng.	Population Mobility In The Mediterranean World	Tokyo	Mediterranean Studies Research Group	1982

Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayımlayan Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
Karegeorghis	Vassos	Eng.	Corpvvs Vasorvm Antiqvorvm	Nicosia	Department of Antiquities	1965
Keller	Will	Ger.	Merian Zypern	Hamburg	Goethe Institut	
Keller	Werner	Ger.	Und Die bibel Hat Doch Recht	Germany	Rororo	1964
Kergorlay	Jean De	Fre.	Soirs D'epoepe En Chypre En Rhodes	Paris	Librairie Plon	1913
Kergorlay	Jean De	Fre.	Cypre Et Rhodes	Paris	Librairie Plon	1913
Kergorlay	Jean De	Fre.	Chypre Et Rhodes	Paris	Librairie Plon	1913
Keshishian	K. Kevork	Eng.	Cyprus Chamber Of Commerce and Industry	Limassol	D. Couvas & Sons Ltd.	1967 1969 1970
Keshishian	Kevrok K.	Eng.	Romantic Cyprus	Nicosia	Mark & Moody	1960
Koullis	L.K.	Eng.	Greek Education in Cyprus	Cyprus	The Education Office Greek Communal Chamber	1964
Koumoulides	John T.A.	Eng.	Cyprus and the War of Greek Independence 1821-1829	Athens	Professor of History Birkbeck College	1971
Küçük	Dr Fazıl	Eng.	The Cyprus Question A Permanent Solution	Nicosia	Halkın Sesi	1957
Lacroix	M. Louis	Fre.	Iles De La Grece	Paris	Librairie De Firmin	1881
Lancum	F. Howard	Eng.	Wild Birds and The Land	London	His Majesty's Stationery Office	1948
Lang	Hamilton	Eng.	Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources, And Future Prospects	London	Macmillan	1878
Lanitis	George	Eng.	Cyprus: Island Of Aphrodite	Nicosia	Phaedros	1967
Laran	Jean	Fre.	L'Estampe	France	Univesitaires de France	
Latham	Ronald	Eng.	The Travels of Marco Polo	London	The Folio Society	1968
Latrie	L.De Mas	Fre.	L'ile de Chypre	Paris	Libraire de firmin-didot	1879
Latrie	L.De Mas	Fre.	L'ile de Chypre	Paris	Libraire de firmin-didot	1879



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Latrie	De Mas	Fre.	De L'île De Chypre	Paris	Societe de Geographic	1847
Latrie	de Mas	Fre.	A L'Histoire De L'île De Chypre	Paris	Imprimerie Nationale	1882
Latrie	de Mas	Fre.	L'île De Chypre	Paris	Imprimerie Nationale	1884
Latrie	De Mas	Fre.	De L'Empoisonnemnt Politique Dans La Republique De Venise	Paris	Imprimerie Nationale	1893
Latrie	De Mas	Fre.	Tresor De Chronologie	Paris	Librairie Victor Palme	1889
Lavender	David	Eng.	The Story of Cyprus Mines Corporation	California	The Huntingon Library	1962
Lawrence	D.H	Eng.	The Man Who Died	London	William Heinemann	1935
Lawrence	D.H	Eng.	The Man Who Died	London	Martin Secker	1931
Lear	Edward	Eng.	A Book Of Nonsense	London	J.M Dent	1940
Lee	Michael & Hanka	Eng.	Cyprus	London	David & Charles	1973
Lee	Laurie	Eng.	We Made A Film In Cyprus	London	Longmans	1947
Lennane	Sue	Eng.	A Cyprus Cook's Calender	Limasol	The Chartered Bank	1969
Lerodiakonou	Leonitos	Eng.	The Cyprus Question	Stockholm	Almqvist & Wiksell	1971
Leroy	Jean	Fre.	La Tragedie Cypriote	Paris	Questions Diplomatiques	1958
Lewis	E.A	Eng.	The Templars In Cyprus	London	George Bell	1886
Lewis	John	Eng.	Printed Ephemera	London	Faber & Faber	1962
Lewis		Eng.	A Lady's Impression of Cyprus In 1893	London	Remington & Company	1894
Lindgren	Ernest	Eng.	The Art of The Film	London	George Allen and Unwin Limited	1948
Linnaeus	Charles	Eng.	Voyages and Travels	London	Printers to the Royal Society	1766
Locke	John	Eng.	An Essay Concerning Human Understanding	London	T.W. A. Churchill	

Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayıncı Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
Luke	Sir Harry	Eng.	Cyprus under the Turks	London	C. Hurst & Company	1969
Machaut	Guillaume De	Fre.	La Prise D'Alexandrie	Osnabrück	Otto Zeller	1968
Macheras	Leonce	Fre.	Chronique De Chypre	Paris	Ernest Leroux	1882
Macnish	Robert	Eng.	The Philosophy of Sleep	London	W.R. M'Phun	1830
Mahr	August	Eng.	The Cyprus Passion Cycle	Indiana	J.H. Furst	1947
Maier	Franz Georg	Eng.	Cyprus	London	Elek Books	1968
Malenis	Leo	Eng.	Cyprus Highlights. Short Stories, Poems, Essays, Drama, art.	Nicosia	C.A. Antoniadis	1962
Mallock	W.H	Eng.	In An Enchanted Island	London	Richard Bentley	1889
Mariti	Abbe	Eng.	Travels Through Cyprus, Syria, And Palestine: With A General History Of The Levant	Dublin		1792
Mariti	L'Abbe	Fre.	Voyages Dans L'islem De Chypre	Paris	Chez Belin	1791
Marmier	M. X	Fre.	Theatre De Goethe	Paris	Charpentier	1839
Marshall	Filed	Eng.	The Good Soldier	London	Macmillan Co Ltd.	1948
Maslatrie	M. Louis De	Fre.	Chronologie Historique Des Conciles Generaux	Paris	P-H. Krabbe, Libraire-Editeur	1836
Maurer	Georg L.	Ger.	Das Griechische Volk	Heidelberg	Akademischen Buchhandlung	1835
Mayes	Stanley	Eng.	Cyprus And Makarios	London	Putnam	1960
Megaw	Elektra	Eng.	Wild Flowers Of Cyprus	London	Phillimore	1973
Mercer	F.A	Eng.	Gardens And Gardening 1950	London	The Studio	1950
Mercer	F.A	Eng.	Gardens And Gardening 1951	London	The Studio	1951
Mercer	F.A	Eng.	Gardens And Gardening 1953 (Hardy Plants)	London	The Studio	1952

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Mercer	F.A	Eng.	Gardens And Gardening (Labour - saving planning & planting)	London	The Studio	1954
Mercer	F.A	Eng.	Gardens And Gardening (Rock, Wall & Water)	London	The Studio	1953
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 1	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1816
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 2	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1816
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 3	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1816
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 4	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1816
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 5	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1816
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 7	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1817
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 8	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1817
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 6	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1817
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 10	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1817
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 11	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1818
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 12	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1818
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 13	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1818
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 14	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1819
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 15	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1819
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 16	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1819
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 17	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	

