

City of Empires

City of Empires:

Ottoman and British Famagusta

Edited by

Michael J. K. Walsh

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This book is dedicated to Erkut Şahali and Oktay Kayalp

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This volume of essays is a result of the conference *Historic Famagusta: A millennium in words and images*, which was held in October 2012 at the Central European University in Budapest, organised by Michael Walsh and Tamás Kiss, and funded by Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. The academic rationale for the meeting was

...to create a platform for historians, art historians and literary critics to share their studies on textual and visual representations of Famagusta between 1000 CE and 1960. By investigating medieval, early modern and modern Famagusta in text and images, the conference [would] serve as an opportunity for an interdisciplinary dialogue among the participants, with the hope of broadening perspectives on Famagusta's cultural and material legacy (Fig. 1).

The thirty-plus participants who attended the event shared a wide range of topics and research fields befitting the complex subject of Famagusta itself, and this in turn necessitated the division of the subsequent publication into two volumes. The first, *Crusader to Venetian Famagusta: "The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm"*, was published by Central European Press in 2014; the second is *City of Empires: Ottoman and British Famagusta*. It seems appropriate, therefore, that the acknowledgements should begin with those who helped me pay for, host, organise and publish the event. In particular, a big "Thank You" goes to Tamás Kiss. I would also like to thank Andrekos Varnava for inviting me to publish these essays as part of the *Cyprus Historical and Contemporary Studies* series which he edits for Cambridge Scholars Publishing. Johann Pillai and Allan Langdale were most efficient, to say nothing of meticulous, in proofing and copy-editing the final manuscript, for which I thank them both warmly.

Beyond that is a long list of names of people who have never given up on Famagusta, or on projects related to it. Over the years we have become a close-knit group, and so my thanks go to: Güл İnanç, Nicholas Coureas, Dan Frodsham, Allan Langdale, Benjamin Arbel, David Jacoby, Carlos Jaramillo, Ege Tümer, Hülya Yüceer, Jan Asmussen, Luca Zavagno, Lucie Bonato, Marios Hadjianastasis, Michel Balard, Michele Bacci, Philippe Trélat, Pierre-Vincent Claverie, Danny Goldman, Thomas Kaffenberger, Sven

Historic Famagusta: A Millennium in Words and Images

Date & Location / 4–6 October, 2012
Central European University
 Nádor utca 13, Room 001, Budapest

Organizers / Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Central European University, Budapest / School of Art, Design and Media, Nanyang Technical University, Singapore

SESSION 1 / 9:30–16:30	SESSION 2 / 9:30–16:30	SESSION 3 / 9:30–13:30
Thursday, 4 October Migrations, Hybridity and Hierarchy in a Medieval Emporium Volker Menzo Opening Comments	Friday, 5 October Famagusta: Empires and Ideologies Michele Bacci Identity Markers in the Art of 14th and 15th Century Famagusta	Saturday, 6 October Imagining Famagusta Will Spates Orientalizing Famagusta on the English Stage, 1573–1628
Nicholas Gouras Artisans and Craftsmen in Famagusta in the Notarial Deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni da Rocha, 1296–1310	Marios Hadjanaftassis Ladders, Petards and Responsibility: Retracing the failed Tuscan attempt at capturing Famagusta, 1607	Michael Walsh Cornelis de Bruijn's Copperplate and his Fear of 'Turning Turks' in Seventeenth-Century Famagusta
Coffee Break / 11:00–11:30	Vera Constantini The city of Famagusta in Early Ottoman Sources	Edu Ulusoy Tümer An Unknown Jawi Seite and a Church in Famagusta, Santa Maria de la Cava and Porta di Cava, in the Historic Texts from the 14th to the 16th Century
Pierre-Vincent Claverie Bishop Stephen I of Famagusta and his time, 1244–1259	Coffee Break / 11:00–11:30	Coffee Break / 11:00–11:30
Thomas Kaffenberger Narrating the Sources: Textual, Notarial and Material evidence contributing to a new insight into the construction history and original appearance of the orthodox Episcopal churches of Hagios Georgios and Hagios Epiphanios	Tomas Kiss A Re-enactment of the Conquest of Famagusta? Diologic decodings of the Ottoman Imperial Circumcision Feast of 1582	Dan Prodromou The 'Shooting of the Forty Martyrs': Film as document and as call to action
Maria Paschali Murals in the Carmelite Church and Crusader Ideology	Ünver Rüstem Imports from Istanbul: Ottoman exiles to Famagusta and their tombs	Hülya Yücer Recent Preservation Initiatives for the Fortifications of Famagusta
Lunch / 13:00–14:30	Lunch / 12:30–14:00	Discussion and Closing Comments / 12:30–13:30
Philippe Tréitat Nicosia, Famagusta: Two capitals for one kingdom?	Yurdal Çitangır Famagusta in Nuriş Kemal's letters and writings during his Exile	
Michel Balard Les Soudoyers de Famagouste Génioise au XV ^e Siècle	Hacer Başarır The Kertikli Hamam: A Historic building in Danger	
Benjamin Arbel Famagusta as a Centre of Regional Trade during the Venetian Period	Androsos Varsava Famagusta during the Great War	
Discussion / 16:00–16:30	Jai Asmussen Bertram John Weston's Vision of Famagusta and the Creation of 'Cyprus'	
	Discussion / 16:00–16:30	

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cemis

Poster design by Lajos Végh

Fig. 1. Conference Poster, *Historic Famagusta*, Budapest, 2012.

Norris, Ünver Rüstem, Vera Costantini, Will Spates, Werner Schmid, Zehra Çağnan, Thomas Dittelbach, Dickran Kouymjian, Francisco Fernandes, Duncan Rowland, Andres Burgos Braga, Arne Franke, Peter Edbury, Denys Pringle, George Ballard, Kent Severson, Nicola Coldstream, Paulo Lourenço, Luís Ramos, Robert Silman, Thierry Soulard, Stephen Kemp, Ulrike Ritzerfeld, Patricia Fortini Brown, Bora and Banu Sayin, Ágnes Sebestyén, Julie Heather Liew, Wu Jiamian Jamin, Rocco Mazzeo, Andrea Nanetti, Tomasz Borowski, Ketty Kanevesky, Catherine Williams, Anna Kosters, Hüseyin Küçüksu, Wilbert “Skip” Norman, Annemarie Weyl Carr, Ahmet Usta, Paul Kohl, Maria Paschali, Randall Mason, Caroline Bruzelius, and Pete Burkholder. I sincerely apologise if I have forgotten a name or two here.

