

# **Making Histories: Nationalism, Colonialism and the Uses of the Past on Cyprus**

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by

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*For my people of Kalogrea and my Mark*

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## **Cyprus in My Past and My Present: an Introduction**

We had grown up in Cyprus as the proudest of Greeks. As everyone knew, ancient Greeks were the original creators of civilisation, the people who gave its light to the West. Ancient Greece and Rome, then Europe and the Enlightenment: that was the story of civilization. We had learned at school that our dialect, the Greek dialect of Cyprus, was etymologically much closer to ancient Greek than any other dialect of Greece. The other reason we were the truest Greeks, of course, was that we had suffered so much throughout history at the hands of the Turk. Our small island was centre stage for the eternal confrontation between the forces of good and evil, Greeks and Turks, civilization and barbarism (Papadakis 2005: 4).

### **1.1 Introduction**

This research was born out of a need for me to know, as a London-born Greek Cypriot, why the archaeology and history of my place of origin have no shades of grey. The history I learned at school – British school – was fluid, it was about how different actors felt, why they did things; we learnt role play and empathy. At home, and in Greek school, history was black and white, them vs us, Turks vs Greeks and this was the way it had been throughout history. I did not know that Cyprus was part of the British empire until I was in my late teens (long after I had given up Greek school), as this was irrelevant to the bigger picture of my place. Even though I had been told that my father had been detained on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1958 (detainee number 3197) by the British when ‘we were fighting them’, it was never clear what they were doing in Cyprus. I was born in August 1974 – in the middle of the Turkish invasion. My father had wanted to go and fight but my mother would not let him leave her in England, eight-months pregnant and with two other children to look after; people from my village were ‘missing’; my village and our land was lost; if it had not been for the invasion we would have moved back to Cyprus in 1976 as planned; my (extended) family were refugees; we demonstrated in London every summer but were never on TV or the radio. These were the certainties of my history as a Greek Cypriot born in London in 1974. History at home/the history of my place was not fluid, the only actors were ‘us’ and we all felt the same, lost. But there were other Cypriots who did not feel the same. My Greek Cypriot neighbours (from the south originally) would jeer at refugees who got handouts from the government; my Turkish Cypriot school friends did not know there had been an invasion. I did not know that it was a ‘peace operation’ for them yet as we did not talk about it. The thing that joined us, made us similar and seek each other out was the one thing we could not/would not discuss. This strange relationship between history at home and history at school made me obsessed by it. I wanted to know and understand history, not have it ask me



questions. I went to university to study archaeology, hoping that by studying the distant past I would find my answers, but I just found more questions. These questions (and questionings) have resulted in this PhD.

The archaeology of Cyprus will never function outside its contemporary sociopolitical context and will never be politically innocent (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 32).

The central research questions of this thesis are: what effect do political events have on state representations of the archaeological and historical record? How can these be analysed? What effect does politics have on archaeology as practised in Cyprus? This research has addressed these questions by focusing on state uses of the past in Cyprus from 1878 until the present through the analysis of education, the mass media and tourism. The time period selected relates to the period of British administrative and colonial control of the island and independence. As the Greek Cypriots developed a nationalist identity that was played out in relation to colonial rule during this period, it was therefore necessary to place studies of colonialism and nationalism at the heart of the study.

The central premise of this research is that states are involved in the creation and maintenance of national and group identities and that by studying these, one is able to understand the uses to which academic areas of study have been put. In particular, I analyse the role that archaeology plays in state representations of the past. My research provides an assessment of how the pasts of Cyprus have been used by the British colonial administration and the government of the Republic of Cyprus in attempts to create particular identities relating to colonialism and nationalism. Both colonialism and nationalism have been crucial in the formation and development of Greek Cypriot identity. Because of this they provide the research frameworks that inform this entire study. In my analysis I have focused on the three moments that are repeatedly represented as being central to Greek Cypriot literature about the history of Cyprus: the late Bronze Age Mycenaean 'colonisation'; the classical period; and the folk image. These have been assessed with reference to three media used by all states in the creation and maintenance of national identities: education; the mass media; and tourism, thereby using Cyprus as a case study to show the effects of state representations of the past. By focusing on these three media, I analyse how the state represents its past to its citizens (young and old) and to outsiders, showing how internal and external political relations affect these representations. Finally, in the theoretical foreground stand theories of nationalism and colonialism. These two elements are the main focus of this research and inform the entire discussion of British and Greek Cypriot histories of Cyprus. Our understandings of social situations are limited if they are divorced from their social, temporal

and physical linkages – in order to understand how archaeology is related to nationalism and colonialism in contemporary Cyprus we must look at such diverse elements as tourism, the media and education. These help to illustrate the concerns of the state; to show how important archaeology can be to states; how it can be used in diverse ways; and how it can be used to create hegemony or difference. Domination is not simply imposed by the state through agencies such as the police, it is “also expressed by the way in which power, technology, and ideology come together to produce forms of knowledge, social relations, and other concrete cultural forms that function to actively silence people” (Giroux 1985: xix).

In most modern nations, the state organises and controls archaeology through funding and legislation. If the discipline is to avoid becoming a simple tool of the state, there must necessarily be an understanding of how the results of archaeology are used and interpreted. By understanding how archaeological research and material culture is shaped, manipulated and presented to the general public, it may be possible to avoid the use of archaeological data that can be (mis-)interpreted to narrow or ideological ends in the future. It is important that archaeologists are aware of how their research can be used, interpreted and potentially abused. By studying state representations of the past it is possible for archaeologists to avoid producing archaeologies that can be manipulated. In addition, by analysing the periods of study that are promoted by the state, it may be possible to avoid the creation of a skewed archaeological record. In this study I analyse archaeology’s use as a political prop to the state in identity formation and maintenance. I analyse the archaeological and historical evidence presented in the mass media, tourism and education, in order to compare it to previous interpretations of the same sites and periods by archaeologists. The differences between these two representations are assessed in relation to political influences and placed in their wider socio-political contexts.

In Cyprus there have been few attempts to place the archaeological record in its contemporary socio-political context and research has tended to focus on culture-historical models. Much of the archaeological research undertaken in Cyprus up until very recently was presented as being apolitical. While this is slowly changing within archaeology as well as other areas of research (most notably anthropology), this study is the first to analyse the archaeology of Cyprus within such a broad social and political context. In addition, no other Cypriot study has analysed the connection between nationalism and colonialism and connected these to contemporary state representations of the past. It is hoped that by showing that this can be achieved, other similar studies will begin to analyse some of the elements of this research in more detail and from different perspectives.



Cypriot nationalism was related very closely to that of Greece in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From the 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards, however, it had gained an added vitality and dynamism because it was pitted against the British, and to a lesser degree the Turks (Given 1997: 63). The Greek nature of the people and culture of the island, as articulated by the Greek Cypriot clergy and elite, created problems for the British. Only recently had they relinquished control over the Ionian islands where they faced problems in local calls for *enosis* ('union' with Greece) and eventually ceded the islands to Greece in 1864 (see Gallant 2002 for full discussion). The result of this Ionian sojourn was suspicion on the part of the British towards the Greek Cypriots. In the eyes of the colonial administration, the apparent Greek nature of the people threatened their traditional justifications for colonialism. One way to eliminate this problem was to try and replace the strongly defined Greek culture of the majority of the islanders with an indigenous culture that would remove any commitment to *enosis* and at the same time make the British feel more comfortable in their civilising mission.

British attempts to undermine the identity of the Greek Cypriots were put into practice in a number of contradictory ways, all of which ultimately failed. Attempts to de-Hellenise the Greek Cypriots included the refusal by the British colonial administration to refer to them as Greeks. "The Greek population was identified by what the government believed were more neutral and more accurate terms. These terms were 'Christian', 'non-Mohammedan', 'Greek-speaking Christian' or 'Greek-speaking Cypriot'" (Demetriadou 1998: 176). As no single term was routinely employed through the course of British administration, it is clear that none of them were a suitable alternative to 'Greek Cypriot'. Not only was the term Greek Cypriot unacceptable to the British, but claims to a Greek heritage and calls for *enosis* were routinely dismissed after 1916 (Demetriadou 1998). The British claimed that the Cypriots were not Greek, but at the same time found it hard to dismiss totally the claims of a group who spoke the same language, and followed the same religious and cultural traditions of the Greeks.

In some cases archaeology was employed in an attempt to create an indigenous Cypriot past with what Given (1998: 4) has termed the invention of the Eteocypriots:

the creation of a new Cypriot identity, something that was neither Greek nor Turkish, nor Phoenician nor Anatolian, and yet more than a mixture of them all. Colonial officials looked for non-Greek and non-Turkish traits in the modern population of the island, while the western archaeologists sympathetic to their cause, including Einar Gjerstad, director of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, invented a new ethnic group: the "Eteocypriots".



In his discussion of this ethno-linguistic group, Given demonstrates that imperialist sentiments – alongside racist and culture-historical approaches to the past – led to ascribing the term Eteocypriots to a group distinguished from the rest of the islanders by an undeciphered language and a different tomb type (1998: 18-24). In his response to Given's article, Petit (1999) explains that while it is clear that there was a non-Greek and non-Phoenician language in use in archaic and Classical Cyprus, its ascription as Eteo('true')-cypriot is problematic. "The choice of the word 'Eteocypriot' to characterize the Amathusians is ideological in and of itself; and their presence was actually called upon and used by British imperialist propaganda to neutralize Greek nationalism" (Petit 1999: 117). Thus an ethnic group promoted as authentic and indigenous was in effect a creation of colonial policies and contemporary academic trends. In order to bolster the imagery of an indigenous Cypriot identity, vernacular styles of art and architecture were advanced and studied by the British, and such styles were used in the construction of Government buildings, particularly after 1931 (Given 1997: 59 and 72; 1998: 13).

The small minority of agitators which includes the Press, some of the lawyers, many school teachers and the higher ranks of the Church, have not, since 1931, changed their spots to any degree, and directly they are given a clear enough field to start the old agitations, those agitations will start again (CO 67/278/5 1937: 68, Letter from Governor Palmer to C. Parkinson of the Colonial Office 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1937).

The Greek Cypriots reacted violently to all British attempts to create a non-Greek identity and were continuously building on this presumed threat to their culture with stronger and more prevalent nationalist sentiments. These culminated in two periods of violence in 1931 and 1955-59. Following independence, the Greek Cypriots were quick to explicitly re-adopt the deeply nationalist representations of the past that the British had tried to expel. The policy of Greek Cypriot identity formation through history and the church was actively followed from the beginning of British occupation and, apart from some restrictions imposed from the late 1920s onwards, continues unabated to this day.

## 1.2 Methodology

The voices of this study are necessarily state-produced. This does not mean that other voices do not exist in Cyprus as they clearly do (they include the Association for Historical Dialogue, Communists, left-wing intellectuals 'the Neo-Cypriots', other Cypriot ethnic identities such as Maronite and Armenian, and women's groups), however the focus of this study is the role of the state in identity formation. I feel it is important to understand and fully assess the dominant voice of the state before the other Cypriot voices can be addressed.

How these relate to, and interact with, the state voice will necessarily inform a different study.

As stated above, the two main theories informing the entire study are nationalism and postcolonial theory. These are presented and evaluated in relation to their use in archaeology, and in this study in particular, in Chapter 2. Each of the following chapters (3, 4, and 5) assesses education, the mass media and tourism in turn. These three areas of research are discussed theoretically; the theory is then applied to the data for Cyprus from 1878 until the present as it relates to that particular area of study. This research has been conducted as part of a wider postcolonial theoretical framework. In this respect, all the data available to me relating to any of the aspects of Cyprus under investigation were collected and analysed. I have attempted to present the data from Cyprus in chronological order: Late Bronze Age; classical period (classical is used in the 'Greco-Roman' sense); and folk image; however, each chapter is presented and discussed in a slightly different way due to the nature of the evidence (and the evidence's relation to the theory). Chapter 3 presents the case for colonial and nationalist uses of education. The main data for this chapter are the elementary school history curricula from 1888 until the present, and the two elementary history textbooks used currently in state schools of the Republic of Cyprus. The curricula have been translated and form Appendix 1. Chapter 4 is concerned with the mass media. The data-set used here are the British produced *Handbook of Cyprus*, Greek Cypriot guides to the island, and Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter referred to as CyBC) television programmes about the history of the island. These television programmes have been translated and summarised in Appendix 2. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses tourism in Cyprus from the colonial period until the present. The main data for this chapter come from the British *Handbook*, guides and post 1960 Cyprus Tourism Organisation (hereafter referred to as CTO) pamphlets, websites and information leaflets.

For the sake of clarity and convenience, some names have been shortened (such as CTO for Cyprus Tourism Organisation). Where this is the case I give the full name in the first instance with the abbreviation in parentheses immediately following it. In all quotations emphasis is in the original unless stated otherwise. All translations from Greek into English are my own unless indicated otherwise. This study relates solely to the Republic of Cyprus (sometimes called the 'south' or 'the free areas'), with the north of Cyprus referred to as TRNC ('Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus') for convenience. Where the term post-colonial is used, it relates to a temporal situation; postcolonial refers to a mentality and a theoretical paradigm.

### 1.3 Conclusion

It is becoming increasingly evident that the archaeological record of the Mediterranean is a finite resource (Renfrew 2003: 312), and as such there is a need within our discipline to develop non-intrusive archaeological practices that engage with its production and use. The complex recent political developments on Cyprus make this an ideal time to reassess and perhaps also reinterpret the past on the island in order to go beyond the divisions that have hindered the peaceful development of its people since the British period. “History can be made and remade” (Freire 1985: 10). This research hopes to re-set the foundations for the study of the past in Cyprus.



## **Nationalism and Postcolonial Theory**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to outline the two main theoretical standpoints central to this research. While both the issues of nationalism and postcolonialism have been applied to archaeology over the course of the past decade they are usually treated exclusively. Seldom have they been applied together as the backdrop to a study such as this, which aims to highlight the political influences on contemporary state representations of the past. Nationalism and postcolonial theory are at the heart of this thesis and all the data and information incorporated in this thesis will be seen through the prism of these concepts as laid out below. There is, however, still a great deal of theoretical information to be discussed. In the interests of clarity the theoretical background to the sub-themes of education, the mass media and tourism have been included at the beginning of the relevant chapters so that they can be related to the data directly. The theoretical background to this study as a whole can be found in the proceeding pages.

### **2.2 Nationalism**

Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organisation of a society of states (Kedourie 1993: 1).

In order to discuss nationalism it is first necessary to define its main concepts. Nationalism as an ideology or a concept has the image of being both natural and timeless. It is, however, a relatively recent phenomenon which first developed some 200 years ago. We all seem to know what a nation is and we all have some understanding of nationalism, but the process of trying to define these two terms is often highly problematic. What follows is a discussion of the key concepts and working definitions for the purpose of this study.

A number of scholars have been involved in the discussion, definition and explanation of nationalism. In order to arrive at valid definitions of both nationalism and the nation I will discuss their work before setting out the definitions that will be used in this research. Both Kedourie (1993) and Smith (1979) discuss the development of nationalism and place it in its philosophical context. In their interpretation, nationalism is based on the Enlightenment philosophy of the universal law of nature. The law applied to the whole world and showed that what people had in common was more important than their differences. By ordering their

societies or states according to this law people could achieve equality, liberty, the right to life and happiness. Logistically the utopian state could not be achieved on a universal level and therefore it was through one's own state (the nation) that the vision was fulfilled (Kedourie 1993: 2). The nation was to incorporate all those who shared a common history, culture and ethnicity, and the people of that state would work together in order to achieve autonomy and a united homeland (Smith 1979: 2). The characteristics of these shared criteria – culture and ethnicity – are not defined by Smith or Kedourie in this discussion. To the intelligentsia who were the main proponents of nationalism, the French revolution stood for the rights that could be achieved through adherence to the universal law of nature, and the new French state was an example to those who felt that their government did not have the best interests of the citizenry at heart. For if the French revolution stood for anything, it was that the people *were*, or could be, the state or the nation (Kedourie 1993: 4; Smith 1979: 2).

Gellner (1983) sees the roots of nationalism in industrialisation. He identifies it as a consequence of the new forms of social organisation that were necessary with the advent of the industrial revolution, which he believes led to the severance of traditional social relations, identities and communities and created new 'imagined' communities with the nation as the focus, as taught in schools (Gellner 1983: 48-49). The process of modernisation led to an erosion of social structure, and the gap left behind was replaced by the culture created through factors such as education and the media (Smith 1981: 43). For Benedict Anderson (1991: 18), nationalism has its roots in the fast development of vernacular languages to the detriment of Latin after the Reformation. These languages aided the development of vernacular print capitalism and the possibility of imagining the nation. The development of calendrical time, and therefore simultaneity, in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe, helped the novel and the newspaper to further provide "the technical means for 're-presenting' the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation" (Anderson 1991: 25).

Hobsbawm (1990: 12) focused on the uneven development of national consciousness among the different social groups and regions of a country. In his analysis the middle classes were among the first to be infected and the 'masses' the last, with three key phases to nationalist movements: (1) cultural, literary and folkloric; (2) militant; (3) mass support. The term nationalism first appeared in the period 1880-1914, when it was democratised through politics and took a dramatic leap ideologically (Hobsbawm 1987: 142). States used the term 'patriotism' to mobilise

their inhabitants, and it was at this time that right wing groups began to claim a monopoly on patriotism and therefore nationalism (Hobsbawm 1987: 143).

For all scholars of nationalism, the ideal of the independent nation state of citizens could only be achieved if those people living in it could see themselves as sharing a commonality with the group. This was achieved through schooling, the mass media, national history, museums, traditions, and language, with each scholar giving primacy to one or other of these factors. All of the scholars discussed saw schooling as a central institution in the creation of national consciousness, but for Hobsbawm mass schooling, mass literacy and mass media were *all* key (Hobsbawm 1990: 9-10). Anderson (1991) sees the birth of standardised national languages through print capitalism and the mass media as forming the basis of national consciousness to which were later added schooling, history and museums. It is important to place nationalism in its historical and social context and this can only be achieved through reference to *all* of the studies discussed above. The elements that form the definitions for this study are presented below.

### 2.2.1 The Nation

In the early discussions of nationalism the nation was necessarily a central concept and it referred to a group of people and the place where they lived. Originally this area and group were defined on linguistic grounds (Kedourie 1993: 55), although this division has subsequently been based on other criteria – such as religion, race or culture – that make one group stand out from another. For nationalists, ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones and ethnic boundaries within a state should not separate the power holders from the rest of society (Gellner 1983: 1).

The state, or state society, is one of various prerequisites for nationalism, and while culture and will are central to the creation of a state it must also serve as the administrative and organising force of the nation. “The [modern] ‘state’ is that institution or set of institutions specifically concerned with the enforcement of order” (Gellner 1983: 4). A political and national unit should have a certain degree of fit and those who belong to a nation should have a political duty to it (Hobsbawm 1990: 9). In defining the nation according to nationalism, Smith (1979: 1) makes the following three statements: (1) the only sovereign is the nation; (2) man’s [sic] first loyalty should be to the nation; (3) only the nation can make laws for its citizens. For Anderson (1991: 6) the nation is “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and



sovereign". The nation is imagined because none of its members will *ever* know each of their fellow members and yet they believe that they share a communality/communion with each other.

### 2.2.2 Nationalism

For the purposes of analysis nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round (Hobsbawm 1990: 10).

