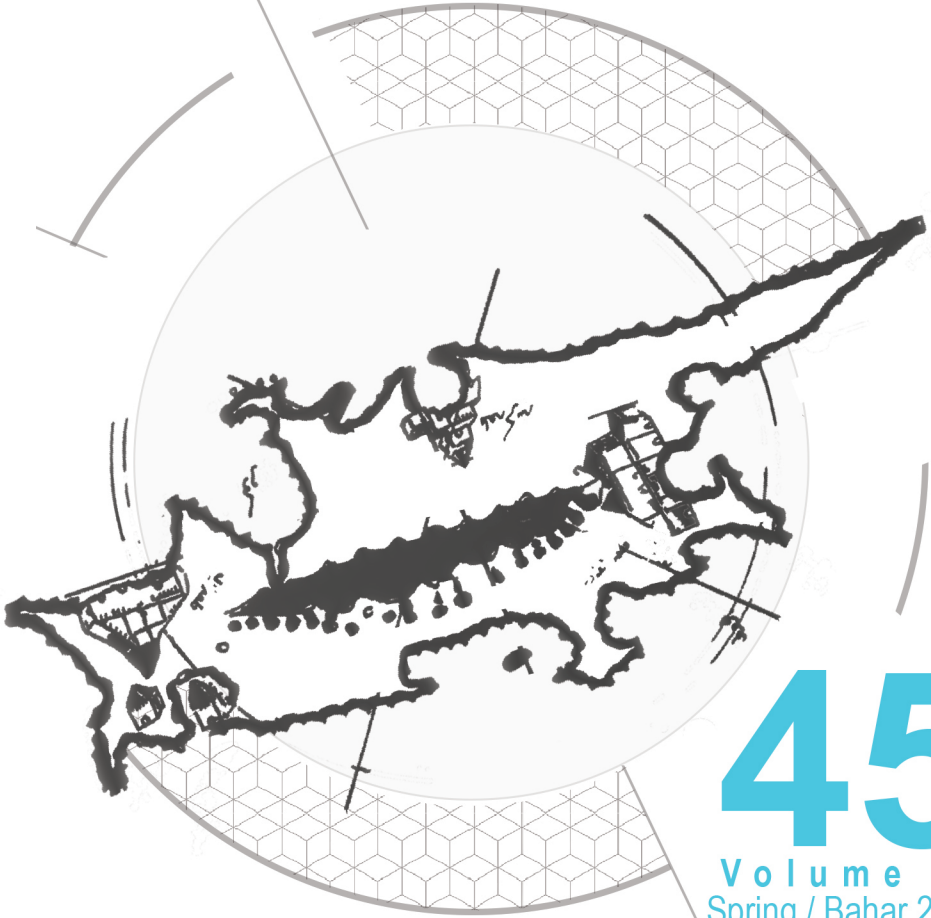


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Correspondence Address

JCS, Journal of Cyprus Studies
Center for Cyprus Studies,
Galileo Galilei Street, Administrative Building, YB 308,
Eastern Mediterranean University,
99628 Famagusta / North Cyprus (Via Mersin 10, Turkey)

E-mail: jcs@emu.edu.tr
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DoĐu Akdeniz Üniversitesi,
99628 GazimaĐusa / Kuzey Kıbrıs (Mersin 10, Türkiye)

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The Journal of Cyprus Studies is a publication of EMU-CCS (Centre for Cyprus Studies) which was launched in 1995. It is a multi-disciplinary, refereed and bilingual journal (both in English and Turkish) published biannually. The Journal of Cyprus Studies is dedicated to the scholarly study of all aspects of Cyprus issues at a global level. It plays an active role in the development of an authoritative archive and bibliography of sources and the provision of a scholarly, academic forum for the analysis, exchange and critique of ideas on social, cultural, historical, environmental, political and legal matters relevant to the past, present or future of Cyprus. Papers submitted for consideration are expected to focus on subject matter specifically related to the island of Cyprus and may include (but are not restricted to) the following areas of interest: art, history, literature, linguistics, music, theater, architecture, archaeology, cultural studies, communication, education, psychology, sociology, geography, folklore, gender studies, politics, international relations, law, business, management, finance, economics, tourism, medicine, environment, engineering as well as book reviews on recent publications, historical sources, abstracts of recent theses on Cyprus and news and reports on important recent scientific events.

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Who Cares About the Cyprus Problem? A Socio-Demographic Analysis for Northern Cyprus

Selim Jürgen Ergun*
Middle East Technical University

Maria Fernanda Rivas**
Middle East Technical University

Abstract

Using survey data of Northern Cyprus provided by two recent waves of Eurobarometer, we analyze whether a list of socio-demographic and economic characteristics and personal and political opinions make it more likely that a person considers the Cyprus problem as one of the most important issues at a personal or community level. While socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, age, or the education level are not determinant factors, people who are more involved in political discussions and who trust political parties are more likely to consider the Cyprus problem as an important issue. The region of residence matters as well. People residing in the Morphou region are significantly more likely to find the Cyprus problem as a key issue. Many of these residents had to migrate from the South of the island after the 1974 events or are descendants of migrants. Their concern about the Cyprus problem most likely stems from the uncertainty they face as a possible federal agreement could imply that they would have to relocate.

Keywords

Cyprus Problem; Northern Cyprus; Public Opinion; Migration

* Assist. Prof. Dr. Selim Jürgen Ergun, Economics Program, Middle East Technical University. Güzelyurt, Northern Cyprus Campus. E-mail: sergun@metu.edu.tr [ORCID ID: 0000-0002-6750-3118]

** Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Fernanda Rivas, Economics Program, Middle East Technical University. Güzelyurt, Northern Cyprus Campus. E-mail: rivas@metu.edu.tr [ORCID ID: 0000-0002-2865-2874]

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Selim Jürgen Ergun

Orta Doęu Teknik Üniversitesi

Maria Fernanda Rivas

Orta Doęu Teknik Üniversitesi

Özet

Bu alıřmada, Eurobarometer'in yakın zamanlı iki dalgası tarafından sunulan Kuzey Kıbrıs anket verisini kullanarak bir takım sosyo-demografik ve ekonomik özelliklerin yanı sıra kişisel ve siyasal kanaatlerin kişilerin Kıbrıs sorununu kişisel veya toplumsal seviyede önemli meselelerden biri olarak deęerlendirmesini daha olası kılan etkenlerden olup olmadığını analiz ediyoruz. Cinsiyet, yař veya eęitim seviyesi gibi sosyo-demografik özellikler önemli etkenler deęilken, siyasal tartıřmalara daha ok katılan ve siyasal partilere güvenen bireylerin Kıbrıs sorununu önemli bir mesele olarak deęerlendirme olasılıkları daha yüksektir. İkamet edilen ile de önemli bir faktördür. Güzelyurt bölgesinde ikamet edenlerin Kıbrıs sorununu önemli bir mesele olarak deęerlendirme olasılıkları anlamlı olarak daha yüksektir. Bu bölgede ikamet edenlerin biroęu 1974 olaylarından sonra gö eden kişiler veya ocuklarıdır. Bu kişilerin Kıbrıs sorunu hakkındaki endiřeleri, yüksek ihtimalle, olası federal bir özümün bu kişilerin yer deęiřtirmelerine yol aabilme olasılıęının yarattıęı belirsizlikten kaynaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kıbrıs Sorunu; Kuzey Kıbrıs; Kamuoyu; Gö

Introduction

The so-called “Cyprus problem” has been in the center of attention of the political actors of both sides of the island and, to some extent, also of international circles for more than 50 years. In the eyes of the public, however, as survey results show, the Cyprus problem is becoming less important.

Cyprus is an island in the eastern Mediterranean inhabited by mainly two communities: Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The initial bi-communal government formed after independence from the United Kingdom in 1960 lasted only for three years, after which bi-communal conflict broke out. This period lasted until Turkey's military intervention in 1974, after which the island was divided into two parts: the southern part mainly inhabited by Greek Cypriots and recognized internationally as the Republic of Cyprus and the northern part mostly inhabited by Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriots proclaimed the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, which is recognized only by Turkey. Talks to solve the problems between the communities have been continuing since the late 1960s with several ups and downs along the road, most notably the referendum on the so-called “Annan Plan” in 2004. Most recently, the talks came to a halt in July 2017 after the abrupt end of the Conference on Cyprus held in Crans-Montana, Switzerland, with the participation of both communities, the three guarantor countries -Greece, Turkey and United Kingdom- and the intervention of the UN Secretary-General.

What is the Cyprus problem? The Cyprus problem, from an outsider's view, can be defined as “a dispute between two ethnic groups over power and geography” (Ker-Lindsay, 2001, p. xii) or as “a political problem dealing with the difficulty of getting the two major ethnicities on the island, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, to coexist peacefully.” (Webster, 2005, pp. 299-300). Although the talks have been going on for decades, the two communities differ in their opinions about the origin of the problem. While the Greek Cypriots see it as a problem created by foreign powers, for Turkish Cypriots, it is an internal problem caused by the existence of two communities and their nationalism (Flynn et al., 2012).

Why would political or economic issues be considered as important by the citizens? For an issue to be regarded as important, people should care about it, which would most likely be the case if they consider the issue as a problem (Jennings and Wlezien, 2011). For instance, people are more likely to find the economy as an important issue when the economy erodes, and there is more volatility (Singer, 2011; Wlezien, 2005) and when people feel personally more vulnerable (Singer, 2011).

Why should then the Cyprus problem matter to the Turkish Cypriots? First of all, living in an unrecognized state implies not forming part of the international community and not being integrated into international financial and capital markets. Moreover, it brings serious obstacles to trade and travel. Equally important, it also creates a continuous uncertainty about the future. However, people seem to give less and less importance to the Cyprus problem.

Even though we cannot say that caring about the Cyprus problem means necessarily that the respondent wants to find a solution to it, getting support for any solution requires that citizens/voters first think that this is an important

problem. In other words, although finding the problem important is not a sufficient condition for a citizen to desire to find a solution, it is a necessary condition. Support for a solution will not be found if most of the citizens think other issues are more important than the Cyprus problem. Moreover, if there is not enough public support for a solution, any proposal brought to a potential referendum is likely to be the result of pressure utilized by the international political actors as it was the case for the failed Annan Plan referendum in 2004 (Karabay, 2017).

What characterizes those people who continue to care about the Cyprus problem? To answer this question, we use individual-level survey data for Northern Cyprus provided by two recent waves of Eurobarometer and analyze whether certain socio-demographic and economic characteristics and personal and political opinion variables are determinants in considering the Cyprus problem as one of the most important issues in their community or at a personal level. To the best of our knowledge, ours is the first study to tackle this question except for a descriptive study by Flynn et al. (2012), which highlights the relationship between age and considering the Cyprus problem important. We find that people who are more involved in political discussions and who trust political parties are more likely to consider the Cyprus problem as an important issue. The district of residence matters as well. People residing in the Morphou (Güzelyurt) region, where many families that had to migrate after the 1974 events or their descendants live, are significantly more likely to consider the Cyprus problem as a key issue personally and/or for the community. The possibility of having to migrate again if the Cyprus problem is solved by the formation of a federal state is possibly another key factor why the region of residence matters.

The paper is organized as follows. The next section explains the variables, data, and the regression model we use. Then, we present our results, which are followed by our conclusions.

Data, Variables and Regression Model

The data source of our variables is the Eurobarometer Survey (November 2016 and May 2017 waves). The Eurobarometer is a public opinion survey conducted by the European Commission that covers a variety of topics and 35 countries, including the Turkish Cypriot Community (TCC). In Northern Cyprus, the survey was conducted by Lipa Consultancy, between May 11th and May 13th, 2016, and between May 20th and May 30th, 2017. A multi-stage, random sampling design was used. Firstly, from each administrative unit in each country, primary sampling units were selected with probabilities that were proportional to the population size. In the second stage, from each primary sampling unit, a cluster of starting addresses was randomly selected. Then, more addresses were selected following “standard random route procedures as every Nth address from the initial address.”¹ To choose the member of the household to be interviewed, the rule of the closest birthday was followed. For most countries, the sample size is 1000, except for the United Kingdom (Great Britain and Northern Ireland were sampled separately), Germany (separated in Eastern and Western parts), Luxemburg, Republic of Cyprus,

1) <https://zacat.gesis.org/webview/index.jsp?object=http://zacat.gesis.org/obj/fStudy/ZA6863>

Malta, Montenegro, and Northern Cyprus, with a sample size of 500 households. Since the available data is a representative sample of Northern Cyprus, the analysis we conduct with this database can be extrapolated to the whole population.

Our dependent variable, Cyprus problem is important, is based on the answer to the following two questions: "What do you think are the two most important issues facing our Community at the moment?" and "And personally, what are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment?". The respondents are given different possible alternatives: crime, the economic situation, terrorism, environmental problems, etc. In the case of the TCC, they are also given the option of answering the "Cyprus issue"². The dependent variable takes value 1 if the interviewee answered the "Cyprus issue" as part of her answer to either of the two questions.

Our independent variables can be classified into three categories: personal characteristics, opinion variables, and geographic location. The first group comprises of five variables: gender, age, and education level of the respondent, if there is a child under the age of 15 in the household, and a proxy for the income level of the household.

The variable Age was included because Flynn et al. (2012) found that the respondents of their survey who thought the Cyprus problem to be important were younger Turkish Cypriots and older Greek Cypriots, implying that age affects the importance they attach to the Cyprus problem. We expect to find a similar result, i.e., that younger Turkish Cypriots find the Cyprus problem more relevant than older respondents.

We created a dummy variable for the education level of the respondent. This variable (High education level) takes value 1 if the respondent was at least 20 years old when she stopped her full-time education or if she is still studying and is at least 20 years old. Otherwise, High education level takes value 0.

The variable Children under 15 in the household takes value 1 if there is at least one child younger than 15 years old living in the household and 0 otherwise. It could be argued that a respondent would care more about the future if she has a child in her household because the future of this child would be significantly affected if the Cyprus problem is resolved, making the Cyprus problem a more salient issue.

The last personal characteristic included is the household socio-economic status. It is captured by the variable Upper and upper middle class of society that takes value 1 if the respondent answered "The upper middle class of society" or "The higher class of society" when asked "Do you see yourself and your household belonging to...?". It takes value 0 if she answered "The working class of society", "The lower middle class of society", or "The middle class of society". We included this variable because focusing on Greek Cypriots, Webster (2005) argues that people with a higher socio-economic condition should prefer the status-quo or division of the island as they are the ones who benefit from the current situation. A similar argument could be applied to Northern Cyprus. So, we would expect respondents

2) Although the wording used by the survey to refer to this issue is "Cyprus issue", throughout the text we will use the term "Cyprus problem" as this is the most commonly used term by the literature as well as the press, politicians, diplomats etc.

of higher socio-economic status to give less importance to the Cyprus problem.

We also include dummy variables for the district of residence of the respondent. These are Famagusta, Kyrenia, Morphou, and Iskele. The omitted district is Nicosia. A bi-zonal, bi-communal solution (like the Annan Plan) will most likely lead to "voluntary or compulsory migration" (Serdaroğlu, 2012, p. 534) for people living in certain regions. This possibility creates uncertainty and concern, especially in the Morphou region. The town of Morphou was inhabited almost entirely by Greek Cypriots before the 1974 events (Psaltis et al., 2020) and is currently inhabited by Turkish Cypriots who had to migrate from the South of the island after 1974 and immigrants from mainland Turkey (Serdaroğlu, 2012). The Annan Plan, the only solution proposal put to a referendum on both sides of the island, intended to return properties in Morphou to its former Greek Cypriot owners (Deveci, 2017). Even after the latest (failed) round of talks regarding a possible territorial exchange, one of the remaining issues is the fate of Morphou, that is, whether it will be returned to Greek Cypriots or not (Sözen, 2017). While for Greek Cypriots, any deal should include the "return" of Morphou, at present Turkish Cypriots leave out this option (Paul, 2017). Such uncertainty about their future is likely to cause more interest in the Cyprus problem among residents of this region. Referring to the behavior of the residents of Morphou in the 2004 referendum, Karabay (2017) points out that "Although its residents would have to be relocated had the plan been implemented, percentage of "yes" votes in the Güzeyurt region was surprisingly 65 percent, which was perceived as a clear sign of the pessimism or limbo of its residents" (Karabay, 2017, p. 30). For this reason, dummies capturing the location of the respondents are included, and we expect residents of the Morphou region to be more likely to consider the Cyprus problem as an important issue. We also include a dummy variable to capture whether the respondent lives in a rural or urban area (variable "Rural").

Regarding opinion variables, we included five dummy variables. The first one, Trust political parties, takes value 1 if the respondent answered "Tend to trust" when asked "I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it...Political parties". And the variable takes value 0 if she responded "Tend not to trust". The reason to include this variable is our belief that respondents who trust political parties may be more optimistic about a potential solution to the Cyprus problem since a solution, first of all, has to be accepted by political actors before it is brought to the approval of the society. This optimism, in turn, may lead to an inclination of those respondents to care more about the Cyprus problem.

Our second opinion variable is "Attached to town". It takes value 1 if the respondent answered "Very attached" or "Fairly attached" to the question "Please tell me how attached you feel to...Your city / town / village", and value 0 if she answered "Not very attached" or "Not at all attached". The rationale behind its inclusion is that Turkish Cypriots that are very much attached to their town might be more preoccupied with the Cyprus problem as a potential solution to the problem will most likely lead to the relocation of several households in the North. Moreover,

we would also expect people who are more engaged in political discussions to give more importance to the Cyprus problem as it is one of the key issues in the discussions of the political elite. Hence, we also include as an independent variable the dummy “Discuss community issues”, that takes value 1 if the respondent answered “Frequently” to the question “When you get together with friends or relatives, would you say you discuss frequently, occasionally or never about... Our Community’s political matters?”.

The fourth opinion variable included is “Eco situation of TCC is bad” that takes value 1 if the respondent answered “Rather bad” or “Very bad” to the question “How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?... The economic situation in the Turkish Cypriot Community”. Regarding this question, we could expect a negative effect on the dependent variable: Thinking that the economic situation of the TCC is bad will increase the probability that she cares more about economic problems (Singer, 2011; Wlezien, 2005) rather than the Cyprus problem. On the other hand, we could expect a positive effect if the respondent thinks that solving the Cyprus problem will improve the economic situation of the TCC. In other words, those Turkish Cypriots who judge the current economic situation negatively, may give more importance to the Cyprus problem as a solution to the problem is expected to bring economic benefits to the island (see for instance Flynn et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2010; Mullen et al., 2008).

Our fifth opinion variable is the dummy “EU legislation good for TCC” that shows whether the respondent has answered “A good thing” when asked “Generally speaking, do you think that for the Turkish Cypriot Community the full application of EU legislation would be...?”. A solution to the Cyprus problem would imply for the TCC to become a member of the European Union (EU). As a consequence, it will carry the application of EU legislation in Northern Cyprus. Having a more positive view about the application of EU legislation might imply being keener on a solution to the Cyprus problem. Therefore, we expect to observe a positive effect of this variable on the probability of answering that the Cyprus problem is one of the two most important problems at the moment. Kyris (2012) observes that the percentage of Turkish Cypriots who consider EU membership a good thing has been decreasing in the first decade of the 21st century. So, if having a positive opinion about the EU makes it more likely to consider the Cyprus problem as an important issue, the decrease in support for the EU might be one explanation of the downwards trend in the importance of the Cyprus problem.

Since in the first half of 2017, the negotiations took a more optimistic turn, and the latest wave of the survey we use was conducted in May 2017, shortly before and in anticipation of the Conference on Cyprus which started in late June 2017, we include the dummy variable “Wave 2017” to control for the possible effect of this renewed optimism/increased expectations.

Given the nature of the dependent variable –it takes value 1 if the respondent finds the Cyprus problem important and 0 otherwise– we run a probit model. This regression model allows us to explain the effect of each one of our independent variables on the probability of finding the Cyprus problem important while controlling for the other covariates.

Results

When we look at the evolution of the percentage of people that mention the Cyprus problem as one of the two most important issues at the moment, either at the community or the personal level, we observe a decline over time. The percentage fell from 32.8% in 2008 to 24.4% in 2017. Figure 1 shows the values for the mentioned period.³

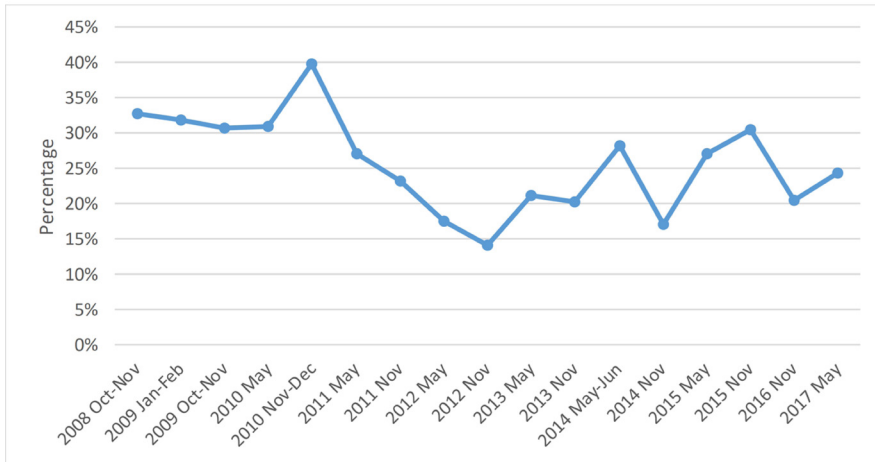


Figure 1: Percentage of people that think that the Cyprus problem is one of the two most important issues at the moment

Table 1 below shows some descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables combining data of the two waves we use in our study. 21% (24%) of the subjects thought that the Cyprus problem was important in the wave of November 2016 (May 2017). It is interesting to notice that only 29% of the respondents trust political parties, and only 32% discuss community issues with relatives or friends. Almost 62% of the respondents think that the economic situation of the TCC is bad, and 59% believe that the application of EU legislation would be a good thing for the TCC.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

		Obs	Mean	Std.dev.	Min	Max
Independent variable	Cyprus problem is important	1,000	0.225	0.418	0	1
Personal characteristics	Woman	1,000	0.499	0.500	0	1
	Age	1,000	38.976	15.332	15	96
	High education level	969	0.390	0.488	0	1
	Children under 15 in the household	1,000	0.341	0.474	0	1
	Upper and upper middle class of society	980	0.171	0.377	0	1

3) Data from Eurobarometer survey, waves 2008-2017.

Opinion variables	Trust political parties	920	0.285	0.452	0	1
	Attached to town	993	0.887	0.316	0	1
	Discuss community issues	980	0.322	0.468	0	1
	Eco situation of TCC is bad	990	0.617	0.486	0	1
	EU legislation good for TCC	925	0.581	0.494	0	1
Geographical situation	Famagusta	1,000	0.262	0.440	0	1
	Kyrenia	1,000	0.188	0.391	0	1
	Morphou	1,000	0.129	0.335	0	1
	Iskele	1,000	0.107	0.309	0	1
	Rural	1,000	0.246	0.431	0	1
	Wave 2017	1,000	0.500	0.500	0	1

Table 2 presents the results of the econometric regression. We run a probit model with our three sets of independent variables: personal characteristics, opinion variables, and geographic location.

Table 2: Regression results

Probit model - Dependent variable: Cyprus problem is important		Marginal effect	Std. Err.	p-value
Personal characteristics	Woman	0.022	0.031	0.491
	Age	0.001	0.001	0.203
	High education level	0.010	0.033	0.769
	Children under 15 in the household	0.076	0.035	0.030
	Upper and upper middle class of society	0.037	0.044	0.401
Opinion variables	Trust political parties	0.082	0.040	0.038
	Attached to town	-0.026	0.055	0.640
	Discuss community issues	0.066	0.036	0.064
	Eco situation of TCC is bad	0.016	0.032	0.621
	EU legislation good for TCC	0.049	0.033	0.136
Geographical situation	Famagusta	0.033	0.045	0.468
	Kyrenia	0.026	0.048	0.597
	Morphou	0.129	0.065	0.047
	Iskele	-0.020	0.058	0.736
	Rural	-0.046	0.037	0.220
	Wave 2017	0.081	0.035	0.019
n	794			
Wald chi2 (16)	28.31			
Prob > chi2	0.029			
Pseudo R²	0.0394 ⁴			

4) The Pseudo R² reported by Stata corresponds to McFadden's p₂. We should be aware that "While the R² index is a more familiar concept to planners who are experienced in ordinary regression analysis, it is not as well behaved a statistic as the p₂ measure, for maximum likelihood estimation. Those unfamiliar with the p₂ index should be forewarned that its values tend to be considerably lower than those of the R² index and should not be judged by the standards for a "good fit" in ordinary regression analysis. For example, values of 0.2 to 0.4 for p₂ represent an excellent fit." (McFadden, 1977, pp. 34-35)

We find that only four variables (excluding the wave) have a significant effect on the probability of answering that the Cyprus problem is one of the two most important problems at the moment.

Firstly, as expected, the variable Children under 15 in the household has a positive and significant effect on the dependent variable. The probability of considering the Cyprus problem important is 7.6 percentage points (p.p.) higher for those respondents who have at least one child under 15 years old in the household compared to the respondents without young children in the house. It gives support to our conjecture that respondents with children under 15 years old at home would care more about the future and therefore would care more about the Cyprus problem.

Secondly, respondents who trust political parties are 8.2 p.p. more likely to find the Cyprus problem important than respondents who do not trust political parties. This result is in line with our expectation that a higher level of trust in political parties implies a more positive view about the possibility of finding a solution for the Cyprus problem, and therefore, it implies a higher probability of considering it an important issue.

The same happens with respondents who discuss community issues with friends and relatives. They are 6.6 p.p. more likely than those who do not discuss community issues to answer that the Cyprus problem is important.

However, the largest effect comes from the place of living. If the respondent lives in the Morphou district, her probability of considering the Cyprus problem as important is 12.9 p.p. higher than the probability of a respondent who lives in Nicosia. Many of the residents in Morphou migrated from the South when the island was divided in 1974, and at the same time, it is expected that some residents would have to relocate if a solution to the Cyprus problem is found. It is not surprising then that respondents living in the Morphou district are more concerned about the Cyprus problem than residents in other districts. Many of the respondents who found the Cyprus problem important might be worried about having to relocate, and some of them for the second time in their lives.

As expected, the wave plays a significant role: the probability of considering the Cyprus problem an important issue increases by 8.1 p.p. for the 2017 wave. Interestingly, the age and socio-economic status do not play a significant role; neither does the evaluation of the current economic situation in Northern Cyprus or having a more positive view about the application of EU legislation in the North.

Conclusions

Our objective in this paper was to investigate the socio-demographic and economic characteristics and personal and political opinions of the residents in Northern Cyprus who are more likely to consider the Cyprus problem as one of the most important issues at a personal or community level.

Our findings indicate that those who are more politically involved on one side (i.e., respondents who discuss community issues with friends and relatives), and those who fear a potential relocation if the Cyprus problem is solved on the other (i.e., respondents living in the Morphou district), are more likely to consider the

Cyprus problem as one of their community's or their own most significant issues. This finding may be reflecting a concern of Morphou residents created by the uncertainty of the future of the region. Although the Annan plan was approved by a majority in the district, the passage of more than 15 years since then, suggests that for a new solution plan to be approved by the residents of the region, their concerns should be addressed by the actors of the solution process.