Of course, nothing happens without money—and in some cases, dogged persistence. I want to single out Lisa Ackerman and Vibeke Sorensen for the former, and Erkut Şahali and Oktay Kayalp for the latter. This team (WMF/NTU/Famagusta Municipality) is what has made all of our conservation, and much of our conference work possible. Thank you to all four of you.

Behind the scenes there is a lot of support required too, especially when the going gets tricky. For this I thank my family, as always: Gül, Erdal, Ara and Limon.

Lastly, Famagusta in its heyday was an international, cosmopolitan, multi-racial city. I find it quite appropriate, therefore, that its conservation is now being funded by a large university in Singapore (and an NGO in New York), and that it is being studied from undergraduate to doctoral level by students there. It seems appropriate too that it is from the neutrality of the Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences in Switzerland that I write this introduction.

Michael J. K. Walsh
Bern, 2015

INTRODUCTION: INTO THE SILENT CENTURIES

I have seen old ships sail like swans asleep
Beyond the village which men still call Tyre,
With leaden age o'ercargoed, dipping deep
For Famagusta and the hidden sun
That rings black Cyprus with a lake of fire...
—James Elroy Flecker, *The Old Ships* (1915)

It is a powerful image (Fig. 1.): a compendium of change, of imperial transition—of past, present and future; a frozen moment, from a city whose rich history was taking yet another significant turn. The “European” lady in the foreground creates a cultural contrast with her context which is almost as striking as that presented by our own perspective, through the Venetian arch, of the minaret rising up the west façade of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas’s. Some of the cannon balls from the great siege of 1571 have been stacked up, almost like a contemporary sculpture, while a glimpse of the old *konak* in the background tantalizes us with text written in Ottoman Turkish, but remains just beyond the reach of legibility. Street lights have been erected, a modern complement to the great *Ficus Sycomorus* which has always stood in front of the gothic edifice. What must the tourists halfway up the minaret be seeing and saying about this medieval expanse laid out before them? And what are the inhabitants of Famagusta thinking about these modern, white-shirted, bow-wearing, visitors recently disgorged from the ocean liner moored at the once-dead port? Lucien Roy’s 1911 image is indeed priceless, and so it acts as the fulcrum for this collection of essays—not only representing a keen anticipation of what lies ahead, but also implying a respect for and timely intrigue with what has just been.

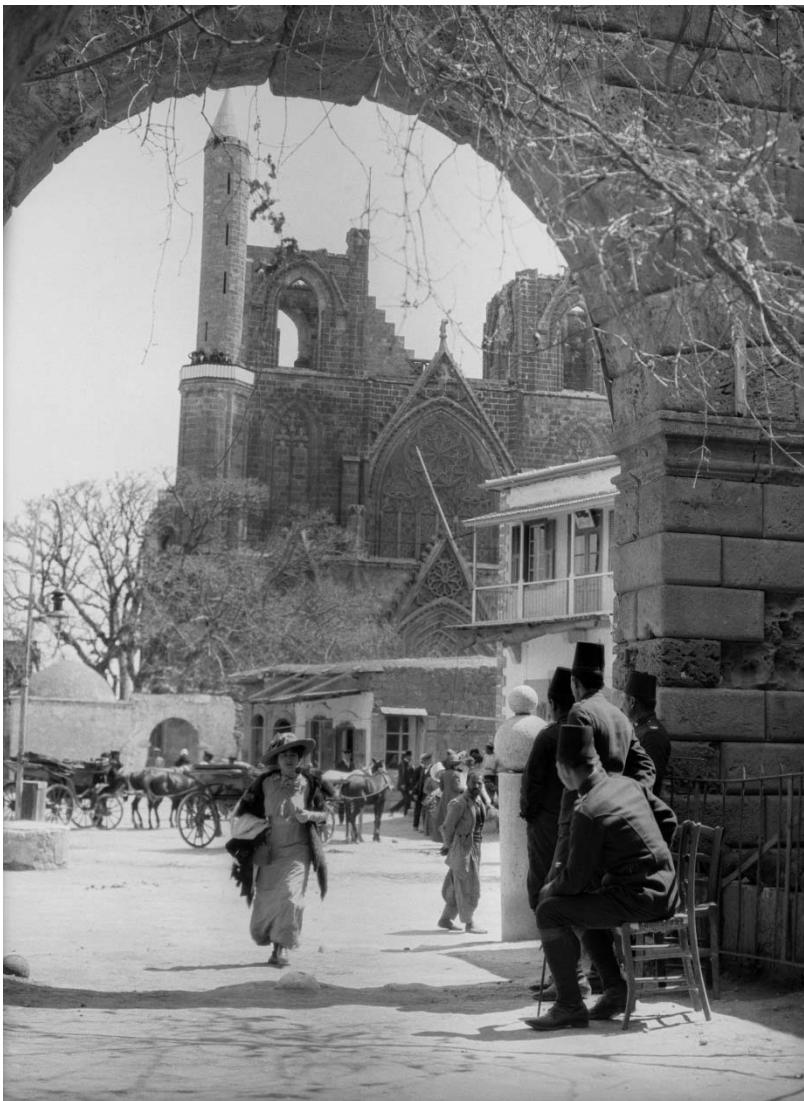


Fig. 1. Lucien Roy (1850-1941), *Vue de la place devant la cathédrale Saint-Nicolas à Famagouste*, 1911 © Ministère de la Culture—Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Lucien Roy

Weston F. Cooke wrote that “Understanding sixteenth-century Europe without knowledge of the Ottoman empire can be a bit like trying to understand modern history while ignoring the Soviet Union”.¹ And yet, as C. F. Beckingham observed as late as 1957, “...the history of the island under Turkish rule and of the Turks who settled there has been much neglected”.² Today there is a wealth of scholarship on Ottoman Cyprus: the “Bibliographical Guide” presented by Yiannis Ioannou in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, for example, runs to a staggering forty-three pages, and is usefully subdivided into categories such as arts and folklore, language and literature, political history, travel literature, and so on. In an earlier chapter of the same collection, Michael and Aymes point the would-be researcher to archives not only in Cyprus, but in Greece, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Spain, the Vatican, France, Russia, and a number of other smaller venues and foundations.³ In Marc Aymes’s *A Provincial History of the Ottoman Empire: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century*, the list of published and unpublished sources for this single century runs to thirty-four pages.⁴ The same might also be said for British Cyprus: a browse through the after matter of certain doctoral dissertations (such as that recently presented by Gail Hook⁵), or through published material such as Andrekos Varnava’s *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The inconsequential possession*, amply demonstrates that there is no shortage of scholarship on this era either. In fact, as the political plot thickened on the island, especially post-1931, so too did the volume of literature pertaining to and commenting upon it. By the time we get to “the crystallization of mutually exclusive nationalisms in colonial Cyprus”,⁶ the corpus of internationally generated scholarship is almost overwhelming. So why is this collection needed? Put simply, because it places the academic focus on a single space, Famagusta, and allows the years to flow over it.