In most discussions of nationalism, homogeneous racial or cultural criteria are central to the creation (or invention) of a valid state or demographic called the nation. Nationalism creates the political legitimacy for the nation, with the secret of nationalism being a culture, race, ethnicity or language that pervades the entire society (or is imposed on it): nationalism defines this culture/race/etc. and this must be sustained by the state (Gellner 1983: 18). The mass education policy that came about with industrialisation in the west has been a major and effective tool for nationalism as it facilitates "the organisation of human groups into large, centrally educated, cultural homogeneous units" (Gellner. 1983: 35). In order to be effective, all citizens need to be able to communicate in the same language, they should have certain basic skills and they should have certain conceptions of the *nation* and its/their past. While language was always used as one of the criteria of nationalism in earlier periods, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century it became a centralised and homogenised feature of the nation as prescribed by the educated (reading and writing) elites (Hobsbawm 1987: 146-147). For Gellner, Smith, Anderson and Hobsbawm linguistic education is central to citizenship in nation-states "because culture has become the fundamental social bond in an industrial world, and culture must be conveyed and taught through the medium of language" (Smith 1981: 46). The newspaper continues the imagining of the community as it is consumed on a massive scale by people who know that others in the nation are consuming the same thing as them at almost exactly the same time (Anderson 1991: 35).

For Hobsbawm (1990: 5-6) it is difficult to find objective definitions of nationalism that work on all levels because exceptions to the definition can always be found and because the criteria used in definitions (ethnicity, language etc.) tend themselves to be difficult to define. These criteria are most often used for "propagandist and programmatic, as distinct from descriptive purposes". The alternative is a subjective definition of the nation, thereby "defining a nation by its members' consciousness of belonging to it" (Hobsbawm 1990: 7-8). This definition, however, is questionable as it relies on a pre-existing consciousness of the nation. "The basis of 'nationalism' of all kinds was the same: the readiness of people to identify themselves

emotionally with ‘their’ nation and to be politically mobilised as Czechs, Germans, Italians or whatever, a readiness which could be politically exploited” (Hobsbawm 1987: 143).

The national movements which gained genuine mass support in our period [1875-1914]... were almost invariably those which combined the appeal of nationality and language with some more powerful interest or mobilizing force, ancient or modern. Religion was one... Nationalism therefore became genuinely popular essentially when it was drunk as a cocktail (Hobsbawm 1987: 162-163).

### 2.2.3 Summary

All people have more than one definition of themselves and therefore it is impossible to define a nation on objective or subjective terms – nations simply exist as entities in the modern world and therefore must be treated and understood as such. I propose to define the nation as a state or polity that is based on specific criteria that can be ethnic, linguistic, racial or territorial. The existence of the nation is dependant on the culture and will of the citizenry, and the nation cannot exist separately from the people as they *are* the nation.

In an attempt to create a working definition of nationalism for the purposes of this study I will create a synthesis of the different approaches discussed above. The main points of nationalism are the following:

- (1) that the world is divided into units (the nation);
- (2) that the citizens of these nations have a cultural, ethnic, historical and territorial hegemony (real, imagined or created); and
- (3) that these units are controlled by their citizens.

In relation to this study the central concept of analysis will be the extent to which states create the hegemony that exists within nations, how this is achieved and how effective it is.

The meaning of nationalism has changed over time and in contemporary society it is often understood in negative terms. It is clear that there is less emphasis on language for contemporary nationalism as certain languages have become world languages. For instance, English is spoken in the UK, Australia, USA and Canada and has become a *lingua franca* in a number of countries as well as being spoken worldwide for commercial and cultural purposes. In contemporary society nationalism is more likely to be seen as a reaction against increasing globalisation rather than in its original form when it was based on a utopian idea of internationalism. The original doctrine of nationalism extolled the sovereignty of nations based on language, as a first step in the process of planetary harmony through the achievement of the natural laws of Kantian

philosophy. However, since the widespread adoption of nationalism in the West (and as a result throughout much of the world) especially by extremist political groups, the doctrine has taken on a more sinister aspect. In effect, its success has tainted it and therefore it will forever be associated with fascist regimes and inter-ethnic conflict, especially ethnic cleansing. Nationalism, however, also has a much more mundane function. Through nationalism every state attempts to justify its own existence and it does so through such disciplines as history, education and archaeology. It is in this sense that it is crucial for archaeologists to consider nationalism and to be aware of its possible consequences when embarking on research. This study therefore examines how the history of Cyprus – produced by the state (both colonial and post-colonial) and represented in education, the mass media and tourism – reflects nationalist ends.

#### 2.2.4 Nationalism and Archaeology

The appearance of nationalism stimulated the very creation of archaeology as a science, and informed not only the organization of archaeological knowledge but also its very infrastructure. Without the existence of nationalism, archaeology or the study of the past might never have advanced beyond the status of a hobby or a pastime (Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996b: 3).

Archaeology developed at around the same time as theories of nationalism were being formulated but it was only turned into an academic discipline once its potential as a strut to nationalism was established. Nationalism uses historically inherited cultures and cultural wealth selectively and most often transforms them radically (Gellner 1983: 55). The potential of archaeology to be used as a valuable political tool that could act as a spur to feelings of national identity was recognised by the nation builders of the past (Wiwjorra 1996: 168) and has increasingly been acknowledged as being an important area of study by modern theorists and practitioners of the discipline (see for example Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996a; Given 1997 and 2001; Hamilakis 1996; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996 and 1999a; Silberman 1989; Tierney 1996).

Traditionally archaeology has been involved in assigning groups of artefacts to specific bounded historical groups. It was believed that specific cultures could be traced through their artefacts and that these cultures were bounded human groups linked to specific areas. This approach to the study of the past was closely linked with the nationalist project as both relied on the idea of distinct communities that could be understood and recognised through their material culture (Smith 2001: 442). This *culture-historical* archaeology was the most common way of



approaching the subject until the 1960s. Indeed, it continues to be used to a certain extent even today in many countries, including Cyprus. When practising culture-historical archaeology one tends to work from the assumption that a specific group can be recognised through its material culture and that it can be traced archaeologically by reference to its material culture and architecture. For instance if an archaeologist was looking for a Mycenaean settlement in Greece they might expect to find a 'megaron' type room, storerooms and Linear B tablets. Any or all of these features at a site might give it away as a Mycenaean palatial site. Pottery has traditionally played an important role in culture-historical archaeology as it is split up into a chronological sequence used to date sites. Although this type of archaeology has been criticised in recent years as a result of its misuse for nationalistic ends and the development of archaeological theory, it is the backbone of modern archaeological research.

From the 1960s onward, there was a move towards a more 'scientific' approach to archaeology, one that emphasised the objective nature of reliable scientific methods of enquiry. This 'New Archaeology' asked of the data certain questions concerned with systems and quantifiable statistical analysis, thereby avoiding the controversial issue of race and nationalism. This approach was a reaction to the abuses of traditional culture-historical archaeology best known through the work of such scholars as Gustaf Kossina, whose theories of German ethnic purity were adopted by the Nazis in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s (see Arnold and Hassmann 1995). By the 1980s, however, a new concern with social theory led to a different approach to archaeology, one which is often referred to as postprocessualism.

One of the first explicitly theoretical discussion of nationalism and archaeology came in 1984 when Bruce Trigger examined the nature of archaeological research and the notion of a nationalist archaeology. He identified three types of archaeology found around the globe: nationalist; colonialist; and imperialist. For Trigger these different types relate to the political/cultural system in the relevant country. "My investigation leads me to believe that there is a close relationship between the nature of archaeological research and the social milieu in which it is practised" (Trigger 1984: 356). He goes on to define broadly the different types, the first being nationalist archaeology. It is clear from his arguments that the majority of archaeological activity is nationalist in nature, which is necessary in terms of patriotic sentiment and feelings of belonging and because there is often a substantial amount of governmental patronage of archaeology (Trigger 1984: 358).

The primary function of nationalistic archaeology, like nationalistic history of which it is normally regarded as an extension, is to bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups. It is probably strongest amongst peoples who feel politically threatened, insecure or deprived of their collective rights by more powerful nations or in countries where appeals for national unity are being made to counteract serious divisions along class lines (Trigger 1984: 360).

Examples of such an archaeology can be seen in such states as the Republic of Ireland and Israel. Both are countries whose political situation makes them feel threatened, which is reflected in an archaeology that serves to emphasise a homogeneous and often glorious past (see Cooney 1995; Silberman 1989).

The second type of archaeology that Trigger identifies is colonialist archaeology, which he describes as a discipline practised almost wholly by colonising nations that had no emotional tie to the past under study. In this type, the colonising nation was eager to appear as a civilising force that had come to the colony bringing order and civilisation. As such it was necessary to emphasise the primitive nature of the colonised peoples in order to justify colonialism on supremacist grounds (Trigger 1984: 360). For instance, in French North Africa the culture and history of the indigenous inhabitants was subdued by the French colonisers in favour of a more 'civilised' Roman history for the region (see Mattingly 1996).

The third type is imperialist archaeology which is practised by states that have had or continue to have control over large parts of the earth. Imperialist archaeology used evolutionary theory as its basis in explaining the dominance of certain groups, such as western Europeans or Soviet Marxists, as more developed than peoples from other civilisations (in particular those that had been dominated by these groups). In this type, archaeology was linked to European or Soviet pre-eminence (Trigger 1984: 364; see also Díaz-Andreu 2004).

Archaeology has today been transformed into a peaceful, if subtle, instrument of national policy (Silberman 1990: 99).

In an increasingly post-modern world, archaeology has had to face up to the realities of the past and present of the discipline, and it is in this light that we have been forced to confront head on issues like nationalism and identity. Nationalism found authenticity for the national project through archaeological finds and used archaeology in four ways: (1) in order to rediscover the authentic culture-community of the nation; (2) to provide a sense of authenticity to the nation through the medium of artefacts and sites as well as creating symbolism for it through ancient

artefacts and sites; (3) by rooting the national past to the soil of the nation through sites and discoveries; (4) to provide the national identity with longevity and a golden age (Smith 2001).

To pretend that all nationalism is irrational and evil, or – worse – that nationalism is an illusion of no concern to scholars, is to ensure that the foes of truth will overrun and occupy the field of archaeology without resistance (Ascherson 1996: ix).

It is no longer possible to claim that scientific objectivity can limit influences on research or to ignore such issues as nationalism; rather, it is important that archaeologists come to grips with them and address them explicitly in their research. Indeed, the connection between nationalism and archaeology has gained increasing importance since Trigger's study (1984), as illustrated by the number of publications that deal with it (see for example Atkinson *et al.* 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996a; Hamilakis 1996; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998).

Archaeology is on trial. Its interrogators are ruthless and well briefed, and its judges... no longer take scientific curiosity as an excuse. Archaeologists can be shown to have acted as the henchmen of political ideologies in the past; the court brushes subjective impartiality aside to reveal guilty subtexts, and asks the accused to show why such guilty subtexts should not still be evolving today (Ascherson 1996: v).

The archaeology of every nation serves as part of its culture and therefore it is susceptible to the influence of contemporary cultural struggles (ethnic; political; religious; colonial/postcolonial; and nationalist). It can therefore be appropriated to political ends unless archaeologists are careful about the archaeologies that they produce and are aware of the political biases involved in their production (Given 1998b: 5; Silberman 1998: 113). Nationalist readings of the past are popular for a number of reasons: they are rather simplistic; they relate the ancient (and sometimes more recent) past to the history that people know from their schooldays; they focus on an instantly recognisable 'golden age' (see Silberman 1990: 107); and they produce a sense of national pride. In Cyprus, nationalist readings of the past present a predominantly 'Greek' history of the island, while largely ignoring or understating other influences on the island.

Archaeological finds also provide nationalism with valuable material and territorial symbols that can be used to bolster a sense of national identity (Díaz-Andreu 2001: 437; Hamilakis and Yialouri 1999a: 125; Smith 2001: 443). They serve to create and re-enforce politics through identity (Hamilakis and Yialouri 1999a: 132) and often tell us about the national insecurities and political positions of the state where they are produced (Silberman 1990). While archaeologists



are free to conduct research in almost all regions and periods of history, the archaeology that is venerated by the state and presented above all others will say more about the aspirations of the state than the past of any given society. Thus all states select a particular 'golden age' of their own history that they present as an unquestioned (usually archaeological) truth. This 'golden age' serves to bolster national pride, ethnic consciousness and identity, and in places of conflict can be juxtaposed against the other or shown to have a longevity to rival other claims to place. The archaeological heritage is therefore used as a form of cultural capital (see Hamilakis and Yialouri 1996). Greek connections are the main focus of state-produced histories in Cyprus, with a Mycenaean Late Bronze Age 'colonisation' representing the 'golden age' of the island's Greek identity.

Archaeological remains are, therefore, a precious natural resource in the Mediterranean, valuable as symbols of national identity, vehicles of cultural exchange, and sources of economic benefit (Silberman 1990: 100).

In order to combat the potential mis-use of archaeology to nationalist or political ends it is important that its practitioners emphasise its fluid nature both within and without the discipline (Hamilakis 1998: 111). In this way we can begin to represent the multiple voices that are usually muted in the past and in the present (Jones 1997: 10).

### 2.3 Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory is a relatively recent addition to the armoury of theoretical archaeology and it is necessary to give a discussion of its main principles before applying it in this study. I discuss the main tenets of the theory in this section, and include some relevant definitions. Following this I look at the main criticisms of it before going on to explain how it has been applied to archaeology in the past and how it has been used in this study.

Postcolonialism is a term used to describe a particular academic outlook, much in the way that postprocessualism has been used in theoretical archaeology. As such is by no means a homogeneous methodology. The term post-colonial can also be used to describe a real human condition in places where a colonial power once ruled. It is important to note that postcolonial theory is more an academic outlook than a theory, and Stuart Hall (1996a: 246) has pointed out that it is a descriptive rather than an evaluative term. For Young (1998: 5) "postcolonialism offers a politics rather than a coherent theoretical methodology ... there are shared political perceptions and agenda which employ an eclectic range of theorists in their service". Indeed, he states that postcolonialism is not, strictly speaking, a theory at all, although for present purposes

the term theory is a convenient one to define this body of research. As an academic 'condition' postcolonial theory looks at the results of colonial power, specifically the creation, maintenance and set-up of power in the major European empires of the past 500 years or so. It has been influential in drawing attention to the ways in which domination was maintained in modern colonial situations through military, political, economic, cultural and other means (Keesing 1994; Said 1995).

It originated in literary studies, but as with a number of modern theoretical 'paradigms' (for example postmodernism and post-structuralism) it was eventually adopted within other areas of academia (S. Hall 1996a: 243). One of the most important things to remember when dealing with postcolonial theory is that it is *not* meant to present a homogeneous outlook.

In the end 'postcolonial' has come to mean by definition an interdisciplinary, political, theoretical and historical approach to problems in contemporary society (Ahmed 1998: 12).

Postcolonial theorists are aware that the postcolonial experience differs widely from situation to situation and therefore do not suggest that any one study can answer all the questions for another, even if both studies are based in the same region or country (Loomba 1998: 19). It is a theory of re-reading or re-seeing (S. Hall 1996a: 247) in that it is concerned with experience, and shifts the emphasis from locations and institutions to individuals and their subjectivities (Loomba 1998: 17). It emphasises the need to look for what is generally left unsaid.

Edward Said (1995) was one of the first scholars to look at a discipline or a problem in a more holistic way and no study of postcolonialism is complete without looking first at his book *Orientalism*. He was influenced by Foucault's discussion of a *discourse* and undertook a study of the discourse on Orientalism. He did this by looking at a large corpus of orientalist writings over a long period of time in conjunction with the political and cultural situation forming the background to this material. By doing this he was able to show how a specific attitude had become associated with the Orient and how this attitude was perpetuated within the discipline through time. Said's example of the study of the Orient by Europeans in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries shows how they used the discipline to create a dichotomy between Europe and its other, the Orient (Said 1995). In effect this method of study involves looking at all the available evidence (usually written) associated with a discipline, country, region or area in order to achieve a fuller understanding of prevailing attitudes and trends and to assess what influences play a role in the decision-making processes of a group.



A few brief definitions of the key concepts of postcolonial theory are necessary before continuing. When one thinks of colonialism in the modern period one focuses on the major European powers of the past 500 years, especially Britain and Spain. It is pertinent to point out here that by the 1930s colonies and ex-colonies covered 84.6% of the land surface of the globe (Loomba 1998: xiii). Imperialism is often associated with or confused with colonialism. For most theorists imperialism is a form of capitalist colonialism, although a state need not be a coloniser to be an imperial power (one need only think of the power of the USA in modern global politics (Pilger 2001)). Said (1993), on the other hand, argued that imperialism is the theory to colonialism's practice. Indeed, Said's opinion differs from the majority of postcolonial theorists who tend to focus more on colonialism than on imperialism, which they see as just a specific instance of colonialism. Said, however, sees it as the most important part of the phenomenon.

In the modern world then, we can distinguish between colonisation as the takeover of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labour and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation, and imperialism as a global system (Loomba 1998: 6).

Historically,... postcolonialism developed out of the experiential and theoretical legacy of anti-colonial resistance and nationalist struggles (Boehmer 1998: 19).

For a postcolonial attitude to develop there must be a reaction to colonialism by the colonised; this is defined as anti-colonialism, which is often associated with nativism. Nativism refers to a desire to return culturally to a pre-colonial state of affairs and is associated with a desire to return to indigenous ways of life (Ashcroft *et al.* 1998: 159). It has often been criticised as a rather naïve outlook because it would be virtually impossible to return to a cultural situation that has eliminated all the effects of colonialism (Ashcroft *et al.* 1998: 160). Anti-colonialism generally occurs before and during the dissolution of the colonial situation and is often helped along by a new national consciousness (Loomba 1998: 186). Anti-colonial struggles often had to create new and powerful local identities in order to unite the community as colonialism had to be challenged on a political, intellectual and emotional level (Loomba 1998: 185). It is interesting to note that anti-colonial feelings were often developed because of the political and intellectual history of the colonial masters. Those heading anti-colonial movements had often been educated in the *metropole* (see Section 3.3.1 below) and the colonial school system typically helped to promote colonial nationalism (Anderson 1991: 120). It is also important to note here that not only the ideas of resistance, but also the forms they took, stemmed from the colonial centre. In

his study of Melanesia, Keesing (1994) has shown that the organisation of resistance generally takes the form imposed by the colonial masters since they must necessarily be challenged on their own terms as they hold power.

Hegemony at a conceptual level and political strategies operated together to produce a kind of equivalent to a Westminster shadow cabinet, with the organisation of an anti-colonial political movement a mirror image of structures of Protectorate administration (Keesing 1994: 45).

For some, anti-colonial struggles were not intended simply as a means of replacing the existing form of government, but rather aimed at building new societies (Parry 1998: 46). Parry suggests that we need to consider anti-colonial movements in a different light to nationalist ones as they are a product of a specific time, place and situation (1998: 47). It is probably safe to say that anti-colonial attitudes are often expressed in terms of opposition and they are best identified in this way.

In order for a postcolonial situation or attitude to develop in any given society it has to go through the stages of colonialism and anti-colonialism. It is not always the case that the societies affected by colonialism all go through these stages at the same time or rate. Indeed, not all of them necessarily reach a postcolonial position. Equally important to note here is that it is not just those places that were colonised that can come to adopt a postcolonial attitude. "It refers to a general process of decolonisation which, like colonisation itself, has marked the colonising societies as powerfully as it has the colonised (S. Hall 1996a: 246). For instance, Britain is postcolonial in a sense through the colonial experience and because of the migration here of many former colonials. The postcolonial reality of Britain, however, is far removed from that of her former colonies such as India. As discussed above, postcolonial theory is a new way of seeing or a new interest in the entire framework of society. It challenges colonial attitudes, often rejecting them entirely, but there is always an awareness of the past colonial situation in postcolonial writings. In effect the colonial past is used to look at the way that the society or state in question has developed in opposition to it and how the colonial experience has shaped the present.