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Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 18	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1820
Metastasio	Pietro	Ita.	Opere Di Pietro Metastasio Tomo 19	Mantova	Co' Tipi Dell' Erede	1820
Meursi	Joannis	Lat.	Creta,Cyprus, Rhodus	Amstelodami	Abrahamum Wolfgangum	1675
Michaelides	Vassilis	Eng.	Poems Of Cyprus	Nicosia	Government	1970
Michaud	Par M.	Fre.	Histoire Des Croisades	Paris	A-J Ducollet	1838
Miles	William	Eng.	The Horse's Foot, And How To Keep It Sound	London	Longmans	1846
Miller	William	Eng.	Greece	London	Ernest Benn	1928
Millon	Charles	Fre.	Politique D'Aristote	Paris	Chez Artaud	1803
Millon	Charles	Fre.	Politique D'Aristote Tome Deuxieme	Paris	Chez Artaud	1803
Millon	Charles	Fre.	Politique D'Aristote Tome Premier	Paris	Chez Artaud	1803
Ministry Of Foreign Affairs		Eng.	List Of The Members Of The Diplomatic Corps In Cyprus	Nicosia	Republic of Cyprus	1963
Ministry Of Tourism		Eng.	Genocide In 1974	Ankara	Türk Tarih Kurumu	1974
Mitford	T.B	Eng.	Notes On Some Published Inscriptions From Roman Cyprus	Athens	British School	
Mogabgab Theophilus	A.H	Eng.	Supplementary Excerpts On Cyprus	Nicosia	The Pusey Press	1941
Montesquie		Fre.	Le Voyage A Paphos	Paris	Librairie Des Bibliophiles	1879
Monti	Vincenzo	Ita.	Opere Vol 1	Italia		1721
Monti	Vincenzo	Ita.	Opere Vol 2	Italia		1721
Monti	Vincenzo	Ita.	Opere Vol 4	Italia		1721
Monti	Vincenzo	Ita.	Opere Vol 5	Italia		1827
Monti	Vincenzo	Ita.	Opere Vol 6	Italia		1827
Monti	Vincenzo	Ita.	Opere Vol 7	Italia		1828

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Monti	Vincenzo	Ita.	Opere Vol 8	Italia		1828
Moore	T.A.	Eng.	The Geology and Mineral Resources of the Astromerits-Korkmakiti area	Cyprus	Geological Survey Department	1960
Moore	Thomas	Eng.	Odes Upon Cash, Corn, Catholics, etc	Paris	A.& W. Galignani	1829
Morris	James	Eng.	The World Of Venice	U.S.A	Pantheon	1960
Morton	J.B	Eng.	Blitz	London	Oxford University Press	1942
Mowle	A.C.	Eng.	The New Turkish	Cyprus	Government Printing Office	1930
Müller	Max	Eng.	Lectures On The Science Of Language	London	Longman	1868 1866
Murray	Hugh	Eng.	History Of British India	London	T. Nelson	1853
Nalson	F.	Eng.	The Trial of Charles The Fifth, The King Of England	London		1790
Natras	R.M	Eng.	A First List Of Cyprus Fungi	Nicosia	Government	1937
Neale	F.A	Eng.	Eighth Years In Syria, Palestine, And Asia Minor	London	Colburn	1851
Nedjati	Zaim M.	Eng.	Cyprus Administrative Law	Nicosia	Halkın Sesi	1970
Nedjatigil	Zaim M.	Eng.	Setting The Record Straight On Cyprus	Nicosia	Public Information Office	
Nedjatigil	Zaim M.	Eng.	Cyprus: Constitutional Proposals And Developments	Nicosia	State Printing Office	1977
Nejati	Zaim M.	Eng.	A Study Of The Turkish Federated State Of Cyprus	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1976
Nesfield	J.C	Eng.	English Grammar Past & Present	London	Macmillan Co Ltd.	1922
Newman	Philip	Eng.	A Short History Of Cyprus	London	Longmans	1940

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Newman	Polson	Eng.	The Mediterranean And Its Problems	London	A. M. Philpot	1927
Newton	Brian	Eng.	Cypriot Greek: Its Phonology and Inflections	Paris	Mouton	1972
Nicolaides	Demetrius	Fre.	Legislation Ottomane	Istanbul	Thraky	1874
Nicolaides	Demetrius	Fre.	Code Civil Ottoman	Istanbul	Thraky	1881
Nissley	C.H	Eng.	Vegetable Gardening	U.S.A	Penguin	1943
Oberhummer	Eugen	Ger.	Die Insel Cypem	München	Theodor Ackerman	1903
Oberhummer	Eugen	Ger.	Die Insel Cypem	München	Theodor Ackermann	1903
Oberling	Pierre	Eng.	The Road To Bellapais	New York	Columbia University Press	1982
Öksüzöğlü	Oktay	Eng.	Persecution Of Islam In Cyprus	Nicosia	Yarn Ltd	
Ömer	Dr. Besim	Osm.	Nevsal-ı Afiyet	Istanbul	Alem Matbaası	1316
Ongley	F.	Eng.	The Ottoman Land Code	London		
Örek	Osman	Eng.	History Speaks	Nicosia	Turkish Communal Chamber	1964 1971
Örek	Osman	Eng.	Injustices In The	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1973
			Application Of UNDP In Cyprus			
Örek	Osman	Eng.	The Cyprus Conflict. The Western Peace System Is Put To The Test	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1977
Örek	Osman	Eng.	Cyprus: Makarios On Enosis	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1974
Örek	Osman	Eng.	A Legal Expose On The Main Points Of The Land Consolidation Bill	Nicosia	Turkish Office Information	1967
Örek	Osman	Eng.	Cyprus: The Paradox Of Enosis	Nicosia	Public Information Office	
Ormes	A. Trudon Des	Fre.	Liste De L'ordre Du Temple	Paris	Ernest Leroux	1900

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Ott	C.W	Eng.	List Of Properties Belonging To Government	Nicosia	Government Printing Office	1913
Ostrogorsky	George	Eng.	History Of The Byzantine State	Oxford	Basil Blackwell	1968
Özoran	Beria Remzi	Eng.	Turkish Newspapers And Magazines Published In Cyprus 1888-1915	Ankara	Ayyıldız Matbaası	1969
Özoran	Beria Remzi	Eng.	Background Of Cyprus Question	Ankara	Ayyıldız Matbaası	1969
Pallis	A.A	Eng.	Guerrilla Warfare and Eoka's Struggle	London	Longmans, Green and Co Ltd	1964
Papadakis	B.P	Frg.	Chypre	Athens	Imprimerie J. L. Alevropoulos	1958
Papadopoulos	Theodore	Eng.	Social And Historical Data On Population	Nicosia	Zavallis	1965
Papadopoulos	Andrestinos	Eng.	Cyprus A Case Study	Nicosia		1969
Pardoe		Eng.	The Beauties Of the Bosphorus	London	George Virtue	
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1954	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1954
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1955	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1955
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1956	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1956
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1957	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1957
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1958	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1958
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1959	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1959
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1960	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1960
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1961	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1961
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1962	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1962

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Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose Annual 1963	Croydon	The Croydon Advertiser	1963
Park	Bertram	Eng.	The Rose	London		1953
Parris	Terry	Eng.	Cyprus In Colour	Nicosia	K. Rüstem	1957
Parry	William	Eng.	The Last Days Of Lord Byron	London	Knight & Lacey	1825
Partridge	Burgo	Eng.	A History Of Orgies	New York	Crown	1960
Patronage	Sous Le	Fre.	Archives De Orient Latin I & II	Paris	Ernest Leroux	1881
Perilla	F.	Fre.	1821 Fragments De La Vie Heroique De Makryjannis	Athens		1949
Peto	Gladys	Eng.	Malta And Cyprus	London	J.M Dent	1926
Piat	Theophile	Osm/ Fre.	Code De Commerce Ottoman	Beyrouth		1876
Pieri	M. Trivoli	Ita.	Flora Corcirensis	Corcira	Typis	1824
Piggott	F.T	Eng.	The Garden Of Japan	London	George Allen	1892
Planing Bureau		Eng.	United Nations Aid To Cyprus	Nicosia	State Printing Office	1970
Playfair	William	Eng.	British Family Antiquity	London	Thomas Reynolds	1809
Politis	Jacques N.	Fre.	Chypre	Paris	Libraire Arteme Fayard	1959
Pop	Server	Fre.	Instituts de Phonettique et Archives Phonographiques	Louvain	Commision D'Enquete Linguistique	1956
Pope	Alexander	Eng.	The Work Of Alexander Pope	London		1766
Pridmore	F.	Eng.	The Coins Of The British Commonwealth of Nations	London	Spink & Son	1960
Rampal	G. Clerc	Fre.	La Mer	Paris	Librairie Larousse	
Rangabe	Eugene Rizo	Fre.	Livre D'or De La Noblesse Ionienne	Athenes	P.G. Macris	1926
Ranson	Florence	Eng.	British Herbs	London	Penguin	1949