¹ Weston F. Cooke, “Review Article: The Ottomans”, *Sixteenth Century Journal* (XXVI/4, 1995), 917.

² C. F. Beckingham, “The Turks of Cyprus”, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (Jul.-Dec., 1957), 165-174.

³ Michael N. Michael, M. Kappler and E. Gavriel, *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture* (Verlag, 2009).

⁴ Marc Aymes, *A Provincial History of the Ottoman Empire: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century* (Routledge, 2014).

⁵ Gail Ruth Hook, *Britons in Cyprus: 1878-1914* (Ph.D., University of Texas at Austin, 2009).

⁶ Alexis Rappas, *Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict* (I. B. Tauris, 2014), 6.

For the layman such as myself, the richest vein of information concerning Ottoman and British Famagusta remains published travel literature. Glimpses of Famagusta in the seventeenth century, for example, are to be found in the memoirs of Sandys, Lithgow, Dapper, and de Bruyn;⁷ in the eighteenth century we turn to Mariti and Reinhardts;⁸ in the nineteenth we read Ross, Farley, Fisher, Savile, Lang, Baker, Dixon, Brassey, Scott-Stevenson, L'Anson and Vacher, Haggard, Smith, Mallock and Fyler;⁹ and in the early twentieth century, Vizetelly and Stewart.¹⁰ All comment upon Cyprus and on Famagusta, its changing status, their experiences there, and their feelings in the presence of its majestic remains (Fig. 2). One wonders, in this era of digital libraries and archives, how many more priceless accounts are about to be discovered?

⁷ George Sandys, *The Relation of a Journey begun an. Dom. 1610* (London, 1615); William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Aduentures and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteen Yeares Trauayles, from SCOTLAND, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and AFFRICA* (Lyon, 1632); Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschryving der Eilanden, in de Archipel der Middelantsche Zee, en omtrent dezelve, gelegen: waer onder de voornaemste Cyprus, Rhodus, Kandien, Samos, Scio, Negroponte* (Amsterdam, 1688); Cornelis de Bruyn, *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia* (Delft, 1698).

⁸ Giovanni Mariti, *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro et per la soria et la Palestina 1760-1768* (1769); Johann Paul Reinhardts, *Vollstaendige Geschichte des Koenigreichs Cypren* (1799).

⁹ Ludwig Ross, *Reise nach Kos, Harlikanassos und der Insel Cypern* (Halle, 1852); James L. Farley, *Egypt, Cyprus and Asiatic Turkey* (London, 1878); Frederick H. Fisher, *Cyprus Our New Colony and What We Know About It* (London, 1878); Albany R. Savile, *Cyprus* (London, 1878); Robert H. Lang, *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources, and Future Prospects* (London, 1878); Samuel W. Baker, *Cyprus as I saw it in 1879* (London, 1879); William H. Dixon, *British Cyprus* (London, 1879); Annie Brassey, *Sunshine and Storm in the East, or Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople* (London, 1880); Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880); Edward L'Anson, *Discussion on Medieval Building in Cyprus*, Royal Institute of British Architects, *British Architect* (Nov. 24, 1882); Henry R. Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage: Being an Account of Travels through Palestine, Italy, and the Island of Cyprus, accomplished in the Year 1900* (1902); Agnes Smith, *Through Cyprus* (London, 1887); William H. Mallock, *In An Enchanted Island or A Winter's Retreat in Cyprus* (London, 1889); Arthur E. Fyler, *The Development of Cyprus, and Rambles in the Island* (London, 1900).

¹⁰ Edward Vizetelly, *From Cyprus to Zanzibar by the Egyptian Delta* (London, 1901); Basil Stewart, *My Experiences of Cyprus* (London, 1908).



Fig. 2. "Among the Ruins of Famagusta", in William Mallock, *In an Enchanted Island or A Winter's Retreat in Cyprus* (London, 1889).

Another source of easily accessible yet important information concerning post-1571 Famagusta comes in the form of images. Here we may piece together a progression of paintings, maps, etchings, sketches, photographs, home movies, a Hollywood blockbuster, theatre stage sets, and finally computer-generated 3D models, GPR maps and laser images. Luckily the basic cartography of Cyprus has been published, and an MA completed that relates specifically to Famagusta's maps after the siege.¹¹ From these we see the depictions of Famagusta made by Piri Reis, Gibellino, Pinargentti, Munster, Camocio, Iencichen, Braun and Hogenburg, and Franco (Fig. 3, see colour centrefold). We also observe how, as the years progressed, these studies were complemented by other images—half map, half imagined locations—by Gottfried, des Hayes, d'Ortiers, Dapper, Coronelli, and Enderlin. As Famagusta had once been a port, and as it might one day become a functioning port again, there was also a fairly steady flow of sea charts by Halley, Michelot and Langerak, Borg, Allezard, Graves, Mansell, and in time, Kitchener. But not all of the depictions were so pragmatic, so utilitarian or matter of fact. Building on

¹¹ Andreas Stylianou and Judith A. Stylianou, *The history of the cartography of Cyprus* (Cyprus Research Centre, 1980); Merve Arkan, *The Cartography of post-Medieval Famagusta* (Lambert, 2012).