What the concept may help us to do is to describe or characterise the shift in global relations which marks the (necessarily uneven) transition from the age of Empires to the post-independence or post-decolonisation moment (S. Hall 1996a: 246).



There are problems associated with postcolonial theory. It is often criticised as being ambiguous and yet universalising (for a discussion of critics see S. Hall 1996a: 242-243).

The term 'postcolonialism' won't do because it falsely homogenises a set of diverse conditions; because it throws up all sorts of hair-raising chronological difficulties; because it suggests a confident posteriority to a condition which still prevails in transformed guise; because it passes cavalierly over those sections of the globe which are still full-bloodedly colonial; because it is a eurocentric way of seeing; because it is postmodernism's way of taking care of everything south of Palermo, because it suggests that everything in a postcolonial society is postcolonial in the sense that everything coloured green is green (Eagleton 1998: 24).

For archaeologists, however, the problem is that its case studies are too specific, and seldom provide a framework for other similar situations or studies. Indeed, all the criticisms levied at postprocessualism could equally be levied at postcolonialism. Most postcolonial studies are also very heavily focused on the Third World. It would seem, *prima facie*, that you cannot be involved in a postcolonial situation or 'feel' postcolonial unless you are of African or Asian background. Even when the British situation is discussed it is the Afro-Caribbean and Asian sectors of society that are the focus. The only white postcolonial peoples discussed or studied are the Irish and the Americans. Gibbons (1998: 27) has stressed the need for postcolonial theorists to move away from the periphery and to acquire new forms of seeing itself and the world, thereby incorporating those that are in the 'centre'. The entire discipline ignores the other 'white' people who were affected by colonialism in Europe, especially in cases like Cyprus and Malta. This may mean that a postcolonial mentality has not yet developed there or is doing so at a much slower rate than in the 'Third World' and Ireland. The fact that both Malta and Cyprus were effected by colonialism, however, suggests that they are as worthy of postcolonial study as any of the other areas discussed above.

Postcolonial theory has become increasingly popular in archaeological research, and although it has not received 'blanket' acceptance, it has found currency with those scholars who look at ancient colonisations. It has usually been applied to the study of the effects of ancient colonising regimes such as the Roman Empire as well as for the archaeology of the USA and is often used in an attempt to help us hear the voice of the silent majority in colonial situations. As such it has been used by a number of scholars, including van Dommelen (1997), to reassess the ways in which the Roman Empire has been studied in the past. Others have discussed more recent colonial regimes in this way. For instance, Given (1998a) has discussed the ways the British

colonial situation on Cyprus affected both the archaeology of the island and the construction style of school buildings (1997), while Mattingly (1996) has looked at how modern colonialism has affected the study of archaeology in North Africa. Postcolonialism is also being applied to archaeology by studying the effects of modern colonial situations on the work of archaeologists themselves. For instance, De Angelis (1998) has researched Tom Dunbabin's (1948, *The Western Greeks: the History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 BC*) work on ancient colonialism in order to see how it was influenced by the author's own colonial experience. Until recently ancient colonialism was seen as more civilised, respectful and less racist than the modern version of it (Rowlands 1998: 329). This may have been a reflection of the view that Western colonialism was on a civilising mission and therefore was something *good* for the 'natives'. This is a rather naïve perception of ancient colonialism as one need only to consider the attitude of ancient Greeks towards each other between *poleis* (city-states), e.g. Athens and Sparta, and towards foreigners, or barbarians (see Herodotus, *The Histories*) to realise that chauvinism also existed in the past.

For the purposes of this study postcolonial theory is best suited to an appraisal of the 'creators' of national history/culture (the state), rather than the Mycenaean 'colonisation' of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age (LBA), as that would imply an acceptance of this purported colonisation. Its usefulness for this study stems therefore from its relevance to the current political situation on Cyprus and in particular on how colonial, anti-colonial, and postcolonial moments have been reflected in state productions of education, the mass media and tourism. The island was part of the British Empire between 1878 and 1960 when the first systematic excavations were taking place on the island and the British also established the Cyprus Museum and the Department of Antiquities. The archaeology of Cyprus is therefore necessarily framed by the colonial experience. In terms of this study, it is the legacy of colonialism that is most relevant (see Given 1997; 1998a; 2001; Mattingly 1996). It was common practice for colonisers to undertake excavations as well as to produce 'histories' of the societies in question (Anderson 1991; Given 2001). They did this in much the same way that nation states do, through such media as education, print capitalism and representations of history and archaeology. By looking at these in both the colonial and post-colonial periods on Cyprus it is possible to see how the colonial relationship between colonised and coloniser has affected the presentation of the past in contemporary Cyprus.



## **2.4 Summary**

Nationalism and postcolonialism are both central elements of the present research and they are the main themes that set the framework for this study. In Cyprus, the past as presented to those within the state as well as to those looking into it from the outside is extremely simplistic and nationalistic with a reliance on a 'golden age' of Mycenaean 'colonisation' (Leriu 2002; for examples of the 'colonisation narrative' see Karageorghis 1994b, 2000; Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 1988). This 'golden age' has been used to highlight and drive home the longevity of Greek national identity on the island and is used in opposition to rival claims to the island. It has been supplemented by elements from the classical period and the recent past in order to create a strongly homogenised Greek/'Western' identity that stands in opposition to a Turkish/Oriental other. It is therefore necessary to be aware of and to expose the nationalist uses of the past in Cyprus to thorough examination, in both empirical and theoretical terms. Postcolonial theory and research methods will be used to assess some of the reasons behind many of the decisions made by the colonial and post-colonial state, decisions that have affected the interpretation and presentation of the past in Cyprus. Postcolonial theory is also employed in analysing the degree to which the colonial experience has resulted in the nationalist policies of the contemporary Cypriot state in education, the mass media and tourism. The following chapters rely on nationalism and postcolonialism to frame the discussion of how the past is used in education, the mass media and tourism to create and present a homogeneous and postcolonial national state-sponsored identity in Cyprus.

### **Education for the Nation: Historical Education in Cyprus**

History is, after all, essential for the creation of the collective memory (Phillips 1998: 2).

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Mass public education has been a prominent feature of most nation-states and colonies from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards and has been central to the development of nationalist, as well as anti-colonial and postcolonial, movements. Through schools we learn how to behave in our respective societies, we learn what is right and what is wrong and we come to understand our past as a means of understanding ourselves in the present. Schools help to sustain and reproduce society, and they are also responsible for socialisation and the enforcement of norms and values (Hall 1981: 13-14). Education is central to all states and has increasingly become a major concern for all economies beyond its industrial and commercial uses as it is seen to provide socialisation along state lines and is central in developing future generations and their outlook (Hall 1981: 4). “The basic direction of schooling has thus become a moral and ideological test-bed for the wider society” (Hall 1981: 4).

For some, particularly developing, states education is seen as a route to freedom and economic development. While attempting to distance themselves from a subservient position, a number of post-colonial states have drawn on their distant pasts in order to create strong national sentiments. This is certainly true of the Republic of Cyprus where a glorious Hellenic and Orthodox past is presented in schools, the media, the church and state imagery in an attempt to create a ‘Greek’ hegemony. In order to change the way that the past is interpreted and presented there needs to be an awareness of these issues. If this discipline is to build on the work that has been achieved by empirical and processual archaeology it is necessary to engage with the societies in which archaeology is used, created and re-created. In Cyprus, as in all states, the history taught in schools helps to shape the way that the place is seen and the loyalties and kin/race ties that are built up through time. For there to be a chance of a new Cyprus where ethnicity is no barrier, indeed a Cyprus where there are no barriers, the way that the past is used in education needs to be assessed and challenged. As archaeologists and not policy makers the only way that our discipline can have a positive effect on this situation is by trying to ensure that archaeological results are not over-interpreted, or misinterpreted to narrow ends.

Education is central to the present for a number of reasons. Firstly, the items that are included and excluded from a state’s curriculum can be telling, as can the ways in which



items are emphasised: “hegemony is created and recreated by the formal corpus of school knowledge, as well as by the covert teaching that has and does go on” (Apple 1990: 82). Secondly, the way the past is presented to the future generations of a given state should be important to all those involved in the study and creation of the past. Schools are cultural institutions, and by examining the educational system closely it is possible for us as theorists to highlight the ways in which it is tied to, and ties into, the wider society. Finally, education plays a major role in colonial, anti-colonial and postcolonial relationships, and by studying the uses of, and reactions to, education in colonial and post-colonial periods it may be possible to uncover some of the underlying factors behind them. There is a responsibility for archaeologists and historians to be aware of how politics and a particular view of the past are incorporated into the national postcolonial psyche.

While this chapter aims to discuss the central themes connecting education to nationalism and postcolonialism, it must necessarily be related to a specific school subject – in this case history. It is through history that children in almost every nation are introduced to archaeology, and the emphasis and inclusion, or indeed exclusion, of certain elements of the past in school curricula can shape the way in which archaeology is perceived in the state. As a study that is concerned with the past and how it is portrayed, it is vitally important to analyse history teaching in Cypriot schools because the presentation of the past to the nation is one of the central homologising factors of nationalist movements. Finally, the presentation of the past is important to all types of government: colonial and postcolonial; capitalist; and socialist. To this end I will present a general discussion of educational theory and discuss how it is relevant to the wider thesis as well as applying it to the study of the past in Cyprus. This will include sections that deal with nationalism and education as well as colonialism/postcolonialism and education. The third section of this chapter will look more specifically at history teaching in Cyprus in primary schools in the colonial and post-colonial periods in order to illustrate the diverse uses to which the past can be put through the medium of primary education.

### **3.2 Nationalism and Education**

Scholars of nationalism, such as Hobsbawm and Anderson, have shown that literacy plays a major role in the development of nationalism.

The progress of schools and universities measures that of nationalism, just as schools and especially universities became its most conscious champions (Hobsbawm 1962: 167).

For Hobsbawm (1962: 168), education leads to the imposition of national languages on the mass of the population and therefore by extension leads to an imposition of a certain



national history/identity. The economy of a technologically developed state required a degree of mass education or literacy and the school also served to “teach all children how to be good subjects and citizens” (Hobsbawm 1987: 150).

In the genesis of nationalism... the role of secular education, and the uses of education for propaganda, are paramount. Indeed, in one sense the ‘nation’ itself is the institutionalisation of secular education, and resembles a ladder of continual exertion for self-improvement and mobility through education (Smith 1979: 37).

The majority of scholars that concern themselves with education in a critical light tend to do so from a structuralist viewpoint. For them, class plays a central role in the organisation and content of state nationalism and it is seen as reproducing the uneven nature of modern society. While that body of scholarship is important to this study, it is important to note that reproduction along nationalist lines tends to be ignored or taken for granted in much of this research. Therefore I have incorporated the educational discussions of the main theorists of nationalism alongside those of educationalists in order to form the basis of this section.

For the proponents of nationalism, education and history were seen as being vital in awakening the people into action for the nationalist cause (Smith 1979: 121). This is partly due to the fact that nationalism has traditionally been a project of the members of society who have been educated along modern western, secular lines (Smith 1979: 25-26).

In Japan the Meiji Restoration of 1868 put a swift end to the declining Tokugawa era and instituted a modern bureaucratic state under the aegis of the restored emperor. The reformers quickly realized the importance of mass public education as the key to a civic nationalism on the French model, and, using the imperial authority, proceeded to inculcate the virtues of a specifically Japanese culture mixed with western arts and technology. The Japanese nationalist model proved highly successful, both in terms of modernizing Japanese society and of establishing a strong nation-state (Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 8).

Equally, education has proved to be a useful tool in the creation of modern states through the morals, language, history and geography it presents to children as unquestionable truths. Schools are involved in the creation of a ‘standardized national character’ (Apple and King 1990: 49), which is achieved through the curriculum and ideology of schools. The meaning of modern secular education is “to create individual and communal identities through a rebirth of the self” (Smith 1981: 106).

## Nationalism

has to function through highly rhetorical forms, through a sentimental culture sufficiently accessible to the lower strata now being called to battle. This is why a romantic culture quite remote from Enlightenment rationalism always went hand-in-hand with the spread of nationalism. The new middle-class intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history; and the invitation card had to be written in a language they understood (Nairn 1994: 75).

Nationalism tends to focus on a particular folk image or culture of the state that is often no longer an everyday reality (Gellner 1994: 58), an example of this being the idealisation of the peasant lifestyle in the Mediterranean (Barker 2005; see also Section 5.2.3 below). With the rise of nationalism, state history becomes of vital importance as it legitimises and creates the illusion of longevity for the nation. The history that finds itself at the forefront of this development includes a national ‘golden age’ and the idealisation of the recent past (Nairn 1994: 75). In addition to this process other homologising factors such as religion can be incorporated into the nationalist ideology in order to provide the nationalist programme with a ready-made community that already has pre-existing ties and traditions (Kedourie 1966: 76-77; Hobsbawm 1987: 162). For instance, the Greek Orthodox church played a crucial role in the nationalist movements of both Greece and Cyprus (see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999a: 127-130).

There has been an increasing realisation in scholarly circles that education is not merely a neutral enterprise but rather that it is “deeply implicated in the politics of culture” (Apple 1990: viii). Schools and school buildings are seen as distributing ideology and knowledge while at the same time producing cultural capital that helps to maintain the political, economic and cultural status quo (Apple 1990: x; Given 1997). By glossing over alternatives schools create a false consciousness (Apple 1990: 7) and a belief that *only* the prevailing social system is viable (Apple 1990: 83; Dale 1989: 46). The knowledge that is selected for inclusion and indeed exclusion from schools is not random but purposely selected: “if we are to understand why the knowledge of only certain groups has been primarily represented in schools, we need to see the social interests which often guided curriculum selection and organisation” (Apple and Franklin 1990: 63). Schools distribute ‘legitimate knowledge’, thereby providing cultural legitimacy to the knowledge of certain groups (Apple and Franklin 1990: 64). In this way schooling helps to maintain unequal social relationships such as those between different classes (Apple 1995: 9), or between different ethnic groups. In Cyprus, school curricula ignore the Turkish Cypriots, except in instances where they can be shown in a negative light (see Polydorou 2002 for negative



representations of Turkish Cypriots in elementary school textbooks and Section 3.6.1.3 below).

“Both the formulation of education policy and the workings of schools are, it is true, activities of the state; both work, in general terms, to reproduce and modify existing social relations” (Donald 1981: 100), particularly those of power (Hogan 1981: 32). For most theorists of education social reproduction along class and power lines is the major focus of the system in modern states. This work has developed predominantly in the UK, France and the USA where the education system is seen as having the reproduction of the division of labour and socialisation along capitalist lines as its main purpose. In Hogan’s (1981) discussion of the education system in the USA, he shows how the primary function of free mass education that first began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was to socialise immigrants into republican and protestant values (a similar ideological element has become prominent once again in the USA’s educational policies) (Hogan 1981: 36; Hobsbawm 1999: 69). For Apple and King (1990: 48) the educational system in the USA has always existed to preserve social privilege and the interests of the ruling class at the expense of the masses. In the most damning report on schooling in the USA, Bowles and Gintis (1981: 46) claim that the *raison d’être* of the system is the reproduction of class relations to the exclusion of all else. What schools do best, in this view, is to produce ‘good citizens’.

Pedagogic work enables the reproduction of the dominant ideology – without resorting to repression or physical coercion (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 36; Apple 1990: 3) – through the creation and maintenance of cultural capital (see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996 on antiquity as cultural capital in contemporary Greece). For Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: 42), primary education and one’s social position form the basis of one’s future habitus and position, as this is where one obtains cultural capital or ‘legitimate knowledge’. By legitimising and conserving the status quo, schools create a self-perpetuating social system where only those ‘in the know’ are able to beat the system (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 102). “Moreover, school culture functioned not only to confirm and privilege students from the dominant classes but also through exclusion and insult to discredit the histories, experiences, and dreams of subordinate groups” (Giroux 1985: xv).

Education is not only a tool of class domination. In the same way that it is used to perpetuate social inequality it can also be used in the creation and promotion of a national consciousness.

This is why, in nationalist theory, education must have a central position in the work of the state. The purpose of education is not to transmit knowledge,



traditional wisdom, and the ways devised by a society for attending to the common concerns; its purpose is rather wholly political, to bend the will of the young to the will of the nation. Schools are instruments of state policy... The purpose of this education is to annex minds to the love of the state, and therefore what is taught and how it is taught, what is suppressed and what is changed, is a matter of state policy (Kedourie 1966: 83-84).

Once a society has adopted a nationalist ideology and has created or selected the traditions, language and history that it is to use as its foundation, education functions to reproduce the status quo. The education system reproduces the wider society through the way that it structures and transmits knowledge and the way that it controls what passes for 'legitimate' knowledge (Hall 1981: 19). "The ruling class – to adopt a current phrase – does not 'rule OK' (but invisibly and surreptitiously) in the classroom" (Hall 1981: 27).

### 3.3 Colonial and Postcolonial Education

The oversupply of English-trained humanistic and technical intelligentsia was particularly acute in India, where it undoubtedly contributed to the rise of Indian nationalism in the late nineteenth century, as well as to the local linguistic nationalisms. In Africa, too, especially in the British territories, education production generally outstripped bureaucratic demand, and generated frustrations and career blockages, helping to radicalise several African intelligentsias (Smith 1981: 117).

Colonial and post-colonial administrations have utilised education in the formation and creation of identity and for this reason it is important to look into how these wider global conditions can have an effect on educational systems at the local level. Mass education became a social requirement with the rise of nationalism, especially from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In societies that were under colonial administration, free mass education was slower to emerge than in the *metropole*; however, some educational systems were in place for those who could afford to pay for them. Moves towards mass education in the colonies increased in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as education was seen as helping to justify colonialism on moral grounds. There were increasing calls for free education in colonised states in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and certain measures were slowly implemented to varying degrees by the colonising governments of the West. The systems implemented often reflected schooling in the *metropole* and were generally based around western principles of scientific secular education, as well as Christian morals and values. Where free, or subsidised, schooling was available, it was limited to elementary education, although there were opportunities for higher and further education for the children of the wealthy and for very gifted children. Colonial education policies helped to shape the independence movements of much of the colonised world largely because their leaders were educated in a metropolitan system and

therefore were able to draw upon the language and principles of Western liberal philosophy in the struggle for independence (Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon 1965b: 14; Hobsbawm 1962: 117; Hobsbawm 1987: 151-152). Following independence, free mass education has generally been implemented in the majority of cases. It can be hard to break with the old system financially and administratively, however, and "a variety of educational practices, institutions and mores live on from the colonial period" (Bray and Packer 1993: 94). One of the simpler ways to alter the education system is to change the existing curriculum to suit the needs of the newly independent nation; this was one of the first manifestations of educational change in the East Caribbean in the post-independence period (Bray and Packer 1993: 94). Postcolonial education can often be involved in the subversion of the 'official knowledges' of colonialism as a reaction to the former regime (McLaren 1995b: 233).