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Raynaud	Gaston	Fre.	Gestes Des Chiprois	Geneve	Imprimerie Jules	1887
Reinach	Salomon	Fre.	Orpheus	Paris	Librairie D'Education Nationale	1930
Renault	Mary	Eng.	The Last Of The Wine	London	Longmans	1956
Renault	Mary	Eng.	The King Must Die	London	Longmans	1970
Renault	Mary	Eng.	The Mask Of Apollo	London	Longmans	1966
Rhallys	G.I	Eng.	Cyprus That Hellenic Island	Athens	Information Department	1954
Richards	Denis	Eng.	An Illustrated History Of Modern Europe 1789-1945	London	Longman	1957
Richars	Paul	Eng.	Mosses	London	Penguin	1950
Richmond	Herbert	Eng.	War At Sea	London	Oxford University Press	1942
Richter	Otto Friedr	Ger.	Ballfahrten Im Morgenlande	Berlin		1822
Robinson	M.S	Eng.	The Macpherson Collection	London	Halton & Company Limited	1950
Rochchetta	D. Aquilante	Ita.	Peregrinatione Di Terra Santa			1630
Rohlfs	Gerhard	Ger.	Italogriechische Sprichwörter	München	Akademie Der wissenschaften	1971
Roper	Michael	Tur.	Koruma Ve Konservasyon Servisinin Planlaması, Teçhizatlandırılması Ve Personel İstihdamı	Ankara	Başbakanlık Basımevi	1994
Rotary International	Eng.		Seven Paths To Peace	Zurich	Rotary International	1959
Sacher	Harry	Eng.	Israel. The Establishment Of A State	London	George Weidenfeld	1952
Salih	H. İbrahim	Eng.	Cyprus: An Analysis Of Cypriot Political Discord	New York	Theo Gaus	1968

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Schaeffer	Claude F.A.	Eng.	Alasia: Its Great Periods and Its Disappearance	Famagusta		1966
Schellenberg	T.R	Tur.	Ariv İdaresi	Ankara	Cumhuriyet Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı	1993
Seferis	Yorgos	Ita.	Premio Nobel De Litaratura 1963	Caracas		1964
Shakespeare	William	Eng.	Othello	Great Britain	The Folio Society	1955
Shawcross	Walter	Eng.	Elementary Precic Writing	Caracas		1964
Smith	J. Riley	Eng.	The Knights Of St. John In Jerusalem And Cyprus 1050-1310	London	Macmillan Co Ltd.	1967
Smith	William	Eng.	Herbs To Ease Bronchitis	Great Britain	Thorsons	1973
Smith	Frank	Eng.	Principles of Class Teaching	London	Macmillan Co Ltd.	1949
Smith	Agnes	Eng.	Through Cyprus	London	Hurst & Blackett	1887
Sparow	Gerald	Eng.	A Holiday To Remember	Turkey		
Speke	J. Hanning	Eng.	Journal Of The Discovery Of The Source Of The Nile	London	William Blackwood	1863
Spry	Constance	Eng.	Winter & Spring Flowers	London	J.M Dent	1951
Stalker	E	Eng.	The Select Works Of Jonathan Swift	London	Hector McLean	1823
Stanhope	C. Leicester	Eng.	Greece In 1823 and 1824	London	Sherwood	1824
Stegenga	James A.	Eng.	The United Nations Force in Cyprus	Ohio	Ohio State University	1968
Stembridge	Jasper H.	Eng.	The Oxford War Atlas	London	Oxford University Press	1943
Stevenson	Scott	Eng.	Our Home In Cyprus	London	Chapman & Hall	1880
Storrs	Ronald	Eng.	The Handbook Of Cyprus	London	Christophers	1930

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Stout	George	Eng.	The Care Of Pictures	New York	Columbia University Press	1950
Stylianou	Demetrios	Eng.	The Inner Life Of Cyprus	Nicosia	Apollo	1931
Stylianou	J.	Eng.	By This Conquer	Nicosia	Zavallis	1971
Sultan	Yosri	Eng.	The Emerging Cyprus		Middle East Publications	
Tait	Hugh	Eng.	Porcelain	England	The Hamlyn Publishing Group	1972
Thiebault	Diudonne	Fre.	Frederic-Le-Grand	Paris	Adolphe Bossange	1826
Thomas	H.H	Eng.	Round The Year In The Garden	London	Cassell Company	1926
Thomas	H.H	Eng.	Rose Growing For Amateurs	London	Cassell	1927
Thomson	John	Eng.	Through Cyprus With The Camera In The Autumn Of 1878	London	Sampson Low, Marston, Searle Ana Rivington	1879
Thorp	Willard L.	Eng.	Cyprus Suggestions For A Development Programme	New York	United Nations	1961
Thurston	Hazel	Eng.	The Traveller's Guide to Cyprus	London	Jonathan Cape	1967
Town	Laurance	Eng.	Bookbinding	London	Faber & Faber Ltd	1959
Trusted	Harry	Eng.	The Statue Laws Of Cyprus	London	C. F. Rowrth	1950
Tubbs	Gordon	Eng.	The Book Of The Jersey	London	W.E Baxter	
Unger	F.	Ger.	Die Insel Cypem	Wien	Wilhelm Bramüller	1865
Unwin	A.H	Eng.	Goat-Grazing And Forestry In Cyprus	London	Crosby Lockwood	
Vanezis	P.N	Eng.	Makarios Faith And Power	London	Abelard Schuman	1971
Velde	H. Van De	Eng.	Ideal Marriage	London	William Heinmann	1951
Vilmorin		Fre.	Calendrier Des Semis Et Plantations	Paris	Megisserie	
Vlachos	Helen	Eng.	Free Greek Voices	London	Doric Publications	1971

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Vrachas	Frixos P.	Eng.	Cyprus Today	Lefkoşa	Pedagogical Academy	1965
Weir	W.	Eng.	Education in Cyprus	Cyprus	American Academy	1952
Walker	John	Eng.	Scrap & Newscutting Book	London	John Walker	
Wallace	Carlton	Eng.	The Gardener's Pocket Book	London	Evans Brothers	1953
Watkins	Dwight	Eng.	Effective Speech 1	London	Morrison & Gibb	
Watkins	Dwight	Eng.	Effective Speech 2	London		
Watkins	Dwight	Eng.	Effective Speech 3	London		
Watkins	Dwight	Eng.	Effective Speech 4	London		
Watkins	Dwight	Eng.	Effective Speech 5	London		
Watkins	Dwight	Eng.	Effective Speech 6	London		
West	Gordon	Eng.	A History Of Smoking	London	Tobacco	1953
Widson	Reno	Eng.	Portrait Of Cyprus		Deppo Holland	
Wilde	Oscar	Eng.	The Plays Of Oscar Wilde	Glasgow	Wm. Collins	1935
Williams	Ronald	Eng.	Letter To Cyprus	London	Richmond Hill	
Williams	Lieut Col.	Eng.	England's Battles By Sea and Land	London	The London Printing And Publishing Company	
Wilson	R.A.M.	Eng.	The Geology Of The Xeros- Troodos Area With An Account Of The Mineral Resources	Cyprus	The Government Of Cyprus	1959
Wisdom	T.H	Eng.	Wings Over Olympus	London	George Allen	1942
Wood	Alfred C.	Eng.	A History Of The Levant Company	London	Frank Cass	1964
Wooley	John	Eng.	Planning Farm Buildings	London	McGraw-Hill	1953