We also observe that citizens that trust political parties are more likely to consider the Cyprus problem important. Iyengar (1989) found that the opinion and attitudes of the public regarding national issues are linked to how they attribute issue responsibility: who originated the problem and who can solve it. Thus, our finding might indicate that people trusting political parties assign "treatment responsibility" to the political parties, i.e., they believe that the political parties can be part of the solution to the problem. Nonetheless, as stated by Russell and Weldon (2005), there has been a decline in citizen's trust in political parties in recent years in Western democracies. Moreover, they observe that citizens who do not trust political parties are less likely to participate in elections and other forms of partisan politics. Our finding shows that trust in political parties also influences how important Northern Cyprus citizens think the Cyprus problem is. This means that measures have to be taken to increase the low level of trust in political parties (see Table 1).

Regarding other political and economic opinion variables, we were expecting that people who think that the application of EU legislation in Northern Cyprus would be good for the community would be more likely to consider the Cyprus problem as an important issue as the solution of the problem would potentially lead to the application of EU legislation in Northern Cyprus. Similarly, we conjectured that people who evaluate the economic situation of Northern Cyprus more negatively may be more likely to consider the Cyprus problem as an important issue if they believe that the solution to the problem would improve the economic situation. In the case of both variables, in line with the previous arguments, the coefficients have a positive sign, but the relationships fail to be statistically significant. Similarly, the age and socio-economic status of the respondents do not play a significant role.

Although we find a significant and positive effect of the latest wave, it is most likely the result of the increasing expectations in advance of the Conference on Cyprus. As the overall trend shows, time seems to work against a potential solution to the problem.

The Cyprus problem involves both communities of the island, and a potential solution requires a total agreement on both sides. However, our study focused only on Northern Cyprus, and thus it shows only part of the picture. Although the Eurobarometer survey asks Greek Cypriots the question used in this study, the Cyprus problem was not among the list of options as an answer to that particular question. Hence, we cannot make any cross-community comparisons. Conducting a survey on both sides of the island, which would allow us to make such comparisons, would be an interesting path to take.

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The History of Cypriot Photography 1839 – 1939

The Story of a Century

Kadir Kaba*

Abstract

The sources published on Cypriot photography trace the beginning of Cypriot photography in the year 1878 with Merdiruz Mathieu Papazian and John P. Foscolo as the first photographers. It is well-known that these sources are based on verbal information. However, from the moment these sources, regarding the origins of Cypriot photography, were put in writing, the accuracy of the information provided was accepted without further investigation. This led to the emergence of wrong memorizations and caused it to become a pattern used in every publication about Cypriot photography without any further questioning. Nowadays, the clarification regarding inaccuracies and inadequacies of sources that constitute the relevant memorization has been reached, and based on these findings, redefinition and re shaping of the beginnings of the history of Cypriot photography has been achieved. In this article, the first century of the history of Cypriot photography will be redefined. To do so, this period will be divided into phases each of which will be evaluated within itself through the new findings reached. Photographic evidence will be the primary medium in reaching certain conclusions which will further be enriched by written data. Thus, in the end, the evolution of Cypriot photography will be shared with the reader in chronological order.

Keywords

Cyprus; History of Cypriot Photography; Cypriot Photographers; Origin of Cypriot Photography

* Kadir Kaba, Photography Historian, Centre for Cyprus Studies, Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta- North Cyprus via Mersin 10, Turkey. E-mail: kadirkaba1947@gmail.com [ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3948-2858]

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Kıbrıs Fotoğraf Tarihi 1839 – 1939 Yüz Yılın Öyküsü

Kadir Kaba

Özet

Kıbrıs fotoğrafçılığı üzerine yayımlanmış kaynaklar Kıbrıs fotoğrafçılığı'nın başlangıcını yıl olarak 1878'e, fotoğrafçı olarak da Merdiruz Mathieu Papazian ve John P. Foscolo'ya dayandırmaktadırlar. Bu bilgilerin ise sözlü bilgilerden dönüştüğü bilinmektedir. Bu kaynakların Kıbrıs fotoğrafçılığı'nın başlangıcı üzerine görüş belirten yazılı kaynaklar olmaları nedeniyle bilgilerin doğruluğu araştırılmadan önemsenmişlerdir. Bu önemseme yanlış bir ezberin oluşmasına ve hiç sorgulanmadan Kıbrıs fotoğrafçılığı ile ilgili her yayında kullanılan bir kalıp haline gelmesine neden olmuştur. Bugün gelinen noktada, sözü edilen ezber oluşturulan kaynak bilgilerin yanlışlık ve yetersizliğine açıklık getirecek bulgulara ulaşılmış olup, bu bulgular ışığında Kıbrıs Fotoğraf Tarihi'nin başlangıcını yeniden tanımlayıp, şekillendirecek konuma gelinmiştir. Bu makalede, ulaşılan yeni bulgular ışığında Kıbrıs Fotoğraf Tarihi'nin ilk yüzyılı itibarıyla yeniden tanımı yapılacaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Kıbrıs; Kıbrıs Fotoğraf Tarihi; Kıbrıslı Fotoğrafçılar; Kıbrıs Fotoğrafı'nın Kökeni

Pre-Cypriot Photography: 1839 - 1875¹

Cyprus is an island that has been occupied for most of its existence, and its history and culture have been shaped by these occupations. The invasions occurred one after another; those departing left behind something of themselves, and those who arrived added something. Within the context of these occupations, photography was a cultural heritage left to Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire.

This cultural phenomenon aroused interest in the Holy Land, the Levant and, in a broader sense, the Eastern Mediterranean, which became an attraction and a popular place for photographers as early as 1839 during which time photography began. It is known that daguerreotypist travellers went to the East with their dark rooms in October 1839, just two months after the invention of the photograph was made known to the public (Gernsheim, 1982: 83).

Cyprus first became a popular place for amateur photographers between the years 1840 and 1878. The first Eastern Mediterranean photographic journey, which was held on October 21, 1839 – March 1840 (Fesquet, 1844: 6; Özendes, 1995: 89), was completed with 1200 daguerreotype images by the team (Gernsheim, 1982: 83). There is no information whether this group, which passed through Cyprus - Larnaca on February 4, 1840 - , took any photographs on the island.

While during these years imperialist states such as France, England, Germany and Russia continued their policies of occupying territories of the collapsing Ottoman Empire, at the same time the first steps of photography were taken. Within the framework of these policies, Cyprus, which was part of the Ottoman Empire and had an important geopolitical position, was also among their goals. It is therefore no surprise that, especially France and Germany, sent teams to Cyprus to investigate the geographical and physical characteristics of the island based on this strategy. During one of those visits, the first photograph in Cyprus, based on concrete data, was taken by Louis de Clercq on a waxed paper negative in September 1859.²

Between the second half of the 1860s and the year 1878, commercial photographers documented extensively the Levant. Tens of thousands of photographs were produced during this period. From these images gravures were drawn, and they were used in many publications and books. As a result of these developments, a photographic market of visual art was formed in Continental Europe. It is known that up to 200 photographers were involved in this market between 1839 and 1875 (Rockett, 1983). This process enabled the formation of a photography route connecting the Levant and the market in Continental Europe.

By the 1870s, the photographic market in Continental Europe became quite demanding. There was a period during which the originals of photographs of the Levant but also any kind of reproductions were printed and introduced to the market (Rockett, 1983). Following these developments, it appears that some of the photographers, the main office of which was in the Levant, had commercial branches in European cities (Rockett, 1983). Along with the commencement

1) Kadir Kaba, *The Origins of Turkish Cypriot Photography*, (Nicosia, Cypriot Photographers' Gallery, 2013).

2) Bonato, Lucie, H. Yiakoumis and K. Kaba. *The Island of Cyprus; A Photographic Itinerary from the 19th to the 20th Century*, (Nicosia, Kalimages, 2007), 36-37.

of steamship travelling, the increase in maritime trade between Europe and the Levant made Cyprus, which was located on this route, an important stopover. With the development of the photography market, it is noted that negatives and original photographs were bought, sold and exchanged and transferred from seller to buyer along with all the rights of the photographer. (Antiqphoto, 2010).³

Within this framework, Izmir located photographer "Rubellin & Son" (Alphonse Rubellin Pierre), who was placed far from the Levant, Istanbul photographer E. A. Carletti and Co. (Eduardo Alfonso Carletti) and studios in Cyprus (University of Cambridge RCS Photographers Index, 2004a) were stationed on the photography route. Thus, they had the opportunity to have transactions within Cyprus. Photographer E. A. Carletti, who was active in Larnaca, soon moved to Nicosia. In addition to his photographic portfolios for the European market, Carletti also began to work for the people on the island in, up till then, the virgin territory of Cyprus (Fig:01).⁴ Although it is known that Rubellin was active in Cyprus until he transferred his studio to Foscolo and Papazian in 1883, no photograph taken by him has surfaced.

Helios (Ilios) established a mobile studio and took photographs of the English officers in the English camps in Troodos in 1879.⁵ It is understood from an announcement in the Cyprus newspaper that Helios (Ilios), also had a branch in Larnaca.⁶ Based on this information, it can be assumed that Helios started his activities in Cyprus simultaneously with the beginning of the British Administration. The above information and more research reveal that the first photographers settled in Cyprus were "Rubellin & Son" in Limassol, "E. A. Carletti & Co." and Helios in Larnaca, between 1875–1878 and thus photography was brought to Cyprus by the photographers of the Ottoman Empire.

The first known photograph of social life in Cyprus is the photograph which depicts Aspasia Giannakou Zachariades and Maritsa Christodoulou Severis and is dated to 1865.⁷ However, social life formally became the subject of photography with the establishment of Rubellin, Carletti and Helios' studios.

Photography in the Early Colonial Period: 1878 -1883

The antagonism between the imperialist states for the island of Cyprus resulted in the victory of Britain. Great Britain guaranteed the borders of the Ottoman Empire against Russian encroachment and in exchange received Cyprus. The agreement was sealed by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878.

Along with the arrival of the British, many British travellers and travelling photographers rushed to the island. They were eager to familiarise themselves with

3) Consequently, some photographs bear signatures of different photographers. Francis Frith employed photographers from other parts of the world in order to widen his portfolio. He thus bought more than 2000 negatives. Francis Bedford sold photographs but only under the condition of keeping the Bedford name. Nevertheless photographs by other artists were commercialized under Frith's label; Antiqphoto. <https://www.19cphoto.com/photographers-represented-2/>, access June 30, 2010. Furthermore, Annie, Lady Brassey, bought photographs from the Cypriot photograph bazaar during her trip to Cyprus in 1878; Micklewright, 2003: 221.

4) I am indebted to Mr. Kemal Giray the CEO of Balkanphila Ltd. for allowing me to publish the aforementioned photograph.

5) Illustrated London News, (Supplement) 18 October, 1879.

6) Cyprus, July 8, 1880.

7) Costas & Rita Severis Foundation, CVAR (Centre of Visual Arts and Research) Archive, PHT-02401.

Cyprus and introduce it to their audience and viewers back home.



Figure 1: E.A. Carletti. Unidentified, 1880s. Courtesy of Balkanphila Ltd.

The first travelling photographer of this period was John Thomson. He arrived at Larnaca on the steamship *Arethusa* on 7 September, 1878, about two months after the British secured the island (Thomson, 1985: viii). His mission was to introduce the new colony added to the territories of the Great British Empire to the British.

During his photographic expedition in Cyprus, and as understood from his own drawings, he worked with two cameras, a large and a smaller camera. Unlike travelling photographers, who had worked in Cyprus before him, Thomson possessed an open mind and was sensitive to the lifestyle and surroundings of his subjects. He placed social life at the center of his work. In his photographs, he expressed his own personal sensitivities, an aura, rather than simply creating a photographic record of his subject. After having completed his mission, for which he used the wet collodion method (Through the Lens of John Thomson, 2015), he returned to England, and published a two-volume book entitled "Through Cyprus With the Camera in the Autumn of 1878" consisting of 59 Woodburytype images of Cypriot life in 1879.

During the same period, September 1878, a German, Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, also came to the island as an antiquarian, reporter, illustrator, and photographer upon the advice of a consulate member (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1891: iii; Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1893: vol 1, viii). The purpose of his arrival was to take photographs of nature in Cyprus. Ohnefalsch-Richter also worked as a correspondent for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Neuen Freien Presse*, and *Unsere Zeit* published in Germany (Schwarz auf Weiss, 2002). Richter's own statement "In 1878 British occupation called me to Cyprus in the capacity of a correspondent, with an introduction from the Imperial German Chancellery" (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1891: iii) indicates that he was actually chosen for this purpose. Richter supported himself on the island by working as a contracted antiquarian and collector of historical artifacts (Krpata, 2010). His photography also included excavation sites.

We are made aware of his techniques based on his statement "I at that time used the wet process" (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1891: vol.1, 8). Furthermore he wrote that "I had at the same time to superintend a photographic studio for portrait-taking, which I was managing..." (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1893: vol.1, 498). The portrait studio referred to was the studio of Helios in Larnaca.⁸

Annie, Lady Brassey, was another traveller and amateur photographer, who took photographs of her travel to Cyprus in 1878. She had a good photographic infrastructure and a fully equipped dark room on her private yacht *The Sunbeam*. Being sick during most of her visit on the island, takings were performed by her team. She completed her visit with more than 116 photographs of Cyprus, both taken by her team and bought from the photography market (Micklewright, 2003: 221).

Based on information provided by Sir Samuel W. Baker, it seems that an itinerant photographer was also active in 1879 (Baker, 1879: 20) and that the photographers of the British Army's Royal Engineers took photographs of social life on the island (Baker, 1879: 317). These photographs were left as a remembrance to the public.

8) Cyprus, July 8, 1880.

In 1882, the British Sydney Vacher and Edward L'Anson visited Cyprus and took photographs. Their watercolours are based on those photographs.⁹ The Italian photographer Alinari was also active in Cyprus in the 1880s (University of Cambridge, RCS Photographers Index, 2004b).

Apart from the above-mentioned photographers, it is known that British travellers and wandering photographers made extensive studies on the island. An important feature of this period is that photographers who had studios in the territories of the Ottoman Empire, spread over three continents including Europe, Asia, and Africa, were also active on the island, some of them having established or having shared photographic studios.¹⁰

Cypriot Photography: Pioneers 1875 - 1883

All photographers before Rubellin & Son, E. A. Carletti and Helios were simply passers-by. They did not persevere with photography on the island and had no influence on the formation of Cypriot photography. In this respect, Cypriot photography owes them nothing.

Based on the available data, it is known that the studios of Rubellin, Carletti and Helios served Cyprus in addition to their commercial activities in the Levant and Turkey. From the back of a photograph's passepartout in the author's archive, it is understood that Rubellin was active under the name of Photographie Rubellin, 14 Victoria Street, Limassol (Fig:02), and Carletti was active in Larnaca c. 1878, as mentioned above, and later in Nicosia.

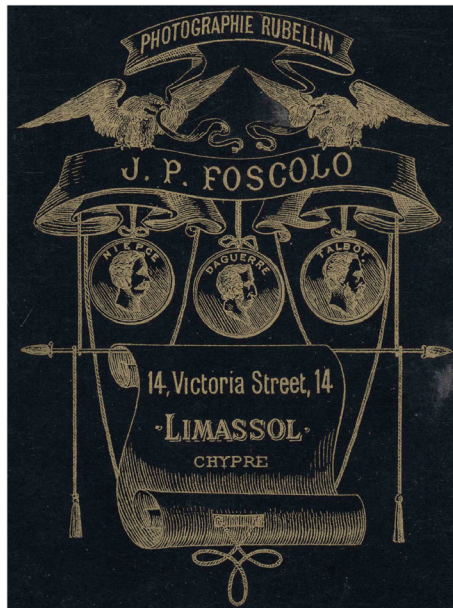


Figure 2: Photographie Rubellin. c. 1883. Authors archive.

9) Three of these watercolours are to be found at the Costas & Rita Severis Foundation, CVAR archive.

10) The aforementioned photographers will be evaluated in detail further on in the paper.

From an announcement by Helios in the Cyprus newspaper, apart from having photographic studios in Alexandria and Cairo during this period,¹¹ we learn that he also had a studio in Larnaca and that Max Ochnefalsch-Richter made portrait takings in this studio.

Photographers, who were active on the island until 1875, focused entirely on nature and historical monuments and were never interested in the social or economic aspects of the Cypriot lifestyle. In the studies carried out to date, no data on the Cypriot lifestyle has been found other than the aforementioned photograph dated 1865. Unlike the photographers before them, Rubellin, Carletti, and Helios laid the foundations for the formation of Cypriot photography with their works for the people of Cyprus.

The Rise of Cypriot Photography: 1883

Sources published on Cypriot photography place the beginning of Cypriot photography in 1878 and Merdiruz Mathieu Papazian and John P. Foscolo as the first photographers. These sources are based on verbal information.

Since these sources were published, their accuracy was accepted without further investigation. This misconception led to the emergence of wrong memorization and made it a pattern used in every publication about Cypriot photography without being questioned.¹²

Presently, new evidence has been found clarifying the inaccuracy and inadequacy of previous information and based on this evidence, the redefinition and reshaping of the beginnings of Cypriot photography has been achieved.¹³

As seen, the foundations of Cypriot photography were laid by Rubellin & Son, E. A. Carletti & Co., and Helios between 1875–1883. However, these photographers had no effects on defining and shaping Cypriot photography since they were not involved in any basic studies on Cypriot photography. The definition, shaping, rise and spreading of Cypriot photography took place in the persons of Merdiruz Mathieu Papazian and John P. Foscolo.

Papazian, who was engaged in photography in Istanbul, was a war photographer in 1882 during the occupation of Ras-el-Tin by the British.¹⁴ Although it is not known by whom he was employed, it is assumed that he worked for the British army and was encouraged by the British Administration to settle in Cyprus after the war. In 1883, he closed his studio in Istanbul and settled in Cyprus (Kaba, forthcoming).

Foscolo was a photographer in Izmir, and it is believed that he came to Cyprus with Papazian (Kaba, forthcoming).

Papazian and Foscolo were appointed as official photographers by High

11) Information obtained from a photograph in the Phivos Stavridis Larnaka Archive. (Χατζήκυριακος, Ιωσήφ. (Εβ). 2016: 149. Π.Β.Κ5.20).

12) Within the previous publications all this data were approached with caution and will be continued so by relying on written sources, unless any new supporting evidence emerges. See Kaba, (2013), 79. n. 11.

13) New evidence, obtained through recent studies on Cypriot Photography, has revealed that to date information needed detailed corrections. For these new evidence see Kadir Kaba (forthcoming), "Merdiruz Mathieu Papazian, John P. Foscolo and Cypriot Photography" in Naciye Doratlı (Ed.) 10. Uluslararası Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Kongresi 24 – 25 Nisan 2019 Mağusa.

14) Zakarya Mildanoğlu, e-mail shared with the author through Zafer Karaca, March 10, 2011.

Commissioner, Sir Robert Biddulph in 1883, in order to document the British Administration's settlement in Cyprus (Kaba, forthcoming): "...Papazian, was the official photographer of the High Commissioner..." (Michaelides 1977: 264) whereas "Foscolo was appointed official photographer of the British Army" (Lazarides, 1987: 64). Based on this information, it is understood that Papazian was appointed the Official Photographer of the Commissariat and Foscolo was appointed the Official Photographer of the British Army. Thus, it becomes clear that Foscolo photographed the settlement of British troops in Cyprus and Papazian photographed the civil administrative works. Moreover, it is also known that both took photographs of British military officers and their families.

While Papazian and Foscolo were documenting the settlement of the Colonial Administration on the island both civilian and military, they also worked as professional studio photographers and photographed the beautiful diversity of Cyprus and the social life within this diversity.

When they arrived in Cyprus, while Foscolo began his works in Rubellin's studio, Papazian had his own studio in Limassol (Fig:03).¹⁵ These two master photographers took over Rubellin's studio in 1883 and then went into a partnership and worked together (Fig:04).

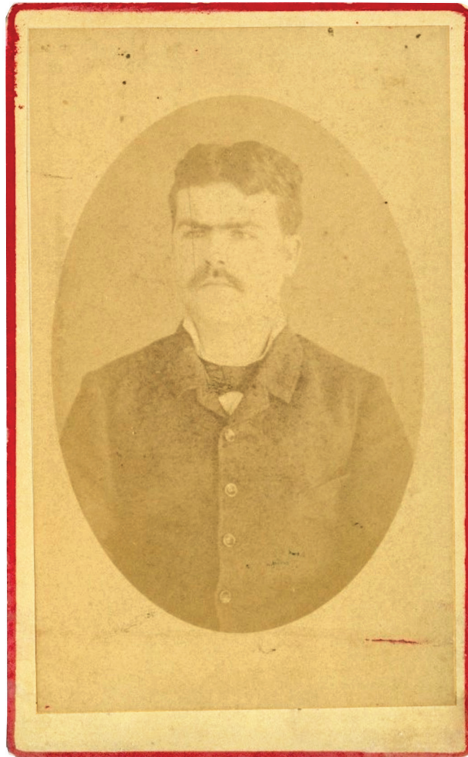


Figure 3: M. M. Papazian. Unidentified, 1883. Courtesy of Balkanphila Ltd.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Kemal Giray the CEO of Balkanphila Ltd. for allowing me to publish the aforementioned photograph.

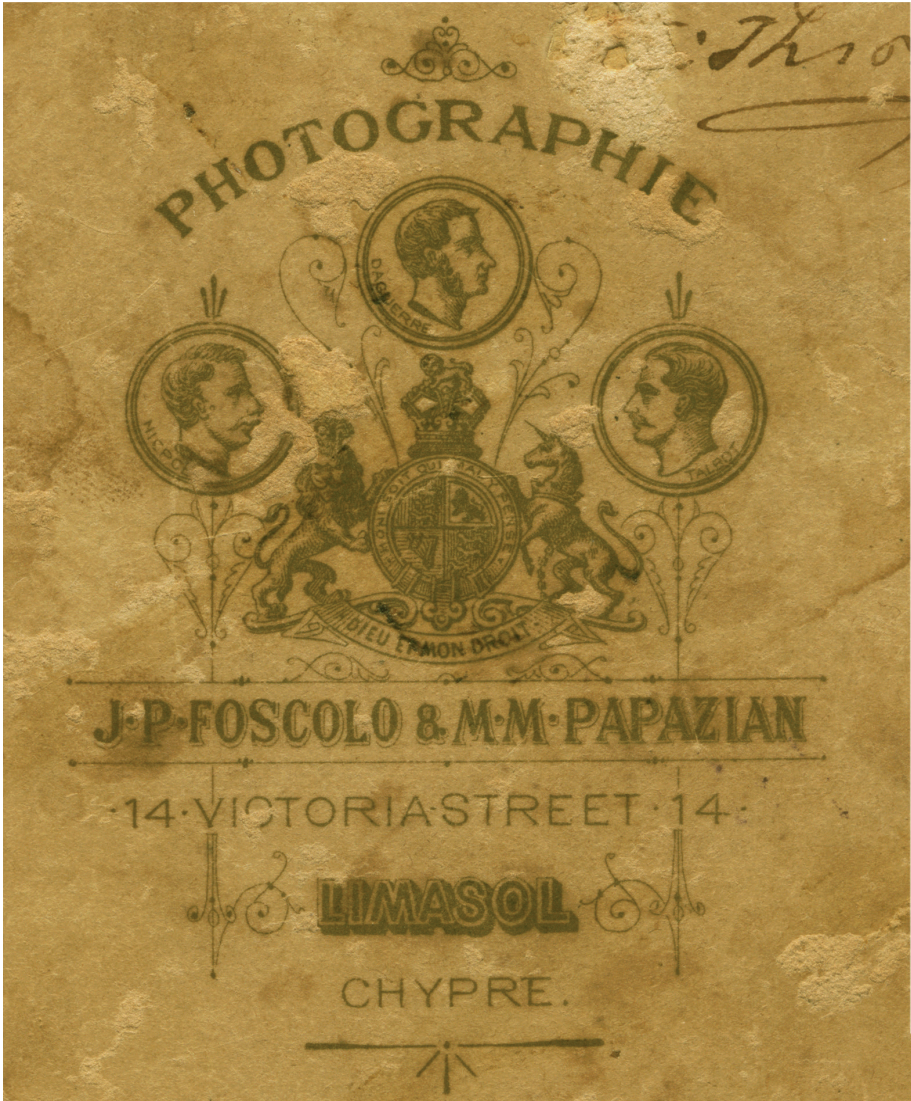


Figure 4: J.P. Foscolo & M.M. Papazian. c. 1883. Courtesy of Pitsa Spyridakis.

In 1890 the seven-year partnership period ended when Papazian left and established his own studio. An advertisement in the newspaper placed by Papazian, announced that he had moved to no. 108, Victoria Street.¹⁶ The separation of these two masters resulted in the presence of two studios in Limassol and naturally much competition.

¹⁶ ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ, 5 January 1891. "The great photographer, Mr. M. M Papazian, broke the partnership with his colleague, Mr. I. Foskolos and opened his own shop, on "Victoria street, number 108" in the house of Mr. Chatzigeorgiou Chatzioannou. He hopes for the support of the public, which honours his artistic abilities. Prices are affordable." Greek to English translation by Antigoni Droussiotou.

The Spread of Cypriot Photography: 1890-1920

Up until 1890, no trace of Rubellin appears, while Papazian and Foscolo were active in Limassol and Carletti was active in Nicosia, and no other professional photographer is known. The Cypriot photography terrain remained still more or less undiscovered and quite inviting. Under these circumstances, photographers from Ottoman territories headed towards Cyprus and were engaged in photography by establishing studios individually and in partnership.

Joseph Pullman, who worked as a photographer on the island of Samos (Xanthakis, 1988: 109) in the Aydın province of the Ottoman Empire, settled in Nicosia in 1892 and established a studio (Μιχαηλίδης, 1977: 264).

In 1893, G. Glykeas, who was a photographer in Beyoğlu and Üsküdar districts of Istanbul (Özendes, 2013: 66), opened a studio with Kyrillos Ierodiakon in Nicosia (Μιχαηλίδης, 1977: 264). We do not have detailed information about these photographers, nor the possibility to evaluate their work since we do not have any data other than a photograph taken in G. Glykeas & K. Ierodiakon studio (Fig:05).



Figure 5: G. Glykeas & K. Jerodiakon. Ratip Bodamyalızade and his relative c. 1897. Courtesy of Rauf Ünsal.

During this period, P. Marini, who was a photographer in Mersin district of Adana province, and Simon, who was a photographer in Beyoğlu district of Istanbul province (Özends, 2013: 59, 71), established a studio in partnership, Marinis & Simons (Bonato, Jacqueline and Haris, 2011:81-82), the establishment date of which is not known. From the passepartout of a photograph, we are informed that Marini ran a studio in Larnaca (Χατζήκυριακος, 2016: 119, Π.Β.Κ7.35) (Fig:06).¹⁷ It is assumed that Marini maintained a photographic studio in partnership with Simon for sometime and then on his own for another period.



Figure 6: Marini. Balsamaki Baldaseridi, Courtesy of Phivos Stavrides Foundation – Larnaka Archive.

In January 1895, Papazian moved to Nicosia, near New Gate (near Metaxa sq.),

¹⁷ Photograph from the Phivos Stavrides Foundation – Larnaka Archive (Π.Β.Κ7.35). (Χατζήκυριακος 2016, 119).

and opened his studio, to which he added a modern infrastructure with equipment and supplies brought from Vienna (Μιχαηλίδης, 1977: 264). Thus, on the one hand, Papazian took advantage of the photographic potential of Nicosia, and on the other hand he also had the opportunity to remain the official photographer of the British Colonial Administration.