### 3.3.1 Colonial Education in India, Africa and Cyprus

The former colonial nations of India, Cyprus and Africa provide good examples of how education can lead to a postcolonial mentality and how it has been used subsequent to independence. The colonial education systems established in India and Africa were based around western notions of moral and material improvement, as the colonisers felt their subjects to be inferior to them. In India all local knowledge, skills and ideas were removed from the curriculum as symbols of ignorance (Kumar 1991: 14). In India and Africa schools were modelled on the metropolitan education system, and therefore knowledge was at a remove from the everyday lives of the children as it was necessarily set in the culture and knowledge of the coloniser (Kumar 1991: 14). The educational programme in Indian schools was fundamentally moral in orientation and was seen as a means of improving the conduct of the people through Christian ethics (Kumar 1991: 33). In Africa the earliest schools were established by missionaries, and served to produce educated locals who could fill lower government posts. They were to a great extent supported financially by the colonial governments (Cowan *et al.* 1965b: 4). British colonial educators often introduced 'adaptation schools', based on practical education, which tended to be less popular with the local people than those based on western principles as they were seen as attempts to suppress nationalism (Given 1997: 62). The Cypriot education system was initially allowed to develop along Greek and Turkish lines (see Section 3.5 below for further discussion). With the rise of nationalism in Cyprus, the colonial administration advocated the teaching of Cypriot as opposed to Greek history, and increasingly developed and promoted a distinctly Cypriot form of architecture for schools (see Given 1997). It was those colonial subjects who had been educated along western lines who became the leaders of nationalist and/or anti-colonial movements in the colonies.



The educated elites and nationalist/anti-colonial politicians in Africa soon realized that literacy was the key to broader communication with the masses (Cowan *et al.* 1965a: vi) and that through literacy the people could be brought into the activities of the post-World War II political movements on the continent. Nationalism in Greek Cypriot schools was manifested in the selection of Greek curricula as well as in the school buildings themselves, which from the 1920s onwards were increasingly built in the Greek-revival style (Given 1997: 67). In Africa “the popular demand for education gathered speed after World War II with the rise of a mass nationalist movement”, a movement that gathered intensity in the 1950s (Cowan *et al.* 1965b: 3-4). In their political campaigns African leaders accused the colonial governments of withholding funds for education in an attempt to stop the spread of nationalism (Cowan *et al.* 1965b: 17), while the Greek Cypriots saw the intervention of the British Administration in schooling as a direct attack on Hellenism (see Section 3.5.1.1 below; and CO 67/232/1 1929: 90-93). Throughout Africa and Cyprus, the local schoolteacher became the local leader of the nationalist movement (Cowan *et al.* 1965b: 15; for Cyprus see Section 3.5.1 below). In India, those educated in the colonial system found themselves to have a strong sense of group solidarity as they had all been socialised to accept colonial values. This singled them out from the rest of the population and gave them a new and profitable form of cultural capital (Kumar 1991: 23).

For post-colonial African nation states, mass education was a central government policy. It was seen as being a reward to the majority of the population in return for their endeavours for independence, and because one of the central premises of the independence struggles in Africa was that they would result in free mass education (Cowan *et al.* 1965a: v). This was important for the political parties and the general population as it was seen to provide a much needed passport to development while at the same time it could be used to create a sense of the nation (Cowan *et al.* 1965b: 3), often in reaction to the identity that was promoted by the colonial administration. For most post-colonial administrations the real virtues of education are “those which make a people’s culture flourish and affirm a nation’s personality” (Touré 1965: 132). Following independence there were attempts to ‘Africanize’ school curricula, although the majority of educated Africans were concerned that the metropolitan system of education be retained in great part so as to ensure continuing high standards (Cowan *et al.* 1965b: 5). This was also the case in India where the political leaders continued to back a system remarkably similar to the colonial one. Despite attempts to ‘Hindu-ize’ the curriculum since independence, the system and forms of knowledge on which it is based have stayed relatively unchanged (Kumar 1991: 117). In India (as well as most other former colonies) school curricula, pedagogy and valid knowledge have all been affected by the colonial experience (Kumar 1991: 13).



The basic structures of knowledge and the styles of transmission that were determined to be appropriate for educational use under colonial rule continued to shape education both through the independence struggle and after it (Kumar 1991: 14).

In Cyprus, on the other hand, education has consistently been based on Greek and Turkish models, from the colonial period until the present.

### **3.4 The Role of History in State Educational Policies**

School history has been used at various times in Europe as a means of state socialization, geared to the teaching of the national past to generate an identification with the nation and the state (Phillips 1998: 2).

Historicist intellectuals... proclaim the need for education through self-discovery, and the need for self-discovery, individual and communal, through secular education. For the intellectuals, education is the sole and indispensable route to a true understanding of self and hence to self-fulfilment. But there is no 'self' outside the context of historic community. For we are the products of our histories, and these are pre-eminently communal – or ethnic histories. Everything real and true in the individual self derives from the distinctive ethos and character of the history of the community to which the individual belongs and of which he forms an integral part. Education, therefore, derives its true meaning and purpose from the unique character of the community; while, conversely, the community can only 'realise itself', 'discover its identity' and understand its true worth through a secular education which will unfold to its members cultural self-understanding (Smith 1981: 126-127).

As noted above, schools are central in creating and maintaining a certain degree of hegemony in modern states through the subjects they teach and the moral code that they enforce. Through state schooling we learn what society considers to be the correct way of conducting one's life and certain routine practices become accepted as norms (for instance forming orderly queues at every opportunity in Britain). By accepting the idea that schools act to socialise our children, there must be a realisation that the content of school lessons has the potential to be manipulated or contested. At the very least there should be an awareness that the content of schooling has everything to do with the perceptions of those who are in control of the curriculum. History is a compulsory core school subject in most states, at least for elementary schooling if not for one's entire school career. History and folklore are central to the state's construction of its own identity and they also play a central role in an individual's conceptions of identity. If the state controls what is taught as history then to a certain extent it also has the power to control the citizenry's comprehension of the past. It is

important to look at the way that states present their past to children in order to gauge how nationalism and postcolonialism are played out in the pedagogical arena.

As we saw in Section 2.2.1 above nationalistic history and archaeology serve “to bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups” (Trigger 1984: 360). They also serve to create a sense of community and identity. The way that history is taught to school children can greatly affect their understanding of the past and of how the world works. “Nazi Germany is particularly important for reminding us of school history’s capacity to shape both individual and collective minds” (Phillips 1998: 2).

History has been given a greater or lesser role in the understanding of human affairs from other perspectives, but for historicism history is the only way to understand a society. History is not ‘evidence’ on which theories could be tested or a charter drawn up from which to justify decisions. It is not a constraint on the present or a rich profusion of the various forms human nature has assumed. Rather it is the only way to apprehend the spirit of a community; it is the principal way of learning the language of a particular society (Breuilly 1994: 106).

It is through subjects like history that children are assimilated into the society that they grow up in. This is where they are taught what makes up the unique nature of their state or group identity, and to love and respect this. Through school history, we learn what the state considers to be vital information and the correct interpretations of past events that are considered to have shaped our society, and to a certain extent we are taught the ‘correct’ version of a seemingly monolithic past (although this depends on the methods employed by various states: see Section 3.4.1 below). The way that the past is presented through language can be very indicative of a state’s preconceptions and attitudes to the past, and these inevitably affect the past that the children, and most adults, of a state come to know (Husbands 1996: 37). A good example of this is the way that the events that occurred in Cyprus in 1974 are described. In the Republic of Cyprus and Greece they are seen as an invasion while in Turkey and the TRNC they are described as a ‘peace operation’.

### 3.4.1 History and the New Right in Britain

History is created for particular purposes (Phillips 1998: 131).

In order to expand on the importance of history to the state I shall briefly discuss the introduction of the National Curriculum in Britain to illustrate the perceived importance of the subject to national governments and political parties.

Until the early 1990s there was no written curriculum for history teaching in British schools. Children were taught what teachers felt to be important and increasingly in the 1960s and



1970s there was a move away from a monolithic to a more open history that was about opinions, biases and people's daily lives more than any one true past. In this system (called the Schools History Project) children were taught to look at things from a number of perspectives and to try and empathise with actors from the past. With the rise of the New Right and Thatcherite policies in Britain there was an increasing belief in the need for a state-controlled curriculum. For the New Right history was to be taught as an unquestioned truth, and the new history approach of teaching it as biased opinions and viewpoints was wrong (Phillips 1998: 34). To this end, the New Right felt that British, and in particular English history, should be taught to children in British schools to ensure that they were able to draw from a common heritage: "the aim of the history teacher was therefore simply to introduce pupils to the reality and certainty of the past as it existed" (Phillips 1998: 36). In Britain and France in the 1970s and 1980s the New Right "were engaged in a cultural battle against the post-war social democratic consensus. Education provided a vital field for this sort of cultural struggle" (Phillips 1998: 26). For neo-conservatives the nation should have a sense of continuity, common culture, shared heritage and rooted-ness in the past. History was vital in creating a common culture for the people of a nation (Phillips 1998: 27). With a move away from the Schools History Project to the National Curriculum there was a realisation among the British educational establishment that content was hugely important to history and those employed by the state to develop the new National Curriculum saw history as potentially providing the foundation for citizenship and democracy (Phillips 1998: 52). For the Right history is national property and decisions taken on history can affect the national self-image, sense of heritage and purpose (Phillips 1998: 86).

### 3.5 Education in Cyprus

Education in Cyprus has been based exclusively on Greek and Turkish models since the Ottoman period. While the Ottoman government only supported Muslim schools, the Greek schools were funded and to a great extent run by the Greek Orthodox church. When the British took over administration of Cyprus in 1878 they insisted on education in the vernacular and limited attempts to provide state-run schools to replace existing Greek and Turkish ones. This action has ultimately served to compound the ethnic divisions on the island. While there was increasing investment in primary education by the British government, the secondary sector was largely left to its own devices. There were increasing incentives offered to secondary schools to adopt a more metropolitan model but these were largely ignored by the Greek Cypriot schools, and never became state policy. It is still the case that the education system in the Republic of Cyprus owes much to Greek education. There is an emphasis on important events in the 'Hellenic' world and very little attention is paid to other nations, countries or groups in the history curriculum (see Appendix 1 for



translations of history curricula from 1886 to the present). The current history curriculum does not appear to have moved along the lines of 'new' history teaching where interpretative skills, the importance of bias and empathy are taught alongside accepted versions of the past. The predominant focus is on Greek-ness and the plight of Greeks and Greek Cypriots from the classical period to the present.

### 3.5.1 Education in Cyprus under the British

Fresh generations of youth seditiously indoctrinated with disloyalty had been launched by the secondary schools (in Cyprus non-Governmental) on all professions; and, outside the Government service and the realm of Government influence and activity, every branch of public life in the Orthodox community was in some way allied to the cause of union (CO67 243/1 1932: 97 Report by Sir Ronald Storrs to P. Cunliffe-Lister on the Reasons and Background for the Outbreak in Cyprus in 1931).

Greek school committees dating back to the 1830s were involved in educating the Greek Cypriot youth, with primary and secondary education being promoted by local efforts (Demetriadou 1998: 46). These schools were generally supported, run and maintained by the Greek Orthodox church, and occasionally parents were asked to make small contributions to their running (Demetriadou 1998: 48). The focus was on teaching children reading, writing and arithmetic as well as some geography and history. In 1878 there were 65 Muslim schools and 93 Christian schools on the island (Sleight 1950: 3). There was no accredited Gymnasium (secondary school) on the island until 1893 (Demetriadou 1998: 52) although there was a Hellenic school that served the needs of post-elementary education.

Under the British each religious community had its own separate schools staffed by members of their own faith. Secondary schools were only indirectly controlled by the government with Greek Gymnasias following the curriculum set in Greece (Sleight 1950: 19) and Turkish Lycée following the curriculum set in Turkey. The Elementary Education Law of 1954 provided free elementary education for all children of the larger religious communities aged between four and 14 (CO 926/157 1954-56: 79). While this was never made compulsory under the British, towards the end of the period at least 90% of children attended school long enough to achieve basic literacy and nearly every village had its own primary school. Secondary education was made available to all but was not free, although the fees charged could have been waived in cases of poverty (CO 926/157 1954-56: 79). By 1955 elementary educational facilities were directly controlled by the government: teachers were paid and the curriculum was set by it, and teaching was in the vernacular language of

the children. Secondary schools were privately run and controlled, with a certain amount of control exercised by the Cyprus government through legislation and inspection (CO 926/149 1954-56: 41). Separate schools were provided for each community (Sleight 1955: 8) and all elementary schools were financed through government aid and local taxation (CO 926/50 1952: 36).

Secondary education is to a certain extent beyond the scope of this study as it was not directly controlled by the colonial government and it was not compulsory until after independence. Nonetheless some discussion of the system is necessary in order to set the scene for the discussion of education on Cyprus in general. For the British administration the high dependence on Greek educational systems, curricula, and to a certain extent teachers, was a continuing problem, although they were not prepared to spend sufficient funds on the island to eradicate it. For them the secondary education ‘is a good education of a bad kind’ and the Cypriots, being Europeans, were not to be easily duped into giving it up (CO 67/332/5 1948: 15). It did become increasingly clear to the British administration, however, that Greek national sentiments and agitation for *enosis* and against the colonial government were strongly tied to education, especially Greek education in the secondary schools, as illustrated from the following communication from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Acting Governor in November 1932:

It appears to me, therefore that these secondary schools may be at the root of our problem in Cyprus. They mould the teacher (to say nothing of the rest of the ‘intelligentsia’) and the general atmosphere and instruction which the teacher absorbs in the secondary schools will, I suppose, be imparted by him to his primary school pupils (CO 67/246/13 1932: 19-20).

In response the Acting Governor wrote: “neither the training nor the atmosphere in the Gymnasiums have a breath of British ideals” (CO 67/246/13 1932: 5). This problem was confounded by the fact that elementary school teachers were trained in the secondary schools until the establishment of a government-run teacher training college in 1937.

#### 3.5.1.1 Education and Hellenic Propaganda

We have in the Greek community of Cyprus a people passionately attached to Greek culture and to the practices of modern Athens. They regard themselves as the descendants of the ancient Hellenes, and though they are ready to admit to their shame that some of us are better Hellenists than some of them they regard us on the whole as northern barbarians who have picked up some scraps of their ancestral culture. They fear that we want to rob them of some of this culture by modifying their secondary curriculum: and they will resist to the end (CO



67/332/5 1948: 14-15 report on 'Some Aspects of Cyprus Education' by W.E. Ward, 18 August 1948).

In order to counteract the pan-Hellenic propaganda in schools Governor Storrs suggested a reform of the educational system in a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 16 October 1929. Preliminary steps to be taken included the "assumption of control of the Elementary School teachers by the educational department of the Colony" (CO 67/232/1 1929: 154). "There is no good reason for postponing the re-organization and much harm might result from delay" (CO 67/232/1 1929: 155). Legislation to this effect would modify the status of teachers, "rendering them amenable to the Department of Education for appointment, transfer, promotion and dismissal, and consequently debarred, like government servants, from all interference in politics" (CO 67/232/1 1929: 157). This law was passed and provoked much protest from the Greek community:

The Greek people of Cyprus, like every other people with a civilisation and a national conscience of its own, particularly when it happens not to enjoy political liberty, places great store by its schools, where it claims that its children in the process of education should receive such training and culture as to develop into good and virtuous citizens adorned, amongst other things, with the virtue of love for their race, country and liberty... The haste with which the Government amended the Education Law... is regarded as an indication of the Government's intentions to enslave its education by holding in the hollow of its hands a teacher, who is the very soul of the national education of the Greek boys (CO 67/232/1 1929: 90-93 letter to Lord Passfield from the Archbishop of Cyprus and 8 elected members of the Legislative Council dated 17 December 1929).

In addition to these reforms, the colonial administration commissioned a number of educational buildings that were self-consciously designed in a Cypriot style in opposition to the Greek-revival architecture that had become popular from the 1920s onwards. A principle of adaptation through agricultural training was also introduced in an attempt to counteract the Hellenic nature of the curriculum (Given 1997: 70). Following the disturbances of October 1931 the need to bring elementary education (particularly Greek education) under strict governmental control was felt to be even more pressing (CO 67/246/12 1932: 115):

The curriculum at present enforced in the schools has slight regard for the educational requirements of the population, the text books are chosen for their value as instruments of propaganda rather than of instruction; days are fixed as holidays which are of more proper interest to Greek citizens than to Cypriot British subjects (CO 67/246/12 1932: 116 letter from Governor Storrs to Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister dated 7 March 1932).





Figure 3.1: Greek Cypriot boys celebrating Flag Day at the Pancyprian Gymnasium at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Pantelidou and Hadjikosti 2002: 214)

The measures proposed included direct control of curricula, textbooks, holidays, and appointment to the town committees, with the control of teachers to be put in the hands of the Governor (CO 67/246/12 1932: 115-116). Textbooks and readers printed and published in Greece were no longer acceptable for use under the new legislation (although readers were retained under protest with some modifications as there were no suitable local books available). In place of textbooks teachers were obliged to write lesson plans on the blackboard for each class except Greek and Cypriot history, grammar and arithmetic, where locally produced textbooks were eventually employed (Spyridakis 1954: 55-56). A ban was also imposed in all Greek schools on the teaching of Greek history, songs, and singing of the national anthem, as well as raising the Greek flag (Fig 3.1) and displaying pictures of Greek heroes for more than ten years after the disturbances. The final law did allow some control to remain in the hands of the local bodies, namely those relating to finances.

It is realised here that such a measure, if enforced for sufficient time, will, as far as the inhabitants of the island are concerned, arrest and defeat the irridentist propaganda which has been steadily inculcated from Athens to the Cypriot Greeks through the medium of the local ecclesiastical and educational authorities (CO 67/249/13 1933: 10 letter from Patrick Ramsey to Sir John Simon dated 19 April 1933).

Elementary school teachers were brought under the direct control of the colonial government in 1929, and the curriculum was solely in the hands of the Boards of Education for each religious community until 1933 when the government enforced the Elementary Education Law of 1933 that placed central control of elementary education in the hands of the governor. This legislation included the publication of a new curriculum that was subsequently revised in 1949 (Sleight 1950: 18), as well as central control over school buildings and furniture (Given 1997: 65). Despite the widespread ban on Hellenic influences in schools, textbooks were still provided by the Greek Ministry of Education as there were



no suitable locally produced ones. As late as 1949 there were attempts to create new textbooks on the island rather than importing Greek ones in order to sever the links between the Cypriots and Greece (CO 67/332/2 1949: 36). These ultimately failed because of time and money constraints and also because of local protests regarding this matter.

To complete the anti-Hellenic policy of the Government the Boy Scout movement was also introduced into the elementary schools. Young pupils were conscripted for this purpose and were enrolled in Scout troops, which in spite of the brilliant idea behind the Boy Scout movement, were formed in Cyprus to serve English policy. For this reason Greek Boy Scout troops which existed before were forbidden and the enrolment of all boys to the English ones using the English flag, English signs, the English national anthem and the oath to the English king, was made compulsory (Spyridakis 1954: 25).

As this discussion of education in Cyprus under the British shows, it was very different to that usually employed in other colonial situations. The complicated relationship between liberal Philhellenism and dominion over a seemingly Greek land was part of the reason for this (Given 1997: 60). The British establishment was educated along the same lines as the Greek Cypriots, and it was therefore almost impossible to represent this type of education as being inferior to an imposed metropolitan model. While the British introduced 'adaptational education' in an attempt to divert the children's attention away from Hellenic education and its nationalist sentiments, it was unsuccessful as a counter to the *enosis* movement (Given 1997: 70-71). It is ironic that the relative freedom of the Greek Cypriots to formulate their own curricula in the early years of British administration led to the violent nationalist and anti-colonial sentiments that caused the burning of Government House in 1931 and the EOKA uprising of 1955-1959.