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Xanthos	Lyssiotis	Eng.	Fragments	Cyprus	Proodos	1973
Xenos	Stefanos	Eng.	East And West	London	Patersnoster Row	1865
Yorick		Eng.	A Sentimental Journey Through France And Italy	London	T. Becket	1776
Young	Desmond	Eng.	Rommel	London	Collins	1950
Zekia	M.	Eng.	Cyprus Law Reports	London	Messrs	1957
		Lat. / Gre.	Platonis de republica sive de justo dialogus sextus			
		Eng.	A Journal of the Terror	London	The Folio Society	1955
		Eng.	George The Third, his court, and family	London	Printed for Henry Colburn and Co	1820
		Ger.	Martinengo Famagusta 1571			
		Eng.	The Greek Heritage of Cyprus		Published by the Publications Department	1963
		Ger.	Cyperm die Insel der aphrodite			
		Fre. / Gre.	Chypre Hellenique	Athenes		1932
		Eng.	First National Food and nutrition seminar and training course	Cyprus		1971
		Fre.	Roumanie Bulgarie Turquie	Paris	Tous Droits Reserves	1933
		Eng.	The Dodecanese	Paris	A. Page & Co	
		Eng.	The Dodecanese and The British Press	London	A. Page & Co	
		Fre. Eng.	Constitutions Des Treize Etats-Units De L'Amerique Blackie's Compact Dictionary	Paris	D. Pierres	1783

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		Eng.	The Conference On The Problems Of Economic Development (United Arab Republic)	Cairo	Government Printing Office	1962
		Eng.	To Cyprus For Peace	Ankara	Turkish Historical Society Press	
		Eng.	Cyprus Diary	Nicosia	Stavrinides	1967
		Eng.	First Bird Report, 1970	Nicosia	Cyprus Ornithological Society	1970
		Eng.	Second Bird Report, 1971	Nicosia	Cyprus Ornithological Society	1971
		Eng.	The Greek Heritage of Cyprus	Nicosia	Greek Communal Chamber	1963
		Fre.	Oeuvres De Sully Prudhomme	Paris	Alphonse Lemerre	
		Fre.	Oeuvres De François Coppee	Paris	Alphonse Lemerre	
		Eng.	The Clearing Up Of Certain Misrepresentations	Nicosia	Information Department	1969
		Eng.	Cyprus Report 1879, 1881, 1882	Cyprus		1879
		Eng.	Sensational Disclosures By A Priest	Nicosia	Public Information Office	
		Eng.	Looking Back An Official Briefing	Nicosia	Turkish Communal Chamber	1963
		Eng.	Inter- Communal Strife In Cyprus	Nicosia	Cyprus Is Turkish Party	1958
		Eng.	Basic Facts About The Turkish Federated State Of Cyprus	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1979
		Eng.	With Compliments From Cyprus		Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Committee	1983

Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayımlayan Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
		Eng.	A Chronology Of Cyprus Problem 1878-1978		State Printing Office	1978 1980
		Eng.	Cyprus		Cyprus Tourist Development	
		Eng.	The Tragedy Of Zyyi	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1977
		Eng.	Turks Say No To Enosis			
		Eng.	Cyprus: Where Race-Politics Alone Determine Human Values	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1973
		Eng.	Facts About Cyprus	Nicosia	Chr. Nicolaou & Sons	1955
		Eng.	Cyprus: Why? Why?	Ankara	Turkish Cultural Association	1964
		Eng.	Greek Atrocities In Cyprus	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1975
		Eng.	Human Rights In Cyprus	Nicosia	Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Committee	1979
		Eng.	World Survey: Cyprus	London	Atlantic Education Trust	1973
		Eng.	A Glance At The Turkish Art In Cyprus			
		Eng.	Cyprus	England	HMSO Press	1973
		Eng.	The Question Of Cyprus	Nicosia	Turkish Information Office	
		Eng.	The Turkish Case 70:30	Nicosia	Halkın Sesi	1963
		Eng.	Cyprus: A Time To Look At Facts With Courage	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1976
		Eng.	The Cyprus Problem. A Brief Review	Nicosia	Turkish Information Office	1970

Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayımlayan Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
		Eng.	Consecration Of The Belief In Human Rights	Ankara	Başarı	1979
		Eng.	Cyprus. The Problem In Perspective	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1968
		Eng.	Turkish Atrocities	Nicosia	Free Labour Centre	
		Eng.	Double Measure Of Facilities In Cyprus	Nicosia	Turkish Information Office	1970
		Eng.	Turkish Cypriot Community Struggling For Existence	Nicosia	Turkish Communal Chamber	
		Eng.	Turkish Youth's Call To Makarios: Makarios! Makarios!	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1976
		Eng.	The Tragedy Of Turkish Hostages In Cyprus South	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1975
		Eng.	Appeal For Peace and Justice	Nicosia	Public Information Office	
		Eng.	Cyprus Question And Greek Extermination Plans	Nicosia	Public Information Office	1977
		Fre.	Description Sommaire Des Principaux Monuments	Caire	Imprimerie nationale	1956
		Eng.	The New Testament	Oxford	Oxford University Press	1882
		Eng.	The Oxford Dictionary Of Quotations	London	Oxford University Press	1968
		Eng.	Numismatic Circular	London	Spink & Son	1970
		Eng.	U.K Mayor's Visit To Famagusta	Famagusta	Municipal Corporation of Famagusta	1972
		Eng.	European Economic Community Commission			1967



Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayınlayan Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
		Eng. Eng. / Gre.	Turkey Improvement Board of Pallouritissa	Ankara	Türk Press	1957
		Eng.	The Art Journal Vol XI	London	George Virtue	1849
		Eng.	The Art Journal Vol XII	London	George Virtue	1850
		Eng.	The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue	London	George Virtue	1851
		Eng.	The Art Journal Vol IV	London	George Virtue	1852
		Eng.	The Art Journal Vol III	London	George Virtue	1852
		Eng. / Fre.	Treaty of Peace Between The Allied And Associated Powers And Germany And Protocol Signed At Versailles, June 28, 1919.			1919
		Eng.	Report Of The Department Of Antiquities Cyprus 1937-1939	Nicosia	Government Printing Office	1951
		Eng.	Bergedorf Round Table On Question Of free Industrial Society.	Hamburg		1963
		Eng.	The All Cyprus Law Reports	Nicosia	Authority	1969
		Eng.	A Guide To Garden Work			
		Ita.	Regno Di Negroponte			
		Eng.	Ahlul-Bait	Iran	Al-Balagh Foundation	1992
		Eng.	Mr. Punch's History Of The Great War	London	Cassell And Company	1919

Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayınlayan Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
		Eng.	The Book Of Common Prayer	London	John Baskett	1713
		Eng.	Post-Mortem Talks With Public Men	Manchester	The Two World	1934
		Eng.	The Life Of Ali Pacha	London	Lupton Relfe	1823
		Fre.	Memorial De Sainte-Hellene	Paris	Libraires De France	1823
		Tur.	Namık Kemal'in Kıbrıs Mektubu			
		Ger.	Neuerwerbungen Vorder Orient	Germany	Universitätsbiblio- thek Tübingen Orientabteilung	1991
		Eng.	International Council On Archives XII Meeting of the General Assembly	Paris	ICA Secretariat	1992
		Eng.	Cyprus Question and Greek Extermination Plans	Cyprus	The Public Information Office	1977
		Tur.	Musiki Mecmuası	Türkiye	İleri Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı	1956
		Eng./ Ger.	Cyprus/Zypern	München		1955
		Eng.	Golden Sands. Project Of Tourist Development	Cyprus	Societe Centrale Pour L'Equipement Du Territoire	1963
		Tur.	Arşivcilik Bibliyografyası	Ankara	T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü	1995
		Tur.	Bosna-Hersek Bibliyografyası	Ankara	Başbakanlık Basımevi	1995
		Tur.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı arşivi Katalogları Rehberi	Ankara	Başbakanlık Basımevi	1995
		Eng./ Fre.	Archival Legislation 1981-1994	Paris	ICA	1995
		Eng.	Turkish Views On The Question Of Cyprus	Ankara		1964

Yazar Soyadı Surname/Author	Yazar Adı First Name	Dil Language	Eser Adı Name of Book	Yayın Yeri Place of Publication	Yayımlayan Printing Press	Yayın Tarihi Year
		Eng.	An Appeal for Cyprus	Nicosia	The Public Information Office	1976
		Eng.	Ahepan			
		Eng.	Punch Album	London		1877
			1827 yılına ait kara kalem çalışması			
		Eng.	The Field Book	London	Effingham Wilson	

# THE 12TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON CYPRUS STUDIES

14-17 April 2008

The Center for Cyprus Studies, Eastern Mediterranean University, is pleased to announce that the 12th International Congress on Cyprus Studies will be held in Famagusta, North Cyprus, on 14-17 April 2008. The Congress will be held in English and Turkish. The Congress will be held in the Faculty of Education, Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta.