Based on the examination of Papazian's photographs, it is understood that he also held a studio in Troodos. Due to the warm climate of Cyprus, Troodos, being a summer resort for the Cypriots and especially for the British, offered good potential for commercial photography and was quite inviting. It is obvious that Papazian had a studio in Troodos since he was required to be present as an official photographer, but furthermore, he could also provide photographic services to civil holidaymakers (Nomer, 2015: 4, 5) during the time Commissioners and military officers spent the hot summer months in Troodos.

In 1902, Papazian fell ill having caught a cold in Troodos. According to verbal information,¹⁸ not being well cared for, he was sent to Nicosia for treatment, but it was too late; he died in July 1902.¹⁹ The day after his death, he was buried in the Armenian cemetery in Nicosia.²⁰

In 1901, Foscolo - Theodorikos partnership appeared in Limassol (Μιχαηλίδης, 1981: 189). It is understood that this partnership, which lasted as little as a year, ended in 1902.²¹

Since there are very few photographs by the aforementioned photographers, there is no opportunity for extensive evaluation. However, when the existing photographs are examined, it is seen that they adopted the stage design and aesthetics in accordance with the tradition of that period.

Theodoulos N. Toufexis studio appeared at the end of the 1890s. Toufexis, who did not seem to be professionally interested in photography in the first half of the 1890s (Lazarides, 2004: 24), later, in 1895-96, with the encouragement and assistance of Nicolaos Catalanos, trained in photography by Romaides Brothers in Athens. Upon his return to Cyprus, he opened his studio in Ledra Street in Nicosia with equipment brought from Athens (Lazarides, 2004: 26). Considering that all photographic studios previously active in Cyprus were held by foreigners, this studio was the first Cypriot photographic studio, and studio photography was brought to the Cypriots by Toufexis.

However, the exact date Toufexis opened his studio is not known. The photograph "Young Cypriot Girl from Nicosia in Local Costume" of the earliest period, was taken in the studio and is dated 1899 (Lazarides, 2004: 12). Based on this information, the date of the opening of the studio is presumed to be 1898. From available photographs, it appears that he cooperated with A. Lombardo (Kaba, 2007b: 26-29) in 1900 and S. Hartularis in 1905 (Lazarides, 2004: 26).

It is understood that the studio was managed by his partners since the hardware business, in which he was involved with his brother, took a lot of Toufexis'

18) Aristides Coudounaris, personal communication, 13 October 2008.

19) Φωνή Της Κύπρου August 2, 1902.

20) On a monument in the cemetery there is reference to his name and date of death. Alexander-Michael Hadjilyra, through an email shared with author, 6 November 2013.

21) In an issue of Neon Ethnos newspaper, 1902, it is announced that Theodorikos will be leaving the island.

time and precluded him from being a studio photographer. It is also known that he used the dark room of the studio for the developing and printing of exterior takings he made at weekends (Lazarides, 2004: 26). Considering that his name is in the second position on the photograph passepartouts during this partnership period, it is obvious that Toufexis was a sleeping partner. Nevertheless, when the partnership broke down Toufexis managed the studio on his own.

Although Toufexis was the person who popularized studio photography as the first Cypriot studio photographer, his importance lies in street, not in studio photography. The name Toufexis was identified with photographs of Cypriot lifestyle rather than studio works. The freedom to take photographs required great dedication during that period when no motor vehicles were owned. At weekends he photographed the people of the country and their social life by wandering on a mule loaded with a cumbersome camera, tripod and glass negatives and travelling in mountains and hillsides, villages and cities (Sophocleous, 2000: 30). He illustrated landscapes, historical artifacts, and panoramic views, as well as the Cypriot lifestyle (Fig: 07). He was a straightforward photographer who represented his subject as it was, directly and in the most realistic way. In his works, the focus is strictly on his compositions and the static structure of his photographs is remarkable.



Figure 7: Theodoulos N. Toufexis. Cypriot Muleteers, c. 1905. Public domain.

He closed his studio in 1910 upon the insistence of his wife, whom he married in 1909, "... abandon this thing that you neither truly run nor make money from." (Lazarides, 2004: 28). After closing his studio, he transported his equipment to the warehouse of the hardware store he owned in Ermou Street. He continued his amateur works for a while in a dark room he had organized there. Most of the negatives were destroyed by falling from the cart during the transport. The

rest of his archive was destroyed after his death, in 1948, since his family did not appreciate his photographic archives (Lazarides, 2004:28).

Between 1903-1920 and after the appearance of postcards in 1902, many of Toufexis' photographs were turned into postcards. It is also known that other publishers produced postcards from his photographs (Lazarides, 1987: 78, 72). These postcards and his photographs in family albums provide information about his work.

Charles Glaszner was another photographer in Cyprus during this period. In 1882, he was sent to the island as an entomologist working for the Museum of Natural History of Berlin in order to investigate and collect flies and butterflies (Lazarides, 1987: 76; Marangou, 1998: 26).

Glaszner performed taxidermy with his wife Aloysia Meisner (Lazarides (1987: 76; Marangou, 1998: 80), and their main source of income was collecting samples of the Cyprus fauna and selling the birds they stuffed to continental European countries (Marangou, 1998: 82). However, there is no concrete information about Glaszner's photography from 1882 to 1900. It is considered that during that period he concentrated on the Cyprus fauna.

He later established his studio in Limassol, probably after realizing that Cyprus' untouched photography environment was more attractive. The date is not exactly known. Lazarides referred to the end of the 1800s, and Anna Marangou could not clarify this issue in her research on the Glaszner family: "After 1882 Charles Glaszner established himself in Limassol where he opened a professional studio." (Lazarides, 1987: 76; Marangou, 1998: 84).

In one of Glaszner's letters to the director of the Hungarian Museum of Zoology, he mentioned that he was a photographer and owned two studios, one run by himself in Larnaca and another being run by his son Leopold in Nicosia (Marangou, 1998: 80).²² Considering that the correspondence began on 6 September, 1900 (Marangou, 1998: 82), it is presumed that Charles Glaszner's studio was active in Larnaca in 1900. The opening date of the studio can be estimated c. 1898 considering that Glaszner first opened a studio in Limassol before moving to Larnaca.

After his son Leopold arrived in Cyprus in 1900, it appears that Charles Glaszner began to work together with his son in his studio next to St. Joseph Catholic Church in Larnaca.²³ With the development of the business, they moved the studio to Evanthia Pieridou Street and continued to work under the name of Ch. Glaszner & Son (Marangou, 1998: 96). They performed general studio work until the Glaszner personal style was developed, and they documented the visual beauties of Larnaca and stepped into the postcard market.

After the official approval of the use of postcard issued by individuals for

22) There is no data regarding the existence of a studio run by the Glasznors in Nicosia. It could be that Glaszner was intending to open a studio for his son in Nicosia and that is why he called Leopold to Cyprus.

23) Marangou gives this address as the address of the first studio opened by Leopold Glaszner in Larnaca right after his settling in Cyprus (Marangou, 1998: 96). However, Charles Glaszner's aforementioned letter of 6 September 1900 is evidence that Charles Glaszner had moved to Larnaka right after closing his studio in Limasol, before the arrival of Leopold.

correspondence purposes on 1 September, 1902,²⁴ publishing postcards became popular as a line of business. The first postcard in Cyprus was published before the official approval, and it is estimated that 800 - 900 postcards with different topics were published between 1901 and 1925. (Lazarides, 1987: 58).

In 1904, the Glaszners published a small number of postcards that mostly consisted of panoramic views of the major cities of Cyprus (Lazarides, 1987: 76). However, it appears that they had to withdraw from the postcard business in view of strong competition by Foscolo. They remained inactive in this field until Foscolo died. Following the death of Foscolo in 1927, Leopold Glaszner returned to postcard publishing in cooperation with the Mantovani Travel Agency (Lazarides, 1987: 90) and became the largest postcard publisher in Cyprus (Lazarides, 1987: 92). However Charles Glaszner could not witness this success due to his passing in 1926. Leopold Glaszner published more than 200 postcards, 500 of each, which he continued publishing systematically until 1935 (Hadjipanayis, 2001: 13).

The photography career that Charles Glaszner maintained alone was short, and the legend of the Glaszner name began when Leopold took charge of the studio. Leopold added a new sense of portraiture to Cypriot photography. Despite Foscolo's elitist portrait style, which elevated the person's status, Glaszner was more important with his style, which was accurately representative of the sitter and his social identity.

Leopold Glazner was particularly famous for his fictional and superimposed works. The most successful fictional and superimposed photographs by him are found in his self-portraits and the portraits of his daughter Irma. In such works he used stage design, and fictionalized scenes.

Ahmet and İsmet Şevki started studio photography in c.1908 (Kaba, 2013: 20). After Ahmet Şevki married İsmet in 1899, they settled in Nicosia. He taught photography and dark room techniques to his wife and then they continued photography together. Ahmet and İsmet Şevki became professionals between 1900 and 1905 (Kaba, 2007a: 48). However, it is possible to see the amateur perceptions of İsmet Şevki in her photograph dated 1921 and entitled "Mother Breastfeeding Her Daughter (K.K.)" (Fig:8).

It is known that there was a division of labor between them, Ahmet Şevki conducting takings, while İsmet Şevki conducted dark room works. Previously, they had concentrated on exterior takings, mainly school photographs. By the year 1908, they started to practice studio photography, in addition to exterior takings in the courtyard of their house by using natural light (Kaba, 2007a: 56).

İsmet Şevki did not only continue her dark room work. Due to the existing sensitivity in the society regarding photography of Muslim women by male photographers, it was also the duty of İsmet to take photographs of the female customers.

It is remarkable that a stage design was repeatedly implemented in portrait sessions. However, Ahmet Şevki's works were not limited only to such takings. He became one of the first implementers in Cypriot photography of what would be regarded as environmental portrait in universal photography in later years.

²⁴ Post Office Ordinance 1881 (1902, 15 August). The Cyprus Gazette, (No 737).



Figure 8: İsmet Şevki. Mother Breastfeeding Her Daughter, 1921. Courtesy of Kaya Erel.

The infrastructure of the studio of Ahmet and İsmet Şevki was based on a bellows studio camera and the use of glass negatives of different formats. Initially, they sensitized photographic cards by themselves. In 1917, they moved the studio to the porch of the house and began to use artificial light and printing out paper. As a popular technique for impressions of the period they used to apply toning. (Kaba, 2007a: 57). The printings were made as contact prints in daylight. An examination of the portrait of Osman Cemal dated to c. 1922 indicates that they made radical changes in their infrastructure due to electrical energy (Fig:09). The use of electrical light, offered the possibility to utilized pictorial and psychological values of tones. In 1925, they, as a whole family, emigrated and settled in Antalya.



Figure 9: Ahmet Şevki. Osman Cemal, c. 1922. Authors archive.

Two important photographers Hrant Varjabedian and Haritoun Kavoukian appeared in the 1910s. When photographs by both photographers are examined, it is understood that they were active between c. 1910 and 1930s. Although it is not known from where and when these two photographers came to Cyprus, their traces disappear from Cypriot photography after the 1930s. It is presumed that they belonged to the group of Armenian photographers who came from Anatolia with the migration wave after the 1909 Adana rebellion. Similarly, there is no information about them among the Cyprus Armenian Community.²⁵ Information provided by Dedeian, refers to Varjabedian's studio as located in Ledra Street.²⁶

Along with the fact that they started to use electrical energy in their studios at the beginning of the 1920s, they also differed from the photographers before them since they effectively used the psychological and pictorial values of tone in their works. The conventional portrait style, the prototypes of which had been used in the previous years, was adopted and practiced artfully by Varjabedian and Kavoukian.

Varjabedian used full-scale tonal range which depicted the subject natural and drew attention to the way he used the subject's body language. Both photographers' simple compositions added strength to the naturalness of the subject.

Varjabedian also made exterior takings as well as studio photography. A newspaper announcement mentions that he provided public services to other districts, not only Nicosia and that he took photographs by staying in C. Charalambides Hotel in Larnaca for a month.²⁷

Kavoukian's studio was in Nicosia. However, no clear evidence has surfaced as to its whereabouts. From the photograph which presents himself in front of his studio, it is clear that his studio was a home studio, and as usual in those times, he exhibited his photographs in glass showcases on the right and left sides of the door. Kavoukian stands out with his character study photographs where he uses medium contrast tonal range in his portrait takings (Fig:10).

The first public electricity production in Cyprus began in Limassol in 1912 (Electricity Authority of Cyprus, 2014) and did not become widespread until the early 1920s. By the time electricity became widespread, photographic studios continued to use natural light as a light source. It is known that production started in Nicosia in 1913, in Famagusta, Larnaca, and Paphos in 1922, and in Kyrenia in 1927 (Electricity Authority of Cyprus, 2014).

The development achieved with the investments made in the 1920s, spread the use of electricity widely in Nicosia (Keshishian, 1978: 105). This development was the most important breaking point in the reshaping of Cypriot photography. The existing studios transformed their technical infrastructure into a structure based on electrical energy. Based on the evaluations performed on photographs, it is understood that J. P. Foscolo in Limassol in the second half of the 1910s, Ahmet Şevki, Hrant Varjabedian and Haritoun Kavoukian in Nicosia, and Glaszner in Larnaca in 1922 simultaneously adopted electrical energy-based infrastructure.

25) Alexander-Michael Hadjilyra, email to author, Nicosia, June 3, 2017

26) Harry Dedeian, (photographic material seller), personal communication, June 7, 2005.

27) Enosis, November 8, 1912.

While the stage design conception was aesthetically adhered to until the early 1920s, during which natural light was used, the fundamental change in the quality of light revealed the pictorial and psychological importance of tones. Accordingly, the aesthetics of aristocratic iconography were abandoned, and the aesthetics of bourgeois iconography were adopted. As a result of this development, the stage design style lost its historical importance and was replaced by the conventional portrait style.



Figure 10: H. Kavoukian. Kadi Ali Rifat Efendi, c. 1922. Author's archive.

Photography, which was stuck in Limassol, Larnaca, and Nicosia, began to spread over the island in the 1910s. A. Petridou opened the first studio in Paphos, described as the “artistic photo studio” by Michaelides, and after some time, Geros also opened his studio in Paphos (Μιχαηλίδης, 1989: 181).

By the 1920s, the presence of photographic studios and itinerant photographers stood out in every part of the island. During the first half of the early 1920s, photography was revived in Famagusta; Andreas Nikolaidēs²⁸ and Mosdichian²⁹ c. 1920; Mangoian Brothers 1922 (Lazarides, 1987: 94). In Kyrenia Polydoros Constantinides started amateur photography in the 1920s. In 1926, he opened a studio in Kyrenia and started professional photography (Sophocleous, 2000: 42-43).

While examining his photographs, it is assumed that Andreas Nikolaidēs, who was a travelling photographer in the late 1910s, established his studio in 1920. Taking into consideration the chronology of photography in Famagusta, the studio of Nikolaidēs was the first studio in the town.

Photographs in family albums indicate that he also made school photo takings as well as portraits and weddings in line with the studio traditions of the period. Based on examination concerning the light quality and quantity of the few studio photographs available, it is understood that natural light was used. From three studio portrait photographs included in the album of Pitsa Spyridakis,³⁰ it is clear that Nikolaidēs worked both with the stage design style and the conventional style. He also printed postcards of Famagusta landscapes, although these were few (Lazarides, 1987: 96).

In a photograph in the archive of Şevket Öznur and from a newspaper advertisement,³¹ we learn that Mosdichian was active in Famagusta between 1920–1950.

After working with the Glasznerns for a while the brothers Haigaz and Levon Mangoian opened a studio in Famagusta in 1922 (Lazarides, 1987: 94; Marangou, 1996: 21).³² In 1924, they moved to Nicosia and established a photography business under the name of Mangoian Bros. in Ledra Street (Marangou, 1996: 21). In the following years, they turned towards the import of photographic material. Although Haigaz was a successful portrait photographer, the name Mangoian was more important with his commercial side and his photographic works on the Cypriot lifestyle.

Cypriot Photography Sure of Itself: 1930

Haigaz Mangoian’s photographs depicting the Cypriot lifestyle differed from previous photographers and established a school that determined future

28) This date is set in relation to photographs from the Şevket Öznur family album which all point to the existence of a developed studio even in 1920. However this date is set to 1925 by Lazarides, (Lazarides, 1987:96).

29) Şevket Öznur dates a photo from his family album that carries the stamp of Foto Mosditchian to 1920. Mosdichian who is mentioned here should not be confused with Martyros Mosditchian who was a zinkograf in Larnaka around those days.

30) I am grateful to Ms Spyridakis for allowing me to examine her family album of the 1880s-1940s

31) Hür Söz, 25 August, 1950 (issue 1258, p 4).

32) No information in relation to this matter can be obtained from the web page of Mangoian Bros. Ltd. where only an establishment date of 1924 is present; (Mangoian Bros. Ltd.)

orientations. In his works, he depicted his subject directly and in the most realistic way. The continuity he established between real space and descriptive space in his photographs which he produced in the sense of open composition, referred to the flow of life. He continued with postcard publishing, which he started in 1930, until c. 1960. Due to the success he achieved, he was appointed Official Photographer of the Governor's Office (Lazarides, 1987: 94) by Governor Sir Charles Campbell Woolley.

Mangoian's philosophy of street photography was an important breaking point in Cypriot photography. The tradition of Ottoman street photography dominating Cypriot photography ended with Mangoian. He brought the universal contemporary photojournalistic approach of street photography, which began in the 1910s and became traditional in the 1930s, to Cypriot photography within the same timeframe. Until the post-modern period after 2000, this tradition maintained its dominance except for technical innovations.

Vahan Avedissian, was another photographer of the period. Following his arrival in Cyprus in 1921 (Lazarides, 2005: 14), he opened a photography business at 12 Ledra Street and started to work together with his brother Ardashes, probably in 1922 (Lazarides, 2005: 19). They were doing developing and printing in the dark room they established at home in Apollo Street (Lazarides, 2005: 16). After a while, they started to import photographic material. While Vahan conducted the photography works of the business, Ardashes dealt with the import and sale of photographic material. When Ardashes withdrew from the partnership due to health reasons in 1937, the business was completely left to Vahan, who moved to number 16, Ledra Street and ran the business there on his own until he ceased photography in 1950 (Lazarides, 2005: 19).

Apart from his studio works, Vahan travelled around Cyprus on his motorcycle, took photographs, and published postcards from those photographs. Vahan's sister Valentine assisted him both in his studio and exterior photography works (Lazarides, 2005: 19).

Vahan Avedissian, who closed his studio in 1950 and stopped photography, was then engaged only in selling photographic material at 258A Ledra Street. During these years traces of his archive disappeared. After he passed away in 1959 his family took over the business. In 1962 the family closed the shop and migrated to England. Subsequently, the archive was completely lost (Lazarides, 2005: 8).

M. Fevzi Akarsu, who started as a itinerant photographer in 1924, had a contemporary studio infrastructure by the year 1927 (Kaba, 2016: 55). Akarsu was trained in studio traditions until the early 1930s by Şevket Bıyıkoğlu, and in the following years, he was taught advance lighting techniques by Mangoian. At the end of this process, in the 1930s, he took his place in Cypriot Photography as a master of lighting.

Although he concentrated on stage design, he came to the forefront with his conventional, modern, and Hollywood-style portraits. In these conventional portrait works he used a full-scale and sectional tonal range. From a pictorial perspective, he usually brought light tones to the forefront to create a style reflecting the character of the subject. From a psychological aspect, he depicted the subject genuinely

with his natural and representative characteristics.

In his Hollywood-style portraits, he usually highlighted his subject by focusing only on head and shoulder close-ups, and understating the status of his sitter (Fig:11). In the portraits of women and men who were the products of that style, he accentuated femininity and manliness.



Figure 11: M. Fevzi Akarsu. Unknown, c. 1945. Authors archive.

Edward Voskeritchian, an Armenian refugee who came to Cyprus in 1915, was another master of Cypriot photography. He worked as an apprentice to Foscolo between the years 1920 to 1926. Because of his illness, Foscolo was no longer able to run his studio and in 1926 he proposed a partnership to Edward. Upon refusing the proposal, Foscolo gave 20 Cyprus pounds redundancy fee to Edward with which the latter established his studio.³³

He was basically more than a studio photographer as he stepped forward as a photographer of social life. He depicted the Limassol life style with all its social and political aspects. Soon he won the appreciation of the Colonial Government and was appointed official photographer. After that he also depicted important events of the Colonial era in addition to the Limasol everyday life scenes.

During those years, Cypriot photography had spread all over the island mainly by Armenian photographers. Many studios opened during the period from the 1920s to the end of the 1930s. There are photographs from studios such as Photo Modern (1930s) in Larnaca; N. M. Loucaides (1920s), Ververis, Bastacian Bros (1930s), Photo Kokkinos in Limassol; Polydoros Constantinides (1926) in Kyrenia; Photo Süleyman and Spiros Charitou (c. 1928) in Paphos; Ch. Servanis, Lekegian, Yervant Biberyan and Photo Necdet (1920s), Asoryan, Loutfig, Zartarian, Athinaikon, Photo Radio adn Photo Papaioannou (1930s) were active in Nicosia.

During this period, which lasted until the end of the 1930s, developments took place in all areas of photography. Studio photography was aesthetically redefined and reshaped and would remain as such all the way up to digital technology.

Haigaz Mangoian and Fevzi Akarsu became the most popular photographers in Cyprus. While Mangoian was important with his works on the Cyprus lifestyle, Fevzi Akarsu came to the forefront with his studio portrait works. These photographers, with their conceptions, aesthetically reshaped and redefined Cypriot Photography and led it to the level of universal photography.

Amateur Photography

Amateur photography's second phase appears in the person of Hatice Alişan (Kaba, 2009; 106-115), Ahmet Hulusi Musa (Kaba, 2013: 60-62), and Ahmet Burhan (Kadizade Ahmet Burhanettin) (Kaba, 2008: 30-35) during the second half of the 1910s. These amateurs constitute the second generation. However, they were not simple button pressers. The cameras they used had a wide variety of formats, and they used glass and film negative materials of different formats. Since professional photography did not have the cultural and technical structure to serve developing and printing services to amateurs in those years, amateurs had to make prints by themselves and learn by themselves all about shooting.

During the years without electricity, the dark rooms of this generation were usually established in the bathroom of the house, and prints were made by the contact printing method, while during the years with electricity, they were made by using an enlarger. They made the apparatus by themselves according to their needs.

Since in those years, the large masses of society did not have the economic

33) Süleyman Polili (Photo Süleyman), personal communication, Kyrenia, February 19, 1989.

infrastructure required by amateur works or hobbies, amateurs emerged from the elite class of the society in economic and socio-cultural terms. Only those people had the material and other prerequisites necessary for photography.

Memory, environment, landscape, and portrait photography constituted their subjects and with these they attracted attention to their amateur works. In the 1920s and 1930s, amateur photography became widespread, especially among the Armenian community settled on the island. By the 1930s, families had cameras and photographed their own family lifestyles (Fig:12).



Figure 12: Karnik Keshishian. Memento, 1938. Courtesy of Nina Keshishian.

The amateurs of this period constituted the third-generation group. Polydoros Constantinides started amateur photography in the 1920s. In 1926, he opened a studio in Kyrenia and started professional photography. Then, he worked as a photojournalist at the British Public Information Office (Sophocleous, 2000: 42-43). Dr. Fikret Rasım was a fully equipped amateur.³⁴ He used glass negatives of 9.8x14.8 and 12.7x17.7 cm formats at the beginning and 120 size roll film in the following years, and he performed developing and printing by himself.³⁵ Şevket Bıyıkoğlu was an amateur studio photographer. Trained as a studio photographer by Ahmet Şevki he stands out as an amateur studio photographer who never practiced street photography. He practiced photography as an amateur in his studio which he set up in his father's house between the years 1923 to the early 1930s. Mahmut Şevket Egemen, was another amateur photographer who worked on glass negatives and

34) Gülçin Rassım [daughter-in-law of Dr. Fikret Rasım], personal communication, Nicosia, 11 August 2016.

35) Some of the negatives and photographs were kept in the archive of his son Erol and his wife Gülçin Rassım.

had a very well preserved archive.³⁶ Muhyi Said (Kaba, 2013: 73-74) continuously worked from 1929 until his death in 1995. He was the only amateur of his time who had both witnessed and practiced analog and digital technology. M. Muhyi Said & Co., owned by him, is the first company to import digital cameras.³⁷

While some of the amateurs encountered in the 1930s had their own dark rooms, some of them benefited from professional services. Mustafa Kemalettin was a teacher from Larnaca. He worked as an amateur until the 1960s, and some of his works are preserved in the TRNC Presidency Research and National Archives Department. The Franco-Levantine Theophilus A. H. Mogabgab was responsible for the Famagusta Department of Antiquities. As an amateur he took photographs of historical sites and artifacts and kept records for the Department (Zaimoğlu, 1998: 107-109). His photographic works do not only represent recordings of antiquities. He was also very interested in the social life and cultural traditions of Cyprus. These works by him are also preserved at the Famagusta Department of Antiquities. Şaziye and Akile Bodamyalızade were the daughters of an elite family. They were interested in photography since their early youth. They used roll film and had prints made in the studios that offered developing and printing services. Some of their works are preserved in the album of their nephew Özel Vasif.³⁸ Felix Yiaxis started amateur photography with a Kodak Norton box camera bought by his father when he was young. Everything he saw around him constituted his area of interest (Sophocleous, 2000: 134-135). In the following years, he turned towards photojournalism and became one of the important photojournalists in Cyprus.

During the 1930s, Armenian photographers became the driving force of Cypriot photography and started to commercialize photography as a result of their commercially-minded nature. While before them every amateur needed his own dark room, with the emergence of Armenian studios, amateurs were able to benefit from developing and printing services. These services popularised amateur photography. The amateur was able to perform his photographic works without having a dark room. It paved the way for button pressers by extending the boundaries of amateur photography.

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³⁶) Oral information.

³⁷) Said Muhyi (director of M. Muhyi Said & Co.), personal communication, Nicosia, between November 2007 – January 2008.

³⁸) Özel Vasif, personal communication, Nicosia, 2000-2010.

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The Place of Lefkara Lace in Interior Architecture

Ezgi Özyiğit*

Eastern Mediterranean University

Abstract

Cypriot culture is very broad and has lots of values. One of the biggest values is undoubtedly handcrafts in Cyprus. Within these handcrafts, Lefkara Lace plays an important role by being the most unique and the popular one, as it has been under protection of UNESCO since 2009. Despite being famous and unique, there are currently very few studies about Lefkara Lace, most of which focused on the techniques of producing Lefkara Lace and the history behind it. There were no studies in regard to its usage. Many patterns of Lefkara Lace had already been lost, due to not taking it under protection and due to lack of documentation. Most of the patterns are in danger of being lost and all of them are constantly changing due to workers and instant surroundings. In addition to this, the number of people producing Lefkara Lace is decreasing day by day. This research has been done in order to understand the usage of Lefkara Lace in interior decoration, to look at its usage in the past and now, and to predict how it will be used in the future. In order to achieve this aim, interviews with producers (Cypriot women) were held to understand their relationship with Lefkara Lace. Moreover, interviews with non-producers were also held to understand their attitude to Lefkara Lace. Interviewees were selected from age group of 25 to 70 to examine the attitude from different generations. In conclusion, in this research it was studied that the usage and the production of Lefkara Lace have increased mostly as souvenirs. However, the usage of Lefkara Lace in interior decoration has definitely decreased. Its usage is limited mainly to protect it and to be able to pass it to next generations.