### 3.5.2. Education in the Republic of Cyprus

The public educational system of the Republic of Cyprus is highly centralised with school principals and teachers being appointed, transferred and promoted by the Educational Service Commission (an 'independent' body appointed by the President). The Ministry of Education introduces laws and prescribes syllabi, curricula and textbooks. Primary education is free in the Republic of Cyprus and was made compulsory in 1962 (Pashiardis 1994: 117-118), while secondary education was made free in 1982 (Polydrou 2002: 125). Public education in Cyprus is in the main financed by the government and local authorities with the poorer rural schools being heavily subsidised by the government (Pashiardis 1994: 119). In 1994 schooling costs amounted to 13% of the state's budget (Pashiardis 1994: 123).

Cypriots were taught ancient texts not through their content but through their form and, on a different level, taught to memorize dates of battles and names of heroes instead of being required to examine the facts critically in the light of the dialectics of history (Ioannou 2001: 29).

A History of Cyprus was first introduced to secondary schools in 1977 following a feeling of betrayal amongst Cypriots towards mainland Greeks (Stamatakis 2001: 77). “The formation of national memory is crystallized in various ways: in political rhetorics and school textbooks, in language and literature, in public rituals and national holidays” (Stamatakis 2001: 82). In Cyprus “nationalist ideology has created a political context through which it influences educational policy and perpetuates itself” (Persianis 1994: 89). Indeed a Hellenic-centred education formed one of the basic points of the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. This policy is supported by the majority of the educational establishment in Cyprus despite its chauvinistic connotations in a multi-cultural society (Persianis 1994: 90-91).

Following the signing of the Zurich treaty in 1959, education was placed under the control of the Greek Educational Council in preparation for the foundation of the Republic. This body immediately Hellenised elementary school education by: abolishing English teaching; incorporating Greek nationalist elements into the curriculum, which include the hoisting of the Greek flag in schools, incorporation of Greek holidays into the school year, celebrating the Greek heroes of 1821 and 1955-59, and singing Greek national songs; and the allocation of more time to the teaching of Greek language and history (Persianis 1994: 92-93). From 1960 onwards there was a strong emphasis on Greek connections in education and the media in order to foster national sentiments. Schools were made to feel that they should encourage a strong faith in Greece and Greek ideals while at the same time trying to instil a spirit of tolerance and reconciliation towards the Turkish Cypriots (Persianis 1994: 96). Education is seen as politically significant to the majority of the political parties on Cyprus as well as to the Church. Indeed the current Archbishop has consistently supported nationalist policies to the extent that he has claimed – in sermons, speeches and circulars – that the main aim of education should be the cultivation of a strong fighting spirit among the youth in order to liberate the northern territory from the Turks. Schooling in Cyprus along Greek nationalistic lines serves to fulfil an ideological and cultural function, making other lifestyles and identities seem to be inconceivable to the students. “Political education ensures that the young people have knowledge of their identity, which is considered essential for their national survival” (Persianis 1994: 102). For both communities education is indivisible from national identity.



Nationalistic ideology is taught in schools through lessons in Greek literature, history and religion, and through national holidays celebrated at schools. Apart from these direct means, nationalist ideology is maintained and fuelled indirectly through the influence of the political circumstances and the political context which were produced in Cyprus basically. Conversely, the aims and content of education are influenced as much by national ideology as by the general climate of insecurity and fear caused by the national vicissitudes of the past forty years (Persianis 1994: 111).

For the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), the primary schools of Cyprus have a number of important functions. These include: the establishment of the national and ethnic identities of the children; the development of social understanding as well as fighting spirit; and respect for Cypriot cultural heritage and human rights (MOEC 2004b: 2). One of the recent developments in the primary schools is the *Cyprus-Aegean, Myth-History-Art* educational programme. This was first introduced in 2001 and is intended as a means for the pupils to “discover... the wealth of the History, the Art and Culture of Cyprus and the Aegean Sea and to develop cultural consciousness” (MOEC 2004: 11). This programme is run in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture of Greece. It is clear, therefore, that the formal close links between Cyprus and Greece in education are still fostered.

### 3.6 Curricula, Nationalism and Colonialism: History

Prior to the disturbances of October 1931, education in Cyprus was based almost entirely on Greek and Turkish lines. The curricula that were followed and in some cases even distributed by the British government were taken directly from Greek and Turkish curricula. History teaching in the Greek elementary schools was based on Greek as opposed to Cypriot history. From 1933 onwards, elementary schools followed a curriculum set by the colonial government. This curriculum covered the children’s own language, arithmetic, geography, history, nature study, physical training and hygiene. Greek and Turkish language readers were imported from Greece and Turkey (Sleight 1950: 20) but there was increased control on other readers as they were felt to be too nationalistic. In response to the Proposed Elementary School Curriculum of 1935 the Orthodox-Christian Board of Education was unhappy with the changes that were suggested relating to geography and history. They felt that history should be taught on a chronological basis with ancient history being centred around Greece and medieval history around Byzantium. While their objections were primarily based on there being too much workload, their suggestions did nothing to alleviate this. “It seems obvious that the motive of the Board is to perpetuate as far as possible the

present system by which the minds of the pupils are turned almost entirely to Ancient Greece and Byzantium” (SA1/731/1934: 122 Report from the Director of Education to the Colonial Secretary 24 December 1934). The recommendations of the board regarding the history curriculum were rejected. The curriculum was set up to be common to all races on the island and in this way “it sought... to do away with any racial difference... and for the impression to be created of a Cypriot nationality... In this way it was hoped that the Hellenism of Cyprus would disappear” (Spyridakis 1954: 18). Greek history was no longer to be taught as a separate lesson but was incorporated into world history:

In this way the teaching of the history of the cradle of humanity was in substance discontinued in the new curriculum for the Greek Schools of the Island and was confined to the minimum as the history of a Balkan country, Bulgaria for example. In no other country in the world was the teaching of Greek History attacked with such a mania as in the schools of Cyprus by the new curriculum of 1935. And this quite independently of the fact that Greek History should be taught to Greek children of the Island as their national history (Spyridakis 1954: 18).

Indeed, the content of this curriculum focused mainly on the history of European colonisers and their colonies, particularly those of Britain in the Near East (SA1/731/1934).

With the Elementary School Curriculum of 1949 the almost total ban on the teaching of Greek history was lifted but there continued to be a strong focus on world, and in particular western, history (SA1/1392/1949). The history curriculum in this period (1949 to independence) was split into world history and the history of Greece and Cyprus, and was arranged in a chronological rather than thematic order.

No mention is made of national education, which is the first condition in the education of all peoples, or of the preserving of the traditions of the people, which is also recognised by the United Nations Organisation to which Britain, the holder of Cyprus, belongs. On the contrary, the new curriculum seeks, in the same way as the old, to create in the pupils a Cypriot national conscience as against their own Greek or other national consciousness (Spyridakis 1954: 22-23).

While the teaching of Greek history had been reinstated to a degree, for nationalists it did not serve to “promote the national consciousness of the pupils, but to create colourless cosmopolitans” (Spyridakis 1954: 23).

As stated above, following independence there was a move towards a strong Hellenic identity in schooling. This can be seen from the subjects included in the history curriculum of the island at the present time. From the third year onwards there is a focus on Greek



history and its relationship to Cyprus. The curriculum follows a chronological order starting in the Neolithic period and continuing until the recent past (around 1978). The focus on connections with Greece can be found throughout the curriculum but becomes increasingly important with reference to the more recent past and the later elementary school years. The history of Greece is increasingly taught in conjunction with the history of Cyprus in the fifth and sixth years of elementary education (see Appendix 1 for my translation of elementary curricula from 1886 to the present).

While the textbooks closely follow the set curriculum, there are contradictions between its aims and targets and the actual history taught to the students. The general aim of the history curriculum is “to help the students to know and respect the historical life and heritage of the civilisation of Cyprus and Greece and to formulate a national consciousness as members of the Greek race and as citizens of the partly-occupied Cyprus” (MOEC 2002: 133). The targets of the curriculum and the content of the textbooks continue the focus on Hellenic connections and elements in Cyprus and appear to be deeply nationalist while paying lip-service to multi-culturalism. Almost all the targets of the history curriculum as well as the text of the school books focus on the importance of developing a love of the nation and Hellenism in the students.

Reference to historical methods of analysis is made in the targets of the curriculum but these are never clearly delineated in the textbooks or the content of the curriculum. For instance, one of the targets is “to develop skills, such as the distinction between fact and opinion, critical analysis etc, within the study of history themes” (MOEC 2002: 134). Close analysis of the curriculum and the two elementary history textbooks produced no clear attempts to put this aim into practice. Indeed, I would argue that the historical narratives of the textbooks are actually detrimental to it. The past is presented in the form of unquestionable facts, while no alternative opinions are expressed. Another target relates to the need to “respect the achievements of other countries and peoples ... to develop positive attitudes towards them” (MOEC 2002: 134) This is clearly not the case for all peoples and certainly not the British or the Turks who are routinely demonised in the textbooks. Most worryingly, one of the targets stresses the need for the students to “understand the misfortunes that happened to the Hellenic race due to dissent and to place the ethnic/national interest above personal interest” (MOEC 2002: 135). This aim is certainly well represented in the textbooks and seemingly contradicts the aim of respecting other countries and races. The importance of Hellenic nationalism is therefore clearly stated as a fundamental aim of elementary education in the Republic of Cyprus.



In order to assess the connections that are made between Greece and Cyprus the following section takes the form of a review of the current elementary school books of the history of Cyprus. The analysis will focus on the three main periods that are systematically referred to as holding the key to Greek-ness on the island: the Late Bronze Age, the classical period; and the recent past which is also represented as a folk/peasant lifestyle in some instances.

### 3.6.1 Elementary Textbooks of the Republic of Cyprus



Figure 3.2: Cover of *Istoria tis Kyprou apo tin Lithini Epochi os tin Epochi tou Christianismou* (Ioannides et al. n.d.)

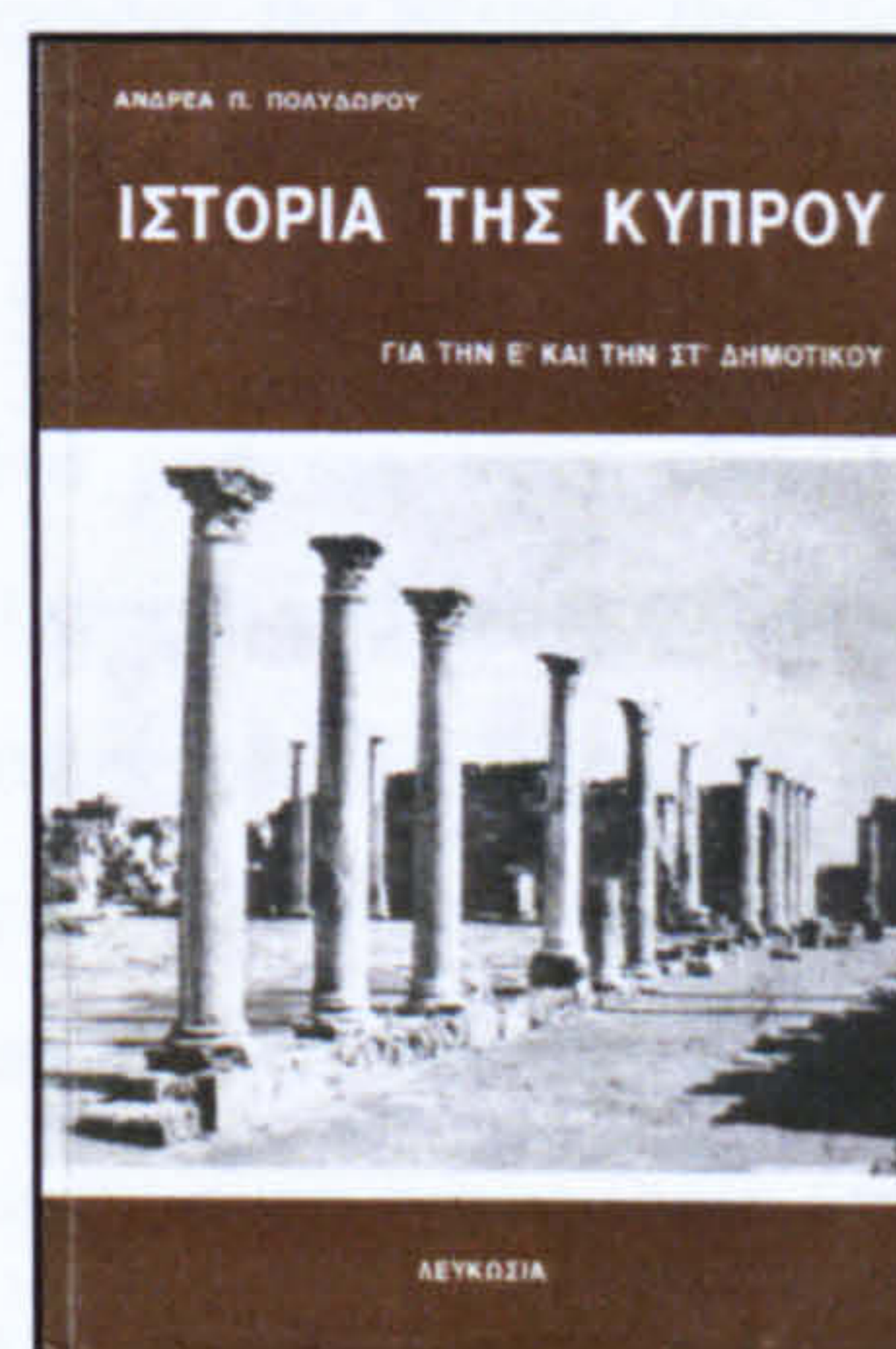


Figure 3.3: Cover of *Istoria tis Kyprou gia tin E' kai St' Dymotikou* (Polydorou 2002)

The first textbook to be discussed is *Istoria tis Kyprou apo tin Lithini Epochi os tin Epochi tou Christianismou* (History of Cyprus: from the Stone Age to the Christian period) (Ioannides et al. n.d – this will subsequently be referred to as HC1). This book is aimed at young primary school children and looks at the history of Cyprus from the Stone Age until the Christian period. The front cover is illustrated with a scene from a Mycenaean krater found at Enkomi (Fig 3.2) and the back cover with a picture of the classical theatre at Salamis, while the front inside cover shows columns and steps from the Gymnasium at Kourion. The book takes the form of a story with exercises that relate to every section. The discussion of the Neolithic period introduces the concept of archaeology, the very distant past and the introduction of agriculture and organised society to the children. It then goes on to discuss the Bronze Age and the Iron Age and systematically goes through the history of Cyprus up to the Roman period and the introduction of Christianity. This book presents the archaeological past to the children as an unquestionable and unquestioned truth. It appears to provide a brief introduction to the history topics for the third and fourth year and it may be for this reason that it seems to lack a chronological flow. In essence this book gives the children the basic elements of their history but does not go on to show connections and cause and effect, and neither does it keep chronological evidence in the relevant section. In



all it seems to be a rather confused offering that serves the purpose of associating Greeks and a love of Greece with the past of Cyprus.

The second book under discussion is *Istoria tis Kyprou gia tin E' kai St' Dymotikou* (History of Cyprus for 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> year primary students) (Polydourou 2002 – this will subsequently be referred to as HC2). This book starts with an investigation of the Romans in Cyprus and then goes on to discuss the Byzantine period, the Crusades, the Franks, the Turks, the British and finally the Republic of Cyprus up to 1978. The front cover is illustrated with a photograph of a colonnade from the Gymnasium at Salamis (Fig 3.3). The book follows the current curriculum for primary school classes five and six very closely. The history presented in this book tends to be based on the great works and deeds of individuals and the elite rather than on shedding light on how ordinary people lived. It fails to provide conflicting or alternative views of the past but again presents history in a monolithic and unquestionable way. The underlying focus is on connections between Cyprus and Greece; indeed Greece is always introduced into the discussion even when there appears to be no apparent reason for it. We are told, for instance, that there was some migration from Cyprus to Greece because the Venetian period was extremely harsh (HC2: 68). This seems to serve no other purpose than to state the harsh conditions under the Venetians and to remind the readers of Greek ethnicity of the Cypriots.

### 3.6.1.1 The Bronze Age

In the discussion of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus (HC1: 45-64) the children are introduced to the theory that the Mycenaeans colonised the island after the Trojan War and there is a brief discussion of the importance of the Mycenaeans to the future history of Cyprus. In addition the myth that relates particular Mycenaean tribes to the foundation of the ancient city-kingdoms of Cyprus is introduced here. A discussion of the Cypriot city-kingdoms with a particular focus on Enkomi and Kition follows. The discussion of Enkomi is interesting as it is claimed to have been the first city established by the Mycenaeans and called Alassia (HC1: 55). Following an account of some of the more prestigious finds, the children are told that the city was used as a trading centre for Mycenaeans and others before it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1425 B.C., and was later rebuilt at Salamis (HC1: 56-60). The discussion of Kition focuses on the trading aspect of the site as well as its temples and copper workshops. As with the discussion of Enkomi there is a strong focus on prestige goods and little in the way of information about how people actually lived or evidence that might actually indicate that the Mycenaeans went to Cyprus (HC1: 61-64).



In the discussion of the Bronze Age as well as that of the classical period, the children are continually reminded of the Mycenaean/Achaean colonisation of the island through references to the Achaean founders of the ancient city-kingdoms of Cyprus. They are thus introduced to the ‘golden age’ of the island presented in all manner of material relating to Cyprus. The reference to a ‘golden age’ that dates to the Late Bronze Age gives Cyprus a Greek identity spanning more than 3000 years, thereby negating alternative claims to the land of Cyprus or the identity of its people. In this way the legitimacy of the Greek Cypriots is reproduced through schooling and history. The evidence for a Mycenaean colonisation, as represented in elementary education, is based entirely on the association of city-kingdoms with Trojan War veterans (as well as some photographs of Mycenaean kraters found in Cyprus – see Fig 3.4).



Figure 3.4: Mycenaean kraters as depicted in HC1 (HC1: 47)

There are no attempts to discuss the archaeological evidence for a Mycenaean presence on the island in these books even though the archaeological finds of the classical period are frequently used as evidence of a Roman presence on Cyprus. This may relate to the complicated (and, some would argue, questionable) nature of the archaeological evidence as well as the unquestioned nature of this colonisation (see Leriou 2002 for further discussion of the Mycenaean colonisation as *factoid*).

In terms of a postcolonial mentality in Cyprus, the Mycenaean colonisation is an important element of the anti-colonial development of the Greek Cypriots. It continues the traditional reaction to a British (or Turkish) *other* by staking a claim to a culture, civilisation and place far older than any claimed by the British. In addition, the colonisation continues in the tradition of education, established in the early colonial period, that focused on the very ancient Greek identity that existed in Cyprus. This tradition grew in strength during the course of the Cypriot anti-colonial struggle. The unfortunate fact that the Greek Cypriot history curriculum has not moved on from this period may relate to the political



uncertainties of the island, although a number of teachers and educationalists from both communities are actively seeking to present a more multi-vocal approach to education on the island (Association for Historical Dialogue and Research).

### 3.6.1.2 The Classical Period

The discussion of the Iron Age in HC1 begins with the claim that Cypriots learnt to use iron from the Achaeans who had come to Cyprus after the Trojan War (HC1: 65). The Iron Age is presented in this book through a number of case studies beginning with a section on religion, which focuses on the Temple of Aphrodite (Fig 3.5), the Adonia (festival for Adonis) and temples of the classical style (the illustration given is of a classical temple at Aegina) (Fig 3.6) (HC1: 67-69).