the few isolated gems we have from the earlier Ottoman period—by which I refer specifically to the 17th-century copperplate of Cornelis de Bruyn and the 18th-century sketches of Basil Barskii—the nineteenth century saw a wealth of Romantic depictions of Famagusta¹² (Fig. 4). From the latter years of Ottoman administration, traversing into that of the British, we treasure the works of Casse, Arundale, Brabizon Brabizon, Duthoit, Hawkins, White, Feuillet, Henderson and Everett.¹³ When photography came, ostensibly with the city's transition from Ottoman to British hands in 1878, the images captured by Lucien Roy, Felix Bonfil, J. P. Foscolo, H. Mangoian and John Thompson were far from disappointing. Indeed, they are magnificent resources for the modern scholar, freezing the city in the transitory moment when it was commonly referred to as a “medieval Pompeii”, and capturing it just before life was breathed back into its streets and harbor. Before long, moving pictures came to Famagusta too. It is a source of much personal regret that I lost the opportunity to view some hand-held footage shot in the old town by Maria Grazia Siliato, the author of the fictional account of Famagusta's siege, *L'Assedio* (1995), when I visited her magnificent home in Italy. Nevertheless, other film archives, such as British Pathé and the Imperial War Museum, have excellent collections concerning the Jewish detention of the *Empire Rival*, the emergency of the 1950s in Famagusta, and so on. On an even grander scale, Famagusta played a major role in the filming of the Hollywood classic *Exodus*. Normally, in a town that has been featured in a Hollywood movie, cafes and tourist traps are full of images and keepsakes, even many years after the event. Not so Famagusta; hardly a trace remains to tell the visitor where Paul Newman sat, or where a particular scene was shot. More recently, we have the steady stream of documentary films created by Dan Frodsham, to build on the legacy of his majestic work (with Dr Allan Langdale) *The Stones of Famagusta*. These are artistic creations worthy of the city that inspired them,¹⁴ as is the animated film *The Forty Martyrs of Famagusta*, which was created in Singapore in 2014.¹⁵

¹² See: Michael Walsh, “‘Othello’, ‘Turning Turk’ and Cornelis de Bruyn’s Copperplate of the Ottoman Port of Famagusta in the Seventeenth Century”, *Mariners Mirror* (2012).

¹³ See: Rita Severis, *Travelling Artists in Cyprus: 1700-1960* (Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003).

¹⁴ To date these include: *The Stones of Famagusta* (written by Allan Langdale, 2008), *Against the Clock* (2009), *The Forty* (2012), and *Famagusta’s Armenian Church* (in progress).

¹⁵ Michael Walsh and Z. G. İnanç, “Conservation, visualisation, education, reconciliation”, in J. Bridgland (ed),

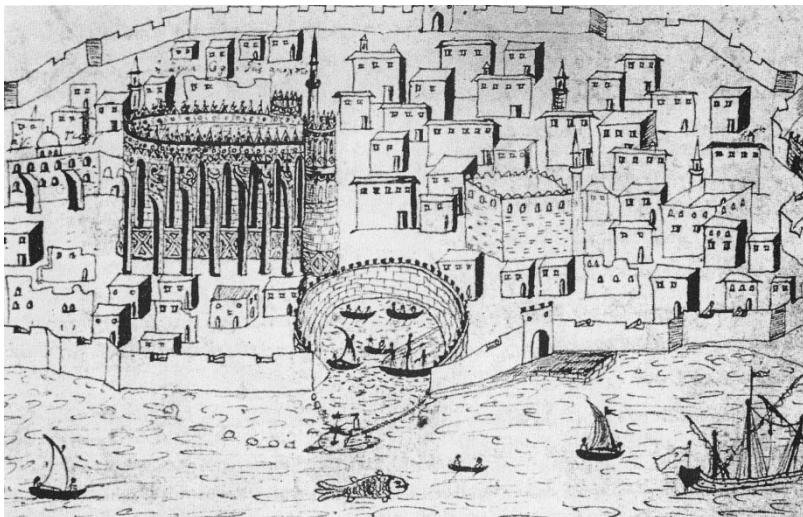


Fig. 4. Basil Gregorivich Barskii, “Famagusta” 1727, Akademija Nauk, Kiev. Reproduced in R. Severis, *Travelling Artists in Cyprus* (London, 2000), 18.

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, scholars came to Famagusta too, pursuing different agendas and displaying different levels of integrity and expertise—among them, Louis de Mas Latrie in 1845, Camille Enlart in 1896, Claude D. Cobham (Commissioner of Larnaca during 1879–1907), Sir George Hill (author of the four-volume *History of Cyprus*), and George Jeffery (who has recently been the deserved subject of a two-volume study by Despina Pilides).¹⁶ Indeed, Famagusta became the focus of quite a heated scholarly debate, principally between French, Venetian and British scholars (and policy makers) as the port was developed, a railway track laid, and the unhealthy conditions rectified.¹⁷ It has rarely been out of the sight of scholars since, though the focus for almost all of this has been Lusignan, Genoese and Venetian Famagusta. The

International Council of Museums (Paris, 2014).

¹⁶ Despina Pilides, *George Jeffery: his diaries and the ancient monuments of Cyprus* (Lefkosia, 2009).

¹⁷ See: Michael Walsh, “‘The Vile Embroidery of Ruin’: Historic Famagusta between Ottoman and British Empires in *fin de siècle* Cyprus, 1878–1901”, *Journal of Intercultural Studies* (2010); also Costas Georghiou, *British Colonial Architecture in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2013).

bibliography of this era has already been comprehensively documented.¹⁸ Additionally, in the last few years, several Ph.D. dissertations on Famagusta's heritage and welfare have been defended (by Hacer Başarır, Ege Tümer and Carlos Jaramillo¹⁹), and some other academic collections have been published by Ashgate and the Central European University Press as permanent records of conferences held in Paris and Budapest, in 2008 and 2012 respectively.²⁰ Nevertheless, there is still a tendency to allow Famagusta's history to grind to a halt in 1571. Even the recently published volume, *Cyprus and the Renaissance: 1450-1650*, which could have engaged in almost eight decades of Famagusta's history after the siege, failed to mention any cultural activity after the traditional cut-off point of 1571.²¹ The collection presented here should help redress this imbalance.

Before I sign off on this short introduction to the written word and the distant gaze, I would like to draw attention to a work that was never meant for public consumption, written in 1879 by the District Commissioner for Famagusta (1878-1882), Captain James Inglis to Her Majesty's High Commissioner, and which gives the most remarkable overview of the old city with its population of 450 (Varosha had 1500). What scholar of

¹⁸ See: Michael Walsh, N. Coureas and P. Edbury, eds., *Medieval Famagusta: Studies in Art, Architecture and History* (Ashgate Press, 2012); Michael Walsh, N. Coureas, and T. Kiss, eds., *Crusader to Venetian Famagusta: "The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm"* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014). As this manuscript goes to press I have been made aware of another collection due for publication: Annemarie Weyl Carr, *Famagusta: Art and Architecture* (Mediterranean Nexus, 1100-1700, 2014).