Keywords

Cultural Handcraft; Lefkara Lace; Interior Architecture; Alteration; North Cyprus

* Ezgi Özyiğit, Faculty of Architecture, Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta- North Cyprus via Mersin 10, Turkey. E-mail: e-ozyigit@hotmail.com [ORCID ID: 0000-0002-1933-5789]

İç Mimaride Lefkara Dantelinin Yeri

Ezgi Özyiğit

Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi

Özet

Kıbrıs kültürü çok geniştir ve birçok değere sahiptir. En çok öne çıkan değerlerden biri de, kuşkusuz Kıbrıs'taki el işleridir. Bu el işlerinin arasında, Lefkara dantelinin önemi, eşsiz ve popüler olmasıdır. Lefkara danteli, 2009 yılından beri UNESCO tarafından koruma altına alınmıştır. Popüler olması ve bir benzerinin olmamasına rağmen, Lefkara danteli hakkında yapılmış çok az araştırma olup, çoğu çalışma Lefkara dantelinin yapımında kullanılan tekniklere ve bu nakişin tarihine odaklanmakta; nasıl kullanıldığını ele alan çalışmalar yapılmamıştır. Birçok Lefkara danteli deseni, korunmadığından ve kayıt altına alınmadığından günümüze kadar gelememiştir. Birçoğu kaybolma tehlikesi altında, zanaatkarlar tarafından sürekli değiştirilmekte ve değişen çevresel faktörlere maruz kalmaktadır. Ayrıca, Lefkara danteliyle uğraşan insanların sayısı her geçen gün azalmaktadır. Bu araştırma sayesinde, Lefkara dantelinin iç mimaride nasıl kullanıldığını anlamak, geçmişteki kullanımına bakmak ve gelecekteki kullanımı hakkında tahmin yürütmek amaçlanmaktadır. Bu amaca ulaşmak için, zanaatkarlarla (Kıbrıslı kadınlarla) Lefkara danteliyle ilgili mülakatlar yapıldı. Buna ek olarak, Lefkara danteli hakkında tutumlarını anlamak için, zanaatkar olmayanlarla da mülakatlar yapıldı. Bu çalışma için mülakat edilenler 25 ve 70 yaş arasından, farklı jenerasyonlardan seçildi. Sonuç olarak, bu araştırma kapsamında Lefkara dantelinin kullanımı ve yapımının, çoğunluğu hediyelik eşya olarak arttığı görülmüştür. Fakat, iç mimaride Lefkara dantelinin kullanımı azalmış, çoğunla korunması ve ileriki kuşaklar için saklanmasıyla sınırlı kalmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler

Kültürel El İş; Lefkara Danteli; İç Mimari; Değişim; Kuzey Kıbrıs

Introduction

“Culture is the intersection of people and life itself. It’s how we deal with life, love, death, birth, disappointment... all of that is expressed in culture” says Wendell Pierce (Izmen, 2005). With globalization, humans are not only part of their culture but part of whole world which creates new modern and global culture. That includes common things, behaviours, perspectives, etc. With this globalization, small countries’ culture is up to be forgotten. In order to gain the cultures to the modern world, first they need to be understood deeply.

Cypriot culture is one the broadest ones, including very different combinations in its history. Surely, it has lots of cultural heritage to be studied and handcrafts is one of the greatest. The handcrafts are very broad; especially Lefkara Lace which is the most famous handcraft in Cyprus is originally based in Lefkara Village and it has a history for approximately 700 years, from the Venetians period. Thus, it is believed that it is a combination of Venetian Lace and White Work, which was based in Cyprus as well. In addition, it was seen in the ‘Last Supper’ painting of Da Vinci. It is believed that he came to Cyprus and used the Dere pattern of the lace in his painting, in the corners of the tablecloth (Newman, 2012). The legend of Da Vinci’ visiting the island in 1481, taking and using Lefkara in his ‘Last Supper’ drawing was mentioned in various sources (Ekingen, 2016) (Hadjiyasemi, 1999) (Izmen, 2005) (Figure 2). According to the legend, Da Vinci’s visit ended up by using this unique work in Milan Cathedral. As it was said, they renewed that lace in October 1986 so that in a way, it increases the probability of this myth to be close to being more real (Hadjiyasemi, 1999). Also, a Lefkara Lace tablecloth was given to Queen Elizabeth in 1953 (Newman, 2012).

Besides this worldwide fame, Lefkara Lace is very unique due to its materials and techniques; which is why it has been under protection of UNESCO from 2009 (Hadjiyasemi, 1999).

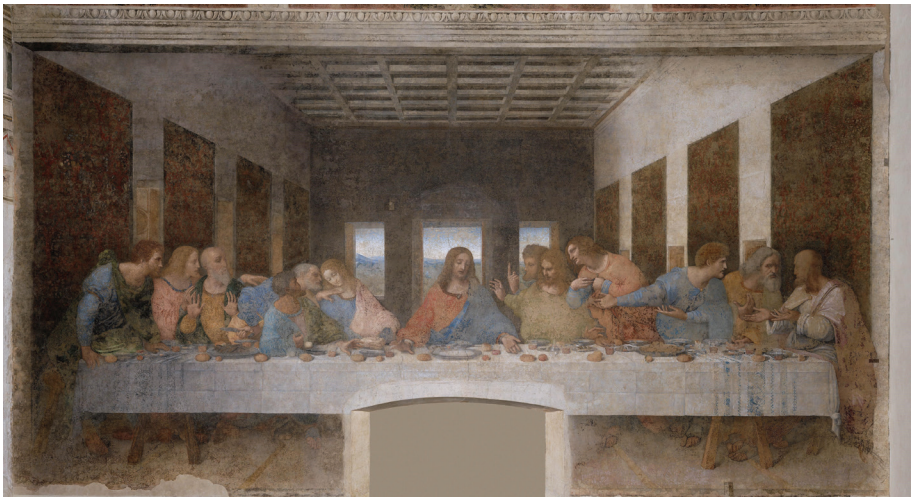


Figure 1: Da Vinci's Last Supper Original (McGrogan, N/A)

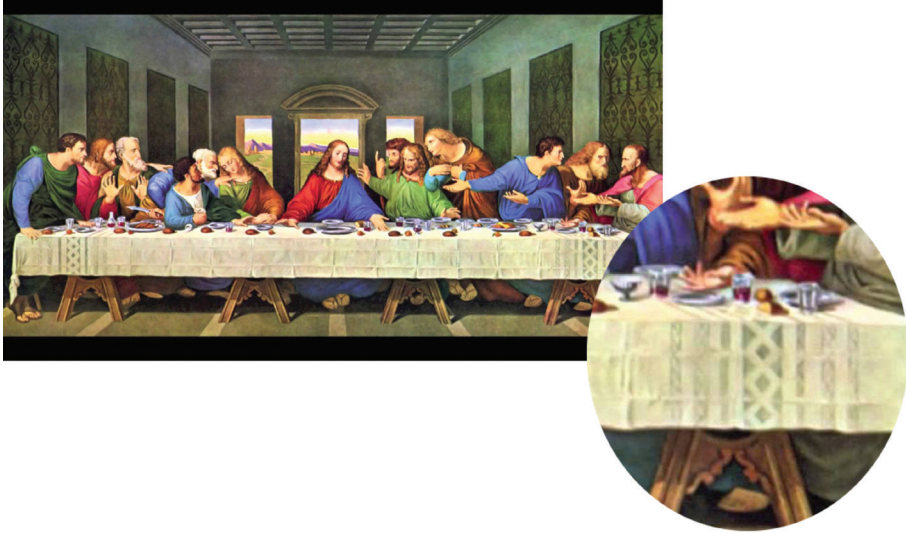


Figure 2: Da Vinci's 'Last Supper' Illustrated Version showing detailed Dere Pattern of Lefkara Lace (Shyana, 2014)

In today's World, where people have almost no time and the consumption is demanded very highly; such handicrafts are in danger of getting lost, in terms of production. Since the production is very difficult and requires lots of time and effort, it can be said that this unique Lace need very delicate care. Because of this required care, its usages are getting decreased in this fast everyday life. Due to today's conditions, it is observed that production of Lefkara Lace is decreased, as well as its produced scales. Although it was used as large-scale products in the houses of wealthy people in the past; nowadays, it can be found in much smaller scale products, such as coasters and trays. These products are mostly for sale for tourists.

In addition, due to lack of documentation about Cyprus and its culture, many patterns of Lefkara Lace were lost, and the others are still in danger of getting lost with other handicrafts (Ekingen, 2016). This includes how the Lefkara Lace was started, for what aims it was produced and how it was used. The first aim of this study is to fill the gap in literature. The second aim is to understand the usage of Lefkara Lace in the houses since Venetians' time when it had started to be seen, to the present. The third aim is to make some predictions for the future in order to take some precautions to stop the danger of getting lost.

Literature Review

In Northern part of the island, there are two main books which give details of the history and also the examples of Lefkara Lace. Faiz mentions the history of the work, the communication it provides within the community which is believed to make it different from any other work, the economic opportunities and analysis of the lace, another analysis of its global perception and what can be added from today to the

cultural lace. Mostly, Faiz's book is about comparison of southern and northern part of the island with Lefkara Lace as a tool. The materials that are used to make Lefkara Lace were also mentioned in this book. The methodology was making interviews with women who had been producing Lefkara and since there were no data about the number of people working on this lace, the most popular villages were chosen for the interviews. Faiz stated that Lefkara Lace has been losing its value; due to decrease in practice and due to not being worth the effort (Faiz, 1993).

Ekingen (Ekingen, 2016) mentions about history, techniques, materials, variations and origins of Lefkara Lace. She says that there should definitely be more research about Lefkara because it is about to be extinct. According to the legends, Cypriot women learnt the lace from Venetian ladies during the Venetian period in Cyprus, which was from 1489 to 1570/71 and they continued the tradition until 1970s in Lefkara Village. The lace had spread all over the island after '74 War with migration (Ekingen, 2016). She mentions the materials were produced in Cyprus but after Cyprus Government, Irish Linen and French Yarn have been used. They have always been beige linen and tons of white, green and brown yarn (Ekingen, 2016) (Figure 3). Different options of usage of Lefkara in the past are classified as bed lings (Figure 5), tablecloths, chair cloths, curtains and lightings.



Figure 3: Producing Lefkara Lace (Pier, 2012)

In the southern part of the island, Lefkara Lace was believed to reflect strength, understanding and awareness of Cypriot women, since it requires too much effort and skills. It is stated that modern period embroidery has been changed and simplified due to high production cost, the effort and losing its value over generations. Hadjiyasemi (Hadjiyasemi, 1999) mentions the origins of Lefkara coming from White Embroidery which is believed by lots of writers, too. Materials and technical details were explained, where the linen was produced and how different parts are produced differently (Hadjiyasemi, 1999).

While some limited sources described Lefkara as 'the perfect mirror of Cypriot culture', other sources added that the sale of the lace were being done by the Italian merchants to Europe and in Frank era (UNESCO, N/A). However, it is stated that the sale of the lace was interrupted by World War II and could not be recovered since then (Newman, 2012).

The journal, "Halkbilimi", has also published brief information about it in their few editions (Faiz, 1990) (Nailer, Yalçın, Nailer & Aldağ, 1987) as well as the websites. In an interview, a retired examiner from Ministry of Education, Ozay Soykan, talked about the usage of Lefkara in interiors. She said that "in the past, it was produced to be used, too, not only for commercial purposes. It was necessary in every girl's dowries. Only tablecloths, bed lings and even ties were made" (Facebook, N/A) (Figure 3).

Almost every source talk about the technique of the lace, which is still difficult. One of the main specialities of Lefkara Lace is that its back looks the same as the front. It is also a repetition of geometric patterns with only one colour wool and only one ball of wool in a piece. The main patterns are always framed with supporting patterns around them. In a basic version, Dolgu (Filling), Kesme (Cutting), Sarma (Wrapping), Acur and Kenar (Side) knitting techniques are used. In addition, the patterns are based on ethnic patterns (Ekingen, 2016). Due to these main specialities, the lace has always been respected.



Figure 4: Photo from the Past (Cyprus Inform, 2016)

To sum up, even though there are some books, articles and hearsay information about Lefkara Lace, it can be concluded that there is limited amount of information regarding it. Moreover, its usage in Interior decoration and why it is about to become extinct in usage, has not been clearly stated anywhere which creates a gap in the literature.

Methodology

Research Method

The research aim is to understand whether or not the usage of Lefkara Lace in interior decoration is decreasing and if so, to understand the reasons behind this decrease in usage. Empirical research type was selected. Due to lack of documentation, there is no evidence of the usage of Lefkara Lace in the past and the reasons behind this. Therefore, qualitative method was chosen to be used by collecting the main information from Cypriot women, similar to Faiz's and Ekingen's work (Ekingen, 2016) (Faiz, 1993).

As the chosen subject is both about history and culture, there were various methodologies that could be used during the research including historical and ethnographic research methods (Vestbro, Hurol & Wilkinson, 2005). However, the research also includes answering why and how the use of Lefkara Lace has changed over time. For this reason, an Exploratory Case Study method, which begins with Qualitative method and continues with Quantitative method in order to ensure the results, was undertaken. (Baxter, 2008). Open-ended questions were asked to producers and non-producers as interviews and to support the research, open-ended questionnaires were given to randomly selected Cypriot women. In this case, the results from interviews were studied together with supporting questionnaire and observations.

Data Collection

Interviews were done where there were on-going observations during the process as well. The main reason for doing so was the fact that the source of information about the subject is about to get extinct just as the laces' unique patterns. Interviews were done by using semi-structured questions.

In order to support the observations to be more objective, questionnaire was used, too. It was prepared as a very general questionnaire, which asked how people have used Lefkara Lace in their houses. They were done in Turkish and translated in English afterwards.

Sample Size

The study was carried out only in northern part of the island and to collect correct data, only Cypriot women were selected. The number of interviews was not limited to be more flexible and to reach more data, but when the results from them started to repeat each other, they have been stopped with numbers of 4 non-producers and 4 producers of Lefkara Lace. The Cypriot women were selected randomly. Besides these women, for reaching more valuable information; Ekingen who is the writer of the book *Lefkara Nakışı* (Ekingen, 2016) and the owner of Lefkara Corner and Lisaniler, who is the designer of modern versions of Lefkara Lace and the owner of Gambilili shop were interviewed.

Additionally, for observations, there were not any limitations, every kind of interior was aimed to be observed and at the end, six houses and one working place were examined. These were also places where interviews took place. According to State Planning Organization, by 2013 there are more people living

in Nicosia than other cities (Sabah, 2013). Thus, Nicosia was selected as limitation for questionnaire. Since there is no exact number of amounts of Cypriot women in Nicosia, questionnaires were made with 34 Cypriot women, randomly. On the other hand, both interviews and questionnaires were done randomly with different age groups from 25 to 70 to understand each generation's attitude.

Field Study

The interviewees were divided into two groups in order to understand different perspectives. The first group was composed of people who produce Lefkara Lace and the second group was composed of people who do not produce Lefkara Lace. Based on the Coding Technique which is separating the meaningful expressions within the interviews, interviewees' perceptions were grouped and analysed in table format, as seen below, to be able to see the results clearly.

Interviews with Non-producers

Four non-producers who came from different professions were interviewed. Within these four interviewees, only one of them did not have any Lefkara Lace but all of them were definitely interested in it. Their relatives have learnt to make it in the handcraft's courses for women. Only one of these interviewees met with Lefkara Lace in childhood.

She tells the story of how her family has met it: "My mother has one tray which was made by my grandmother. In the past, teachers were really important in the villages. They used to teach women how to cook, how to produce laces, and give classes for students. When my grandmother was pregnant, a teacher came to her village. She was very industrious; she was going to the gardens to work, teaching women to cook and produce laces, also teaching parents how to communicate with their children. She had also taught Lefkara Lace to women to teach the culture. My grandmother really liked her and since she was pregnant, she gave her child the teacher's name. My grandmother saw Lefkara Lace from her, for the first time and for keeping a memory, she produced one piece. Now, my mother has it but we have never used it, in order to protect it due to its high value to us." Almost every interviewee preferred not using it in traditional ways, such as tablecloths because of its high value and the danger of getting damaged. With the change in ways of using, interviewees have started using it more, as smaller products such as trays or coasters, which are under glass covers.

All of the interviewees agree on the change of Lefkara Lace. They think main change has happened in the ways of using it. In the past, they had seen Lefkara Lace as curtains, covers, cloths, suites of furniture (Figure 4 and Figure 5) but nowadays, they see Lefkara Lace as trays, mostly, accessories, jewelleryes, coasters, panels. One interviewee said; "Young generation can use Lefkara Lace which their grandmothers had produced, in very different places." Since the world is getting modernized day-by-day, traditional ways get out of fashion and people prefer modern-style interior decoration.



Figure 5: Bedlinen (Gounesco, N/A)



Figure 6: Interior (Tripadvisor, 2015)

Interviewees believe with these new versions of usages, which actually had been started for tourists' attraction; local people have started to support it more. On the other hand, they also agreed that usages will increase. "I think it won't be used as cloths, trays because our lifestyle has changed a lot. But maybe, as panels, decorative accessories it may be used more." said the interviewee #2.

As interviewee #4 says; “I think we are in a stage that lots of things that are related to culture are denied. It is a stage that directs us to use more modern, global stuff instead of our own culture. I believe that these efforts to provide it to society will end up positively and young people will own Lefkara Lace in order to protect it.” Each interviewee thinks the attitude to Lefkara Lace is bad, but this can be improved by producing modern versions, more functional objects. Also, according to one of the interviewees who is 30 years old, since there are very reachable and fashionable products now, young people do not attempt to learn the handcrafts and spend that much effort.

“Maybe someone who does not know about Lefkara Lace may think that it is expensive but if the given effort is considered, I do not think it is expensive. Think about a painting, how the painter spends time on it and care for brushes, Lefkara Lace is the same. It is an art of making lace on the wires. If we think about how many days a woman spends to make a tray cloth, for example, and how much it costs to make; it can be considered as an expensive product. The endeavour is the most expensive thing.” says interviewee #3 about the cost of Lefkara Lace.

Table1: Perceptions of non-producers

Statements	Number of Interviewee who Agree
In the past, it was produced in bigger scales than now	4
Prefer using it in smaller scales, ex. Trays, coaster, etc.	3
It is expensive and it prevents usage in bigger scales	4
Young people will be interested if usage will be adapted in modern ways	4

Interviews with Producers

The four producers were in the age group of 50 and 70. One of them is a teacher in the courses for women in the villages, another one is a producer who sells laces and other two produce Lefkara Lace for themselves. These two women had learnt to produce it in the courses in the villages (Figure 7). According to them, it has not changed but it became free on adapting. Both of them said it was in bigger scales; suite of furniture, cloths, curtains in the past. Depending on the effort, they couldn't sell their products and prefer giving them as gifts to loved ones. As one of them said; “With all the materials, it is impossible for me to sell it cheaper. I do not even sell it at all. I can give them as gifts but never sell it.”

Other two producers learnt Lefkara Lace in their childhood. Seller learnt from her mother, who was from Luricina (Akıncılar), and the teacher learnt it from a neighbour. The seller has mentioned that it has changed a lot and it became easier, as they have produced it in smaller scales. For the usage in the past both of them agreed it was more used as bigger scales, as for actually using it in the houses but now, young generation does not prefer that, they choose using it as trays more. Both of them said that they have used it in their houses, as both decorations, like tablecloths, bedcovers and functional objects, like trays. However, due to its difficulties to take care of, they have removed large amount of them. As they said, the cotton was different in the past; it had more quality so that it did not get deformed easily.

Compared to non-producers' interviewees, these women think, Lefkara Lace production will decrease. Young people do not have enough time and patience to learn and produce. On the other hand, they mentioned the usages will decrease too.



Figure 7: Woman with Lefkara Lace (Photo taken by author)

Table2: Perceptions of producers

Statement	Number of Interviewee who Agree
In the past, it was produced in bigger scales than now	4
Prefer using it in both bigger and smaller scales	2
Due to amount of effort, prefer keeping it as a memory	4
Usage will increase in functional ways	4

Interviews with Şenay Ekingen and Aydan Lisaniler

Şenay Ekingen learnt Lefkara Lace when she migrated to Luricina in 1964. The other migrators, from Dali and Bodamyia which have been the centre of the Lefkara Lace; brought Lefkara Lace to Luricina. As she has researched, it is "imprisoned in the villages" which makes lots of information stay hidden. She mentioned the usage of it was mainly the big-scaled covers, but she said that only wealthy people had it, in the past, due to its materials' prices, the effort and taking care of it. "Lefkara Lace has always been related to money, it was not seen in every house in the past. Also, it is made up of linen, which requires good care" she explained (Figure 7).

Every region had its own unique patterns; thus, the traders were asking for these specific patterns from these different regions, during the migrations. With this way, it has been protected. Nowadays, she is concerned about the future of Lefkara Lace. In terms of today's usages of Lefkara Lace; she only produces and sells traditional versions, which are mostly bought as formal gifts by locals and by tourists.



Figure 8: Lefkara Lace Tablecloth (Everett, 2012)

Compared to Şenay Ekingen, Aydan Lisaniler has designed modern versions of Lefkara Lace; as she says “I have started thinking how I can sell my products. I began to produce things in smaller scales, because the cost is directly related with the scale, if it is bigger, it costs higher. I was thinking to produce things that can be affordable. It is important to sell these things to tourists; they carry our culture over the world. Thus, I produced jewellerys, like necklaces, rings. That is how I started adapting cultural things into modern versions.” She started designing new versions two years ago and then, especially the necklaces have spread to all over the island.

As she says, young generation has started to be more interested in new versions and also in their culture. Now, there are lots of people who are producing Lefkara Lace almost in every village. “Some of them are only replica of Lefkara Lace, the fabric is the same and the buyers, who do not know, do not understand the difference.” In spite of this, she thinks that spreading our culture to the world is exciting.

Table3: Perceptions of Şenay Ekingen and Aydan Lisaniler

Statement	Şenay Ekingen	Aydan Lisaniler
In the past, it was produced in bigger scales than now	X	X
Prefer using it in both bigger and smaller scales	X	X
Modernizing is promising		X
With accelerated production, it loses quality	X	

Observation

Since the starting point was observational, observations continued during the research. Seven interiors where the interviews took place had been examined and shown in the following table.

Table4: Observation of different interior decorations

Statement	Number of Interiors who Support
Having modern-style interior decoration	7
Using Lefkara Lace as part of interior decoration as covers, curtains, etc.	1
Using Lefkara Lace as small objects, such as trays, coasters, etc.	4
Prefer modern versions of Lefkara Lace	4

Questionnaire

It was done to support the observation generally, as there was no chance to examine lots of interior decorations in Nicosia. Within thirty-four women, twenty-four of them knew Lefkara Lace generally from their childhood. Eighteen were interested but only three were producing it. Twenty of them thought it has been changed over years, mostly in usage, variety and scales.

Table5: Usages of Lefkara Lace in the past and now

The usages of Lefkara Lace in the past	Number of interviewees who used it	The usages of Lefkara Lace now	Number of interviewees who use it
Suite of Furniture	1	Panels	1
Cloths	8	Jewelleries	3
Bedcovers	3	Trays	20
Dowries	4	Coasters	15
Big scale objects, everywhere in the house	10	Souvenir Products	15

Table6: Frequency of usages of Lefkara Lace in the past and now

The frequency in the past	Number of people	The frequency now	Number of people
Difficult to find	3	Less frequent	15
More frequent	16	More frequent	5



Figure 8: Statistics

Although sixteen of them mentioned that they use it in their houses, they use it mostly as trays, not as part of interior decoration.



Figure 9: Lefkara Lace Tray (Lefkara Corner, N/A)

Data Analysis

Based on the interviews, it is observed that even though Cyprus is a small island; handcrafts have been regional. Cypriots have had different laces based on their regions.

Everyone agreed that the usage of the lace was more in bigger scales in the past. The reasons that it is getting smaller are mainly due to the amount of effort it needs which increases the cost and the given value making people want to keep it safe. The modernizing world is another issue, not only about Lefkara Lace but about all handcrafts.

For some, the new versions are against the nature of the Lefkara Lace, but they have become very popular, especially for young people. Now, interviewees are happy about using it in smaller scales, since it provides better market and also makes the prices lower; which can be a solution on the effect of cost and on lack of interest.

While producers think the production will decrease, non-producers mainly think that production of Lefkara Lace will increase but in more functional ways. Both perceptions have their own advantages and disadvantages; if the production in traditional ways decrease, the usage will decrease directly because people will want to keep it safe as a memory from their mothers. However, the given value of the lace will be higher. If the production in modern ways increases, the usage of the lace will increase accordingly, which is also a great way of cherishing culture; but it will definitely lose its value and be ordinary.

According to important names, Şenay Ekingen and Aydan Lisaniler, the production will increase. Ekingen thinks this increase may cause it to lose its quality and roots while Lisaniler thinks that it can be a great, modern way of using and presenting Lefkara Lace.

In terms of perceiving and caring about Lefkara Lace, people value it more than they did in the past. The given value can be understood by people's not preferring to use it with the aim of protecting it. These have caused it to be produced in smaller scales and decreased the usage as parts of interior decoration.



Figure 10: Lefkara Lace Bag (Lefkara Corner, N/A)

Figure 11: Lefkara Lace Coasters (Lefkara Corner, N/A)

Figure 12: Lefkara Lace Necklace (Blogcu, 2014)

Conclusion

This article has analysed Lefkara Lace in terms of its place in interior decoration from the past to the present. Since there are no written documents about this subject, the main aim of the article was to reach examples and stories of the lace; which was achieved by doing ten interviews with producers, non-producers and Şenay Ekingen and Aydan Lisaniler. These interviews were supported by observations and questionnaire.

It has been concluded that in the past, it was used in the houses as work in bigger scales such as covers, curtains, tablecloths. Moreover, due to its high cost and the high effort used in the production and the extra care necessary to keep it safe, they were mostly owned by wealthy people to keep it as a memory for next generations. For these reasons, the usage of it has changed. It has started to be placed under glass covers in order to protect this special work and the scales are getting smaller because producers save time and effort. Also, the smaller scales make the prices lower.

Besides, with globalization, it has been modernized by using different colours and new usage versions, such as jewellerys and accessories. Despite the arguments that the modern ways are taking over the traditions; it is shown with this research that the modern ways encouraged everyone, especially young generations, to use Lefkara Lace even more. Since our way of living has been changed, Lefkara Lace may not make a comeback to the interior decoration of the houses; while it can be predicted that it will be seen a lot as small objects, all around. However, although modernization has directed Lefkara Lace to another place and due to the gap in the written documents about Lefkara Lace, it is feared that it may lose its quality and history in time.