The Congress will be held in all areas involved in Cyprus studies in general and specifically in Cyprus studies, history, culture, economy, tourism, anthropology, geography, linguistics, literature, education, politics, sports and the arts. The overall aim of the Congress is to organize a discussion platform for the analysis, development, exchange and transfer of ideas on Cyprus related matters.

Presentations will be given both in English and Turkish. The Congress will be held in English and Turkish. The Congress will be held in English and Turkish. The Congress will be held in English and Turkish. The Congress will be held in English and Turkish.

- \* participation to all sessions
- \* congress documents, bag, badge, certificate of attendance (definitely right)
- \* welcome and closing receptions
- \* lunch, refreshments, beverages and local specialties
- \* participation to exhibitions, concerts and sightseeing arrangements

For further information, registration forms and payment procedures please contact:  
 E-mail: [congress@emu.edu.tr](mailto:congress@emu.edu.tr) or [info@cyprus.edu.tr](mailto:info@cyprus.edu.tr)  
 Phone: +90 392 630 1412 or +90 392 630 1333  
 Fax: +90 392 362 2023  
 Web page: <http://www.emu.edu.tr/congress>

Eastern Mediterranean University  
 Center for Cyprus Studies  
 Famagusta - North Cyprus  
 via Mersin 10, Turkey

# Announcements

## Duyuru

**THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON CYPRUS STUDIES  
14-15 April, 2005**

The Center for Cyprus Studies, Eastern Mediterranean University, is pleased to announce that the Fifth International Congress on Cyprus Studies will be held on Thursday 14 and Friday 15, 2005 at the Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta.

The congress is directed at all those involved in the Cyprus issues in general, specifically in Cypriot history, law, politics, economy, tourism, archeology, geography, language, literature, education, art, folklore, sports, and the like.

The overall aim of the Congress is to open up a discussion platform for the analysis, development, exchange and critique of ideas on Cyprus-related matters.

Presentations will be done both in English and Turkish.

Registration Fee: 60 Euro

The registration fee will cover

- participation to all sessions
- congress documents, bag, badge, certificate of attendance, brochures, maps, program
- welcome and closing receptions
- lunches, tea/coffee/cookie services on 14-15 April 2005.
- participation to exhibitions, concerts, and sightseeing tours.

For further information, registration forms and payment procedure please contact

necdet.osam@emu.edu.tr or nihal.sakarya@emu.edu.tr

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Fax: +90 392 365 2027

Web page: <http://www.emu.edu.tr/daukam>

Eastern Mediteranean University  
Center for Cyprus Studies  
Famagusta – North Cyprus  
via Mersin 10, Turkey

**V. ULUSLARARASI KIBRIS ARAŞTIRMALARI KONGRESİ**  
**14-15 Nisan 2005**

Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi (DAÜ-KAM) tarafından düzenlenen Uluslararası Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Kongresi' nin (UKAK) beşincisi, 14-15 Nisan 2005 tarihleri arasında Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi'nde gerçekleştirilecektir.

Kongre'de genel olarak Kıbrıs, özel olarak Kuzey Kıbrıs'ın tarihi, arkeolojisi, coğrafyası, dili, edebiyatı, eğitimi, sanatı, doğası, folkloru, hukuku, siyaseti, ekonomisi, maliyesi, turizmi, sporu ile Kıbrıs'a ilişkin diğer konularda bildiriler, poster sunuları ve yuvarlak masa toplantısı yer alacaktır. Sunular Türkçe ya da İngilizce yapılacaktır.

Katılım ücreti 60 Euro olup:

- Kongre'deki tüm sunulara katılımı
- Kongre program kitapçığı; katılım sertifikası; broşür, harita vb. dokümanı
- Kongre'deki açılış/kapanış kokteyllerini
- 14-15 Nisan 2005 günlerindeki öğle yemeklerini, tüm servis ve ikramları
- Sergi, konser, gezi vb. etkinliklere katılımı kapsayacaktır.

Daha fazla bilgi için:

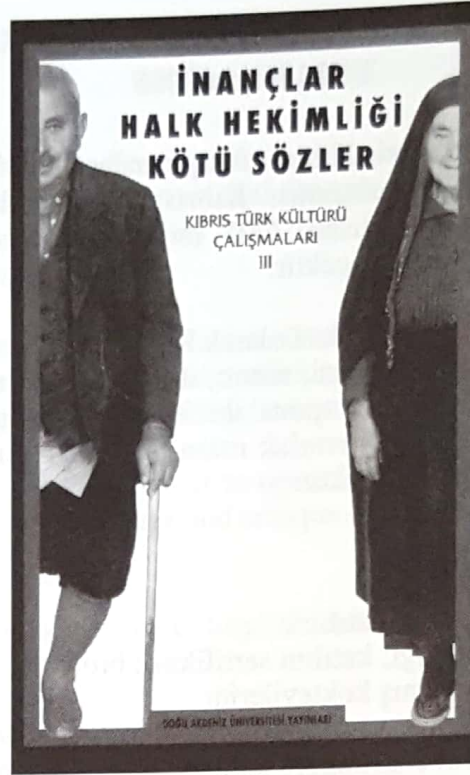
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Web: <http://www.emu.edu.tr/daukam>

İletişim Adresi: Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi,  
Gazimağusa, KKTC



## **İnançlar, Halk Hekimliği, Kötü Sözler** **Kıbrıs Türk Halk Kültürü Çalışmaları III**

### **Yayın Kurulu:**

Fedora ARNAUT, Ramazan KORKMAZ, Rıdvan ÖZTÜRK,  
Sabahattin ÇAĞIN

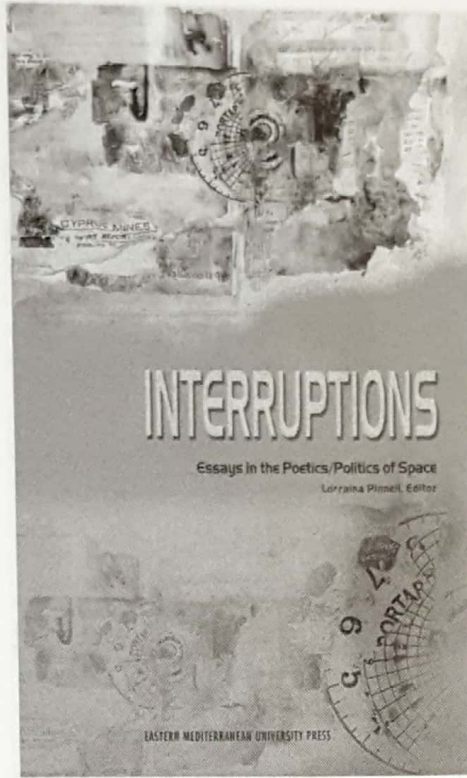
İnançlar, Halk Hekimliği, Kötü Sözler adlı kitapta, Kıbrıs Türk kültürünü yansıtan çeşitli yazılar bir araya getirilmiştir.

Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesinde yapılan III.Kıbrıs Türk Halk Kültürü Kollokyumu'nda sunulan bildirilerden yola çıkarak metinleştirilmiş olan bu yazılar, Kıbrıs Türk kültürüyle ilgili çeşitli saptamaları ve yorumları içermektedir. Bu bağlamda; Kıbrıs Türk kültüründeki şaman izleri, efsaneler, dualar, beddualar, tuz, nazar 'göz değmesi', gaipten gelen sesler vb. konulardaki çeşitli inanışlar, rüyalar, küfürler, ve kötü sözler, halk hekimliği ve halk meteorolojisi ile ilgili çeşitli konular yer almaktadır.

2002 · ISBN 975-8401-09-02 · 254 sayfa · 9,000,000 TL

**DOĞU AKDENİZ ÜNİVERSİTESİ YAYINLARI**

emupress@emu.edu.tr



## **Interruptions: Essays in the Poetics / Politics of Space**

Lorraina Pinnell, Editor

This anthology of essays illustrates the growing and necessary interest in the spatial imagination and its interactions and conflicts within a wide range of disciplines. Panoramic on scope, interdisciplinary in substance, *Interruptions* argues for a powerful and radical rethinking of the dialectics of space and time in such diverse fields as politics, classical and contemporary literature, modern drama, history, film, popular culture, architecture.

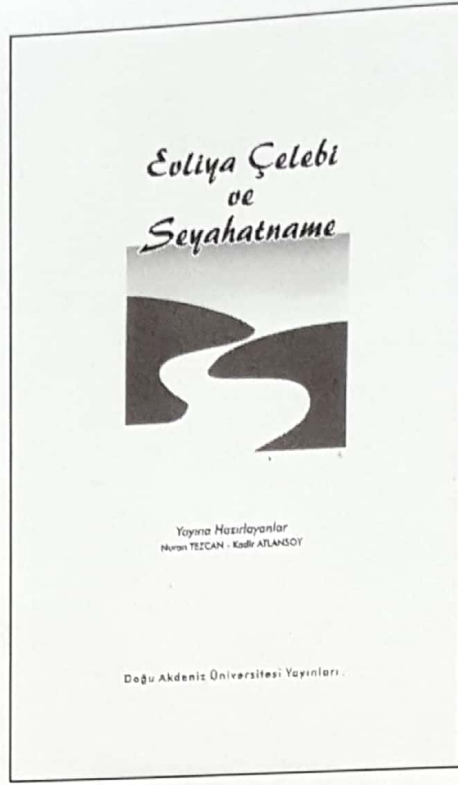
*Interruptions* charts both the dynamic impact of the spatial imagination in current thinking, as well as the dubious consequences of its exclusion. Each essay offers a unique perspective around a central theme, that is, the reassertion of a critical spatial perspective in contemporary theory and analyses. Ultimately, *Interruptions* offers a more critically revealing view of the spatial imagination and interdisciplinary thought.

2003 · ISBN 975-8401-14-9 · 145 pages · 10,000,000 TL (\$7)

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## Evliya Çelebi ve Seyahatname

Yayına Hazırlayanlar: Nuran Tezcan – Kadir Atlansoy

Evliya Çelebi ve Seyahatname, Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesinin düzenlemiş olduğu Uluslararası Evliya Çelebi Sempozyumunda sunulan bildirileri içermektedir. 17. yüzyıl yazarlarından olan Evliya Çelebi ve onun dev eseri Seyahatname, kitapta alanlararası bir yaklaşımla değerlendirilmiştir. Yazılar dil, edebiyat ve tarih konularını kapsamaktadır.

"Kendi türünün mükemmel örneği. Bir başyapıt."

**Dünya**

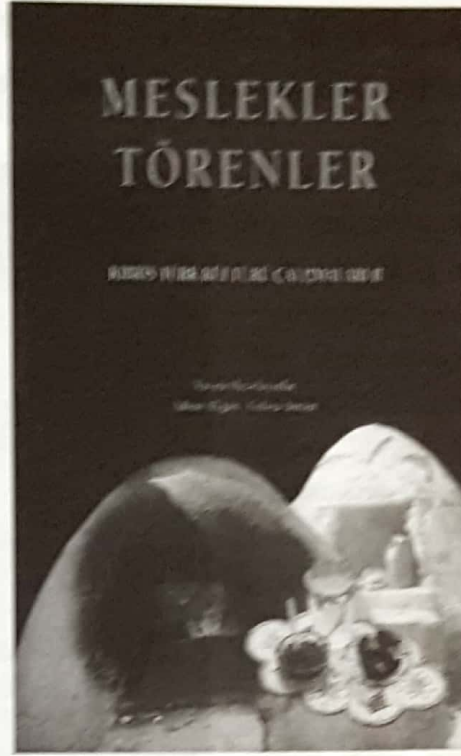
"Kitap, Evliya Çelebi ve Seyahatname'si hakkındaki çalışmalara, özellikle dil ve edebiyat yönünden, yeni bir soluk getirecek özelliktedir."

**Toplumsal Tarih**

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## Meslekler, Törenler

### Kıbrıs Türk Kültürü Çalışmaları II

Yayına Hazırlayanlar:

Adnan AKGÜN - Fedora ARNAUT

Meslekler Törenler, Kıbrıs Türk kültürünü yansıtan çeşitli yazıları içermektedir. Kitap Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesinde gerçekleştirilen II. Kıbrıs Türk Halk Kültürü Kollokyumunda sunulan bildirilerden oluşmaktadır. Metinlerde fırın, ekmek, zeytinyağı yapımı gibi meslekler; sünnet, kına yakma, cenaze törenleri gibi konularla ilgili farklı saptama ve yorumlar yer almaktadır.

2003 · ISBN 975-8401-08-4 · 103 sayfa · 7,000,000 TL.

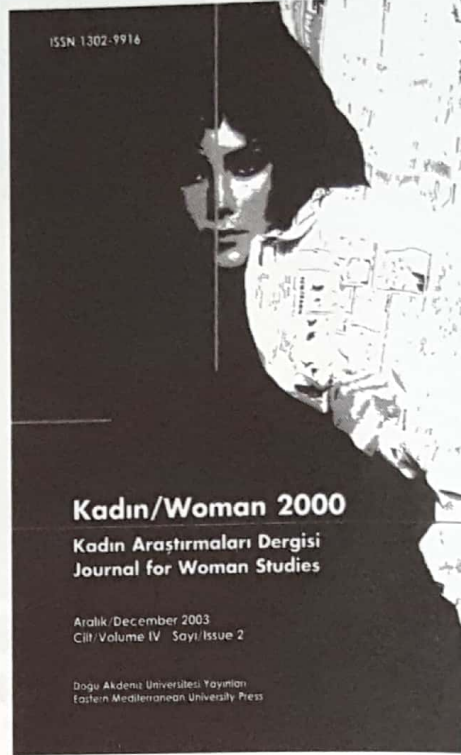
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## KADIN/WOMAN 2000

### Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi/Journal for Woman Studies

*KADIN/WOMAN 2000 - Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi/Journal for Woman Studies* is a publication of Eastern Mediterranean University - Centre for Woman Studies. It is published biannually and is a multi-disciplinary, refereed and bilingual journal (both Turkish and English) dedicated to the scholarly study of all aspects of women's issues. The articles published are primarily on topics concerning women's rights, the socio-cultural aspects and position of women in society as well as particular legal issues. Articles are accepted from all disciplines such as literature, sociology, psychology, anthropology, law, political science, economics, medicine, cultural history as well as book reviews on recent publications and news and reports on important scientific events.