¹⁹ Hacer Başarır, *Urban conservation in the walled city of Famagusta/Gazimagusa* (University of Manchester, 2009); Ege Uluca Tümer, *Urban Transformation and Development of Famagusta Throughout History* (Istanbul Technical University, 2007); Carlos Jaramillo, *Famagusta, Cyprus: A Third Way in Cultural Heritage* (Nanyang Technological University, submitted 2014).

²⁰ The conferences were: *Medieval Famagusta: An International Workshop for the Advanced Study of History, Art, Architecture and Cultural Management*, (National Archive, Paris, 2008) and *Famagusta: A Millennium in Words and Images* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012). From these two conferences came the following publications: Michael Walsh, N. Coureas and P. Edbury, eds., *Medieval Famagusta: Studies in Art, Architecture and History* (Ashgate Press, 2012); Michael Walsh, N. Coureas, and T. Kiss, eds., *Crusader to Venetian Famagusta: "The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm"* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014).

²¹ Benjamin Arbel et al, *Cyprus and the Renaissance* (Brepols, 2012). Other scholars who have written on Famagusta include: Stavros Lazarides, Gianni Perbellini, Rita Severis and Paschalidis Kitromilides.

Famagusta would not be intrigued to learn of his reports on schools, the introduction of street lighting, the 320 vessels that visited in the twelve months before he wrote the report, crime and punishment (103 committals for murder, cattle theft, drunkenness, assault etc), and the creation of *zaptiehs* and prisons within the walls? What historian would not be engrossed by his observations of the city's micro-economy, the prevalence and absence of certain diseases, medical facilities (he himself performed an amputation of a Greek sailor's hand), and his long-term intentions for Famagusta's inhabitants:

With good government they will gradually regain that confidence and self-reliance which they have unfortunately lost. They all seem to appreciate the security to life and property which they now enjoy, as compared with past years, and it is for us to make that security more secure.²²

Part I: Ottoman Famagusta

Part I of this collection deals with the transition from Venetian to Ottoman Famagusta (1571-1878), and the reverberations this created within the city, in Cyprus, and further afield. I have selected essays in art history, urban design, drama, and military history, to investigate post-siege Famagusta and to counteract more popular histories which suggest that the years following 1571 were characterized by nothing but neglect, decay and obscurity. As the following essays demonstrate, this was far from the case.

Vera Costantini's chapter investigates, via the archives of Venice and Ankara, the relationship that already existed between Venice and the Ottoman Empire immediately before the attack on Cyprus, and in the subsequent transition period. It is an intriguing study, which strongly suggests that Ottoman merchants had warned Venetian counterparts, Lorenzo Bembo in particular, some years in advance that the writing was on the wall for the island. What happened in 1570-71 is well documented, but Costantini's subsequent analysis of the 1571 survey register (*Muğassal Defteri*), the balance sheets of the island (*Rüznâmçe*), and the Imperial Orders (*Ahkâm*), offers an insight into what happened after the guns fell silent. It is perhaps surprising to learn that Famagusta, in comparison to Nicosia at least, emerged well, being the island's most densely populated city, even in 1572. It is also extremely interesting to read of the rationale (as opposed to mere retribution) behind the re-population of the city and the expulsion of Christians in 1573. There should have been hope, it

²² James Inglis, *Report by Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Year 1879* (London, 1879), 94.

seems, for Famagusta to continue to function; it was not a foregone conclusion that it should drift into ruin and obscurity while Larnaca rose to prominence. Perhaps this might account for a seemingly irrational report, written in 1590 by a certain Jan Somer of Middleburgh (and published in 1649), who talked about Famagusta's thriving trade in sugar, olive oil and cotton, and Greeks and Turks living together in liberty.²³ Either his report is fictitious (which could quite easily be the case), or our increasingly essentialist histories have become misleading.

The next two chapters then turn to the early stages in the creation of that history through 16th-century literature and drama, both in the Ottoman capital and in England in the immediate aftermath of the fall. Tamás Kiss presents a fascinating strand of research, looking in particular at the *Sur-i Hümeyun*, or Ottoman Imperial Circumcision Festival of Prince Mehmed, later Sultan Mehmed III (r.1595-1603), in 1582. In Kiss's chapter we are given access to historical reports, indeed eye-witness accounts, of a dramatic performance relating to the War of Cyprus and the fall of Famagusta. We are also left with a degree of uncertainty about what actually happened during the performance itself, and what can subsequently be learned about God's will in this continued tussle between cross and crescent. In any case, something went catastrophically wrong during the event that could be interpreted as evidence of divine fury, aimed not only at the perpetrators of the fall of Famagusta, but even at the participants and audience of this ceremony which commemorated/celebrated it over a decade later. Or was the incident simply fabricated? Kiss meticulously investigates the sources to present his conclusion concerning the Ottoman elite's self-aggrandizement and distortions of history, which may yet tell us much about contemporary and subsequently perpetuated notions of east and west. To see Famagusta from 16th-century Istanbul is a rare perspective indeed.

In the following chapter we also look at the siege of Famagusta, but from the "other side". Even if the post-siege city had been reduced to 1176 "normal" households, 434 bachelors, 90 widows, and 45 more persons belonging to other categories,²⁴ the status of this dwindling population had certainly woven its way into popular European memory/consciousness, contextualized and assisted perhaps by early histories of the Ottoman Empire such as Robert Carr's translation of *Mahumetane or Turkish*

²³ Jan Somer of Middleburgh, *Beschrijvinge van een Zee ende Landt Reyse, Naer de Levante als Italien, Candien, Cypres* (Amsterdam, 1649), 11.

²⁴ Benjamin Arbel, "What Happened to Famagusta's Jews following the Ottoman Conquest of 1571?", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2, December 2012, 242.

Historie (1600) and Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603). In fact, so important is the case of Cyprus, and Famagusta in particular, and so significant the sixty-plus dramas written between 1579-1624 for the English stage which concerned Islamic themes, and the four between 1572-1628 in which Famagusta served as the primary setting, that William Spates presents Cyprus (and Famagusta) as a genre in its own right. His chapter focuses on *Gascoigne's Device*, and is important not only for what it can tell us about Anglo-Catholic perspectives on the Eastern Mediterranean in the late sixteenth century, but also for what it can contribute to an understanding of the power of patronage and consumption. His investigation into the sources, eye-witness accounts of the siege, the translation (which draws Eton and St. Paul's into the discourse), and the political and theological post-excommunication context, renders the play so much more than mere entertainment. The arts, and the development of Anglo-Ottoman drama, were seemingly engaged in creating and stimulating public awareness, and so the Elizabethan public may have known the name Famagusta just as surely as that of Lepanto.