Figure 3.5: Temple of Aphrodite (HC1: 67)

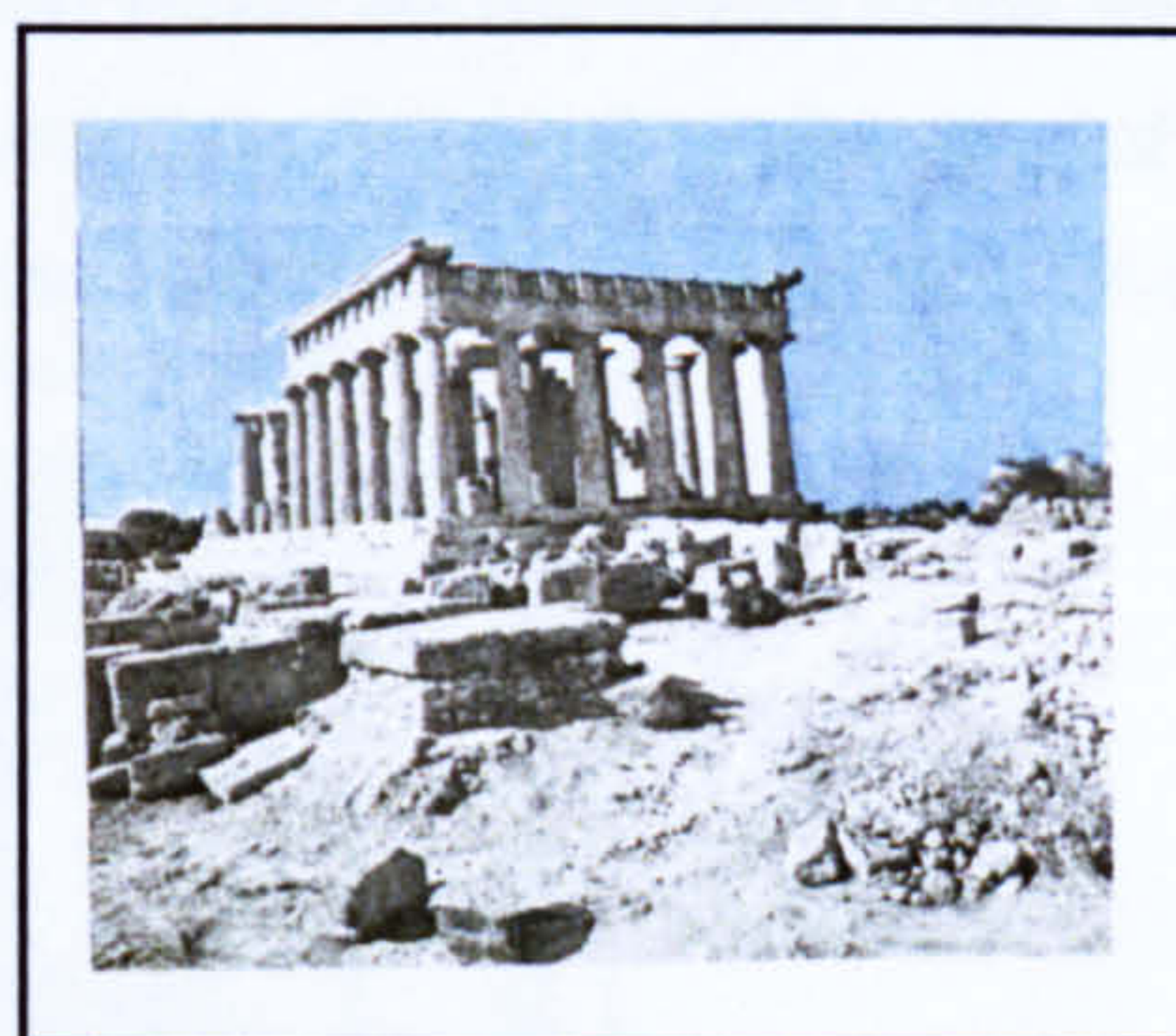


Figure 3.6: Temple at Aegina (HC1: 69)

This gives the false impression to the children that all temples were of a certain type and that the Cypriot temples were fundamentally the same as those found in Greece. The Greeks are yet again mentioned as having come to Cyprus after the Trojan war, this time in relation to religion:

Later the Greeks came to Cyprus. And indeed more came after the Trojan War. These people believed in the 12 gods of Olympus. With time the Cypriots believed in the Greek gods too. Slowly, the Greeks and the majority of the Cypriots mixed together and became one race. This race was Greek. It spoke Greek (HC1: 72).

The religious discussion is followed by a very brief (with one or two pages for each group) synopsis of other groups that were important in Cyprus's past: the Phoenicians; the Assyrians; the Egyptians; and the Persians (HC1: 80-89). Any positive or long-lasting impact of these cultures is never emphasised, however, and they are never shown to be as influential as the Mycenaeans.

The Persians are depicted as evil overlords who took advantage of the poor people of Cyprus, who eventually found strength and a leader in Onesilos of Salamis, although his attempt to free Cyprus failed (HC1: 88-94). Much is made of the Amathusian position in



favour of the Persians, an example which may be related to the rhetoric of recent Cypriot history whereby the Greeks were held back in their attempts at ‘independence’ from Britain (or rather, *enosis*) by the Turkish Cypriots. Following Onesilos’ defeat

the life of the inhabitants became much harder and the worst thing was that the Persians and the Phoenicians tried to make the Cypriots forget their Greek language and religion. But they did not manage it (HC1: 93).

An extensive discussion of the city of Salamis follows, which begins:

when we talk of Salamis Teukros comes to mind. Teukros was a Greek who fought in the war at Troy. They say that when the Trojan War ended he came to Cyprus and built a city. They called it Salamis (HC1: 96).

Some of the main architectural features of the classical period are introduced to the students through the remains of this ancient city (Fig 3.7), and there is a brief explanation of their functions – although these date to the Roman rather than the classical period (HC1: 97-100).



Figure 3.7: Gymnasium at Salamis as depicted in HC1 (HC1: 97)

The section on Salamis culminates in a discussion of Evagoras. We are told that the Phoenicians controlled the city for many years and made the people poor through excessively high taxation. Their supposed attempts to cut the ties between Greece and Cyprus are again recounted.

The inhabitants of Salamis had friendly relations with the Greeks who lived in Greece. They had the same religion, they spoke the same language and they had the same customs. The Phoenicians did not see these relations in a good light. They wanted the Cypriots to be isolated. In this way they would always have them enslaved. For this reason they forbade Greeks from Greece from visiting Salamis (HC1: 102).

In response to this Evagoras, a son of the royal family, decided to ‘free’ the people of Salamis from the Phoenician yoke and this led to a renaissance in the city (HC1: 102).



Evagoras eventually fought to free the whole of Cyprus from the Persians by making all the kingdoms join together, but was unsuccessful in his attempt (HC1: 103). Evagoras' lasting legacy was that he made the island Greek.

The Persians and the Phoenicians stopped trying to make the Cypriots take their side and to forget that they were brothers with the Greeks. The Cypriots continued to feel love for Greece. This love never stopped (HC1: 104).

Following Alexander's death Ptolemy was eventually able to take control of Cyprus after a number of battles with Antigonus and his son. The Cypriots continued to follow the Greek religion under the Ptolemies, and Isis and Osiris were added to the pantheon (HC2: 5). The Cypriot contributions to arts and letters in the period are discussed, with examples appearing to come from numerous periods (HC1: 115-116). In HC2 Cyprus is described as being of central importance to the inheritors of Alexander's empire.

Because of her important position and her wealth – mainly in the form of woods and copper – she became the apple of discord between Antigonus, who governed Asia Minor, and of Ptolemy, who governed Egypt (HC2: 5).

With this statement the children are taught to see Cyprus as having an important strategic location, a theme used in most discussions of Cyprus (see Knapp 2001: 34 for a critical discussion of seeing Cyprus 'from the outside in').

A number of possible reasons for the Roman conquest of Cyprus are given, which include the wealth and position of the island and the fact that the Ptolemaic king had failed to pay a ransom when Claudius, a friend of Julius Caesar, was captured by pirates near to the island (HC1: 120-121); in HC2 (7) Poplius Pulcher is the victim. The Romans were harsh rulers and they were more concerned with their own wealth than the well-being of the Cypriots (HC1: 123; HC2: 8-9); this is in marked contrast to the British descriptions of Roman rule in Cyprus (see Section 4.6.1 below). Roman engineering projects in Cyprus are reported (HC1: 125-131; HC2: 12-18), with almost all of the examples of these coming from the central tourist sites of the past and the present in Cyprus: Salamis; Kourion; and the Villa of Dionysos at Nea Paphos (HC1: 130-131).

The presentation of the classical period in these textbooks continues to focus on Greek connections and Greek identity. There are numerous references to the 'golden age' in this discussion, and the focus also turns to other 'Hellenising' events in the history of the island. Even though the Mycenaeans made the people Greek when they colonised Cyprus in the Bronze Age, Evagoras and Alexander/the Ptolemies are also said to have made the people of Cyprus Greek. At the same time, the Phoenicians and Persians were unable to destroy the



Hellenism of the people that had been established in the Bronze Age. These claims are contradictory: if the Cypriots were *so* Greek that all the efforts of the Persians and the Phoenicians were in vain, how did the Ptolemies make an already Greek Cyprus *Greek*? The constant references to the strength of the Greek identity on Cyprus are used in two connected ways: they provide the children with a strong ethnic/national identity that has its roots in the distant past; and they refute alternative claims to Cypriot identity. In addition, the connections between ancient Greece and Cyprus, and the discussion of numerous classical remains from the island, provide the children with the symbolic capital of Hellenism (see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999; see also Section 5.4.2 below).

The alternative claims to Cypriot-ness in the distant past come from the East through the Persian and Phoenician attempts to make Cypriots lose their Greek character. In the recent past, these accusations were levied at the British by nationalist Greek Cypriots who rejected all attempts by the British to create a Cypriot, rather than Greek, identity (see Given 1997). The Phoenicians/Persians are therefore used to show that *all* attempts to dilute the Greek identity of the Cypriots were futile. Threats to the Cypriot Greek identity also come from the West in the Roman (and later the British) period. The attitude in these descriptions is much more negative than that found in the British histories of Cyprus (see Section 4.6 below). This relates to anti-colonial sentiments as well as a connection between the British and the Romans in both the Cypriot and the British psyches.

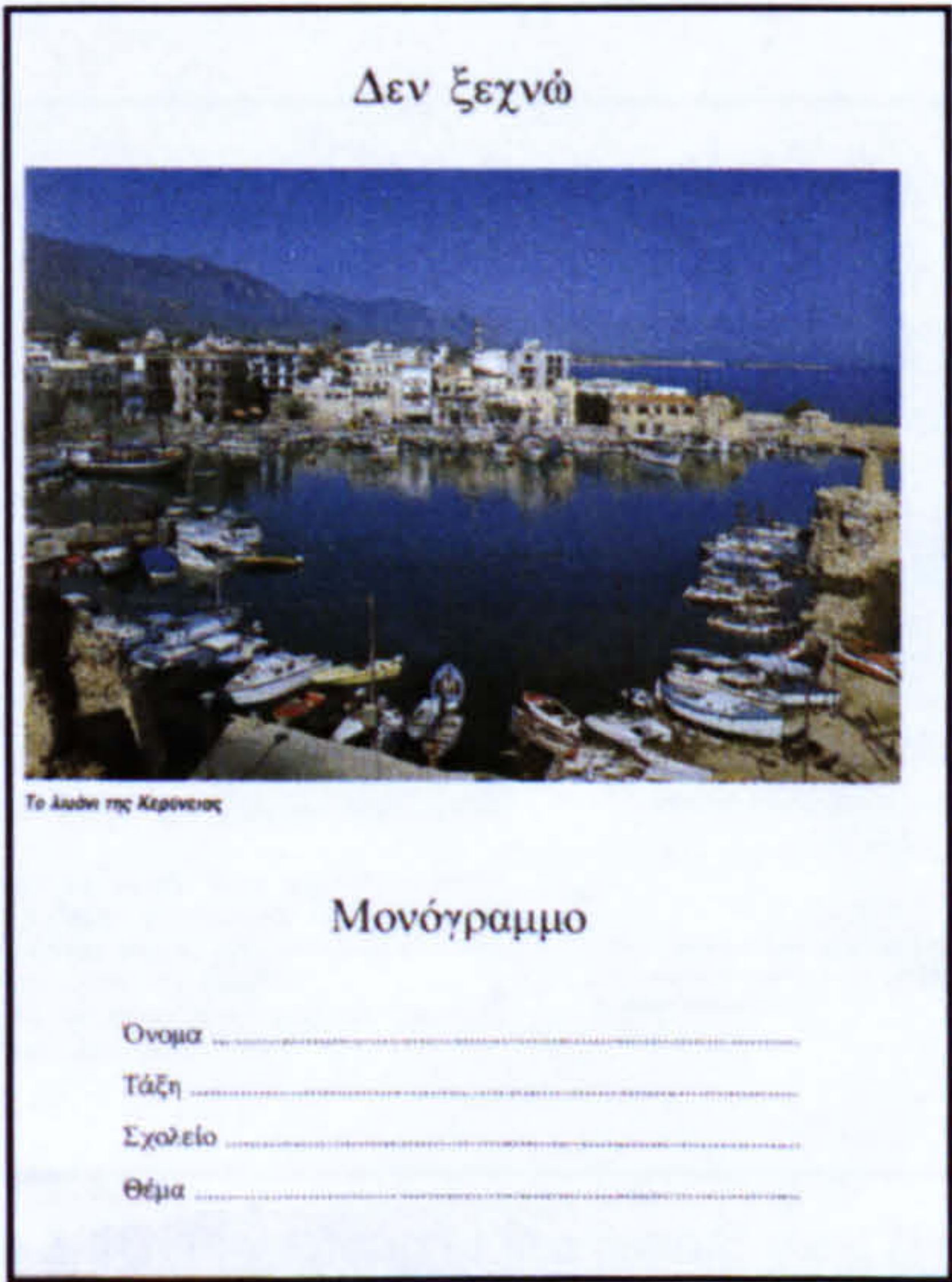


Figure3.8: Den Xechno exercise book

Salamis forms a major focus of the iconography and discussion of the classical past in these texts (see Fig 3.7). Its position in the TRNC (‘the occupied areas’) serves to remind the children of the contemporary political difficulties of the island. Indeed, the occupation is



something that they are never allowed to forget: the phrase *Den Xechno* (I Do Not Forget) is featured on exercise books and is accompanied by photographs of the ‘lost’ towns, villages and cultural heritage of Cyprus (Fig 3.8). Through the treatment of the classical period the identity of the children as Greek Cypriots is heightened and shown in juxtaposition to a menacing ‘other’. Continual references to threats to this identity serve to create anxiety and this perpetuates the need to appropriate the past (Phillips 1998: 29).

3.6.1.3 The Recent Past

Images of a folk lifestyle occur frequently in these books, and generally take the form of examples of how life has changed little over the millennia in Cyprus. In the discussion of the Neolithic period, with particular reference to Chirokitia, the children are told how the people were initially hunter-gatherers, who eventually began farming the land.

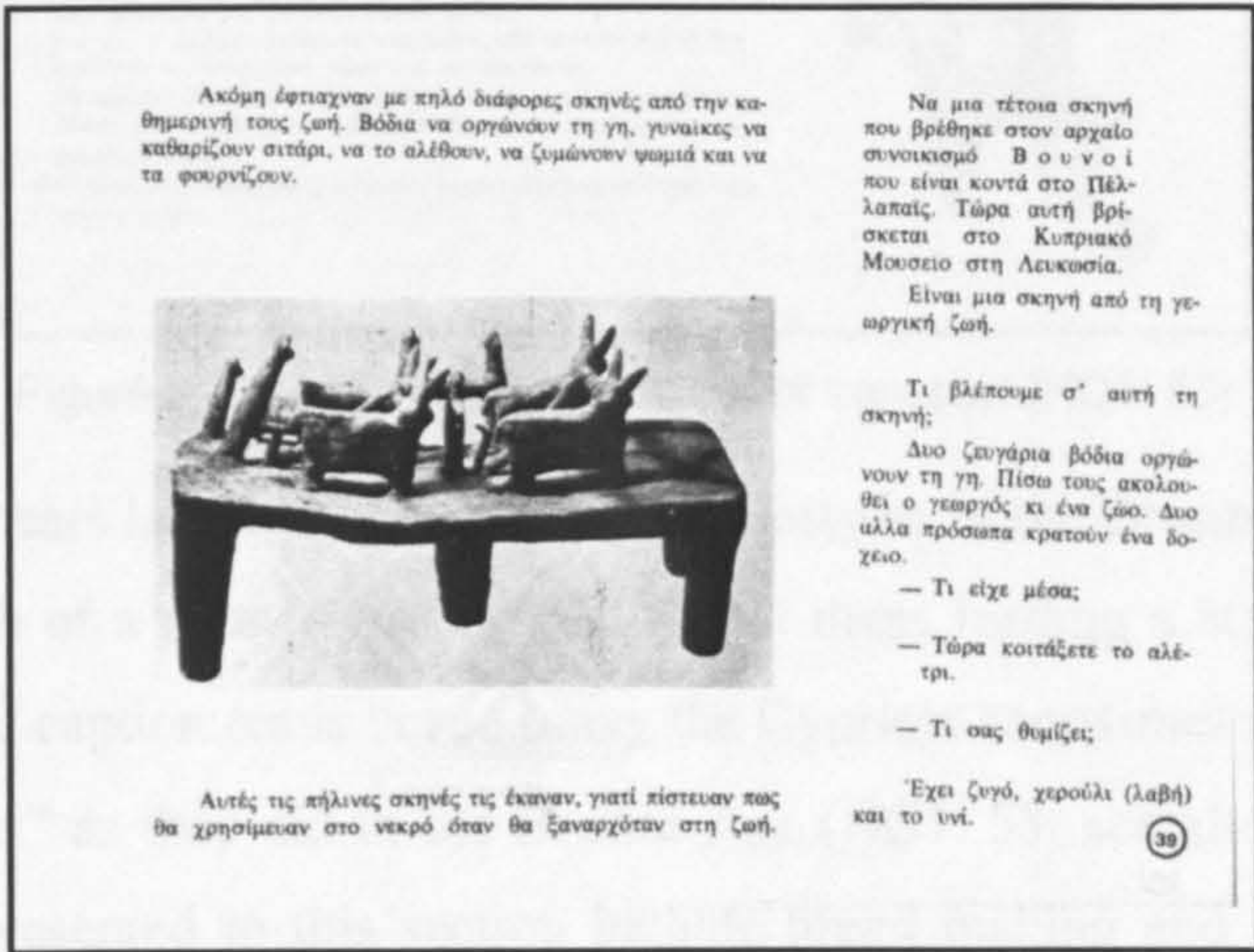


Figure 3.9: Depiction of ancient ploughing in HC1 (HC1: 39)