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Brief Notes on The Byzantine Insular Urbanism in The Eastern Mediterranean Between Late Antiquity and The Early Middle Ages (Ca. 650 – Ca. 800 CE)

Luca Zavagno*
Bilkent University

Abstract

This paper aims at reassessing the concept of peripherality of the Byzantine insular world. It is suggested that Sicily, Crete and Cyprus (and to a lesser extent Malta, Sardinia and the Balearics) acted as a third political and economic pole between the Anatolian plateau and the Aegean Sea in the Byzantine Mediterranean. This will shed "archeological" light on some parallel economic and political trajectories of the urban centers located on two of the above-mentioned islands: Salamis-Constantia on Cyprus and Gortyn in Crete during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages.

Keywords

Byzantium; Mediterranean; Islands; Archaeology; Medieval

* Assist. Prof. Dr. Luca Zavagno, Department of History, Bilkent University, 06800 Ankara, Turkey.
E-mail: luca.zavagno@bilkent.edu.tr [ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2450-3182]

Doęu Akdeniz’de Ge Antik aę ile Erken Orta aęlar Arasında Bizans İzolatif Kentilięi Üzerine Kısa Notlar (Yaklaşık 650 - Yaklaşık 800 CE)

Luca Zavagno
Bilkent Üniversitesi

Özet

Bu makale, Bizans İmparatorluğu Adalar Sistemi içinde periferi ve periferik alan konseptini yeniden deęerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Makalede, Girit, Sicilya ve Kıbrıs merkezde olmak üzere destekleyici dięer örnekler olarak Malta, Sardunya ve Balear Adaları kullanılacak ve bu adaların Bizans Akdenizi’nin kalbi olarak kabul edilen Anadolu platosu ve Ege Denizi evresinde hem politik hem de ekonomik aılardan üçüncü bir kutup olarak fonksiyonları tartiřılacaktır. Bu argüman Ge Antikaę’dan Erken Ortaaę’a geiř döneminde Salamis-Constantia (Kıbrıs) ve Gortyn (Girit) řehir merkezlerinin sunduęu arkeolojik kanıtlar ve iki merkezin paralel ekonomik ve politik yörüngeleri ile desteklenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Bizans; Akdeniz; Adalar; Arkeoloji; Ortaaę

Islands have represented a challenge for Byzantine historiography. The biggest of them, like Crete (Tzougarakis, 1998; Zanini, 2009, 2013), Cyprus (Metcalf, 2009; Zavagno, 2017), and Sicily (NefPringent, 2006; Molinari, 2013) have attracted a good deal of attention, although the latter has often been regarded as a sort of black hole in Byzantine archaeology till few decades ago; the smallest like Malta (Bruno, 2009), or those perceived as too distant from the Constantinopolitan center, like Sardinia (Corrias, 2012; Cosentino, 2004) or the Balearics (Signes-Codoñer, 2005) have often been neglected.

Indeed, and for the most part we must admit that the islands of Byzantine Mediterranean have been regarded as mere peripheral additions to the Byzantine heartland, which in fact Wickham defined as the “uneasy coupling of two wildly different geographical zones: the Anatolian plateau and the Aegean” (Wickham, 2005: pp. 29-32; also Haldon, 2005; Jeffreys & Haldon & Cormack 2009). In this light, it comes as no surprise that insular cities are not mentioned in the recent seminal work of Michael Decker on the Byzantine Dark Ages (Decker, 2016); none of the five key-studies Decker mentions to explain the fate and development of Byzantine cities in the seventh-to-ninth century period is located on an island. This notwithstanding the fact that one of the best excavated and stratigraphically documented Byzantine cities is Gortyn, the Byzantine capital of the island of Crete.

By glossing over islands, Decker, although unintentionally, embraces the traditional historiographical approach regards islands simply as marginal to the political, social and economic changes the Byzantine heartland was experiencing, from the seventh century until they were recaptured by the gravity of an expanding Empire in the tenth century (Crete and Cyprus) or were lost forever (Sicily, together with Sardinia Malta and the Balearics).

Therefore, it seems possible to assert that Byzantine historiography has not fully moved away from the interpretative framework proposed in the only existing systematic account on the history of the Byzantine insular world, that is the volume written by Elizabeth Malamut in 1988 entitled *Les Iles de l'Empire Byzantine, VIIIème- XIIème siècle* (Malamut, 1988). This does not imply that islands haven't attracted the interest of Byzantine archaeologists or historians. Nevertheless, Byzantine historiography has not yet produced an all-encompassing alternative to the only existing systematic account on the history of the Byzantine insular world, that is the volume written by Malamut. In her book –as Zanini commented– we are presented with a refined concept of insularity as Malamut writes from a “Braudelian” standpoint. For the Byzantines an island was defined by the intercourse between the land and the sea: “for the former the sea is important but nevertheless accessory, for the latter it is essential and more so if the island is small and far from the continent” (Zanini, 2013b: 3). In particular Malamut distinguishes between the Western and Eastern Mediterranean basin where islands are too pulverized and close to the continent to have any real political or economic role in the historical trajectories of the Constantinopolitan empire. Cyprus and Crete, however, remained the exception to this rule owing to their strategic relevance along the frontier with the Muslim world (Malamut, 1988: 32-55).

As Malamut, indeed, focuses on the two biggest islands of the Eastern

Mediterranean, she also examines the trajectories of the Cretan and Cypriot cities, although her interpretation remained caught in the traditional historiographical debate framed within the opposition between 'continuists' and 'discontinuists' (Curta, 2016; Zavagno, 2009: 1-30). The former convinced that the Classical city survived physically; that, while they may have shrunk and often have been confined to their citadels as a result of constant enemy harassment, they nevertheless retained their role as centers of commercial activity, petty commodity production and administration. The latter, instead, argued for a total collapse of the antique urban organization. This opinion shared by Malamut herself for –although recognizing that some insular cities retained an important role as seat of Christian bishoprics– she clearly stated that in Crete and Cyprus urban fabric, social structure and economic importance were similar to those of rural fortified villages.

Of course, one should admit that Malamut had simply not enough archaeology at her disposal to propose a more refined picture of Byzantine urbanism on what after all were regarded as liminal and peripheral territories of the empire (Cosentino, 2013). Islands, as Bulgarella hastily concluded, were indeed part of the Byzantine perceived or imaginary space as well of their daily life; nevertheless, they were at most lands of exile or outposts along the frontier with the Muslim world (Bulgarella, 2012: 35- 39). They remained essential to the connectivity of the Empire as they dotted the most important shipping and maritime routes across the Mediterranean but they revealed in the literary and documentary sources mainly if not entirely as military bulwarks, hosting harbors or bases for the Byzantine fleet patrolling a sort of "liquid" continuation of the Anatolian Arab-Byzantine frontier crisscrossing the Taurus and anti-Taurus mountains (Lounghis, 2010; Eger, 2015). In this interpretative framework, cities did not inhabit the insular geographical space anymore. At best they moved away from the coasts (like Salamis-Constantia or Paphos in Cyprus or in Sicily) or they simply turned into depopulated fortified settlement governed by military authorities and the local clergy with the bishop or archbishop at its head.

Against this backdrop, the purpose of this paper will be to approach the structural and morphological changes experienced in the urban settlements as seen in an archaeologically comparative perspective –that is including areas beyond the realm of Constantinopolitan rule by benefitting from the results of the archaeological surveys and excavations conducted on different islands since Malamut conducted her research. In particular, the concepts of spaces and the spatial practices will be tackled as they emerged in the passage between Late Antiquity and the early Middle ages, having in mind the parallel development of the human, social, economic and cultural structures (Zanini, 2017: 131-7). Indeed, as Veikou states: "both texts and archaeology reveal specific Byzantine strategies for the construction of settled spaces, ranging from the selection of location based on practical or symbolic concerns to the architecture and decoration of the buildings" (Veikou, 2017: 146). Reconciling literary and documentary sources with material culture and archaeology is not the only reason why we should embrace and assess the forms and ideas of "spatialities" in transitional period such as the one under scrutiny here. A further implication of this choice is indeed to try and intercept

the trajectories and dynamics of urban changes by using the Lefebvian category of “lived space” which is essential to reconstruct human spatial practices (Veikou, 2017: 146). Every process stems from a tripartite dialectic “between everyday spatial practices (which can be perceived), representations of space or theories of space (which can be conceived) and spatial representations which are the spatial imaginary of the time (and cannot be anything but lived)” (Veikou, 2017: 148). Therefore, like any society, Byzantium cannot be fully grasped if not as collection of people and object in space: a social body creating its own spatial practices and forging and owning its own space.

It is important to consider that the material culture and archaeology are part of the perceived space whereas literary sources show us the conceived space we remain in the dark when it comes to lived space and spatial experiences particularly in urban contexts. Therefore, one cannot but recognize that we can outbid the invisibility of the urban population and, in particular, its elites by embracing an “archaeology of people and their everyday life instead of an archaeology of monuments” (Horden-Purcell, 2000: 88-122). In this light, it will be possible to pair phenomena like the encroachment of colonnaded streets or public spaces by residential (or commercial) structures with the less obvious but nevertheless essential role played by the infrastructures related to the supply water (and bread) (Giorgi, 2017). As Zanini indeed asserts, following the flow of urban waters (aqueducts, fountains and pipelines) is a formidable tool to understand how the way urban spaces were structured and organized; investigating the traces of bread production instead helps us to fathom the ways in which those spaces functioned on daily basis (Zanini, 2015: 373).

All the above mentioned issues will be addressed by proposing a comparative overview including two “cities on islands” (Gortyn in Crete and Salamis-Constantia in Cyprus), and one located at the very heart of the Byzantine Anatolian plateau (Amorium) using a few examples (like Scythopolis, Bosra and Jerash) located in Muslim Syria-Palestine as they provide a comparative backdrop. Indeed, one should admit that “most of the understanding comes from getting a sense of difference, from testing one’s explanatory assertions against parallel situations with different results, or different situations with the same result” (Wickham, 2016: 16). More important, these cities have been singled out because they have been well excavated and therefore, they could help to better address differences, categories and problems as they emerge in the archaeological record (Quiroga, 2016). Part of this paper will be therefore structured around the identification of functional spaces of life and work as they will allow me to propose an overview of the changing socio-economic conditions of urban life as well as to identify the role played by urban-oriented elites. They should indeed be regarded as the engine of economic demand, and to better understand the resilience or maintenance of certain buildings and public areas as centers of religious and/or secular urban life.

There are obviously some immediate problems or better possible objections arising from this selection of urban sites. The first stems from their geographical location. Gortyn and Salamis-Constantia are indeed coastal sites and located on islands, which in the seventh-to-early ninth century seem to have remained an

economic (and urban) space relatively more developed than the Balkans or Asia Minor (Cosentino, 2013). And this seems to remain partially true even in areas of the Byzantine empire (like the Anatolian plateau) where the gap between the material culture of the Late Antiquity and that of the Middle Ages was regarded as unbridgeable. One could think here for instance of Amorium where archaeological excavations suggest a variety of trends which included adaptation, renovation and dismantling of buildings, extensive reuse of spolia as well as occupation of part of the urban fabric by artisanal and commercial activities which seemed to have included local potters (Decker, 2016: 91-98; Ivison, 2008: 54-5; Lightfoot, 2007; Lightfoot-Lightfoot, 2007). Indeed, here I do not dispute the fact that the Mediterranean became more fragmented in economic terms as regional and sub-regional productive and distributive networks replaced the Roman fiscal unity (Wickham, 2005: 693-824); also I do not ignore that Byzantine cities evolved by reflecting a "greater diversity on a regional basis [as] markedly different in their monumental scenery and every-day life places".. I would however be more cautious when it comes to a generalized picture of complete lack of urban vitality resulting from the dismantling of urban monumental building (Quiroga, 2016: 92). Quiroga and Zanini have recently stressed that more rigorous methodologies in recording archaeological data and extensive use of stratigraphic methods help to identify and define complex varieties of urban occupation forms. Indeed, urban configurations may be only partially related to the geographical positioning (coastal-insular vs. inland) or their role along the frontier ((Quiroga, 2016; Zanini, 2016).

As I will return to the latter point in few moments, I want to move now to a second possible objection which has to do with the peculiar political, administrative and religious nature of the abovementioned cities. Here, I should admit that I will focus on the seat of the strategos of the Anatolikon theme and two insular capitals (although never elevated to the rank of theme as ruled by archontes, a title conferred to the members of local aristocratic families acting as governmental representatives on other Byzantine islands like Sardinia, the Balearics, and Malta) (Lilie, 2005; Ahrweiler, 1966: 48). In fact, Amorium, Gortyn and Salamis-Constantia may be regarded as exceptional for –as Haldon concludes- they survived because they fulfill a function as administrative base for the State and its military apparatus or as integral to the Church institution (and even as pilgrimage centers) (Brubaker & Haldon, 2011: 504-5). However, they look less so if compared with contemporary cities of Syria and Palestine (like Jerash or Scythopolis) where –as Avni has recently pointed out- a different economic system from the Byzantine one led commerce and industry to become a key factor in urban economy and brought about a more liberal approach to planning and spatial development within cities (Avni, 2011: 327). Similarly, in both Amorium as well as Salamis-Constantia and Gortyn the urban space was restructured in order to accommodate the installation of artisanal or commercial infrastructure. As it will be seen, these turned into foci of residential quarters blurring the separation between public and private and witnessing to the development of less monumental urban landscape with the concentration of different functions in same areas (Avni, 2011: 328).

In light of this comparison, a third objection to my choice of cities may be

proposed; this has to do with the positioning of the abovementioned urban sites along the frontier of the Byzantine Empire (or –as Lounghis has proposed– along its maritime continuation) (Lounghis, 2010). On the one hand, urban archaeology, rural surveys, a more punctual and comparative analysis of pottery and coins have led to conclude that islands possibly acted as a third political and economic pole between the Anatolian plateau and the Aegean Sea in the Byzantine Mediterranean, rather than as a marginal area at the border of two conflicting polities (the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic Caliphate) (Zanini & Pergola & Michaeilides, 2013). On the other hand, in Amorium, thirty-years of urban archaeology have showed that the city was more than a simply military bulwark where religious and administrative authorities hastily sheltered behind walls in the face of the raids conducted by the Arabs across the frontier. If it is clear that the military acted as a stimulus for the local economy and it established a secure and fortified presence on the so-called Upper City, it can hardly be stated that “the Byzantine high command withdrew from the site completely to seek a more defensible location” (Lightfoot, 1998: 65). Indeed, a large bathhouse complex (in use until early ninth century), the abovementioned artisanal installations (with two different phases of occupation), evidence of locally-made pottery and the presence of at least four churches (one of which –the Lower city church– was continuously frequented until the Arab sack of the city in 838 CE.) all enclosed by an extensive set of walls (the so-called Lower City walls) may serve as a model for the development of other Byzantine cities in Anatolia like Ankara, Ephesos or Amastris (Lightfoot, 1998: 65).

Having addressed some possible objections, from here onwards I confront some of the connections between these sites with the questions I have previously sketched in mind (Lightfoot, 1998: 65). The first is methodological but it frames some of the answers I am proposing here; I am referring to the role of coins, seals and above all pottery as essential tools in interpreting the dynamics of changes of social and economic urban fabric and the process of spatial transformation. Indeed, one should admit that continuous levels of wealth could stem from and expressed within a different lifestyle on the part of the local inhabitants and, in particular, urban elites (Walmsley, 2010: 39-40). The resilience of urban socio-economic fabric is particularly evident in early Islamic Syria and Palestine but can be documented in at least some Byzantine cities as well. One could think here of the recent identification of different types of locally-produced pottery for –as Vroom has proposed– we should move beyond a simple quantitative assessment to embrace a more qualitative analytical approach of local ceramic production (Vroom, 2012: 343). Being those globular amphorae, painted common-wares (like those found in Gortyn and other areas of the Mediterranean including Cyprus, Syria and Jordan) or imitations of metal originals (like in the case of Amorium), the diffuse presence and commercialization at regional level of locally made pottery should pair with evidence of a monetized urban economy and diffuse presence of lead seals of local and Constantinopolitan authorities (Vroom, 2012: 343). This should point to the resilience of local elites –both secular and ecclesiastic– which contributed to the maintenance of good level of local demand and engineered different concept of managing the urban landscape; in other words, through material culture we could

give archaeological visibility to the multiform power of new urban elites, the so-called *potentiores*. These have been defined as a new-macro class made of civic, military and religious authorities and characterized essentially by the ownership of locally entrenched social and economic power mainly based on extra-urban landed properties (Zanini, 2007: 27; 2017: 137-9). The importance of the *potentiores* as main socio-political and economic urban actors allows me to stress a second connection.

These elites remained (at least partially) urban-oriented. They acted as the engine of urban economic resilience and the activity of urban population who lived and worked in a smaller and more fragmented, although economically lively, urban housing units (Zanini, 2017: 138). These units have been discovered in Gortyn and Salamis-Constantia. In the Cretan capital, artisanal workshops and commercial activities (the so-called Byzantine houses complex) encroached on a Justinian public building close to the former Pretorium bringing about a deliberate re-organization and privatization of former public spaces (Zavagno, 2009:61-94; Zanini, 2013). Further evidence of late seventh-early eighth century industrial activity has been also documented both by the large restoration of the local church of Saint Titos and kilns of ceramics and tiles also producing local painted wares (Curta, 2015: 96). Indeed, we can shed light on a similar trend in Cyprus for in Salamis-Constantia some late seventh/early eighth century artisanal workshops encroached on the so-called 'Huilerie' complex, a former urban Roman villa. Local kilns have not been documented, but Vroom and Armstrong have shown that there is clear evidence of production of domestic wares from 650 onwards on the island (Vroom, 2003: 53; Armstrong, 2006). A typical Cypriot product was the thin-walled, wheel ridged cooking pot made possibly at Dhiorios along the northern-western coast of the island (Catling & Dikigoropoulos, 1970). In both cases these structures bear striking resemblance with those excavated in Syria-Palestine- at Pella and Scythopolis- and they often became agglutinative reference points of the urban "lived space" (Avni, 2011; Walmlsey, 2007).

Even when walled-enceintes were built they did not always and simply cut off a large part of the classic landscape but seemed instead to have been carefully and deliberately planned to retain part of the ancient street-grid. Curta has indeed convincingly argued that the continuity of the classic street plan is indeed a practice evident in both, Jerash (where a congregational mosque was accommodated in the Byzantine city center and adjusted to its main arteries) and Pella in Syria-Palestine as well as in Naples, Cherson, Amorium and Gortyn (Curta, 2015). In Gortyn for instance one can notice that a portion of the city (the Acropolis) was enclosed by a new set of walls in the mid-seventh century and experienced widespread building activity with a military and administrative penchant. Similarly, in the case of Salamis-Constantia a monumental gate recently discovered at the former intersection of the Roman *Cardo* and *Decumanus* allows us to reassess the role and function of the fortifications which endowed the capital of the island as well as other Cypriot urban centers, in particular the coastal ones, *de facto* countermanding the traditional narrative which speak of their abandonment in the face of the Arabs (Öztaner, 2007).

Indeed, on the one hand, one can realize how the walls were not hastily built but rather carefully planned and erected in order to accommodate part of the pre-existing network of roads (in particular, maintaining the function of the Decumanus as main thoroughfare leading to the harbor); on the other hand, the punctual analysis of building techniques and composition of masonry has led Stewart to conclude that the erection of the city walls was contemporary to the rebuilding of the Basilica of Saint Epiphanius as both were erected in the last quarter of the seventh century (Stewart, 2008: 73). As I will return to the importance of the Basilica both as pilgrimage center and as seat of the Cypriot archbishopric, it is important to stress here that –like for instance in the case of Amastris on the Black Sea coast- the construction of walls should not be regarded as tantamount to the militarization of urban life (Zavagno, 2012). This is not to state that coastal sites did not suffer from the raids (conclusive evidence has dated the fortifications of cities like Amathos and Paphos to the mid to-late seventh century) or to doubt the very fact that the entire island of Cyprus acquired a new military and strategic importance in face of the Arab incursions as reflected by the distribution pattern of copper coins found on the island; but rather to avoid the conclusion that both urban fabric and social structures were heavily militarized or reduced, and therefore limited to the intra-moenia area (Zavagno, 2017: 113- 154).

A third connection comes to mind as I am trying to address the relationship between the partial maintenance of urban fabric, spaces and planning, and/or socio-economic vitalities of their religious and secular elites as indicators of the presence of daily-life activities. This refers to the too-often neglected role and presence within urban landscape of the structures meant to satisfy one of the most basic needs of urban population: water. It is indeed possible to weave its structural elements (mainly aqueducts) into the city regarded as a “complex organism [...] a place built on relationships: between humans and space, monuments and men, between men and necessity, between men and other men” (Giorgi, 2017: 7) The importance of aqueducts and their structures as indicators of population levels, density and occupation of urban landscape and the political status and power of new “powerful” individuals presiding over the management and location of the distributive outlets have been proposed for Gortyn. This led to an analysis of the ecological and economic significance of the availability of water in relation not only to the city (and the artisanal and commercial spaces encroaching onto its former public areas) but also to its agricultural hinterland.

Tracing the archaeological signs of water as innervating the urban body is also possible in other regions within and outside the Byzantine empire: in Amorium, for instance, no aqueduct was built; nevertheless, the city and its sixth-century bathhouse as well as the artisanal and commercial installations around it relied on the abundant groundwater and cistern supply: “it seems highly probable that [part of the bathhouse] and its various rooms retained their original function until mid-ninth century” (Lightfoot-Lightfoot, 2007: 133). This evidence pairs well with a type of settlement pattern which seemed not entirely concentrated on the Upper city as showed by the continuous frequentation of the so-called Lower city church and its baptistery. In Hierapolis, although the complex public water supply broke down,

drinking water points located along the surviving road-system and a series of open water channels continued to supply the local population and, in all evidence, supported a level of artisanal vitality as pointed out both by stone cutting activity and locally-made glass and metal-work objects (Arthur, 2006: 48-50; 64-5; 159). Finally, in Bosra, outside the Constantinopolitan rule, the water supply systems were repaired and maintained well into the eighth century and even new pipes were built (Braemer & al., 2009).

The archaeology of water (like the one of bread for which however we have even less evidence) also allows us to sketch an image of the seventh and eighth century urban landscape and social fabric. Indeed, in Gortyn and Salamis-Constantia the transformation of the water-supply system reveals in a set of cisterns dotting the urban-landscape and partially replacing the sixth-century aqueduct. Water was collected, stored and redistributed within single parceled properties, providing us with an image of a city of islands where urban communities relied less on the Roman and Byzantine monumental structures or infrastructural networks as water availability was more localized and/or privatized (Giorgi, 2017: 95-110). Although fragmented, this urban landscape adapted prior buildings to new socio-political and ideological contexts and retained a less dense but nevertheless coherent spatial fabric for multifaceted foci of settlements co-existed along diverse functional lines (Quiroga, 2016: 93). As transitional "lived spaces" may be regarded as "swimming" into the former classical landscape, they could also be interpreted as reflecting the abovementioned changing facies of the urban ruling-class with religious, administrative and military functions. So, we could see religious, bishopric and pilgrimage centers retaining their vitality as revolving around important Christian monuments like the Basilica of Saint Epiphanius in Salamis-Constantia, the Lower Church in Amorium and the Church of Hagios Titos in Gortyn; these paired with areas (walled or not) lodging administrative and fiscal functions as well as military officials, artisanal and commercial installations encroaching onto or squatting into former public spaces and including residential quarters. In this light, the continuous existence of structures built to supply the local population with water constituted one of the most important indicators of the resilience of urban organizational structure in the transitional period. It is indeed interesting to realize that the changing facies of Byzantine cities in the passage from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages might after all be reflected in water.

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Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin Hidrografik Yapısı, Su Sorunu ve Çözüm Önerileri

Celal Őenol*

Marmara Üniversitesi

Özet

Binlerce yıllık tarihiyle Doęu Akdeniz'in kalbinde bulunan Kıbrıs adası stratejik ve jeopolitik açıdan oldukça önemlidir. Ada uzun yıllar Anadolu, Kuzey Afrika ve Ortadoęu'ya hâkim olmak isteyen devletler tarafından önemsenmiş ve uğruna savaşlar yapılmıştır. Dünya siyaseti üzerinde etkisi günümüzde de devam eden adanın idari sınırları 1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı sonrasında çizilmiştir. Adanın kuzeyinde Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC), güneyinde Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bulunmaktadır. Binlerce nüfusun yaşadığı bu adanın günümüzde temel geçim kaynağını tarım, turizm ve eğitim sektörleri oluşturmaktadır. Ada genelinde Akdeniz iklimi hakimdir. Yazların kurak, kışların ılık geçtiği adada yağış azlığı yerüstü su kaynaklarını oldukça sınırlandırmıştır. Yerüstü su kaynaklarının kısıtlı olduğu ada genelinde daha çok yeraltı su kaynakları kullanılmaktadır. İçme-kullanma ve tarımda yoğun olarak kullanılan bu su kaynakları zamanla azalmaya başlamıştır. Özellikle KKTC'de yeraltı suyunun aşırı kullanılması sonucu tuzlanma meydana gelmiştir. Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta yaşanan su sorununu çözmek için yıllarca Türkiye'den adaya su getirilmiştir. Ancak zamanla bu taşımanın sürdürülebilir bir çözüm olmadığı anlaşılmıştır. Yeni bir proje olarak suyun adaya taşınması yerine, akması planlanmıştır. 2016 yılında hizmete açılan bu proje doğrultusunda Türkiye'den borularla adaya su taşınmaya başlanmıştır. Bu çalışmada KKTC'nin hidrografik özellikleri, suyun kullanımı ve su sorunu açıklanarak bu soruna çözüm yolları üretilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kıbrıs; KKTC; Su; Akifer; Tarım; Su Temin Projesi

* Arař. Gör.Dr.Celal Őenol, Marmara Üniversite Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, Coęrafya Bölümü, Göztepe Kampüsü Kadıköy İstanbul- Türkiye. E-posta: celal.senol@marmara.edu.tr [ORCID ID: 0000-0003-0857-866X]

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The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Hydrographic Structure, Water Problem and Solution Suggestions

Celal Şenol
Marmara University

Abstract

The Island of Cyprus, located in the heart of the Mediterranean with its thousands of years of history is very important strategically and geopolitically. The island was cared for by the states that wanted to dominate Anatolia, North Africa and the Middle East for many years and wars were fought for its sake. The administrative borders of the island, whose influence on world politics continues today, were drawn after the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation. The northern part of the island is the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and the Southern Greek Cyprus Administration (SGCA). The main livelihood of this island, where thousands of people live, is the agriculture, tourism and education sectors. Mediterranean climate prevails throughout the island. There is not much rainfall on the island, where summers are dry and winters are warm. This condition has limited surface water resources. Underground water resources are mostly used throughout the island where surface water resources are limited. These water resources, which are used intensively in drinking and using and agriculture, have started to decrease over time. Especially in TRNC salting has occurred as a result of excessive use of groundwater. Water is moved to the island from Turkey for many years to solve the water problems in the TRNC. However, it has been understood in time that this transportation is not a sustainable solution. As a new project, water is planned to flow instead of moving to the island. In line with this project opened in 2016, the candidate with the pipe transporting water from Turkey was begun. In this study, the hydrographic features of the TRNC, the use of water and the water problem are explained and solutions are tried to be produced for this problem.