KADIN/WOMAN 2000 - Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi/Journal for Woman Studies is also an electronic journal. The texts can be approached from the General Academic ASAP International, Contemporary Women's Issues and GenderWatch databases.

**Readership:** Historians, literary critics, art historians and critics, linguists, sociologists, psychologists, economists and politicians, media and communication specialists, members of academic departments of women studies.

**Indexing:** KADIN/WOMAN 2000 is indexed in *GenderWatch*, *Contemporary Women's Issues*, *General Academic ASAP International*, *IT One File*, *General Reference Center*, *General Reference Center Gold*, *IT Custom*, *MLA International Bibliography*, *Turkologischer Anzeiger* and *Index Islamicus*.

#### **Editor-in-chief**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Netice Yıldız

*Eastern Mediterranean University – North Cyprus*

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Tel: (+90 392) 630 2238 Fax: (+90 392) 392 365 0918  
e-mail: [woman2000@emu.edu.tr](mailto:woman2000@emu.edu.tr) [http://emu.edu.tr/kadin\\_woman2000.htm](http://emu.edu.tr/kadin_woman2000.htm)

**Recent Issues**

**Cilt / Volume III Sayı / Issue 1 Haziran/June 2002**

**CONTENTS / İÇİNDEKİLER****Articles**

A Portrait: Mevhibe Şefik – The First Turkish Cypriot Woman Art Teacher (1923- )/Bir Portre: Mevhibe Şefik - İlk Kıbrıslı Türk Kadın Resim Öğretmeni (1923- )

*Netice Yıldız*

ÇATOM: A Model for Empowering Women in South Eastern Anatolia

*Aygül Fazlıoğlu*

Women's Tombs in Kayseri / Kayseri Kadın Türbeleri

*Yıldıray Özbek*

Eğitim, Gelir ve Yaşanılan Yerin Kadınların Sağlık ve Hastalık Davranışları Üzerindeki Etkileri

*Sevinç (Özen) Güçlü ve Nursen Adak*

Honour, Shame and Sexuality of Women in Modern Turkish Literature: 1960-1980

*Ramazan Gülendem*

**Eser Tanıtımları/ Reviews**

**Cilt / Volume III Sayı / Issue 2 - Aralık/December 2002**

**İÇİNDEKİLER / CONTENTS****Makaleler / Articles**

Social and Emotional Development of Turkish Cypriot Children and Caregiving Style

*Biran Mertan*

Developing Women's Spaces: Evaluation of the Importance of Sex-segregated Spaces for Gender and Development Goals in Southeastern Turkey

*Leila M. Harris & Nurcan Atalan*

Tanzimat Dönemi Türk Romanında Kadın Üzerine bir Değerlendirme.

*Ebru Burcu*

Anadolu Ağızlarında Kadın İçin Kullanılan Sözler Üzerine bir İnceleme.

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Cinsiyet Rolü Kalıpyargıları, Androjenlik ve Diğer Cinsiyet Rolü Yönelimleri

*H. Andaç Demirtaş*

**Eser Tanıtımları/ Reviews**

**Cilt/Volume IV Sayı/Issue 1 Haziran/June 2003**

## **İÇİNDEKİLER / CONTENTS**

### **Makaleler / Articles**

The Role of Turkish Cypriot Women Teachers in the Evolution of Modern Art  
*Netice Yıldız*

Gender and Health Status of Women in Turkey

*Dilek Aslan, Şevkat Özvarış & Çiğdem Esin*

Sons, Daughters and their Mothers: Turkish Women's Perspectives on the Gender of their Children

*Şule Toktaş*

Ramize Erer Karikatürlerinin Toplumsal Cinsiyet Açısından İncelenmesi

*İrem Özgören*

Asur Ticaret Kolonileri Devrinde Kadın

*Yelda Demirağ*

Bir Başka Yoksulluk: Kadın Yoksulluğu Üzerine

*Berrin Balay*

**Eser Tanıtımları/ Reviews**

İÇİNDEKİLER / CONTENTS

**Makaleler / Articles**

A Mark of Modernity: The Role of Turkish Cypriot Women in the Evolution of Modern Art

*Netice Yıldız*

The Students of Sanayi-i Nefise School and the Position of Women in the Turkish Society at the Beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> Century in View of New Documents/ Yeni Veriler Işığında İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Öğrencileri ve Kadının Toplumdaki Yeri

*Sema Öner*

Duyguları Güçlendirme Eğitimi Programının Annelerin Duyguların Farkında Olma ve Duygu Yönetimi Düzeylerine Etkisi

*Seher Balcı*

Community-Based Integrated Approach to Overall Sustainable Women Development of Rural Kenya

*Kefa Rabah*

Representations of Women and Writing in Doris Lessing's

*The Golden Notebook* and Peride Celal's *Üç Kadının Romanı*

*Berkem Gürenci*

Aysel'in Trajedisi ya da Ölmeye Yatmak Romanında

Aydın Kadının Bunalımı

*Ümran Ağca*

**Eser Tanıtımları/ Reviews**

## Notes to Contributors

1. The *Journal of Cyprus Studies* publishes articles in English and in Turkish, and in accordance with the principles expressed in its Editorial Policy. Submission of a manuscript to the *Journal* will be held to imply that the material it contains is original, and has not been published or submitted for publication elsewhere. The ideas, beliefs and opinions expressed in articles published in the *Journal* are the sole responsibility of the author(s), and do not reflect the views, beliefs or policies of the Center for Cyprus Studies or Eastern Mediterranean University. Responsibility for copyright permissions rests with the author(s).

2. The Editor of the *Journal of Cyprus Studies* reserves the right to make editorial changes in any manuscript accepted for publication to enhance clarity or style. The author will be consulted only if the editing has been substantial.

3. Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor in both of the following formats:

- (i) on disk, either in a Microsoft Word 7- or 8- compatible document on a 3½" diskette, or as a Microsoft Word 7 or 8 document e-mail attachment; and
- (ii) as hard copy, in the form of a printout.

4. Manuscripts submitted to the *Journal* will not be returned, regardless of whether or not they are accepted for publication. Authors should be sure to keep a copy for themselves.

5. In the preparation of manuscripts, authors are requested to observe the standards specified below:

- i) Manuscripts should be typed (as described in 3 above) and contain no more than 20-25 double-spaced pages or 8,500 words (including references, endnotes, tables and figures).
- ii) All tables and figures should be numbered consecutively, given a caption, and submitted on separate pages.
- iii) To facilitate the blind review process, the author's name, mailing address, telephone and fax numbers,

and e-mail address should appear only on a cover sheet, not on the title page.

- iv) The *Journal of Cyprus Studies* uses *citation notes*, which are placed in the text immediately following the reference, and *endnotes*, which present supplementary data or ideas. Citation notes are to specify the author's surname, year of publication, and page number(s). They are regularly bound in parentheses, (e.g, Anderson 1998, 54-57). *Endnotes* are designated in the text by a raised arabic numeral. Endnote numbers should be assigned consecutively throughout the manuscript, and be typed double-spaced on a separate sheet of paper. Endnotes may include citation notes.
- v) Authors who are not writing in their native language should have their contribution carefully checked by a native speaker before submission in order to prevent delays at the proof stage.
- vi) Authors should include a brief biographical statement (in sentence form, maximum 100 words) and an abstract of 250 words (both in English and Turkish)
- vii) All submissions to the *Journal* should conform to the requirements of the Chicago Manual of Style (13th ed.).

**Examples:**

(a) *Book Citation:*

Reddaway, J. *The British Connection with Cyprus Since Independence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

(b) *Journal Article Citation:*

Hadjiyanni, T. "The Persistence of Refugee Consciousness: The Case of Greek-Cypriot Refugees." *The Cyprus Review* 13 (2001): 93-110.