Bearing all of this in mind (the vigorous defense of the city, its martyrdom and subsequent infamy), it always seemed odd to me that there was never a serious attempt to recapture Famagusta. Some writers alluded to half-hearted attempts, such as an idea floated in 1590 by a certain Mark Memmo of Baf, that would have seen a small party of Italians and Cypriots make an attempt against an uneasy Ottoman garrison.²⁵ Kyprianos had captured the nervous mood of the defenders well (though Jennings refutes it) when he noted in his 1788 *History of Cyprus*:

In February of the same year 1572, after the terrible defeat of the Turkish Armada, a few Turkish vessels appeared off Ammochostos. The Turks in the town saw them from afar, and fearing they might be the vanguard of the Christian fleet, came to terms with the Christian inhabitants for the preservation of their lives. Many of them put on caps and clothes such as the Christians wore....²⁶

²⁵ Ronald Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1992), 265.

²⁶ Kyprianos, *History of Cyprus* (Venice, 1788), cited in Claude D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge University Press, 1908), 349.

Likewise, Alberto Teneti points us to a haphazard revolt in 1597 which also failed to get off the ground for want of leadership.²⁷ The seventeenth-century intentions of King Philip III of Spain, Louis XIII, Peter Senni of Pisa, and Bernardin Gigault de Bellefonds also turned towards Cyprus and Famagusta from time to time; but only one real attempt seems to have been made, and that was in 1607. Marios Hadjianastasis's chapter takes us through the less-than-glamorous episode by the Order of the Knights of San Stefano, reconstructed painstakingly from previously untapped archives. The author encourages us to question whether this was the latest act in a grand conflict between wider theological, commercial, and military rivalries in the Eastern Mediterranean, or simply a small-scale act of piracy, driven by the self-interest of a European court. The archives reveal the presence of French, Spanish and English soldiers and sailors, as well as Sicilians and Perugians, on this ill-fated expedition. One wonders, had the campaign to take Famagusta in 1607 been slightly more creditable, might the Ottomans have negotiated a deal for its surrender and transfer, as was suggested by one 17th century source?²⁸ One also wonders why the recommendation by Jacques Pierre in 1608 to try again was not put into effect.²⁹ I certainly enjoyed my afternoon scrambling the city walls and moats with Marios trying to find where the petards and the ladders would have been erected, and where the advances and retreats would have been effected, navigating using only the aforementioned, translated seventeenth-century document.

But a history of Ottoman Famagusta should not merely be a history of conflict. Instead, Ünver Rüstem presents a vignette on the Ottoman art history of Famagusta by looking in particular at two tombs. This was especially interesting to me, not only as I had come to think of Famagusta almost exclusively in terms of Lusignan and Venetian cultural production, but also as I had read in Rupert Gunnis's *Famagusta: A short guide for the use of visitors*, about how "There came to exile Grand Viziers who offended their Sultans, or Ambassadors who had misunderstood the orders of the Porte".³⁰ Rüstem sheds light on this statement, and introduces us to the lives of once-influential Ottoman figures (the first Ottoman ambassador to Paris and a high-ranking chancery official) who were exiled

²⁷ Alberto Teneti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615* (Bari, 1961), 40f.

²⁸ George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun in 1610: Foure Bookes Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1615).

²⁹ Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus: The Ottoman Province, the British Colony 1571-1948* (Cambridge University Press, 1972), 50.

³⁰ Rupert Gunnis, *Famagusta: A short guide for the use of visitors* (Nicosia, 1936), 10.

to Famagusta after the Patrina Halil Revolt, and died there. A close examination of these tombs raises a number of questions about their artistic and material origins, their similarities to tombs in the metropolitan centre of Istanbul, and suggests intriguing links between Famagusta and other Ottoman centres such as Crete and Sinop.

This investigation encourages one to further consider the physicality of the city itself as it changed its role dramatically throughout the sixteenth century, and after. Ege Tümer presents a variety of earlier sources combined with a contemplation of extant remains within the walls today, and in so doing offers an interpretation of the silences where the absence of structures actually becomes informative. Physical transformation is traced back to socio-politico-economic changes and considerations: from the decline of the port to the creation of the new (temporary) *sanjak* status for a garrison town; from a noble and thriving *entrepot* to the deserted hulk that the British would inherit three centuries later.³¹

Part II: British Famagusta

The second section of this volume looks at the return of Famagusta to European administration, this time the United Kingdom's (1878–1960). Though the Ottoman sub-lieutenant in charge of the garrison at Famagusta refused at first to hand the city over to British authorities, he was soon convinced to do so peacefully,³² and so, slowly, it was roused from its slumber. After some debate, Famagusta was rejuvenated and transformed; travelers returned, as did a living and working population. For the British government, Famagusta could now become the site of a great naval base, a potential centre of commerce in the Levant, and “a laboratory where the Ottomans would be shown how to rule over ‘mixed races’ in light of instability in Armenia”.³³ And so the first chapter in this section sees Lucie Bonato offer an account of the return of European (and in particular, French) travelers to Ottoman, then British Famagusta. Through her research into the writings of educated tourists, we see the city as a haunted spectacle, a “poétique des ruines”, a moral tale, and the epitome of the outcome of extremism. We also see through it a revived passion and nostalgia for, among other things, France and its medieval legacy. Such was the grip the city had on the imagination that we see, by the end of the

³¹ See, also by Ege Tümer et al.: <http://www.wmf.org/dig-deeper/publication/walled-city-famagusta-compendium-preservation-studies-2008-2012>.

³² *Daily News* August 6, 1878, 5.

³³ Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester University Press, 2009), 32.

chapter, its return to the European stage again, this time depicted by none other than Léon Bakst in Gabriele D'Annunzio's *La Pisanelle*.³⁴ As evocative as ever, Famagusta was once again the location for a drama of love and death, as it had been centuries earlier.