Keywords

Cyprus; TRNC; Water; Aquifer; Agriculture; Water Supply Project

Giriş

Akdeniz'in doğusunda 34°33' ve 35°42' kuzey enlemleri ve 32°16' ve 34°36' doğu boylamları (KKTC MEB, 2017) arasında bulunan Kıbrıs, Akdeniz'in en büyük üçüncü adasıdır. İtalya'ya bağlı Sicilya (25.460 km²) ve Sardunya'dan (24.090 km²) sonra en büyük yüz ölçümüne sahip Kıbrıs adası 9.251 km²) kuzeyde Türkiye'ye 70 km, doğuda Suriye'nin Lazkiye kıyılarına 103 km, güneyde Nil Deltası'na (Dimyat) 350 km, batıda ise Girit'e 545 km uzaklıktadır.

Kıbrıs'ın toplam yüz ölçümü 9.251 km²'dir. Oldukça büyük olan adanın kuzeybatısından güneydoğusuna kabaca çizilecek çizginin kuzey ve kuzey doğusunda Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC), güney ve güneybatısında Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bulunmaktadır. KKTC 3.355 km² yüz ölçümüyle adanın % 36.22'sine GKRY 5.797 km² yüz ölçümüyle adanın % 62.66'sına sahiptir. Ayrıca adanın 99 km²'sine karşılık gelen % 1.07'sinde İngiliz askerî bulunmaktadır (Kliot ve Mansfield, 1997: 495-496, Koday, 1998: 262, Gazioğlu, 2002: 516, Türkman ve Elkıran, 2008: 425, Gözenç vd, 2006: 152).

Kıbrıs adası coğrafi konumu itibarıyla sahip olduğu stratejik öneminden Akdeniz, Ortadoğu, Kuzey Afrika, Anadolu, Balkanlar ve Güney Avrupa'yı içine alan geniş bir daireyi kontrol altında tutabilmesinden dolayı yüzyıllarca vazgeçilmez olmuştur. Güneyde Süveyş Kanalı, kuzeyde Çanakkale ve batısında uzak da olsa Cebelitarık Boğazını her anlamda kontrol edebilen bir konuma sahiptir. Ayrıca son zamanlarda yapılan petrol ve doğalgaz sondajları adanın konumunun stratejik açıdan ne kadar önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Türkiye'ye olan yakınlığının yanında 1974 yılı Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı sonrasında kurulan KKTC'nin varlığı Türkiye için büyük bir öneme sahiptir.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, KKTC'nin sahip olduğu mevcut su kaynakları ile Türkiye'den taşınan suyun sosyal, beşerî ve ekonomik hayata katkısının ortaya konulmasıdır. Bu doğrultuda öncelikle mevcut su potansiyeli ile bunların kullanım alanları üzerinde durulmuş, daha sonra Türkiye'den taşınan suyun sağlayacağı kolaylıklar ve yaşanan su sorununun çözümüne yaptığı katkı ortaya konulmuştur. Denizaşırı getirilen suya değinilerek bu suyun KKTC'nin geleceği açısından (Tarım, Turizm, Sanayi, Eğitim, Sosyal Hayat) önemi ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır.

Çalışma kapsamında ilk önce Kıbrıs adasının genel özellikleri ve stratejik önemine değinilmiştir. Daha sonra çalışma alanı içerisinde bulunan KKTC'nin jeomorfolojik, bitki, iklim ve hidrografik özellikleri ortaya konulmuştur. Araştırmanın kapsamı içinde son olarak ise KKTC için suyun önemi ve kullanım alanları ile Türkiye'den taşınacak suyun ada için önemine değinilmiştir.

İstenilen amaca ulaşabilmek için sahaya ait sayısal yükselti modeli verilerinden yapılan analizlerle akarsular, USGS'den elde edilen, farklı yılların Landsat uydu görüntüleri ile güncel Google Earth görüntülerinden göller ve yerleşmeler belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca bu çalışmada Open Street Map verilerinden de yararlanılmıştır. Konunun daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için akarsu, göl ve yeraltı sularının bulunduğu yerleri gösteren haritalar oluşturulmuştur. Haritaların yapımında Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri ve Uzaktan Algılama programlarından ArcGIS 10.7 kullanılmıştır (Şenol, 2019a: 441; Garipağaoğlu, vd., 2015:50; Şenol, 2019b: 13).

KKTC'nin Jeomorfolojik Özellikleri

KKTC'nin yeryüzü şekilleri Anadolu yarımadasının güneyinde uzanan Toros sistemiyle bağlantılı olduğu için ikisini birlikte anlatmak mümkündür. Türkiye'nin güneyinde uzanan Toros Dağları'nın devamı olan Dış Torosların bir kısmı Kıbrıs'ı oluşturmaktadır (Alagöz, 1958: 2, Gürsoy, 2002: 371). Kabaca ortası çukur, kuzey ve güneyi dağlık bir şekilde olan adanın kuzeyinde Anadolu kıyılarına paralel uzanan Beşparmak Dağları, güneyinde Trodos (Karlıdağ) Dağı uzanmaktadır. Bu iki dağ arasında ortada Güzelyurt (Omorfo) Ovası ve Mesarya Ovası (Mesarya Çukuru) bulunmaktadır (Melamid, 1956: 357-374, Gürsoy, 2002: 371, Gürsoy, 1962: 171-183, Koday, 1995: 20-21). Ada jeolojik açıdan ise farklı stratigrafilerin bulunduğu bir sahada yer almaktadır. KKTC'nin kuzeyinde bulunan ve doğu-batı istikametinde uzanan Beşparmak Dağları ve yakın çevresi Jura-Üst Kretase ile Oligo-Miyosen yaş aralığında ağırlıklı olarak kireçtaşlarından oluşmaktadır. Bu dağ sırasının güneyinde bulunan Mesarya Ovası'nda ise Pliyosen-Kuvaterner kayalar görülmektedir. Merkezî ovanın güneyinde bir anda yükselen Trodos (Karlıdağ) Dağı üzerinde ve yakın çevresinde masifler göze çarpmaktadır. Triyas-Üst Kretase yaş aralığında olan bu sahanın kayaları magmatik, volkano-sedimenter, plütonik, jips yatakları ve lav breşleri gibi farklı türde yapıdan oluşan kayalardan müteşekkildir (Dixey, 1972: 3, Ketin, 1987: 210-225, Nejdet, 2002: 43-44, Kapluhan, 2002: 8-28, Gözenç vd, 2006: 152, Kutoğlu, 2010:8-21, Öztürk, 2013: 33-34).

KKTC'nin Bitki Örtüsü

İklim etkisinden dolayı Akdeniz bölgesi florası yaygın olarak görülmektedir. Kuzey ve güneyde uzanan Beşparmak Dağları ve Karlıdağ bitki örtüsü üzerinde bazı değişiklikleri beraberinde getirmektedir. Kuzeyde bulunan Beşparmak Dağlarının kuzey, Karlıdağ'ın batı-kuzeybatı yamaçları nemli hava kütlelerinin etkisinde bulunmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu sahalar diğer kesimlere göre oldukça gür ve sık bitki örtüsüne sahiptir. Adada nemli bölgeler olduğu kadar kurak kesimler de bulunmaktadır. Bu dağ sistemi kuzey, kuzeybatı ve batı yönünden yağışın gelmesini engellemesinden dolayı Mesarya Ovası'nda şiddetli kuraklığın yaşanmasına neden olmaktadır (Koday, 1995: 25, Koday, 1998: 263). Bu iklim şartlarına bağlı olarak KKTC'nin bitki örtüsü şekillenmiştir. Adanın bitki örtüsü tür bakımından zengindir. Sahip olduğu bitki türleri Türkiye'nin Akdeniz bölgesinin denize bakan yamaçlarındakilerle örtüşmektedir. Ancak zaman içinde meydana gelen beşerî müdahaleler bitki örtüsünün görünüşünde birtakım değişikliklere neden olmuştur. Adanın kuzeyindeki Beşparmak Dağları ile güneyindeki Karlıdağ'ın etkisiyle sahada temel olarak üç farklı bitki örtüsü (maki, orman, step) dağılışı göstermiştir.

Makilere adada hemen her yerde rastlamak mümkündür. Ancak KKTC'de en yaygın olarak kuzeyde Beşparmak Dağlarının kuzey yamaçlarında görülmektedir. Ağırlıklı olarak 400 m yükseltiye kadar görülen makiler, seyrek halde daha yukarılarda da görülmektedir. Dağın güney yamacı ise iklim faktöründen dolayı maki türleri yönünden daha fakirdir. Ada genelinde en yaygın maki türleri zeytin, keçiboynuzu, sandal, mersin, menengiç ve zakkumdur. Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta ormanlar yoğun olarak Beşparmak Dağları ve Karpaz yarımadasında görülmektedir. Akdeniz ikliminin etkisinden dolayı daha çok kuru orman formundadır. Dağın kuzey

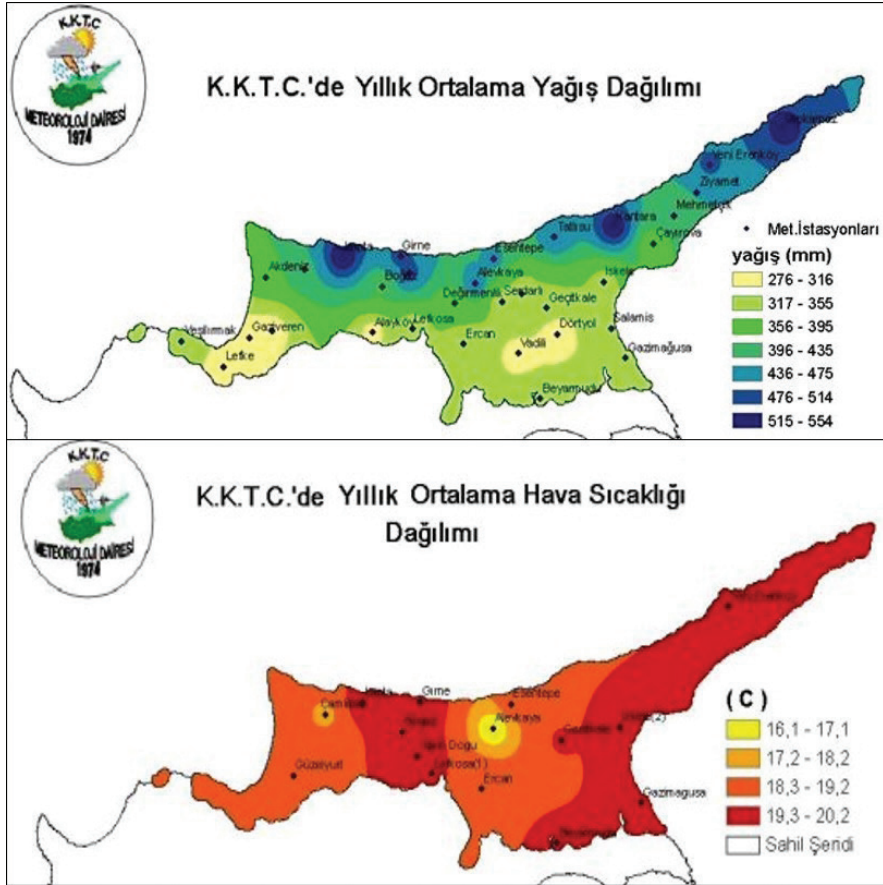
yamacının güneyinden daha nemli olmasından dolayı güneyde daha çok kurakçıl türler (kızılçam, meşe, keçiboynuzu, zeytin, menengiç), kuzey yamaçlarda nemcil türler yaygındır. Bu türlerin başında ise daha çok servi ağacını görmek mümkündür. Ancak bu ağaç, merkezî çukurlukta da (Mesarya Ovası) yaygın olarak bulunmaktadır. Bunun dışında kuzey yamaçta kızılçam, meşe, ardıç, sandal, meşe, sakız ağacı ve mersin türleri görülmektedir. Kuzey ve güneyden dağlık sahalarla çevrili olan ovanın yağış açısından oldukça yetersiz olması bitki örtüsünün gelişimini engellemiştir (Alagöz, 1958: 5, Koday, 1998: 263-269). Bu düz alanlar eskiden sık ormanların olduğu yerlerdi. Ancak bu sahalar ormanların maden işletmesi, gemi yapımı ve yakacak için kesilmesi, yangınlar ve hayvan otlatma gibi nedenlerden dolayı geniş tarım alanları olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Gürsoy, 2002: 371, Thirgood, 1987: 571-572).

KKTC'nin İklim Özellikleri

KKTC'nin iklim özellikleri tipik bir Akdeniz iklimini yansıtmaktadır. Akdeniz havzasında bulunmasından dolayı iklim sınıflandırmasına göre "yarı kurak" iklim kuşağında bulunur, yazlar sıcak ve kurak, kışlar ise ılık ve az yağışlı geçmektedir. KKTC'de yıllık ortalama hava sıcaklığı 18-19°C civarındadır. Yıl içerisinde en sıcak ay Temmuz, en soğuk ay ise Ocak'tır. Günlük sıcaklık değişimi en sıcak ayda (gölgede) 37°C-40°C, en soğuk ayda 9°C-12°C arasında gerçekleşmektedir. En soğuk ayda özellikle geceleri, adanın iç kesimindeki ova tabanında sıcaklık eksik değerlere düşerek don olayı meydana gelebilmektedir. Adada yağışlar daha çok Ekim-Mart ayları arasında gerçekleşmekle birlikte en fazla yağış Aralık ayında düşmektedir. Yağışın en az olduğu aylar ise Temmuz ve Ağustos'tur (Tunçdilek, 1980:182, Makhzoumi, 1997:115-116, KKTC Meteoroloji Dairesi, 2019, Günyaktı ve Akıntuğ, 2009: 291-292, Kutoğlu, 2010: 39-74, Kapluhan, 2002: 30-33, Hardling vd. 2009: 71-77). (Bakınız: Harita: 1). KKTC'de genel olarak birbirine yakın iklim özellikleri görülmesine rağmen kıyı ve iç kesimler arasında belirgin farklılıklar bulunmaktadır. Bu durum kuzeyde doğu-batı doğrultulu uzanan Beşparmak Dağlarından kaynaklanmaktadır. Ülkenin kuzeyi ile güneyi arasında hissedilen sıcaklık ve yağış koşullarının başlıca nedeni bu dağlık sahadır (Gönençgil ve Çavuş, 2006:10).

KKTC'de yarı kurak iklim şartlarının hâkim olması yağışlar üzerinde önemli etkiye sahiptir. Yıllık ortalama yağış miktarı 350-400 mm arasında seyretmekle birlikte yere ve zamana göre değişkenlik göstermektedir. Yıllık ortalama yağış KKTC'nin merkezî kesiminde (Mesarya Ovası) 300 mm, Karpaz Yarımadası ve Beşparmak Dağlarının bulunduğu sahada 450-500 mm civarındadır. Yıl içerisinde KKTC'de toplam 66 gün yağışlı geçmektedir. Bir yıllık zamana kıyaslandığında yağışlı geçen günlerin oldukça az olduğu dikkati çekmektedir. Sıcaklığın yıl boyu çok yüksek olmasına paralel olarak buharlaşma da artmaktadır. Dolayısıyla ada genelinde buharlaşma Temmuz-Ağustos aylarında fazla, Ocak-Şubat aylarında az olarak gerçekleşmektedir. Yıl içerisinde düşen yağışın büyük bir kısmı (%80) buharlaşmaktadır. Uzun yıllar ortalamasına göre iklimde yaşanan değişimle yağış miktarı %40 oranında azalma göstermiştir. Bu durum ise akarsular, göletler ve barajların sularının %20-%60 arasında azalmasına neden olmuştur. Akdeniz ikliminin görüldüğü yerlerde olduğu gibi KKTC'de de akarsuların süreklilik göstermemesi ve barajların doluluk

oranlarının oldukça düşmesi bu durumu yansıtmaktadır (Alagöz, 1958: 4; Gözenç vd, 2006: 154; Abi, 2006: 48-53; Günyaktı ve Akıntuğ, 2009: 292; KKTC Meteoroloji Dairesi, 2019; Yıldız ve Çakmak, 2014: 8).(Bakınız: Harita: 1)



Harita 1: KKTC'nin Yıllık Ortalama Yağış ve Sıcaklığın Dağılışı (kktcmeteor.org, 2020)

KKTC'nin Hidrografik Özellikleri

Akarsular

Yüzeysel akış bakımından fakir olan KKTC'nin en önemli su kaynaklarını kuzeyde bulunan Beşparmak Dağları ile güneyde bulunan Karlıdağ oluşturmaktadır (Bakınız: Harita 2). Bu dağlık sahalardan kaynağını alan dereler önemli akarsuları oluşturmaktadır. KKTC'de yüzeysel akışa geçen 162 (bilgisayar (CBS ve UA) programıyla belirlenebilen) derenin büyük bir kısmı (128) kuzeyde bulunan dağlık sahadan (Beşparmak Dağları) geri kalanı ise (34) güneydeki dağlardan (Karlıdağlar) kaynağını almaktadır. İlk bakışta yoğun bir akarsu ağına sahipmiş gibi gözükse de KKTC'de akarsular yağışların olduğu dönemlerde yüzeysel akışa geçtiğinden yıl boyu akışa sahip akarsu yoktur . Bu durum yağışların belirli aylarda ve az

olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Ancak KKTC'nin güneyindeki akarsular Trodos (Karlıdağ Dağları'nın zirvelerinde bulunan karların eridiği ilkbahar ve Yaz aylarında da akmaya devam etmekte fakat suyun debisinde yaz mevsiminde şiddetli buharlaşma ve sızmadan dolayı önemli azalmalar meydana gelmektedir (Yıldız ve Çakmak, 2014: 9).

Mesarya Ovası'nın kuzeyinde doğu-batı istikametinde uzanan Beşparmak Dağlarından kaynağını alan kısa boylu birçok dere bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan Koca Dere, Bağlama Dere, Soğuk Dere ve Süleymanoğlu Dere kuzey-güney istikametinde akış gösterir ve kısa boyludur (Abi, 2006: 59). Çalışma alanının önemli akarsularından olan ve Mesarya Ovası'nı kat eden Kanlı Dere (Pedieos), kollarından birisini Karlıdağlardan almaktadır. KKTC sınırına yakın bir yerde Strakka Deresi ile birleştikten sonra Lefkoşa'nın batısında Köşklüçiftlik'te Türk topraklarına girerek Kanlı Dere ismini alır ve Marmara mevkiine kadar kuzey istikametinde akar. Buradan itibaren Beşparmak Dağlarından (Gönyeli ve Hamitköy arasında) kaynağını alan diğer derelerle birleştikten sonra Lefkoşa'nın kuzeyinden geçerek doğu istikametine doğru akar.

Merkezî ovanın diğer önemli akarsuyu ise Çakıllı Dere'dir. Bu dere Karlıdağların kuzey yamaçlarından kaynağını almaktadır (Abi, 2006: 60). Ercan Havalimanı'na kadar kabaca güney-kuzey yönünde akar. Buradan itibaren doğu istikametine dönerek Gaziköy, Paşaköy ve Turunçlu'yu geçerek Kanlı Dere'ye paralel olarak devam eder. Bu iki derenin sularının bir kısmı kanallarla Köprülü (Kukla) Göleti'ni beslemekte bir kısmı ise kanal ve doğal akışa bağlı olarak Gazimağusa'nın kuzeyinden Akdeniz'e kavuşmaktadır (Bakınız: Fotoğraf: 1).

KKTC'nin diğer önemli akarsuları Güzelyurt Ovası'ndan denize dökülmektedir. Beşparmak Dağlarından kaynağını alan irili ufaklı birçok dere bulunmaktadır. Akdeniz Dere, İki Dere, Yayla Dere, Mevlevi Dere, Yılmazköy Deresi bunlardan birkaçıdır. Bunlar arasında Yılmazköy Deresi en büyük su toplama alanına sahiptir. Beşparmak Dağlarının güney yamaçlarında Pınarbaşı, Göçeri ve Şirinevler mevkiinden yüzeye çıkan sular Yılmazköy Deresi'ni oluşturmaktadır. Dere, Güzelyurt Ovası içerisinde geçerek batısından Akdeniz'e dökülmektedir. Hisarköy güneyinden kaynağını alan İki Dere, Akdeniz köyünün güneyinden denize dökülmektedir. (Bakınız: Harita 2).



Fotoğraf 1: Çakıllı Dereden Farklı Görünümler (1- Gazimağusa içinden geçen kısım, 2- Akdeniz'e döküldüğü Glapsides sahil kesimi)

Beşparmak Dağlarının kuzey yamaçlarında ise Geçitköy-Dipkarpaz arasında boyları çok kısa 16 dere bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan en büyüğü dağın güney yamacında Kozan'dan kaynağını alıp Geçitköy Barajı'nı besleyerek Karşıyaka'nın batısından denize dökülen deredir.

Karlıdağlar üzerinden kaynağını alan en büyük dereler ise Gayretköy Dere, Güzelyurt (Omorfo) Dere, Bostancı Dere ve Zagaf Deredir. Bu dereler Türk sınırına kadar kabaca güney-kuzey istikametinde akarken sınırdan itibaren batıya dönerek Güzelyurt'un batısından denize dökülmektedir.



Harita 2: KKTC Akarsular Haritası

Göller

Yeryüzünde oluşan doğal göller ile sonradan yapılan yapay göllerin (baraj ve göletler gibi),dünya nüfusuyla birlikte artan ihtiyaç ve taleplerin karşılanmasında yeri yadsınamayacak derecede önemlidir. Başta içme ve kullanma suyu olarak kullanılmasının yanında ekonomi açısından da (tarım, sanayi, turizm, ticaret) son derece önemlidir. Ancak KKTC'nin bu açıdan potansiyeli oldukça düşüktür. Yıllık yağışın düşük, buharlaşma ve sıcaklığın fazla olması, toprağa düşen yağışın büyük bir kısmının kaybolmasına neden olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla gölleri besleyen kaynakların yetersiz olmasından KKTC'de ihtiyaçlara cevap verebilecek ölçüde büyük göl ve baraj bulunmamaktadır.

KKTC'de 17 tane sulama 29 tane yeraltı suyu besleme olmak üzere toplam 46 su depolama alanı bulunmaktadır. Su depolama alanlarının toplam kapasitesi 27.604.325 m³'tür (Tarım Master Planı, 2017: 51). Bu baraj ve göletlerin yapılmasındaki temel amaç tarımda kullanılan sulama suyu miktarını arttırmak ve aşırı çekim nedeniyle düşen yeraltı su seviyesini muhafaza etmektir. Bu çalışmalar sonucu barajlarda toplanan sular direkt olarak kullanılmaktan ziyade yeraltı suyunun beslenmesi açısından oldukça önem arz etmektedir. Ancak yapılan bu depolar bölgenin tarımsal su ihtiyacı karşısında yetersiz kalmaktadır (Yıldız ve Çakmak, 2014: 11, Abi, 2006: 65). KKTC'de sulama amacıyla yapılmış ve kullanılmakta olan başlıca göletler şunlardır: Yılmazköy Polatlı Dere, Arapköy Uzun

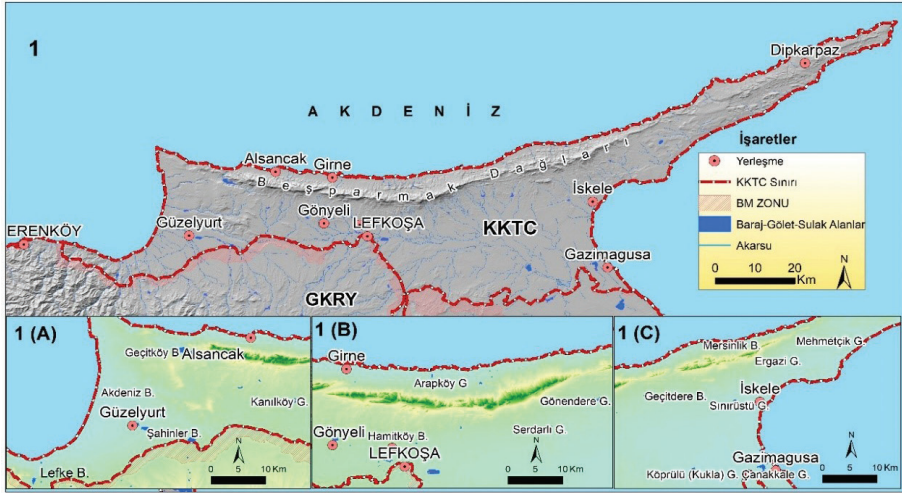
Dere, Arapköy Ayani Dere, Beşparmak Alagadi Çiftlik Dere, Hamitköy Başkanlık Dere, Değirmenli Çatal Dere, Serdallı Ağıllı Dere, Geçitkale Eğri Dere, Ergazi Saya Dere, Mersinlik Azganlı Dere, Dağyolu Üçparmak Dere, Gemikonağı Maden Dere, Gönyeli, Kanlıköy, Haspolat, Gönen Dere ve Akdeniz Göletleri ile Lefke Barajı'dır. Yeraltı suyunu besleme amacıyla kullanılan başlıca su depoları ise Güzelyurt Barajı, Şahinler Barajı, Köprülü Göleti, Güvercinlik Göleti, Değirmendere Göleti, S Bölgesi 1 ve 2, Edremit 1-2-3-4-5-6, Ozanköy Gelinçik Dere Göleti, Yeşiltepe 1 ve 2, Ozanköy Göleti, Tatlısu Zerdali Dere, Zeytinlik Köprü Dere, Tatlısu 1 ve 2 Göleti, Yuvacık Göleti, Sınırüstü Göleti, Vadili Rezervuar Alanı, Akova Göleti, Ayluga Göleti, Akdoğan Göleti, Karşyaka Göleti ve Gazimağusa Tatlı Su Göleti'dir (Tarım Master Planı, 2017: 51-52). (Bakınız: Fotoğraf: 2-3, Harita: 3).



Fotoğraf 2: Lefke Barajı ve Gazimağusa Göleti'nden Görünümler



Fotoğraf 3: Yeni İskele'nin Batısında Bulunan Sınırüstü Göleti

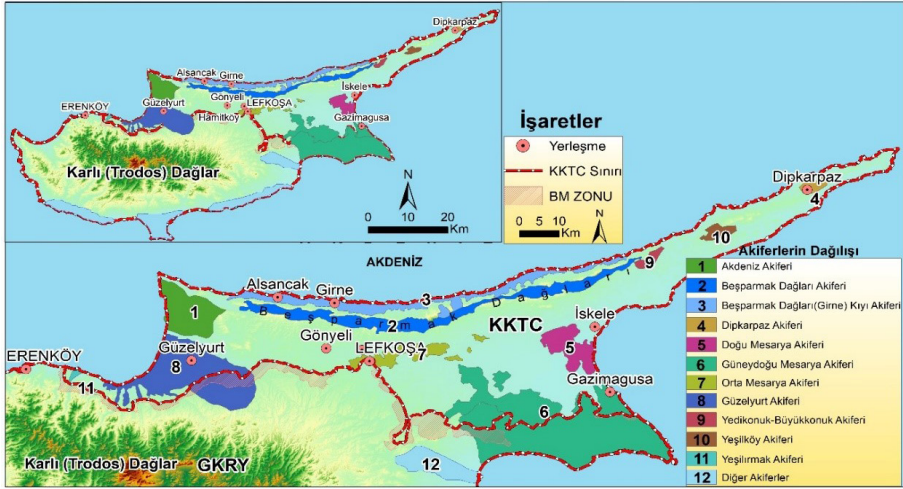


Harita 3: KKTC'de Bulunan Baraj ve Göletlerin Dağılışı

Yeraltı Suları

Yarı kurak iklimin tesirinde bulunan KKTC'de suyun varlığı ve devamlılığı oldukça önem arz etmektedir. Ülkede 1990'lı yıllardan itibaren baş gösteren kuraklık, suyun aşırı ve bilinçsiz kullanılması su yetersizliğine neden olmuştur. Bu süreçte gerek içme-kullanma gerek tarımsal sulama amacıyla yeraltından çok fazla su çekimi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu durum günümüzde de içine alan zaman diliminde gittikçe artan su sıkıntısını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Adada yıllık ortalama buharlaşma (1 m² alandan 2 m³ su buharlaşmakta) ve yağış miktarına bakıldığında yüzey sularının daha fazla gelişmesinin mümkün olamayacağı anlaşılmaktadır. Yararlanılacak temiz yerüstü kaynaklarının oldukça kısıtlı olması insanları yeraltı suyunu kullanmaya mecbur bırakmıştır. KKTC'de içme ve kullanma suyu ihtiyacının önemli bir kısmı Güzelyurt akiferinden sağlanmaktadır. Bu durum zamanla yeraltı su seviyesinin azalmasına ve tatlı suya tuzlu deniz suyunun karışmasına neden olmaktadır (Yıldız ve Çakmak, 2014: 9, Abi, 2006: 58, Gökçekuş, 2012: 119). Bu nedenle Kıbrıs Adasının geneli içinde söylenebileceği gibi akiferler bu bölgenin en önemli yeraltı su kaynağıdır ve korunması gerekmektedir.