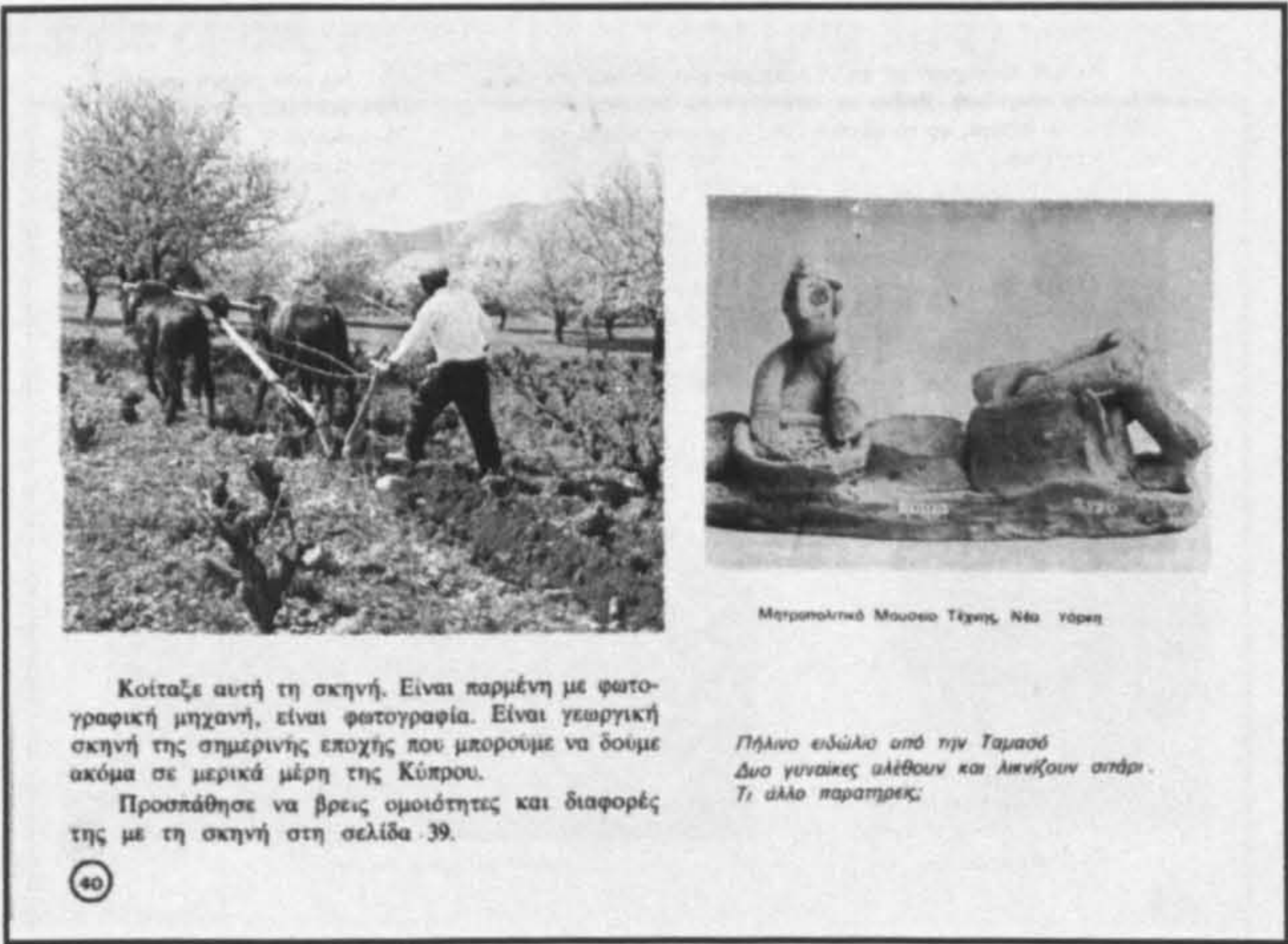


Figure 3.10: Ploughing in the recent past (HC1 40)

The exercise related to this topic asks the children to compare what the inhabitants of Chirokitia did to get food and clothing with what their own families do. Other connections are made between the tools and weapons necessary for survival in the past and the present,



and include the Cypriot passion, the barbeque (*souvla*) (HC1: 17-19). This section helps to create connections to and understanding of the past, and make life in the past seem real to the children in the present. Later, a man is depicted ploughing a field with two oxen in the traditional way in order to illustrate the similarities between this and Bronze Age farming methods (HC1: 40) – a ceramic representation of ploughing from the Cyprus Museum is also used to illustrate this point (see Fig 3.9 and 3.10).

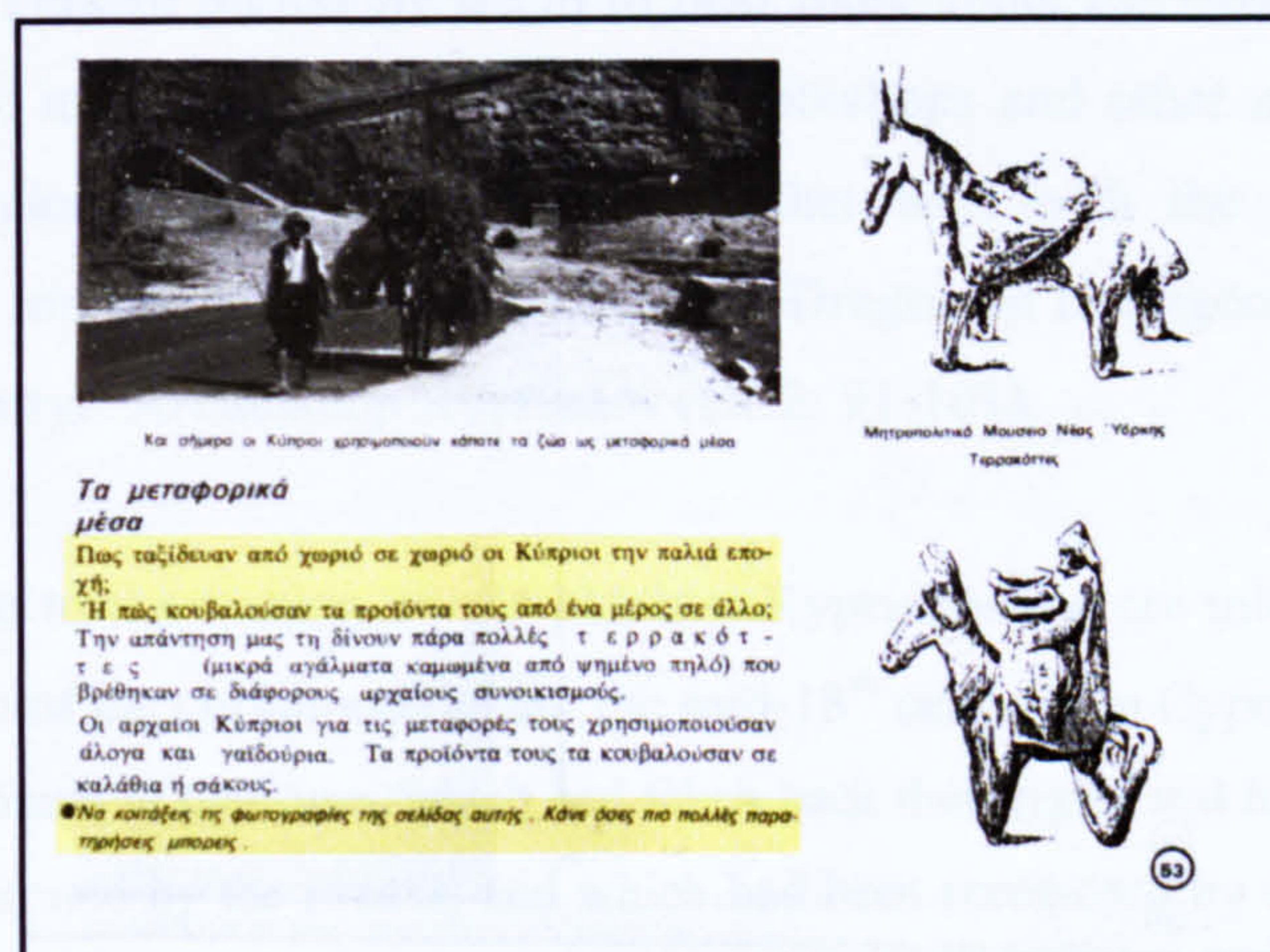


Figure 3.11: Ancient/modern forms of transport (HC1: 53)

A similar image appears later in the discussion of lifestyles of the Bronze Age, when we are shown a photograph of a man in traditional Cypriot dress leading a laden donkey along a road (Fig 3.11). The caption reads “even today the Cypriots sometimes use their animals as a means of transport” as they did in the Bronze Age (HC1: 53; see also Barker 2005: 47). Other activities represented in this section include bread making and weaving; a Cypriot White Slip II Ware hydria is placed next to a sample of a traditional textile in order to show the similarities in the style of decoration (HC1: 41) (Fig 3.12).

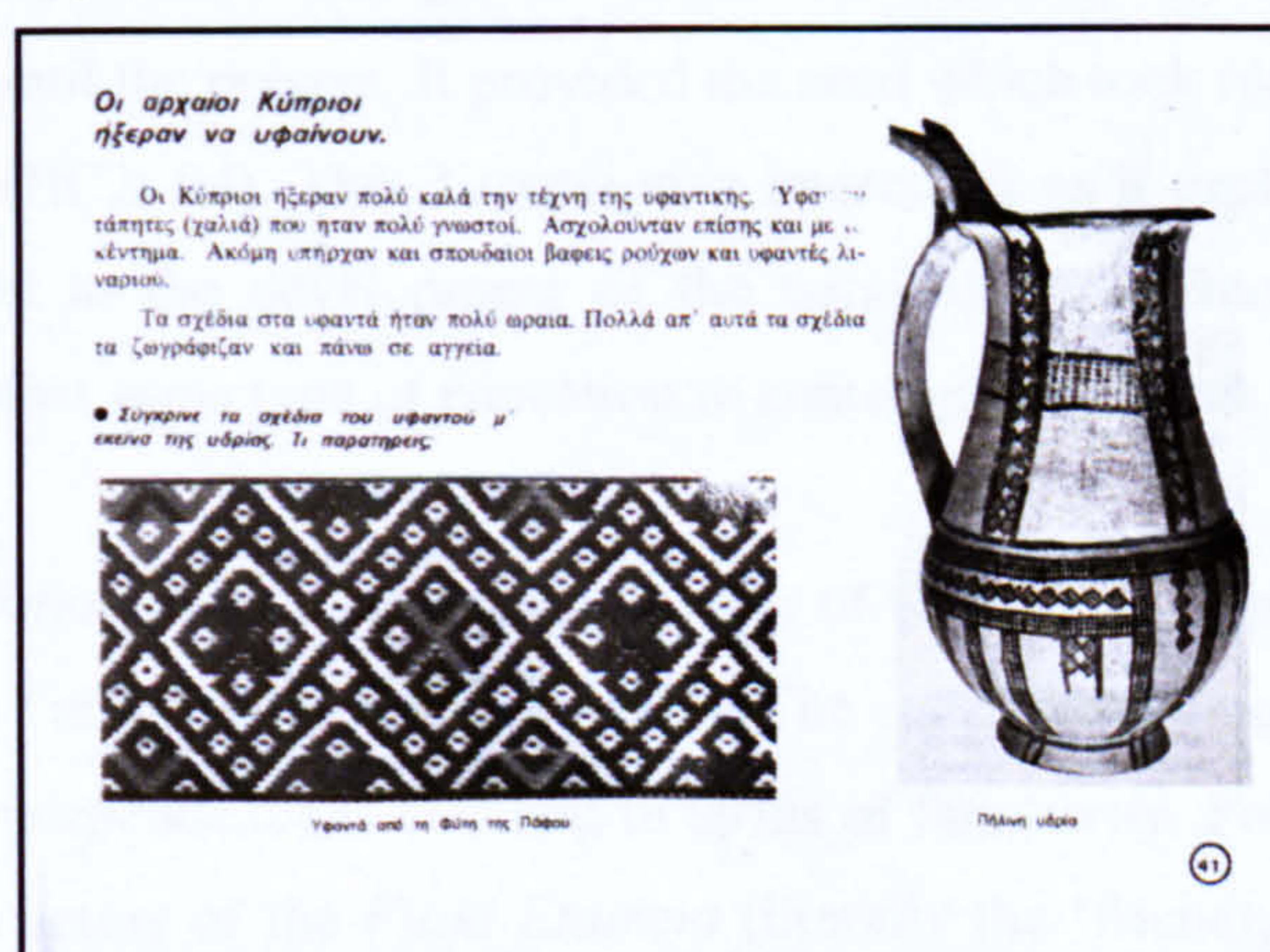


Figure 3.12: Connections in handicrafts (HC1: 41)

Much of the discussion in HC2 of the Frankish and later periods focuses on great events with little reference to the lives of the people of Cyprus. The few exceptions refer to the



poverty and harsh life of the people (there are also a number of references to the close ties between Greece and Cyprus in these discussions). This is in part due to the nature of historical evidence, although it would be possible to use archaeological evidence and written sources to present a picture of everyday life in Cyprus at the time. Perhaps this is one way in which archaeology can serve the primary education system to more multi-vocal ends. In the discussion of the Turkish period we begin to hear more about the lives of the affluent and influential Greeks, in particular the Bishops, Archbishops and other members of the elite (HC2: 83-90). Indeed the two main sections that deal with the Turkish period are specifically about important Greek Cypriots – the Dragoman Hadjigeorgakis (HC2: 84-90) and the ‘Ethno-martyr’ Archbishop Kyprianos (HC2: 91-101).

In the introduction to the section on Archbishop Kyprianos we are told that there were no schools at the time of his childhood during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century on Cyprus and that:

only the church at that time, which had taken back their rights and lands that had been confiscated by the Franks, and which had been recognised by the Sultan as the true protector of the Greeks, held the flame of Orthodoxy and Hellenism alight (HC2: 91-92).

Kyprianos is described as the ‘guardian angel’ of his people. Following his election as Archbishop in 1810, he was able to follow his life’s dream which was to educate the young Greeks of the island (HC2: 93). He is said to have established the first Greek school on the island (which later became the Pancyprian Gymnasium). This was enough to make him one of the great men of the island, even if he had not subsequently been martyred in the name of the homeland (HC2: 94). The Pancyprian Gymnasium is described as a place where Greek children (*ellinopoula*) have been taught the Greek and Christian way from its establishment in the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the present. It provided the seed which took root and developed into Cypriot Hellenism (HC2: 94). This discussion is interesting as it explicitly shows Hellenic schooling as central to the development of the nationalist movement on Cyprus, while continuing to instil that same type of education to contemporary Greek Cypriot children.

This discussion is followed by a section on the role of Kyprianos, Cyprus and the liberation of Greece from the Turkish yoke (HC2: 94-101). The entire discussion that revolves around the Greek War of Independence is couched in terms of familiarity. For instance we are told that the three main actors of the *Filiki Etaireia* (literally the ‘friendly society’, a group of elite businessmen who were involved in the organisation of secret schools and the Greek War of Independence), Xanthos, Skoufas and Tsakalof, are “*of course*” known to every Greek child (HC2: 95). There are also numerous references to the familial relationship between Cyprus and ‘Mother Greece’ (HC2: 96). “The Greeks of Cyprus always feel the



presence of the Ethno-martyr Kyprianos to be alive and sovereign... the halo of his martyrdom lights the path of his people” (HC2: 101). Throughout this discussion there is an unquestioned and assumed belief in the nation, the race and the land of Cyprus as Greek.

The discussion of the British period is dominated by references to requests by the Greek Cypriots for *enosis* with Greece and the various ‘excuses’ that the British used to deny this goal (HC2: 104-113). In October 1931 the leader of the Greek members of the assembly (the Metropolitan of Kition) called on the Greek Cypriots to take a stand against the colonisers and to join in the fight for *enosis*. During the course of the ensuing insurgence “the people found their voice” (HC2: 106) and on the 21<sup>st</sup> October, thousands took to the streets with the Greek flag and their assembly members at the head of the procession to the Governor’s residence in Nicosia. In the attempts of the police to disperse the crowd, Government House caught fire and the police reaction was violent, causing one death and many injuries (HC2:106). The result was a state of emergency, and a crackdown on the freedom of the people.

With the beginning of World War II the British invited the Cypriots to join the war effort and 30,000 Cypriots willingly did so in the belief that they were fighting not only for world freedom but also (and perhaps primarily) for the freedom of Greece and Cyprus (HC2: 107). Immediately after the war a delegation was sent to London to ask for *enosis* but this request was again refused. The continual suppression of the true feelings of the Cypriots by the British eventually resulted in the ‘Armed Freedom Struggle’ which started on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1955. From that day onward, we are told, Cyprus witnessed acts of heroism and self-sacrifice every day and every night (HC2: 108-109). We are then told of nine youths sent to the gallows in May 1956 singing the (Greek) national anthem, whose mothers apparently felt the loss was justified in the name of the freedom of the Greek Cypriots. This act only served to strengthen the resolve of the people (HC2: 110). The dates of the deaths of key members of EOKA are given as a roll-call of martyrdom and heroism. “Great Greek and other authors dedicated hymns to the brave young men of little Cyprus, who died before their time because they adored the most honourable good, Freedom” (HC2: 112 ). In the meantime the Turkish Cypriots were in a privileged position. The prospect of partition and the fact that the police force was made up almost entirely of Turkish Cypriots made them extremely audacious and led to serious incidents in June 1958. Greek peasants were killed outside Nicosia while inside the city churches and shops were looted and burnt (HC2: 112-113). Following renewed calls for a peaceful solution the London and Zurich agreements were signed in 1959 (HC2: 113).



The history of the Republic of Cyprus as presented to the children begins with a discussion of the constitution, the unfair advantages given to the Turkish Cypriots in the government, the civil service and police, and the generally unworkable nature of the legacy of the Zurich and London agreements. The events of 1963 and 1964 are recounted in the briefest possible terms with the blame squarely placed on the Turkish Cypriots (HC2: 115-116). This is followed by a discussion of 'Progress in Cyprus' since independence (HC2: 117-125). The history ends with a discussion of the attempted coup, the Turkish invasion of 1974, the death of Makarios, and its aftermath (HC2: 125-137).

Folk images and the timelessness of the Cypriot way of life are represented repeatedly in HC1, thereby creating a sense of the nation through the folk image (Gellner 1994: 58) (see Fig's 3.9 - 3.12). The narrative of this section of the history of Cyprus, however, is focused on the anti-colonial struggle of the Greek Cypriots. This is also the first time that Turkish Cypriots enter the story (as opposed to Ottoman Turks). Their position is one of conspirator (with the British) and adversary (to the Greek Cypriots). Such representations, while conforming to the self/other dichotomy that features throughout the history, do little to eliminate the pre-existing negativity towards Turkish Cypriots. Throughout the history of Cyprus as represented in these textbooks, the Greek Cypriots are shown as victims (of the Turkish Cypriots, the British, the Franks, etc.) while still showing strength in adversity. The role of Greek Cypriots as victims is reminiscent of British discussions of the history of the islanders (see Section 4.6.1 below). The British used the numerous powers that had passed through Cyprus as evidence that the people were unfit to rule themselves as they had no experience of self-government. The Cypriot state, on the other hand, uses these foreign influences to demonstrate the strength of the Greek Cypriot identity that was never polluted. The Greek Cypriots thus use the British argument to their own advantage in the post-colonial period.

The nationalist image of the Greek Cypriots continues to be that produced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, depicting a people with a glorious ancestry who can overcome all odds and retain their character as well as fight for their freedom. The history of Cyprus conforms to classic definitions of nationalist history – there is both a 'golden age' (represented by the Mycenaean colonisation) and an idealisation of the recent past (Nairn 1994: 75). The history of Cyprus as presented in Greek Cypriot schools reproduces the status quo of the division of the island along ethnic lines by failing to introduce the voices of the Turkish Cypriots *or* a pan-Cypriot identity that goes beyond Greek or Turk.