Though perhaps at the periphery, Famagusta nevertheless found itself caught up increasingly in the affairs of an empire and experiencing all of the consequences thereof. Andrekos Varnava offers us an intriguing view of this transformation up to and including the Great War, affording us the opportunity to observe Famagusta's rapid rise as a military and humanitarian centre. In particular, his study highlights four important facets of Famagusta's relationship with the First World War, namely that of the Cypriot Mule Corps, the presence of the French Armenian Legion camp at Monarga, the presence of a large Ottoman Prisoner-of-War Camp, and the development of a centre for Military Intelligence. It certainly provides the reader with an alternative and refreshingly vibrant history of the re-emergence of a town which had become synonymous with decay and neglect for centuries. I found this chapter especially poignant as I used to live opposite the Commonwealth War Graves cemetery in Famagusta and, from time to time, would scale the wall to have an hour or so with a book or a journal beneath the trees. There I found it hard to imagine what circumstances would have brought each of these disparate characters to Famagusta, and what it might have been that cost them their lives.³⁵ I also used to marvel at the fact that the Çanakkale (Gallipoli) cemetery is only a short walk away—a distance akin to no-man's-land.

And here we have a historical lacuna as we have no essays on Famagusta in the 1920s and 30s, the eras associated with the Jazz Age and the Great Depression, nor indeed are there any about the Second World War. Surely Famagusta has a concealed story here as I'm quite sure the strains of jazz, and then the blues, could be heard on the night air, emanating from the newly built "Savoy Hotel" - soon to be silenced by the wail of the air-raid siren and the blackout. There are photographs of Famagusta being bombed from the air. There are records of ships being

³⁴ See: Giuseppina Semola, "Cyprus in Italian contemporary literature: Gabriele D'Annunzio". In: *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale. Formations identitaires: perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains*. Actes du colloque tenu à Lyon, 1997, Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Université de Chypre. Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen. (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, Jean Pouilloux, 2000), 147-155.

³⁵ I dedicated my article "The Modern Artist of Modern War", *Apollo* (2004) to Private James Muir of the Royal Scots, who died in Famagusta on May 4, 1918 and was buried in the Famagusta Military Cemetery.

sent to the bottom in Famagusta's harbor. I look forward to the scholarship that will fill this enormous gap.

Danny Goldman's study propels us to Famagusta's next key moment within the ebb and flow of British imperial policy, not least in its increasingly complex entanglements in the post-war Middle East. In the years immediately after the Second World War, Jewish refugee/detention camps were set up in Famagusta—previously there had been camps for Ottoman prisoners and White Russians—and in these, Goldman explains, life was both entirely mundane and highly charged. The fates of Israel and Cyprus became intertwined through the most grandiose political aspirations and policy decisions, and through the most personal and humble local interactions. With something in the region of 30,000 detainees in Famagusta's camps (including approximately 2,000 births), it can only be imagined what impact this might have had on the population of the city, and perhaps on nascent ideologies of nationhood. In addition to Mogabgah's record of these years and events (of which more later), a set of engravings emerged, macabre and expressionist in nature, prefaced by the words "Cyprus is one step on the painful path to the land of Israel".³⁶ Famagusta, it is clear, remained for many a place of suffering, a place of counter-terrorism (the attack on the *Ocean Vigour* in Famagusta harbor in April 1947 being a case in point) and of desperate hope.

And yet, when the city and its inhabitants moved into the 1950s, hope began to fade as new storm clouds gathered. Jan Asmussen explores Famagusta's central role in the quest for independence from Britain; and his account of the deteriorating situation, seen through the writings of the Famagusta District Commissioner, is sobering both in terms of Famagusta's division and in the realization that its future was unlikely to match its once multi-cultural and prosperous past.³⁷ As an EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston*) stronghold, and then a place of displaced villagers living within the ruined churches in the old city, Famagusta had once again become embroiled in violent conflict. Fred Fischer, writing in 1878, had noted that the Turks and the English both shared "the haughty separation of the ruling class from the governed..."³⁸ but, as Asmussen

³⁶ Rita Severis, *Travelling Artists in Cyprus: 1700-1960* (Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003), 228.

³⁷ Michael Walsh, "'A Spectacle to the World, Both to Angels and to Men': Multiculturalism in Medieval Famagusta, Cyprus as seen through *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste Mural*", *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage* (2013).

³⁸ Fred H. Fisher, *Cyprus: Our New Colony and What We Know About It* (George Routledge & Sons, 1878), 99.

notes, this was hardly the case for Bertram John Weston, who had envisioned the creation of a “Switzerland in the East”, appreciated the need to produce “Cypriots”, and even comprehended the need for a national flag. Instead, wanton violence was accompanied by a descent into cold-blooded murder, and optimism for a Cypriot future replaced by the certainty that fear would be the dominant force in any new republic. His vision had been for a peaceful, secure and important Cyprus, but this was not forthcoming, and instead, Famagusta’s fate was once again sealed in those turbulent years.

Part III: Protecting a Historic Legacy

The final section of this book turns to the legacy of Famagusta’s heritage, not only Ottoman and British, but to its entire thousand-year span. Scarcely a traveler came to the city who didn’t comment on the state of what today we would refer to as “cultural heritage”. Not all thought it was up to much, however, as was seen in the recollections of Alexander Drummond, His Majesty’s Consul in Aleppo, who complained in 1754, “As this is all I have to say about Famagusta you will readily own it was not worth the fatigue I underwent in going to see it...”³⁹ He was the exception, however; and interestingly, both the Ottomans and British introduced systems of governance to deal with its historic remains. Giovanni Mariti noted in 1769 that it was illegal to despoil or remove any cut stone for the city, and subsequent laws for the protection of antiquities were made in 1843 and 1865, culminating in the 1874 Asar-ı Atika Nizamnaamesi.⁴⁰ Later, there was the British Famagusta Stones Law in

³⁹ Claude D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge University Press, 1908), 275.

⁴⁰ See: Hüseyin Karaduman, “Belgelerle İlk Türk Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi”, *Belgeler: Türk Tarihi Belgeler Dergisi*, Cilt XXV, Sayı 29 (2004), s. 73-92; and N. Stanley-Price, “The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the founding of the Cyprus Museum” in V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD. Fact, Fancy and Fiction* (Oxbow Books, 2001), 267-275. A handwritten copy, translated into English, is currently housed at the National Archive of the Republic of Cyprus.