Adada yerin metrelerce derinliklerinde bulunan suları çıkartmanın mümkün olmadığı dönemlerde suyun kendiliğinden yeryüzüne çıktığı kaynaklardan faydalanılmaktaydı. Günümüzde değişen koşullar sayesinde bu sulara ulaşmak artık daha kolay hale gelmiştir. Yeraltı sularının miktarı bulunduğu sahanın kayaçlarının yapısına göre değişmektedir. Geçirimsiz tabakanın üzerinde bulunan gözenekli ve geçirgenliği yüksek kayaçların (kireçtaşı, kumtaşı gibi) olduğu sahalarda yeraltı suyu seviyesi daha yüksek olur ve bu yerlerde sular tazyik veya sızıntı şeklinde yeryüzüne çıkar (Yorgancıoğlu, 1998: 112-113). KKTC'nin yeraltı suyu seviyesi her yerde aynı değildir. Merkezi ovasının kuzey doğusunda taban suyunun ortalama seviyesi 20 m'dir. Ancak bu değer çevrede değişiklik gösterebilmektedir. Örneğin; Düzova 80 m, Cihangir 75 m, Kuzucuk 30 m, Sınırüstü 10 m, Yeniiskele 25 m'dir (Abi, 2006: 61).



Harita 4: Kıbrıs'ın Yeraltı Su Kaynaklarının Dağılışı. (Tarım Master Planı, 2017: 53'ten yeniden çizilmiştir)

KKTC'de üç ana (büyük) akifer olmak üzere toplam 11 yeraltı su havzası bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan ana akiferler Güzelyurt, Beşparmak Dağları ve Gazimağusa (Güneydoğu Mesarya) Akiferi'dir. Adada küçük olan ve kıyılarda bulunanlar ise Akdeniz, Beşparmak Dağları (Kıyı akiferi), Dipkarpaz, Doğu Mesarya, Orta Mesarya, Yedikonuk-Büyükkonuk, Yeşilköy ve Yeşilirmak Akiferleridir (Bakınız: Harita 4).

Güzelyurt Akiferi: KKTC'nin en önemli su kaynağını oluşturan akifer Güzelyurt ve çevresinde bulunduğundan bu ismi almıştır. 150 km² gibi geniş alana yayılmış akiferin rezervi 400 milyon m³'tür. Bu rezerve yıllık 35 milyon m³ su girişi, 60 milyon m³ su çıkışı olmaktadır. Ortalama kalınlığı 100 m olan akifer üzerinde çok sayıda sondaj kuyusu (600 adet) açılmıştır. Bu kuyuların büyük kısmı içme suyu ve tarımsal sulamada kullanılmaktadır. Çünkü bu saha KKTC'nin önemli tarım (narenciye) sahasını oluşturmaktadır. Burada bulunan 75.000 dönüm tarım arazisinin 60.000'inde narenciye yetiştiriciliği yapılmaktadır. Tarım ürünlerinin yetiştirme döneminde yaklaşık 500 kuyu gün boyunca 10 saatin üzerinde su çekmektedir. Akiferden uzun yıllar boyunca (1960'lı yıllardan itibaren) sürekli su çekilmiştir. Bu durum karşısında taban suyu iyice azalarak deniz seviyesinin altına inmiştir. Dolayısıyla tatlı sular tuzlanmaya başlamıştır. Yeraltı suyunun tuzlanmaya başladığı anlaşılınca birtakım önlemler alınmıştır. Yeraltı suyunun beslemesi için derivasyon kanalı, baraj ve göletler inşa edilmiştir. İkidere Göletleri, Güzelyurt ve Şahinler Barajı bunların başında gelmektedir. Bu şekilde akarsuların mevsimlik dahi olsa sularının denize boşalmasının önüne geçilmesi amaçlanmıştır (Abi, 2006: 63, Yorgancıoğlu, 1998: 113, Gökçekuş, 2012: 124, Ergil, 2001: 1, Gökçekuş, 2002: 18). (Bakınız: Harita 4).

Gazimağusa (Güneydoğu Mesarya) Akiferi: KKTC'nin güneydoğusunda bulunan Gazimağusa Akiferi 20 km² alan ve ortalama 35 m kalınlığa sahiptir. KKTC'de Güzelyurt'tan sonra ikinci büyük akiferdir. 30 milyon m³ rezervi olan

akiferden yıllık 18 milyon m³ su çekilirken, akifere 6 milyon m³ su girişi olmaktadır. Bu kadar yoğun kullanılan akifer sahası üzerinde 500 kuyu bulunmaktadır. Daha çok tarımsal amaçlı kullanılan akiferden fazla su çekildiği için bugün tuzlanmaya başlamıştır. Gazimağusa yakınlarındaki Korkuteli köyünde 3 m derinlikten tuzlu deniz suyunun çıkması bu durumu yeterince anlatmaktadır (Abi, 2006: 61-63). Mesarya Ovası'nın güneydoğusunda bulunan bu saha üzerinde 80.000 dönüm toprakta sulama yapılmaktadır. Sebze üretiminin başı çektiği bu sahada en fazla tarımı yapılan bir diğer ürün narenciyedir (Yorgancıoğlu, 1998: 114). (Bakınız: Harita 4).

Beşparmak Dağları Akiferi: KKTC'nin kuzeyinde doğu-batı uzantılı dağ sırasının altında, 20 km² alana yayılış gösteren akifer 300 milyon m³ su rezervine sahiptir. Bu yeraltı suyundan yıllık 12 milyon m³ su çekimi yapılırken 20 milyon m³ su girişi olmaktadır. KKTC'nin içme suyunun yarısını karşılayan akifer henüz tuzlanmaya maruz kalmadığından önemi oldukça büyüktür. Bu akifer KKTC için oldukça önemlidir. Çünkü dağın kuzey ve güneyinde bulunan yerleşmeler ile Mesarya Ovası'ndaki yerleşmelerin bir kısmını içine alan çok geniş bir sahanın içme suyu ihtiyacını karşılamaktadır. Beşparmak Dağları genel olarak iyi ayrışmış kalkerlerden oluşmaktadır. Miyosen yaşlı bu kalkerlerin üzerinde lapyra ve dolinler oluşmuştur. Parçalanmanın yüksek olduğu bu sahalarda sular çok rahat bir şekilde yer altına sızabilmektedir. Bu da zengin bir akiferin oluşmasını kolaylaştırmaktadır. Dolayısıyla dağın kuzey ve güney yamaçlarında yeraltı suyu seviyesinin yüksek olduğu sahalarda sular yeryüzüne çıkmaktadır. Başpınar, Pınarbaşı ve Bellabayı vöklüzü suların yüzeye çıktığı pınarlardan bazılarıdır (Yorgancıoğlu, 1998: 114-115, Abi, 2006: 60, Özhür, 2007: 2). (Bakınız: Harita 4).

Diğer Akiferler: KKTC sınırlarında 3 kıyı akiferi bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan birincisi Beşparmak Dağlarının kuzeyinde Alsancak, Girne ile Mersinlik köyü arasında kıyı boyunca uzanan Girne kıyı akiferidir. 32 km² bir alanda yayılış gösteren akifere giren ve çıkan yıllık su miktarı birbirine eşittir ve suyun büyük bir kısmı tarımsal sulamada kullanılmaktadır. İkincisi ise Karpaz Yarımadası'nın kuzey kıyılarında Yeşilköy-Yenierenköy-Karpaz Milli Parkı arasında uzanmaktadır. Yeşilköy Akiferi olarak adlandırılan bu yeraltı suyu 2 km² alan kaplamaktadır. 24 milyon m³ rezervi bulunan akifere giren ve çıkan su miktarı aynıdır. Sahadan çekilen suyun %91'i tarımsal sulama, geri kalanı içme ve kullanmada kullanılmaktadır. Üçüncü akifer ise KKTC'nin batısında Lefke-Erenköy arasında kıyı şeridinde uzanmakta ve 16 km²'lik bir alanda yayılış göstermektedir. Gerçek anlamda Yeşilirmak Deresi alüvyonlarının altında bulunan akiferin toplam su rezervi 42 milyon m³'tür. Bunların dışında Lefkoşa'nın doğusunda Orta Mesarya, Gazimağusa'nın kuzeyinde Doğu Mesarya, Dipkarpaz, Büyükkonuk ile Akdeniz köyü etrafında akifer bulunmaktadır (Nejdet, 1999: 6-12, Turan, 1997: 564, Abi, 2006: 64). (Bakınız: Harita 4).

KKTC'de Suyun Önemi, Potansiyeli ve Başlıca Kullanım Alanları

Su, insan hayatının devam ettirilebilmesi için gerekli olan en önemli kaynaktır (Şenol, 2012). Su, insan vücudu için gerekliliğinin yanında tarım, sanayi ve teknoloji gibi ekonominin pek çok temel alanında kullanılmaktadır. Karalar üzerinde bulunan tatlı sular hem oldukça az (% 3) hem de düzensiz dağılmıştır. Ayrıca su dağılımında

görülen dengesizlik, dünya nüfusun hızlı artması, suyun her alanda yoğun olarak kullanılmaya başlanması sonucu su kaynakları, yetersiz kalmaya başlamasının yanında aşırı derece kirlenmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu durumun gerçekleştiği yerlerde su sorunu yaşanmaktadır (Maden,2013: 103). İçilebilir su kaynaklarının sorumsuzca kullanılması ve kirlenmesi geri dönüşü olmayan sorunların yaşanmasına ortam hazırlamaktadır (Haviland, 2002).Yapılan tahminler, su ihtiyacı ile temiz su kaynağı eğrilerinin 2030 yılında keşişeceğini göstermektedir. Bu durum doğal olarak gelecekte büyük bir su krizinin yaşanmasına neden olacaktır (Özgüler, 1997: 57-63). Dünyada su sorununun yaşandığı yerlerden birisi de adalardır. Adalar, coğrafi özellikleri itibariyle herhangi bir kara parçasına sınır olmadıklarından başka bir yerden doğal olarak suyun gelmesinden mahrumdurlar. Sadece yağıştan beslendiğinden, yeraltı ve yerüstü kaynakları kullanıldığından adalarda ciddi su sıkıntıları yaşanmaktadır. Kıbrıs adasında da bu şekilde ciddi bir su ihtiyacı problemi bulunmaktadır. Özellikle KKTC'de bu sorun daha bariz görülmektedir. Zengin bir yeraltı su rezervine sahip olsa da yaklaşık altmış yıldır yoğun bir şekilde kullanıldığından seviyesi düşmüştür ve su tuzlanmaya başlamıştır. Bu durum karşısında devletler bu soruna birtakım çareler aramışlar ancak tam anlamıyla çözüm bulamamışlardır (Maden, 2013: 103).

Kıbrıs adasının yaklaşık üçte birine sahip KKTC'nin su fakiri bir ülke olmasının altında kurak ve az yağışlı bir iklimin hâkim olması yatmaktadır. Ada ne çöl bölgeleri kadar su fakiri ne de tropikler kadar su zenginidir. Yağışların yetersizliğinden dolayı yüzeyel akışa geçemedikleri için kuruyan dereler ve dolamayan barajlar KKTC'yi dışarıdan su temin etme mecburiyetinde bırakmıştır. Adanın güneyi kadar geniş bir yağış alanına ve yeraltı suyuna sahip olunmaması bu durumu ortaya çıkaran önemli faktörlerdendir. Su, KKTC açısından dünyanın her yerinde olduğu gibi hayati bir öneme sahiptir. Adanın ekonomik bağımsızlığı ve kendine yeterliliği hususunda en önemli parametrelerden olan tarım için su olmazsa olmazlardandır. Zaten suyun dağıtıldığı alanlara bakıldığında tarım için kullanılan suyun fazlalığı dikkat çekmektedir.

KKTC ekonomisinin temelini tarım, turizm ve eğitim gibi sektörler oluşturmaktadır. 2016 yılı itibariyle 339.478'e ulaşan nüfusun 245.828'i çalışabilir yaş aralığındadır. Ancak bu nüfusun 118.387'si resmî rakamlara göre farklı sektörlerde istihdam edilmektedir. Bu nüfusun önemli bir kısmı hizmet sektöründe % 78.40 (92.817 kişi) çalışmaktadır. Geri kalanlar ise %9.77 (11.564 kişi) sanayi, %8.23 (9.745 kişi) inşaat ve % 3.60 (4.261 kişi) tarım sektöründe çalışmaktadır. Yalnız 2006 yılında tarım sektöründe çalışan nüfusun oranı % 4.80 iken 2010 yılında % 5.70'e çıkmıştır. Ancak bu oran 2016 yılında % 3.60'a düşmüştür. Bu istatistiki bilgilerden anlaşılacağı üzere tarım sektöründe istihdam edilen nüfusta azalmalar meydana gelmiştir (Tarım Master Planı, 2017: 60-65). Su sıkıntısı çeken ada için bu sonucun kaçınılmaz olacağı önceden tahmin edilebilmekteydi. Tarım yapılabilecek geniş ovalara sahip olunmasına rağmen bu arazilerde suyun yetersiz olması insanları son yıllarda hizmet sektörüne yöneltmiştir. Tarım sektöründe çalışan nüfusun kaydığı en önemli faaliyet alanları ise turizm ve eğitim olmuştur.

KKTC'nin yıllık kullandığı su miktarı 107 milyon m³'tür. Kullanılan bu suyun 90 milyon m³'ü yeraltı suyu ve kaynaklardan, 17 milyon m³'ü ise yerüstü sularındandır.

Bu 107 milyon m³ suyun 72 milyon m³ tarımsal sulama, 25 milyon m³ içme ve kullanma suyu, geri kalan 10 milyon m³ ise, buharlaşma, su isale hattında yaşanan kayıplar ile denize boşalım sonucu kaybolmaktadır. Su kaynaklarında yaşanan problemler tarım alanlarının zamanla azalmasına yol açmıştır. KKTC'de 2003 yılında 44,080 dönüm olan narenciye alanı 2009 yılında 41,263 dönüme, 2016 yılında ise 30,903 dönüme düşmüştür. 13 yıl gibi kısa bir zamanda tarımda bu şekilde gerilemenin yaşanmasında kullanılan suyun miktarı ve kalitesinin düşüklüğü etkili olmuştur. Adada su yetersizliğinden dolayı son zamanlarda tarım sektörünün büyük bir kısmında modern sulama yöntemleri kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Ayrıca tarımsal sulamada akiferler ve yerüstü kaynaklarından sağlanan suya ilave olarak Güzelyurt, Mağusa ve Haspolat Arıtma Tesislerinde arıtılan sular da tarım sektörüne ilave edilmiştir (Tarım Master Planı, 2017: 47, Yıldız ve Çakmak, 2014: 7).

KKTC'nin sahip olduğu su potansiyelini tam olarak ana ve kıyı akiferler olmak üzere toplam 11 akifer, 46 tane gölet ve baraj (17'si sulama, 29'u yeraltı su beslenmesi amacıyla) 6'sı atık su arıtma (yılda 6,351 milyon m³ su) 10'nu deniz suyu arıtma (yılda 5,475 milyon m³) olmak üzere 16 arıtma tesisi (yılda toplam 11,8 milyon m³) ile 2016 yılında hizmete giren Türkiye'den su temin projesi kapsamında KKTC'de Geçitköy Barajı'na boşaltılan yıllık 75 milyon m³ su oluşturmaktadır (Tarım Master Planı, 2017: 54-55, Yıldız, 2018: 1-7).

Tarımsal Yapı ve Sulama

1970'lere kadar Kıbrıs'ta tarım temel ekonomik faaliyetti. Buna bağlı olarak zirai faaliyetler Kıbrıs'ta nüfusun 1/3'ünün geçimini sağlamakta olup toplam ihracatın da %70'ini oluşturmaktaydı. Tarım sektörü günümüze kadar turizm ve hizmet sektörü karşısında gerilemiş olmasına rağmen hâlâ önemini korumaktadır. Nüfusun 1989'da % 27,6'sı, 1996'da %21,2'si, 2004'te %13'ü tarım alanında istihdam edilirken 2008 yılında sadece %3,5' inin (3.171 kişi) tarımdan geçindiği belirlenmiştir. KKTC'de zirai faaliyetler iklim şartları, su sıkıntısı ve topografik durum gibi farklı faktörlerden etkilenmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu koşullar ülkede tarımsal ürün desenini belirlemiştir. Ülkenin yarı kurak olan merkezî ovalık kesiminde tahıl üretimi (buğday, arpa, yulaf) yapılırken kıyı kesimlerinde ise genellikle sebze ve meyve yetiştiriciliği hâkimdir (Üçışık Erbilen ve Şahin, 2011: 202)

KKTC'de 2016 yılı itibariyle 992.264 dönüm arazide tarım yapılmaktadır. Bu arazinin 919.223 dönümüne denk gelen % 92.64'ünde kuru tarım, 72.992 dönümüne karşılık gelen % 7.36'sında sulu tarım yapılmaktadır. Kuru tarım arazisinde 754.412 dönüm ile en fazla tahıl ekimi yapılmaktadır. Sulu tarım arazisinde ise en büyük pay narenciye üretimine (37.844 dönüm) ayrılmıştır. Suya ihtiyacı yüksek olan ve üretimi yapılan diğer tarım ürünleri ise yumrulu bitkiler, sebzeler ve meyvelerdir. KKTC'de 13.459 kayıtlı tarım işletmesi bulunmaktadır. Bunların büyük bir kısmı aile işletmesi şeklindedir. Ağırlıklı olarak tarım ürünleri üreten işletmelerin bulunduğu (8.526 adet) ülkede hayvancılık işletmeleri (4.678 adet) daha azdır. Bitkisel üretim yapan işletmelerin yarısından fazlası kuru tarım (5.919 adet) yapmaktadır. Geri kalanı ise sulu tarım arazilerinde daha çok narenciye, zeytin ve sebze üretimi yapılmaktadır. Ülkede sulu tarıma uygun alanlarda yapılan sınıflandırmaya göre toprakların % 4.92'si I. sınıf, % 13'ü II. sınıf ve % 26.30'u III. sınıf topraklardan oluşmaktadır. Ülkede

sulu tarıma uygun toprakların yaklaşık % 45'i geniş bir üretim yelpazesinin olduğu çok önemli tarım alanlarıdır. % 7.58 gibi önemli bir alan kaplayan IV. sınıf topraklar yalnızca özel bitkilerin sulu tarımına imkân tanımaktadır. Sulamaya uygun olmayan V. sınıf topraklar % 31.89 gibi oldukça geniş bir alanda dağılışı göstermektedir (Tarım Master Planı, 2017:47-71-81-82). Tarımsal verimde yağmur önemli bir parametredir (Tandoğdu ve Erbilin, 2018: 831). Yağmurun yeterli olmadığı KKTC'de tarımsal üretimde ve verimde önemli azalmalar yaşanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu durum insanları sulu tarım yapabilmek için yeraltı suyunu kullanmaya mecbur bırakmaktadır.

Bu sulu tarım arazilerinde üretim yapabilmek için çok sayıda yeraltı su kuyusu açılmıştır. Hâlihazırdaki (Türkiye'den gelen su hariç) su potansiyelinin % 70'e yakını yeraltı suyu ve kaynaklardan elde eden ülkede su kuyularının dağılışı büyük önem arz etmektedir. Kayıtlı kuyuların ülkedeki dağılışı incelendiğinde (Bakınız: Tablo:1), en fazla kuyu Girne'de (6.036) bulunmaktadır. Girne'den sonra en fazla kuyu sırasıyla Gazimağusa (2.863), İskele (2.537), Lefkoşa (2.042), Lefke (751) ve Güzelyurt'ta (429) bulunmaktadır. En az kuyunun Güzelyurt ve çevresinde olduğu dikkati çekmektedir. Halbuki Güzelyurt Ovası ve çevresi diğer yerlere göre hem zengin bir akifere hem de verimli ve geniş tarım alanlarına sahiptir. Bu ovanın zengin bir yeraltı suyu rezervine sahip olmasının yanında Karlıdağ ve Beşparmak Dağlarından gelen akarsuların oluşturduğu dereler, Güzelyurt'a yapılan su hattı, derivasyonlar ile gölet ve barajlara sahip olması yeraltı suyundan faydalanma ihtiyacını azaltmıştır. Ancak merkezî ovalık sahanın bulunduğu Lefkoşa, Gazimağusa ve İskele gibi yerleşmelerin etrafındaki tarım alanlarında yetersiz su kaynaklarından dolayı çok fazla kuyu açılmıştır. Girne'de ise dağın kuzey yamacında akan suların kısa boylu ve küçük, sahanın yeraltı suyu açısından iyi durumda olması kuyu sayısının fazla olmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır.

Tablo 1: KKTC'de 1981-2017 Yılları Arasında Kayıtlı Kuyu Sayısı.

	Lefkoşa	Gazimağusa	Girne	Güzelyurt	İskele	Lefke
Ruhsat Sayısı	2017	2787	5961	334	2457	674
Kamu Kuyusu	25	76	75	95	80	77
Toplam	2042	2863	6036	429	2537	751

Kaynak: Tarım Master Planı, 2017: 54.

Su Transfer Projesinin KKTC Açısından Önemi ve Günümüzdeki Durumu

Türkiye'den KKTC'ye su transferi projesi (Bakınız: Harita:5, Şekil:1) 1998-1999 yıllarında bir müşavirlik firmasına ihale edilmiş ancak projenin fiilî olarak uygulanmaya başlaması 2012 yılında olmuştur. Projenin işleyişi Türkiye'nin güneyinde Anamur Çayı üzerinde yapılan Alaköprü Barajı'nda biriktirilen suların dev borular vasıtasıyla (HDPE-Yüksek Yoğunluklu Polietilen) KKTC'ye taşınması şeklinde olmaktadır. Türkiye'den denize batırılmaya başlanan borular deniz tabanına belirli aralıklarla yerleştirilen ağırlıklar sayesinde deniz seviyesinin 250 m altında asılı şekilde bulunmaktadır. Toplamda 80 km (66.5 km'si asılı boru şeklinde) uzunluğunda olan deniz yolu isale hattı bu yapıyla dünyada tek proje olma özelliğini taşımaktadır. Bu borularla yıllık 75 milyon m³ su taşınmaktadır (www.dsi.

gov.tr; Yıldız ve Çakmak, 2014: 14).

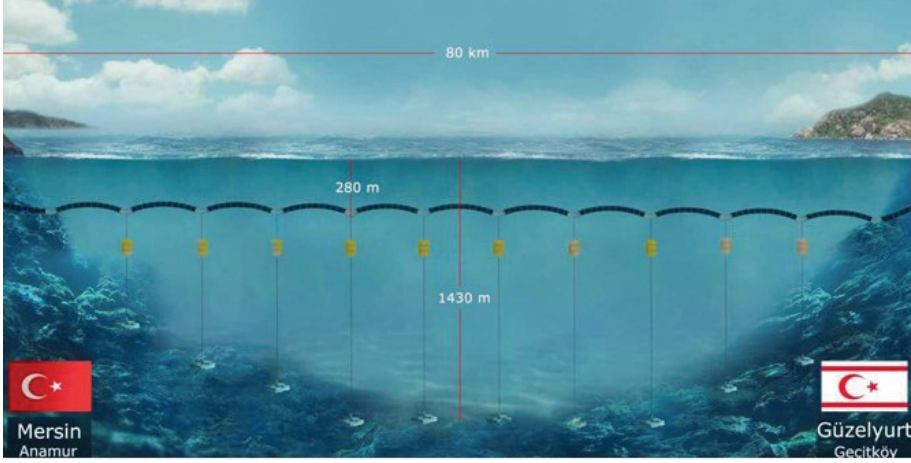
KKTC'de kullanılan 107 milyon m³ su göz önüne alındığında taşınan suyun önemi oldukça büyüktür. Sistem temel olarak dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm Türkiye tarafında yapılan baraj, isale hattı ile depo ve denize giriş kısımlarından oluşmaktadır. İkinci kısım denizden geçiş safhası, üçüncü bölüm KKTC'de Güzelyalı pompa istasyonundan Geçitköy Barajı'na suyun taşınması ve depolanması ile diğer pompa istasyonlarının inşasıdır. Dördüncü bölüm ise KKTC dağıtım şebeke ağının kurulmasıdır. Bu ağ arıtma tesisi, Lefkoşa, Girne, Gazimağusa, İskele ve Dipkarpaz isale hattının inşası şeklindedir.



Harita 5: Türkiye ile KKTC Arasında Hizmete Giren "Su Temin Projesi" nin Güzergâhı (dsi.gov.tr, 2020)

Proje sayesinde KKTC'ye iletilen suyun % 50,3'ünün (37,76 milyon m³) içme-kullanma ve sanayide, % 49,7' sinin (37,24 m³) tarımsal sulamada kullanılması planlanmıştır. Bu şekilde 2045 yılına kadar herhangi bir su sorunuyla karşılaşmayacağı belirtilmiştir. KKTC'nin hâlihazırda günlük içme ve kullanma suyundan (25-30 milyon m³) daha fazlası Türkiye'den (37,76 milyon m³) gönderilmeye başlanmıştır. Bu şekilde ülkenin 2035 yılında 54 milyon m³ olacağı tahmin edilen içme-kullanma ve sanayi suyu ihtiyacının çok büyük bir kısmı Türkiye'den gelen suyla karşılanacaktır. Adada önemli olan bir diğer husus ise baraja aktarılan suyun isale hatlarıyla başta Mesarya tarım havzası olmak üzere diğer tarım alanlarına ve yerleşim yerlerine ulaştırılmasıdır. Bu isale hattıyla Güzelyurt Ovası'nda 71.500 dekar, Mesarya Ovası'nda 97.350 dekar tarım alanında kesintisiz sulama imkânı elde edilmiştir. Bu sayede tarımda kullanılan su miktarıyla birlikte tarımsal verimde artışlar yaşanacak, bu durum ülkenin gelişmişlik seviyesiyle

birlikte istihdama katkıda bulunacaktır. Ülkede içme suyu hattı, yerleşmelerin neredeyse tamamına (% 99) ulaşmaktadır. İçme suyunun dağıtımı Su İşleri Dairesi'nin kontrolünde belediyelere yapılmaktadır. Belediyeler ise suyu yetki sınırları içerisindeki konut ve işyerlerine ulaştırmaktadır. Türkiye'den taşınan suyun adanın her yerine ulaştırılması için isale hatları yapılmaktadır. Bu şekilde hem adaya kesintisiz su verilebilecek hem de yeraltı kuyularının kullanımı önemli ölçüde azalacaktır (www.dsi.gov.tr; Tarım Master Planı, 2017: 47, Yıldız ve Çakmak, 2014: 15-17).