(c) *Book Article/Chapter Citation:*

Zambouras, S. "Current Greek Attitudes and Policy." In *Cyprus: The Need for New Perspectives*, edited by H. Dodd, 114-127. Cambridgeshire: The Eothen Press, 1999.

- 6. The *Journal of Cyprus Studies* invites evaluative reviews of books on the island of Cyprus. Reviews should provide a



descriptive and evaluative summary and a brief discussion of the significance of the work in the context of current Cyprus studies. Submissions should not exceed three type-written pages. References in book reviews should be fully documented.

7. Any information on activities, research projects, conferences and congresses of interest to scholars and researchers in the field of Cyprus studies is welcomed.

8. Deadlines are 15 November for the spring issue and 15 May for the fall issue.

## Yazı göndermek isteyen yazarların dikkatine

1. *Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 'Derginin Amacı' bölümünde belirtilen ilkeler doğrultusunda Türkçe ve İngilizce makaleler yayınlar. *Dergiye* gönderilen bir yazının içeriğinin özgün olduğu ve önceden yayınlanmamış veya yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergiye gönderilmemiş olduğu varsayılır. *Dergide* yayınlanan makalelerde ifade edilen inanç, görüş ve fikirler tamamen yazar veya yazarlara ait olup, Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi'nin veya Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi'nin görüşlerini ve genel politikasını yansıtmaz. Telif haklarının elde edilmesi yazar veya yazarların sorumluluğundadır.

2. *Dergi* editörü, basım için kabul edilmiş yazılar üzerinde dil ve format açısından değişiklikler yapma hakkına sahiptir. Büyük çaptaki düzeltmelerde yazarın onayına başvurulur.

3. Yazılar editöre,

- (i) disk üzerinde, ya Microsoft Word 7 veya 8'e uyumlu 3½ diskete yazılmış, ya da Microsoft 7 veya 8 e-posta bağlantılı yazılmış; ve
- (ii) bilgisayar çıktısı eklenmiş olarak gönderilmelidir.

4. *Dergiye* gönderilmiş yazılar, yayımlansın ya da yayımlanmasın, yazara iade edilmez.

5. Gönderilen yazılar aşağıda belirtilen format ile ilgili ölçütlere uygun olmalıdır:

- i) Madde 3'de belirtilen şekilde teslim edilecek yazılar 20-25 sayfadan, ya da 8, 500 sözcükten fazla olmamalıdır. Kaynakça, notlar, tablolar ve şekiller ayrı sayfalarda ve çift aralık bırakılarak gösterilmelidir.
- ii) Tüm şekiller ve tablolar sıralı olarak numaralandırılmalı ve her birine başlık konulmalıdır.
- iii) Tüm yazılar, ilgili alanlardaki hakemler tarafından yazarın kimliği saklı tutularak değerlendirilecektir. Bu nedenle yazarın adı, posta adresi, telefon ve faks numaraları, e-posta adresi, yazıdan bağımsız olarak ayrı bir sayfada gönderilmelidir.
- iv) Kaynakça ve alıntılarla ilgili bilgiler aşağıda belir-

tilen biçimde verilmelidir:

Metin içinde verilecek alıntılarda, yazarın soyadı, basım yılı ve sayfa numaraları parantez içinde belirtilmelidir (örn: Anderson 1998, 54-57). Metin sonuna eklenecek notlar numaralandırılmalı, bu numaralar metin içinde de belirtilmelidir. Notlar, ayrı bir sayfada ve çift aralık bırakılarak gösterilmelidir.

- v) Kendi anadilinden başka bir dilde yazan yazarların, yazılarını *Dergi*'ye göndermeden önce, o dili konuşanlara kontrol ettirmeleri, değerlendirme sürecine hız kazandıracaktır.
- vi) Yazarlar, 100 sözcüğü aşmayacak bir paragraf içinde özgeçmişlerini ve 250 sözcükten oluşan İngilizce ve Türkçe özetleri de yazılarına ek olarak göndermelidir.
- vii) Gönderilen yazılar aşağıda belirtilen formata (Chicago Manual of Style, 13th ed.) uygun olarak yazılmış olmalıdır.

(a) *Kitap alıntıları*

Yazarın soyadı, adının ilk harfi; kitabın başlığı (italik ya da altı çizilmiş); yayınlandığı şehir, basımevi (veya kurum/kuruluş); yayın tarihi

Örn: Reddaway, J. *The British Connection with Cyprus Since Independence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

(b) *Makale alıntıları*

Yazarın soyadı, adının ilk harfi; makale başlığı (tırnak işaretleri içinde); dergi adı (italik veya altı çizilmiş); cilt, sayı numarası; yayın tarihi; makalenin ilk ve son sayfa numaraları

Örn: Hadjiyanni, T. "The Persistence of Refugee Consciousness: The Case of Greek-Cypriot Refugees." *The Cyprus Review* 13 (2001): 93-110.

(c) *Kitap içinden bölüm alıntıları*

Yazarın soyadı, adının ilk harfi; bölümün başlığı (tırnak işaretleri içinde); kitabın adı, yazarı/yayına hazırlayanı; bölümün ilk ve son sayfa numaraları; yayınlandığı şehir, basımevi; yayın tarihi

Örn: Zambouras, S. "Current Greek Attitudes and Policy." In *Cyprus: The Need for New Perspectives*, edited by H. Dodd, 114-127. Cambridgeshire: The Eothen Press, 1999.

6. *Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Kıbrıs hakkında yazılmış kitapları tanıtan ve 3 sayfayı aşmayan yazıları da yayımlar. Kitap tanıtım yazılarında kullanılacak alıntılar da, yukarıda belirtilen formata uygun olmalıdır.

7. Kıbrıs konusunda düzenlenen herhangi bir etkinlik, araştırma projesi, kongre ve konferans duyuruları ve bilgileri de *Dergi*'ye gönderilebilir.

8. Yazıların editöre son ulaşma tarihi, ilkbahar sayısı için 15 Kasım, sonbahar sayısı için 15 Mayıs'tır.

## *Contents / İçindekiler*

Michael J.K. Walsh

Editor's Note

### *Articles / Makaleler*

- |   |     |   |
|---|-----|---|
| Tamás Kiss                                | 1   | Turkish Cypriot Epics about Outlaws, Bandits and Murderers  |
| Matthias Kappler                          | 62  | A Comparative Look at Greek and Turkish Literature in Ottoman Cyprus between Periphery and Centre   |
| Mehmet Yaşın                              | 76  | Pembe Marmara's Dwelling  |
| Carolina Petry                            | 85  | Famagusta and its Image in Historical Travel Literature: A Town Between Orient and Occident   |
| Mihrican Aylanç                           | 99  | Kıbrıs Türk Romanının Gelişimi  |
| Hakan Karahasan                           | 115 | The Politics of National Identity and the Idea of 'Home' in Taner Baybars' 'Letter to Homeland' and Mahmoud Darwish's 'A Gentle Rain in a Distant Autumn' and 'Identity Card' |
| Salahî R. Sonyel                          | 129 | Cyprus in the Year 1970: Recently Released Official British Documents   |
| Jan Asmussen                              | 141 | The Cyprus Regiment: Greek and Turkish Cypriots in a Joint Military Force   |
| Ulvi Keser                                | 170 | Kıbrıs'ta Türk Savaş Esirleri: Kesitsel Bir Bakış   |
| <b><i>News/Haber</i></b>                  |     |   |
| Bülent Kızılduman                         | 189 | Güzelyurt Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırma Projesi I. Dönem Ön Çalışmaları  |
| Uwe Müller                                | 200 | A Newly Discovered Bronze Age Site in Cyprus  |
| Özlem Çaykent                             | 204 | Archive Report  |
| <b><i>Local Interest / Yerel İlgi</i></b> |     |   |
| Dilek Latif & Kemal Latif                 | 207 | The Pine of Çınarlı   |

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