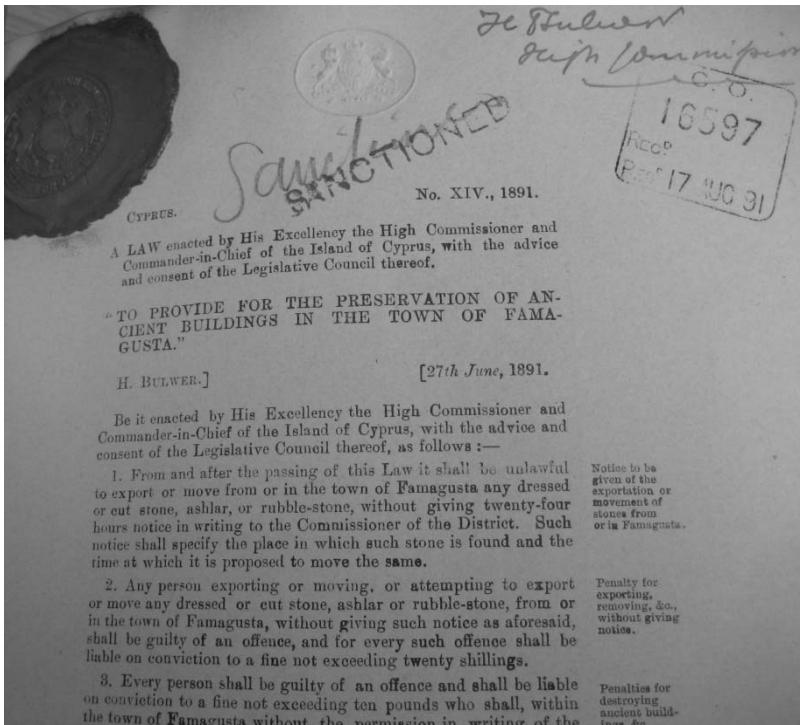


Fig. 5. Famagusta Stones Law: Colonial Office Archive. C.O. 16597, 1891. National Archive, Kew (1891), n.pag.

1891 (Fig. 5), and the Famagusta Improvement Law of 1898. But the fact remains that much was lost in the period, as Famagusta's buildings were used as a quarry for cut stone by Cypriots and British alike⁴¹ (Figs. 6, 7). Substantial harbor works also began to threaten the Venetian walls, the *konak* opposite the cathedral was pulled down, and the Roman sarcophagus was taken from the square to the Protestant cemetery at Varosha and used as tomb for an English official (it was returned later).⁴² On a more positive note, the Cyprus Museum was established in 1882,

⁴¹ Elizabeth Hoak-Doering, "Stones of the Suez Canal: a discourse of absence and power in Cyprus and Egypt", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*. 14: 2 (2012), 199-218.

⁴² See: Agnes Lewis, *A Lady's Impressions of Cyprus* (London, 1893), 282-3; Camille Enlart, *Villes Mortes du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1920), 142.

there followed the Antiquities Law of 1905, and in 1935 the Department of Antiquities was established. In Famagusta itself, much work was carried out by Theophilus Mogabgab (MBE), Deputy Director of Antiquities for the Famagusta District during the 1930s, 40s and 50s (of which more, later). The post-1960 events are well recorded and discussed elsewhere, as are the military activities of 1974, the self-declaration of the TRNC in 1983, and the subsequent UN resolutions—a sequence of events that effectively cut Famagusta adrift again.

We fully recognise the need of developing Cyprus: we do not wish to oppose the proposals of the Department, though we may wish that it had been possible to place the works at one of the more populous towns, instead of Famagusta, with its population of 350. It is understood, however, that the latter town is the only suitable port where the available money is sufficient to provide an effective harbour. At the same time we are most anxious that every endeavour should be made to preserve the antiquities of the town. Greek speculators are now engaged in buying up the land lying within the walls: and at Famagusta as elsewhere in Cyprus they are ruthless assailants of whatever dates from Frankish and

Italian

Fig. 6, Earl of Balcarres *et al.* to Downing Street, 28 June 1901. 20380/1901. Colonial Office Archive. National Archive, Kew (London, 1901).

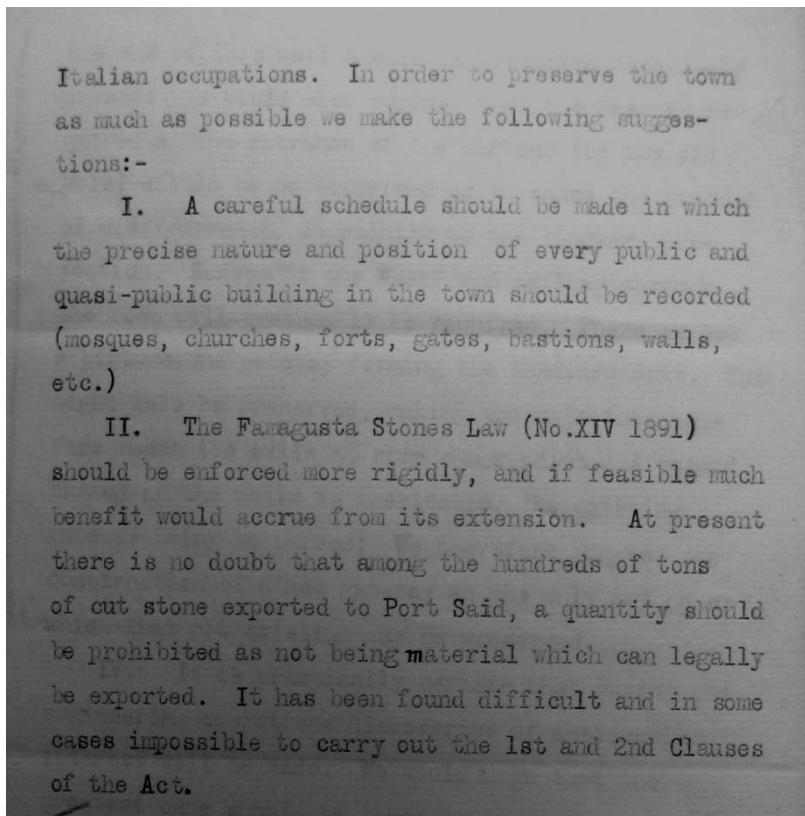


Fig. 7. Earl of Balcarres *et al.* to Downing Street, 28 June 1901. 20380/1901. Colonial Office Archive. National Archive, Kew (London, 1901).

The city's heritage therefore embarked on another period of neglect and isolation, which has not yet passed. Piecemeal efforts have been made to secure the precious legacy of the past millennium, but where they have been successful it has been on a miniature scale, and where they have been ambitious they have succeeded in name only. For example, though Famagusta has a Master Plan, this cannot be implemented until the political climate changes. For the same reason, it is ineligible for a UNESCO World Heritage inscription, even though the legitimacy of its claim is in no doubt. But that is not to say that nothing has happened. In fact, Hülya Yüceer's chapter outlines and explores a recent project undertaken by the United Nations Development Program—Partnership For