Şekil 1: KKTC'ye Taşınan Suyun Deniz İçinden Geçen Kısımının Yatay Görünümü (www.tenva.org, 2020)

Sonuç

Kıbrıs Adası yeraltı ve yerüstü su kaynakları açısından zengin değildir. Özellikle KKTC'nin bulunduğu saha Güney'e göre su kaynakları açısından daha yoksundur. Adada yerüstü sularına kaynak olan iki ana saha vardır. Bunlar Karlıdağ ve Beşparmak Dağlarıdır. Merkezi konumda bulunan Karlıdağ kuzeydeki Beşparmak Dağlarına göre daha fazla yağış almaktadır. Ada genelinde yıl boyu akış gösteren dere bulmak zordur. Buharlaşmanın fazla olması suyun depolanmasını zorlaştırmaktadır. Dolayısıyla adada büyük barajlardan ziyade küçük göletler yapılmıştır. Tarımsal sulama, içme-kullanma suyu ve yeraltı suyunu beslemek amacıyla yapılan bu göletlerden KKTC'de 46 tane bulunmaktadır. Sayıları çok olsa da bu su depolama alanlarının işlevi oldukça azdır.

İçme-kullanma ve tarımsal sulamada kullanılan suyun çok büyük bir kısmı yeraltından çekilmektedir. Yıllarca bu şekilde devam eden su temini birtakım sorunları ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bunlardan en önemlisi ve en zor olanı tuzlanmadır. Özellikle Güzelyurt ve Gazimağusa çevresindeki akiferlerin aşırı su çekiminden dolayı seviyesi düşmüş ve denizin tuzlu suları tatlı suya karışmaya başlamıştır. Bu yüzden Türkiye'den gelen suyun KKTC için hayati bir önemi vardır. Bu suyun kullanılması insanları gelecekte kuyulardan uzak tutacaktır. Bu şekilde zamanla yeraltı suyu seviyesi yükselerek eski halini almaya başlayacaktır.

“Barış Suyu Projesi” olarak adlandırılan “Su Temin Projesi” KKTC’nin ekonomik açıdan birçok problemine çözüm olacaktır. 1998-1999 yılında yapılması planlanmasına rağmen 2012 yılında hayata geçirilen ve 2016 yılında tamamlanarak hizmete giren proje ile adanın musluklarından Türkiye’den gelen su akmaktadır. Aynı zamanda tarımın hayati bir yerinin olduğu adada kurak topraklarda ürünler bu suyla çoğalacaktır.

Kullanılan ileri teknoloji ile uzun ömürlü olması planlanan su taşımacılığı sayesinde adanın her yerine düzenli olarak kesintisiz su dağıtımı yapılmaktadır. Böylece ekonomik gelişmenin yanında sosyal ve kültürel hayatta da büyük değişimler olacaktır. Kıbrıs’ın ekonomisinde önemli bir yeri olan eğitim (2016 yılı itibarıyla KKTC’de üniversite okuyan öğrenci sayısı 84.561 kişidir) ve turizm sektöründeki eksikliklerin giderilerek su sayesinde yeni düzenlemelerle gelirin daha da yükseltilmesi mümkün olacaktır. Kıbrıs’ın geleceği göz önüne alınarak yapılan bu su hattı, sadece KKTC için değil GKRY açısından da oldukça önemlidir. Türkiye ve KKTC tarafından yapılan açıklamalarla suyun talep edilmesi halinde paylaşılacağı belirtilmiştir.

Dünya çapında yaşanan iklim değişikliği Kıbrıs adasını çok fazla etkileyecektir. Zaten tarımsal gelirin ve tarımda çalışan sayısının son yıllarda çok düşmesi yaşanan su sıkıntısından kaynaklanmaktadır. İklim konusunda yapılan tahminlere göre gelecekte yağışların azalıp sıcaklıkların artacağı belirtilmektedir. Bu durum Türkiye’den gelen suyun bugün olduğundan daha çok yarınlar için önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu şekilde gelecekte su sıkıntısı oldukça düşük seviyelerde kalacak ve tarımda çalışan insanların sayısı arttırılarak istihdama katkı sağlanacaktır.

Öneriler

KKTC elinde bulundurduğu ayrıcalıkları en iyi şekilde değerlendirmelidir. Ziraat alanlarına değerli tarım ürünlerinin ekilerek ekonomiye daha fazla destek sağlanması gerekmektedir.

Suyun verimli kullanılması için uygulanması gereken tedbirlerden birisi de kayıp kaçak oranının azaltılmasıdır. Bu şekilde kayıp kaçak oranlarının minimuma indirilmesi gerekmektedir.

Bir diğer önemli husus ise yeraltı su kuyularının çok sıkı denetlenmesidir. Yeraltı suyuna sık sık analizler yapılarak tuzluluk derecesi belirli takvim çerçevesinde takip edilmelidir. Bu şekilde kuyu yoğunluğu ile yeraltı suyunun kalitesi arasında bağlantı kurulup planlama yapılmalıdır. Ayrıca Türkiye’den gelen suyun dağıtıldığı bölgelerde yeni kuyu açılmasına ve kuyuların gereksiz yere kullanılmasına müsamaha gösterilmemelidir.

Ziraatte sulama muhakkak çok önemlidir. Son yıllarda ülkede başlatılan modern tarımsal sulama sistemleri tüm çiftçilere zorunlu tutulmalı ve sübvansiyonlarla en iyi şekilde desteklenmelidir. Tarım ürünlerinin su ihtiyacı vahşi sulama olarak adlandırılan salma sulama şeklinde olmamalıdır. Bunun yerine yağmurlama veya damla sulama yöntemi kullanılmalıdır. Bu yöntemler içinden en uygun olanı damla sulamadır. Bu yöntem sayesinde kullanılan iş gücü, ilaç, gübre ve su miktarında önemli derecede tasarruf edilmiş olunacaktır.

Yaşanacak iklim değişimi su kaynaklarına ciddi zararlar vereceğinden KKTC’ye

gelen suyun en iyi şekilde kullanılması, fazla suyun israf edilmemesi hayati önem taşımaktadır. Çünkü ilerleyen zamanlarda Türkiye'deki suyun azalması ya da başka problemlerin baş göstermesi gibi nedenlerden dolayı gelen suda azalmalar yaşanabilir. Bu duruma çare olarak suyun çok temkinli kullanılması ve yeraltı suyunun olabildiğince beslenmesi gerekmektedir. Yani bugün elde bulunan suyun depolanması gerekmektedir.

2016 yılı itibariyle turizm sektörü için önemli olan otellerdeki yatak sayısı 21.543 adet olmuştur. Artık su sıkıntısı yaşanmayacağından otellerin yatak kapasitesi arttırılabilir ve turizmin ekonomi içindeki payı büyütülebilir. Turizmde beklenen gelişmenin sağlanması ve öğrenci sayısının gittikçe artması, hizmet sektörünü canlandıracağından işsizliği de düşük seviyelere indirecektir.

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Hakan Karahasana*
Yakın Doęu Üniversitesi

Köken tartışmaları başladığı andan itibaren, akla birçok soru geliyor. Bu sorular içerisinde belki de en önemlilerinden bir tanesi "Köken nedir?" sorusudur. Diğer bir deyişle, bahsedilen konunun geçmişe dayanarak meşruluęunu saęlayan köken, deyim yerindeyse, tıpkı Büyük Patlama gibi bir başlangıç noktası olarak mı kabul edilmeli? Peki, bu sorunun cevaplandığı an akla gelen ikinci bir soru "Kökenin kökeni nedir?" sorusu kendisine geçmiş üzerinden meşruiyet saęlayanlara yönelik ne söylüyor? 'Kökenin kökeni nedir?' sorusu, soruyu sorar sormaz son derece güçlü bir şekilde geçmişe dayanarak inşa edilmeye çalışılan "saęlam yapı"yı alaşağı edip, yapıyı söken bir soru olarak inşa edilen gerçekliklerin ne derece kaygan zeminler üzerinde durduęunu gözler önüne sermiyor mu? Tam da bu sebepten dolayıdır ki, kendisini köken üzerinden meşrulaştırmaya çalışılan her düşünce, kendi kendisinin meşruiyetinin meşru ol(a)mayacağını, kökenin 'dipsiz bir kuyu'dan farksız olduęunu ve en dibe inildiği sanılan anın aslında kuyunun dibinin hiç olmaması, hatta ve hatta kuyunun kuyu ol(a)maması gibi bir durum ile karşı karşıya kalınmasından ötürü sonsuz bir geriye gidişle noktalanamayacağını göstermesi bakımından önemlidir. Başka bir deyişle, bulunan her kökenin bir başlangıç anı var olduęundan, o başlangıcın başka köklerden var olduęu düşünülürken, köken üzerinden meşruiyet saęlamanın ne kadar sorunlu bir düşünce olduęu ortaya çıkabilmektedir.

Bir milletin mensubunu kendisini ait olduęunu sandığı millet mensubu yapan nedir? Diğer bir deyişle, kendisini belli bir millete ait hissedenden bireyler, nasıl oluyor da kendilerini o ulusa ait olarak görüyorlar? Burada kültürün önemli bir rol oynadığı bilinmektedir. Kültürün aktarılmasını saęlayan kurumlar, kişiler, eserler, eğitim vs. gibi birçok unsurun birleşmesi sonucu, bireyler kendilerini belli bir kültür, millet, vs.'ye ait olarak görebilmektedirler.

* Yrd. Doç. Dr. Hakan Karahasana, Yakın Doęu Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi, Film Yapımı ve Yayıncılık Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi. Lefkoşa- Kuzey Kıbrıs, Mersin 10, Türkiye. E-posta: hakan.karahasan@neu.edu.tr [ORCID ID: 0000-0001-8479-0094]

İnsanların sahip oldukları dünya görüşleri ve bunların bilim ile olan ilişkisine bakıldığında, her ne kadar bilim kendisinin tarafsız olduğunu, veriler üzerinden sınamalar ile elde edilen verileri sağlama yaptığını iddia etse de, uygulamanın böyle olmadığı aşikâr. Ian Hacking, Şansın Terbiye Edilişi adlı çalışmasında rakamların, özellikle istatistiğin resmî ideoloji tarafından nasıl kullanıldığını gözler önüne sererken, DNA'nın yapısının çözümündeki en önemli isimlerden birisi olan James D. Watson, DNA çözümünün öyküsünü anlattığı İkili Sarmal adlı kitabında bilim ve insan ilişkisinden bahsederken "... bilim, dışarıdan insanların sandığı şekilde doğrudan, mantıklı bir biçimde ilerlemez. Tam tersine, bilimin ileriye (bazen de geriye) doğru olan adımları çoğunlukla kişiliklerin ve kültürel geleneklerin büyük rol oynadığı son derece insani olaylardır" (s.iii) demektedir. Watson'ın ifade ettiği üzere, bilim ideolojilerden, önyargılardan bağımsız bir şekilde yapılmamaktadır. Tam da bu yüzden, bilim insanların verilere sahip olmaları yanında, yürüttükleri araştırmalar ile elde ettikleri verileri hangi amaç(lar)la, nasıl kullandıklarını "ilk anda" idrak etmek çok kolay ol(a)masa da, bunların olduğunu, olabileceğini akılda tutmakta fayda var. Thomas S. Kuhn'un bilim tarihini incelerken yaptığı uyarılardan birisi tarihsellik, diğeri de bilimsel çalışmaları gerçekleştiren bilim insanlarının dış dünyadan kopuk ol(a)madıkları idi. Lakin bu, hiçbir şekilde irrasyoneliteye dönülüp bilimsel çalışmaları dikkate almamak olarak düşünülmemeli. Aksine, bilimin de insanlar tarafından yapılmakta olduğunu ve "doğru" diye bilip öğrenilenlerin zaman içerisinde değişebileceğini ve bunun da bilimin önemli bir parçası olduğunu bilmek önemli.

Arkeoloji ve genetik bilimlerine bakıldığında, yukarıda yazılanların istisna olmadıkları görülebilmektedir. Geçmiş uygarlıkları araştıran arkeoloji bilimi, böylece insanların geçmişin değişik dönemlerindeki kültürleri, kültürler arası ilişkileri ve kültürel miras hakkında önemli bilgiler vermektedir. Bunun yanında, kalıtım ve çeşitliliği inceleyen genetik bilimi ise, kalıtımın ne olduğunu araştırırken ister istemez köken tartışması gündeme gelebiliyor. Hastalık konusunda ve diğer biyolojik konularda tanı ve tedavi açılarından bunun son derece önemli olduğu bilirse de, bahsi geçen mevzu bir ulusun kökeni olduğu zaman konuya aynı şekilde yaklaşmak ne oranda doğru, buna bir çırpıda cevap vermek çok da kolay olmayabiliyor. Yapılan çalışmaların yazım süreçleri incelendiğinde, yazı ile birlikte dilin konuya dahil olması söz konusu olduğundan, bilimsel çalışmaların da anlatılardan bağımsız olmadıklarını iddia etmek mümkün görülebilmektedir. Verilerin tamamen 'gerçek' olmaları, bilimsel çalışmaların 'kurgusallığını' ortadan kaldırmıyor. Diğer bir deyişle, verilerden yola çıkılmak suretiyle, farklı bir anlatı ya da gerçeklik kurgulanabilmektedir. Jacques Rancière Görüntülerin Yazgısı adlı çalışmasında Chris Marker'ın Le Tombeau d'Alexandre (Son Bolşevik) adlı belgesel filmini bu konuda örnek olarak vermektedir. Marker'ın belgesel filmi tamamen elde edilen veriler ile yapılan kurgu sayesinde anlatının nasıl kurgulanabileceğine, diğer bir deyişle, değiştirilebileceğine önemli bir örnek olarak verilebilir. Hal böyle iken, kendi kökenini arayan ulusların ne kadar "yüce" bir milletin parçası olduklarını ispat etme sürecinde arkeoloji ve genetiğin sunmuş olduğu verileri kullanmaya çalışırken ifade edilen ihtimallerin görmezden gelinmesinin, beraberinde başka sorunları getirmesi muhtemeldir.

Marie-Louise Winbladh'ın çalışması bu açılardan büyük bir önem taşıyor. Winbladh'ın eserine bakıldığında bilim ile bilim dışı arasında var olan gerilimli ilişkiyi görebilmek mümkün. Winbladh özellikle bilimin ideolojik amaçlar doğrultusunda nasıl kullanıldığına, kullanılmaya çalışıldığına, eldeki veriler farklı şeyler söylese de, bunların bir anda nasıl görmezden gelinebileceğine, bilim yapan kişilerin sahip oldukları düşüncelerin bilimsel çalışmalara ister istemez nasıl yansıtılabileceğine dair okuyucuya önemli bilgiler veriyor.

Kıbrıslıların kim oldukları sorusu ile başlayan çalışma, aslında arkeolojinin Kıbrıs'ta başından bu yana nasıl politize edildiğini de gözler önüne seriyor. 1971-2001 yılları arasında Stockholm Kıbrıs Koleksiyonları küratörlüğü yapmış olan Winbladh, bir arkeolog olarak arkeoloji biliminin politik amaçlar için nasıl kullanıldığını birinci elden deneyimleyen bir kişi. Kitabın özellikle giriş kısmında bu deneyimlerini okuyabilmek mümkün. Factoid sözcüğü ile başlayan çalışma, yanlış olan veya gerçekte doğrudan ilgisi olmayan tartışmaların, sürekli tekrarlanmaları durumunda nasıl gerçekmiş gibi algılandıklarını ve uzun vadede bizzat gerçeğin yerine geçip gerçek olarak algılanabileceğini açıklıyor. Türkçeye daha çok "yakıştırma" veya "uydurma" olarak çevrilen factoid sözcüğü ve arkeoloji ilişkisi incelendiğinde, bir bilim olarak arkeolojinin politik emellere alet edilebildiğini vurgulaması açısından önemli.

Kitabın birinci bölümü daha çok Kıbrıslı Rum resmî söyleminde baskın olan Kıbrıs'ın ezelden beri bir Helen adası olduğu düşüncesinin neden öyle olmadığını, bunun "uydurma bir gerçeklik" olduğunu, arkeolojik veriler ışığında açıklıyor. Böylece, konu ile ilgili olarak bazı arkeolojik çalışmalardan örnekler sunan Winbladh, okuyucuya tarihin başından bu yana Kıbrıs'ın bir Helen adası olduğu düşüncesinin verilerden çok ideolojik olduğunu vurguluyor. Kitabın başlarında kimi bilim insanlarının Herodot'u "güvenilir bir kaynak" olarak görmelerinin tuhaflığına değinen Winbladh'a göre, tarihçilerin ve arkeologların Herodot'un yazılarını doğru kabul etmelerinin temellerine bakıldığında, bunun ideolojik olduğunu görebilmek mümkündür. Winbladh'a göre, özellikle Kıbrıslı Rum resmî söyleminin "Helen merkezli Kıbrıs" anlayışının temellerinde 1878'de adanın yönetimini devralan İngilizlerin teşvikleri bulunmaktadır (s. 23). Lakin arkeolojik bulgulara günümüzde bakıldığında, Kıbrıs'ın ezelden beri Helen adası olduğu fikri gerçekliği yansıtmamaktadır. Aksine, Winbladh'a göre, çanak çömlek yapımı ve diğer unsurlara bakıldığında, o dönemlerde Kıbrıslıların her şeyi Mikenlerden almadıkları, aksine bazı şeyleri kendi başlarına yaptıkları görülebilmektedir. "Miken Sömürgeciliği Miti" adlı bölüm, tarih öncesi devirlerde Kıbrıslıların değişik zaman dilimlerinde değişik kültürlerle daha yakın bir ilişki içinde olduklarını, özellikle Engomi (kitapta Enkomi olarak yazılmış) bölgesi bulgularında Levant geleneğinin daha baskın olduğunu ifade ediyor (s. 34).

Ayrıca, dil üzerinden benzetmeler üzerine yaptığı yorumda Kıbrıs Hece Yazısı'nın Eski Yunanca ile doğrudan ilişkisi olduğu ve böylece Kıbrıs'ın Helen olduğu düşüncesine karşı Winbladh şu sözlerle karşılık veriyor: "Doğu Akdeniz'in hiçbir yerinde Ege kökenli bir yazının transferi kanıtlanmamıştır. Dolayısıyla M.Ö. erken 12. yüzyılda, Egeli halkın Kıbrıs'ta ve Levant'ta yerleşimi epigrafik kanıtlarla desteklenmemektedir. Bu, M.Ö. 14. ve 13. yüzyıllarda Kıbrıs'ta Miken olmayan elitin

varlığı için yeterli bir kanıt olmalıdır” (s. 40). Günümüz verilerine bakıldığında, gerek dil, gerekse diğer arkeolojik veriler üzerinden Kıbrıs’ın bir Helen adası olduğu fikrinin savunulmasının olsa olsa ideolojik olduğunu ifade eden Winbladh, arkeolojinin milliyetçilik ile nasıl bir ilişki içinde olduğunu “Milliyetçilik ve Arkeoloji” adlı kısımda, kısaca da olsa, açıklamaya çalışıyor.

Kitabın ikinci bölümü ise “Genetik Verilerde Kıbrıslılar”ın kim olduklarına, tarihin başından bu yana kimlerle ilişkiler içinde bulduklarına genetik bilimi üzerinden cevap(lar) arıyor. Kıbrıslılara bakıldığında (Winbladh’ın tabiriyle Türkçe Konuşan Kıbrıslılar –TKK– ve Yunanca Konuşan Kıbrıslılar –YKK), Kıbrıslılar’ın iki taraftaki resmi söylemlerinin aksine, gen havuzlarına bakıldığında benzerlikleri farklılıklarından daha çok. Başka bir deyişle, TKK ile YKK genlerine bakıldığında benzeşmenin sanıldandan daha fazla olduğu görülebilmektedir. Winbladh’ın aktardığına göre, Kıbrıslıların kökenlerinin Grek olup olmadıkları üzerine Moleküler Tıp Araştırma Merkezi Başkanı Prof. Deltas’ın söylemiş olduğu, “Bizim DNA’mız her zaman önemlidir... Fakat bizi insan olarak biz yapan sadece element değil. DNA’mız yüzünden değil, eğitimimiz ve tarihimizden dolayı kendimizi Grek hissediyoruz” (s. 58) cümlesi dikkat çekicidir. Kimlik siyaseti söz konusu olduğunda, yeri geldiği zaman tarih bir araç olarak kullanılmaktayken onun verilerle bir şeyleri ispatlayamadığı durumlarda ise kültürel unsurlar öne çıkarılıyor. Diğer bir deyişle, eğer kökene bakıldığında arzu edilen sonuç elde edilemezse, resmî düşüncenin yerleşmesi için zaman zaman başka öge(ler) pek tabii öne çıkarılabiliyor. Çalışmanın ortaya koyduğu ilginç bilgilerden bir tanesi de, her ne kadar genel olarak benzeşim her iki toplumda birbirine son derece yakın olsa da, diğer popülasyonlar ile olan ilişkilere bakıldığında Arnavutların daha çok YKK’da, Lübnanlıların her iki toplumda ve Libyalıların genlerinin sadece TKK’da görüldüğü söylenebilir.

Köken tartışmalarının ne kadar sorunlu olduklarına yukarıda kısaca değinilmişti. Bilimsel çalışmaların zaman içerisinde gelişmesi ve verilerin birikmesi sonucunda bugün “doğru” olarak bilinenlerin yarının “yanlış”ları olabileceğini, yine bilimsel düşünce içerisinde kalarak hatırlamakta fayda var. Bir diğer önemli nokta ise, Winbladh’ın kitabının başlarında ifade ettiği gibi, bilim insan(lar)ı ve ideolojilerin bilimsel çalışmaların sonucuna yansıdığıdır. Bu açılarından, Winbladh’ın çalışması, adanın her iki tarafındaki resmî söylemlerin ezberini bozan bir eser. Winbladh’ın eseri, kendi varlıklarını “bilimsel temellerle ispatlamak” isteyen toplumlara, yine bilim içerisinden verilen önemli bir cevap. Lakin, bir şey unutulmamalı: Winbladh’ın bizlere sunmuş olduğu bilgiler bugüne kadar eldeki veriler ışığında yapılan yorumlardan ibarettir. Gelecekte bunun değişmeyeceğini iddia etmek güç. Muhtemelen, ileride bulunacak yeni belgeler, kaynaklar ile Kıbrıs’ın geçmişine dair yeni bilgilere erişilecek. Resmî ideolojiler ise bunları kendilerini meşrulaştırma amacıyla kullanmaya devam edecek. Bilimsel çalışmaları yapan ve okuyan kişiler bunların farkında oldukları sürece, verilerden yola çıkıp insanları manipüle etmek o kadar da kolay olmayacaktır.

Kitabın çevirisi üzerine birkaç söz söylemek gerekirse, yapılan çevirinin kalitesi son derece iyi. Ancak, çeviride kullanılan yöntem, metnin okumasını kolaylaştırmaktan çok, zorlaştırıyor: Kitapta sıklıkla geçen terimler, yer isimleri, kurum-kuruluş isimleri önce ısrarla İngilizce olarak yazılırken hemen sonrasında

parantez içinde Türkçe karşılıkları verilmiş durumda. Özellikle felsefe metinleri çevirilerinde benzer bir yöntem kullanılmaktadır çünkü bir kavram çevrildiği dilde belli sözcük(ler) ile karşılanırken o kavramın orijinal dilindeki hali ile arasında bazı farklılıklar olabilmektedir. Böylece, metni okuyan okuyucunun gerek çevrilen terimin orijinal dilde ne olduğu ve hangi anlamlara geldiğini, gerekse çevrilen dile nasıl çevrildiği gösterilmek suretiyle anlamda herhangi bir sorun olmaması amacı güdülmektedir. Ancak bu yöntem bir metnin çevirisi yapılırken eserin başından sonuna dek uygulanmaz. Sadece anlam karmaşası olabilecek yerlerde, çevrilen dilde o terimin doğrudan bir karşılığı yok ise kullanılmaktadır.

Çevrilen çalışmanın yazım dilinin İngilizce olması sebebiyle, bazı terimler, yer ve kurum vs. isimleri kitabın orijinalinde İngilizce yazılmış bulunmaktadır. Lakin, eserin Türkçe çevirisinde de birçok yerde, bunlar önce İngilizce ile yazılmış olup sonrasında parantez içinde Türkçeleri verilmiştir. Kitaptan birkaç örnek vermek gerekirse: s. 11: "Aegeanisation (Egelleştirme); Hellenisation (Hellenleştirme); s. 12: Aegean (Egeli); s. 15: Mycenaean (Miken); s. 16: Levantine (Levanten); s. 21: Trojan (Troya, Truva); Achaeans (Akali); Aegean (Egeli); s. 22: Albanians (Arnavutlar), Slavs (Slavlar), Vlachs (Vlach, Vlak, Valak); s. 23: Phoenician (Helen hayranı); s. 26: Semitic (Sami); s. 30: Semitic (Sami); Phoenician (Fenikece)." Ayrıca, sayfa 38'de "Cyprosyllabic" ile "Cypriot-syllabary"nin ana metinde İngilizce olarak tutulup dipnotta Türkçelerinin verilmesi okumayı kolaylaştırmak yerine güçleştiriyor. Bu ve buna benzer sözcüklerin birebir Türkçe karşılıkları var olduğu halde, neden böyle bir yöntem kullanıldığı açık değil. Eğer amaç orijinal metindeki yazım tarzını korumak ise, o zaman şunu hatırlatmakta fayda var: Yazarın birçok terimi İngilizce ifade ediyor olması, kitabın İngilizce yazılmış olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Belirtilen terim veya sözcüklerin sadece İngilizce ifade edilmesinden dolayı değil. Kitapta bu tarz başka örnekler bulmak mümkün. Tekrar etmek gerekirse, burada ifade edilmeye çalışılan çevirinin kalitesi değil. Çeviri yapılan metinlerde bazı durumlarda çevrilen terimlerin, sözcüklerin orijinallerinin ana metinde bırakılmasında hiçbir sorun yoktur. Lakin eğer bu, metnin bütünü için geçerli olursa, o zaman, metni okuyanı yorabiliyor. Ayrıca, bazı yerlerde önce İngilizce, sonrasında parantez içinde Türkçesi yazılan sözcükler, birkaç sayfa sonra yine önce İngilizce, hemen ardından Türkçe olarak yazılıyor. Örneğin, "Semitic (Sami)" sözcüğü önce sayfa 26'da, sonra da sayfa 30'da aynı şekilde yazılmış. Bundan sonra yapılacak çevirilerde, metnin çevrilmesi sürecinde yukarıda belirtilen konunun da düşünülmesinin faydalı olacağı kanısındayım.

Winbladh'ın çalışması, resmî söylemleri hiç sorgulamadan kabul edenlere bilimsel veriler ışığında başka bir anlatı sunuyor. Okuyup anlamak isteyenlere...