### 3.7 Conclusion

Small and large states need to be able to co-exist in harmony: “one key to such co-existence lies in education. It provides a mechanism first for maintaining and developing distinctive national cultures, but second for promoting mutual understanding” (Bray and Packer 1993: 246). This is also true of multi-cultural states like Cyprus where it is clear that there has never been a concerted effort to create a national consciousness that goes beyond ethnicity and religion. “Orthodoxy and Hellenism are thought to go together and imply one another, as witnessed in the civil war of which Cyprus has been the stage” (Kedourie 1966: 77). For Cyprus, the issue of a national (Cypriot) consciousness has been confused as the education system there pre-dates the British administration, and relies heavily on Greek and Turkish models. Due to the prevalence of Greek and Turkish influences on Cypriot education from the Ottoman period onwards, nationalism here developed not along the lines of independence for the island but rather along ethnic lines. “School systems may also reproduce class, status, and racial relations” (Apple 1982: 7); this appears to be true for Cyprus where the political and nationalist status quo is reproduced through the elementary curriculum.

With the introduction of Greek teacher training colleges at the Pancyprian Gymnasium for boys and the Phaneromeni School for girls, the spread of elementary education on the island was achieved. These schools were based on the Greek model and ‘religious and national celebrations’ were included in their curriculum (Spyridakis 1954: 6). As we have seen, there was a general suspicion on the part of the Greek Cypriots to any educational reforms introduced or proposed by the British. This may have been due in part to the fact that for the first time in their history the Greek Cypriots felt free to express a particular identity. Ironically, by denying the strength and authenticity of this identity the British made it even stronger. This position, and its perceived injustice, were to prove more and more damaging to the colonial administration on Cyprus. A strong anti-colonial attitude developed on Cyprus amongst the Greek Cypriots, and it was fostered by the British. By refusing to invest in the education of the island, while trying to belittle the perceived identity of the people, they made that identity stronger, thus helping to develop extreme nationalist sentiments. The resultant educational system teaches a history to Greek Cypriot children that emphasises Greece more than it does Cyprus. This history is necessarily presented as an unquestioned truth in response to British colonial attitudes and contemporary political insecurities.



## **TV Nation: Representations of the Past in the Mass Media**

Ideas, language and images [are] crucial in shaping women's (and men's) lives  
(Kuhn 1985: 2).

### **4.1 Introduction**

The mass media have become central to most societies, and they serve to reinforce national sentiments and hegemony. While schooling serves to reinforce state representations of the past to its children, the mass media promote a particular worldview to all the members of a state. The past as presented in the mass media tends to be relatively simplistic and to rely heavily on governmental and Establishment sources. By analysing media representations of the past we can gain an insight into how the people of a state view their history and archaeology and how this differs to the past as understood by academics and scholars. In Cyprus, where a high proportion of the older population were only educated up to elementary level, the mass media are of particular importance in creating and maintaining national awareness of history, archaeology and culture. The mass media are used as an educational tool, and the people who influence and control them also influence and control public knowledge.

The mass media have developed from the early handwritten newsletters produced in western Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Golding and Elliott 1979: 21) to the multinational printing and broadcasting institutions and conglomerates that we know today. Over the course of this development they have provided an outlet for political and social opinion. They originally developed as a service to the elite (Golding 1997: 258), reproducing the information necessary to the smooth running of bourgeois and elite business interests. It is the focus of this early stage in media development that affects the news that is deemed to be important and the attitude in which it is expressed in all subsequent media presentations of news. Newspapers became a forum for personal or group political and social expression in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when they were run and owned by individuals. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, the increased expenditure and technological expertise involved in newspaper publication led to increased centralisation of press ownership (Murdock 1996: 91). Print capitalism has been understood as a major feature in the development of nationalism because of its role in the development of national languages and dissemination of nationalist ideas (see Anderson 1991: chapter 3). Broadcast media on the other hand are less frequently discussed with regard to nationalism because of their late development. However, it is important to look at both broadcast and print media when discussing the use of nationalism in any state as broadcast media tend to reproduce the common social consensus in order to be accessible to the broadest possible audience. It is also commonly believed that broadcast media are more able to shape the attitudes of the public. This may, however, be due to their recent development



and their aural and visual nature that make them seem more neutral and believable to many viewers in some societies.

This chapter presents a theoretical discussion of the mass media and how they relate to nationalism and postcolonialism in a broad sense. I then discuss the way that archaeology and history increasingly have been incorporated into broadcast media, with particular reference to television in the UK, and what effect this has on public perceptions of the past. This section is followed by a discussion of the mass media in Cyprus with a focus on colonial attitudes towards and use of the mass media, and the Republic of Cyprus' state representations of the past through print and broadcast media.

The forms of mass media analysed in this discussion rely predominantly on state printed media which help us to gain an insight into the past that the state wants to present. By analysing this process over a long period we are able to assess how it changes through time and in relation to political events. State television will also be a focus of the research into the uses of the mass media by the Republic of Cyprus, with particular reference to a television series entitled *The History of Cyprus* by Andros Pavlides. The sample included in this discussion is necessarily random because of challenges associated with collecting material from a distance as well as the large volume of potential newspaper sources over a 124 year period. In addition, the generally partisan nature of the press in Cyprus would have made a balanced evaluation of *state* representations of the past in the newspapers difficult, whereas until 1992 there was only one television channel in Cyprus, and this is state-funded. As a result, the sources discussed in this chapter have come predominantly from government or state media and include: (1) correspondence and legislation relating to the mass media from the National Archives dating to the colonial period; (2) publications relating to the island from the British colonial period; (3) information leaflets and newsletters from the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus; (4) information about the mass media in contemporary Cyprus; and (5) *The History of Cyprus*, the television series by Andros Pavlides made and shown by the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (CyBC).

## 4.2 The Mass Media

Our knowledge of the world beyond our everyday experience is structured by the symbols, values and selective criteria of others (Golding and Elliott 1979: 1).

Broadcasting has three functions: to educate, inform and entertain (Golding and Elliott 1979: 71).



The mass media are a major focus of sociological study and have become an increasingly important field of research since the 1960s, developing rapidly from that point under the influence of changing theoretical influences and paradigms across the social sciences (Marris and Thornham 1996b: xi). Mass media can include books, pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, CDs, records, films, DVDs, videos, radio and television broadcasts and new media such as the internet and interactive CDs. It is clear that they play an important role in most people's daily lives, especially in the West. Print and broadcast media, in particular newspapers and television programmes, form the focus of most critical media studies. Interest in this area has increased with the advent of broadcast media, as these have traditionally been seen as having a more direct influence on society than print. One of the reasons for this is their visual and aural nature, which often lead listeners and viewers to believe that they are more reliable (see Section 4.2.1 below). For instance, Orson Welles' play, *War of the Worlds*, resulted in mass hysteria among some listeners when it was first broadcast in the United States in 1938. The sociological focus on the mass media is often associated with an interest in ideologies, and the present study is influenced by the work of critical analysts of the mass media. In the West, life from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards has been saturated with the media and this has affected and shaped our sense of individual and national identity (O'Sullivan and Jewkes 1997b: 1). The impact of the mass media has developed more slowly in the rest of the world and has often been related to colonialism.

Sociologists identify three key problems with the mass media: (1) their power and influence over their audience; (2) their impact on the private sphere; and (3) their role in the production and politics of popular culture (O'Sullivan and Jewkes 1997b: 1). For the purposes of the present discussion, the problems of media influence and cultural production are central to our understanding of its impact on representations of the past to the general public. "Films, programmes and other products form a tissue of shared experience and collective memory" (Thompson 1997: 28) which are often beyond the average person's daily sphere of knowledge and social interaction. In such ways, we are all influenced by the media.

Any analysis of the mass media must be aware that:

we are dealing with meaningful objects and expressions which call for interpretation, while at the same time recognising that the production and transmission of these objects and expressions are socially situated and institutionally mediated processes (Thompson 1997: 34).

The symbolic world of modern societies is organised and structured by the communications industries. Through them, economic structures are linked to cultural formations (Murdock 1996: 92).



#### 4.2.1 The Creation of Media Messages

For Stuart Hall (1980), the objects of media practices are meanings and messages in the form of signs and markers; this is similar to tourism's reliance on visual and semiotic experiences (see Section 5.2.3 below). The message or meaning of the media product (text) is created by its producer (encoded) and presented to its receiver (the audience) through transmission or publication. For it to be effective, it must be received and understood by the receiver (decoded), although the degree of fit between the encoded and decoded message is not always symmetrical, and can be influenced by the relationship between the encoder and decoder of the message: "if no 'meaning' is taken, there can be no 'consumption'" (Hall 1980: 128). The main point of this argument, however, is that each of the three moments – encoding, text and decoding – is independent of the others and cannot guarantee the next moment. "Since each has its specific modality and conditions of existence, each can constitute its own break or interruption of the 'passage of forms' on whose continuity the flow of effective production (that is 'reproduction') depends" (Hall 1980: 129).

The production process is related to the organisational frameworks of media practice and is therefore informed and influenced by technical skill and production routines. Ideologies and assumptions about the audience – "topics, treatments, agendas, events, personnel, images of the audience, 'definitions of the situation'" (Hall 1980: 129) – come from the wider socio-political structure. Thus the dominant ideology defines all forms of media production, while media products reproduce the ideology because of their reliance upon it. The media message cannot be effective, and thus "influence, entertain, instruct or persuade", until it has been decoded by the receiver (Hall 1980: 130). Decoding can be effected by the social, economic, and emotional position and background of the receiver (Halloran 1996: 267; Morley 1996: 299; Fiske 1996: 337). Therefore the message as sent and received is not necessarily (or even ordinarily) identical (Hall 1980: 131; see also Kuhn 1985: 7).

The visual and aural signs used in the text of the media message are complex, and can be related to the lack of fit between the encoded and decoded message. These signs have denotative (literal), and connotative (associated) meanings. The denotative meanings of media messages are often simplistically understood by the receiver, as they are literal. The connotative meanings of signs can be more complex, however, and "refer to less fixed and therefore more conventionalized and changeable, associative meanings, which clearly vary from instance to instance and therefore must depend on the intervention of codes" (Hall 1980: 133). In actuality, almost all signs have a literal and associated meaning, although the associated meaning is that which has ideological impact. Connotative meanings are not fixed



or natural, but rather fluid, and open to exploitation and interpretation. Connotation, in semiotics, is the point at which “*already coded* signs intersect with the deep semantic codes of a culture and take on additional, more active ideological dimensions” (Hall 1980: 133).



Figure 4.1: Trendy Nicosia Café

Thus a cup of coffee may refer to a range of meanings, from a romantic moment (as in the Gold Blend series of adverts), to a particular type of person (teenagers in the 1950s), to a situational event (Paris boulevard), depending on the visual background and associated codes in use. In Cyprus the connotative meaning of a cup of coffee could represent modernity (the bright young things of Nicosia in the latest trendy coffee shop) (Fig 4.1), or traditional ways of life (the timelessness of old men in a village coffee shop watching the world go by) (Fig 4.3). The connotative code is also dependant on the background and identity of the receiver, and so may be received in different ways by different individuals or groups – although generally they are understood at a national level. “It is at the connotative *level* of the sign that situational ideologies alter and transform signification” (Hall 1980: 133).

The codes of media messages, and in particular the connotative meanings associated with them, can lead to multiple meanings which are not equal, but are in fact highly stratified. In each society there is a dominant cultural order, and thus there are preferred or dominant meanings for all codes. This aspect of the media message can serve to reinforce the dominant ideology. While it has been argued that the relationship between the encoded and decoded message is not necessarily fixed, encoding does serve to affect the parameters and limits of decoding (Hall 1980: 135), because they frame the message.

In practice, images are always seen in context: they always have a specific use value in the particular time and place of their consumption. This, together with their formal characteristics, conditions and limits the meanings available from them at any one moment. But if representations always have use value, then more often than not they also have exchange value: they circulate as commodities in a social/economic system. This further conditions, or overdetermines, the meanings available from representations (Kuhn 1985: 6).



The objects of media practices are meanings and messages. Messages in broadcast media tend to be more complex to decode because of the aural, visual and iconic nature of television codes. This makes them seem more natural than perhaps a purely linguistic sign would be, because they represent some of the qualities of what is being represented in a direct way. Broadcasting has steadily overtaken other forms of the media worldwide; indeed, while newspaper circulations decline, television ratings soar. As a result, television has become the largest mass medium, and it is seen to be the most important for most people who receive the majority of their news and information from it. It appears that for many people, broadcast news is seen as more reliable than the press. This has been attributed to its visual and aural nature, and its perceived impartiality (Golding and Elliott 1979: 10-11) in relation to the explicitly political viewpoints of most newspapers. A number of networks, such as Fox and Sky, however, are recognised by some as having a strong right-wing bias; how much the average viewer recognises this is undetermined.

If broadcasting is perceived to be more impartial and reliable than newspapers for news, by extension this can also be said of other television products, especially factual programming, while even soap opera characters have become 'real' for some viewers. The visual and aural signs of television are much more 'naturalized' than linguistic signs. Thus they "produce apparently 'natural' recognitions. This has the (ideological) effect of concealing the practices of coding which are present" (Hall 1980: 132), leading to naturalized perceptions of the code on the part of the receiver. Thus a picture of a cow is simply decoded and understood as *being* a cow, and not a representation of one. In this way, the arbitrary nature of television signs are disguised (Hall 1980: 132).

Media messages often are assumed to be accepted simplistically by the public, and in the past many felt that television messages in particular were highly persuasive. While this is not entirely disputed, there has been a growing realisation amongst social scientists that the relationship between the receiver and sender is more complex. "Whether the audience actually accepts television's presentation of itself depends very much on what beliefs, experience, and information they bring to what they are shown" (Philo 1996: 447). There is

much more to television's influence than can be studied through direct changes in attitude and opinion... Television may provide models for identification, confer status on people and behaviour, spell out norms, define new situations, provide stereotypes, set frameworks of anticipation and indicate level of acceptability, tolerance and approval. Influence must not be equated with attitude change (Halloran 1996: 267).

Of course, television is not the only mass medium that serves to influence the public. If so many newspapers had not been against the war in Iraq, would up to two million people from



all backgrounds have protested on the streets of London in February 2003? Television tends to be more useful in conveying knowledge than in changing people's attitudes (Halloran 1996: 269).

While our own personal backgrounds help to shape our decodings of the news, direct personal experience is also important in shaping our understanding of media messages. In a study on reactions to television coverage of the Miners' Strike in Britain in 1984, a number of people felt that the television coverage was exaggerated, and those who rejected it often did so because they had either seen picket lines themselves, or they had direct personal experience of miners or policemen. The media continued to frame and control discussion of the issue, however, and so any rejection of it was necessarily couched in the media's terms of reference (Philo 1996: 450-451).

#### 4.2.2 Social Consensus and Identity

As the news attempts to reach the widest possible audience it draws on the most commonly held social values and assumptions; this is often referred to as the prevailing social consensus (Golding 1997: 257).

One of the main assumptions of the media industry (particularly broadcast media) is that it relies on the existence of a general social consensus. The media not only relies on this assumption, but also serves to reinforce this consensus by means of its emphasis and products (Hall *et al.* 1996: 425). By relying on and reinforcing the national consensus, the media eradicates social, racial, ethnic and political difference from the national picture. In Cyprus, for example, right-wing perspectives dominate broadcast media representations of life on the island. There are therefore virtually no representations of Turkish Cypriots on television, while the nightly Turkish news bulletin is usually presented by someone who is not instantly recognisable as being Turkish Cypriot.

The media define for the majority of the population *what* significant events are taking place, but, also, they offer powerful interpretations of *how* to understand these events. Implicit in those interpretations are orientations towards the events and the people or groups involved in them (Hall *et al.* 1996: 426).

This is as true of news coverage as it is of other factual programmes.

The media's main sphere of operations is the production and transformation of ideologies (Hall 1996b: 160).

Media objects and expressions are ideological in nature (Thompson 1997: 34) because they affect how people perceive their identity as a group, and as individuals, through the production and distribution of ideological social meanings (Hall 1996b: 161). Thus the media serve to reinforce relations of race, gender, sexuality and, by extension, nationality. They provide us with categories for the ascription of people, places and ideas, and our knowledge



of the world and our society are coloured by the ideology reproduced in the media (Hall 1996b: 161). In Cyprus, Greek Cypriots are categorised in relation to a Turkish Cypriot 'other'. This is not to say that the media is uniformly racist, nationalist or sexist, it simply reproduces the generally held prejudices of those in power and the morals and norms of the majority of the population. Racism in British broadcasting owes much to Britain's long connections with slavery and colonialism. These historical moments have helped to inform the way the UK media categorise and present groups from within and without British society (Hall 1996b: 163). Significant historical and political moments therefore effect media presentations in all societies, and serve to create categories that inform the viewers, readers, and listeners on a daily basis (much like stereotypes). So in Australia, the archetypal image of the British is of a 'whingeing Pom', while the archetypal image of a Spaniard (or perhaps more realistically a person from the Mediterranean) in Britain is of Manuel, the hapless waiter from *Fawlty Towers*.

The mass media, and especially the news, generally promote the dominant opinions of elite groups in society. In his study of how sporting stereotypes are reported, O'Donnell (1997: 107) found that in the sporting arena, nations presented themselves as a single living being, where self-and-other stereotypes were readily reproduced. Thus Germans were always described as being efficient, while Mediterranean and Latin American sportspeople were referred to as having a fiery Latin temperament. He noted that the sports pages of national newspapers tended to be more nationalistic and happy to use national stereotypes that would otherwise be inconceivable under peacetime conditions (O'Donnell 1997: 108).

The news industry is, from an economic point of view, just one other industry within advanced industrial societies, and is as an institution – whatever the views of individual journalists – saturated with the values of those who have effective control over the economic and political system within which it operates. In many cases nation-building projects of one kind or another – formal or informal, official or unofficial – are a major element in the furtherance of these elite interests (O'Donnell 1997: 107).

As is the case for education, the media reflect patterns of power in society and legitimise the status quo. While oppression does not necessarily originate in the media, it is reinforced there and "they give a lead to people on how and what to think" (Cockburn and Lynch 1986: 18). The media play a part in teaching and reinforcing discrimination (Cockburn and Lynch 1986: 19; 25).

Sociologists from a functionalist perspective view the media in a more positive light than the majority of the studies that have been assessed here. They discuss the media with reference to their three main social functions: status conferral; enforcement of social norms; and



narcotising dysfunction (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1996: 16). Thus the media serve to confer status to people, issues, organisations, social movements and indeed representations of any issue, from health services to history, by either promoting them, or simply giving them attention (air-time) (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1996: 16). While they see this as an unproblematic function of the media, it is clear that media messages are far from innocent, as the opinions and policies of *all* groups are unequally represented in them. This can also be said of particular types of programming, where certain groups or classes provide the core of information according to the message that the media wish to present (see Section 4.4 below for a discussion of historical programming). All media are “the *machinery of representation* in modern societies” (Hall 1986: 9), and they represent the world in certain ways. This means that those who are represented have much more power than those who are unrepresented, with access to the media skewed in favour of certain dominant groups over others. Media representations inform our understanding of the world around us (Hall 1986: 9), of our history, our relations with others and our position in the world and society.

The second role of the media identified by the functionalists is the enforcement of social norms and values. The mass media serve to reinforce social norms by exposing deviations from them to the public in such a way as to make any form of moral duality seem wrong and therefore to prevent people from following alternative lifestyles (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1996: 17). In this way, the mass media serve to prohibit social change by making alternatives to the status quo seem morally wrong or impossible (see Section 3.2 above). This function could also be applied to knowledge – for many of us the media are the only source of information about certain issues or subjects that are beyond our everyday experiences. As a result, people are wont to disregard the only knowledge they have about an issue as being false or questionable, without verifiable evidence. In this way people believe what they hear and learn from the media. The popularity of the television series *The History of Cyprus* on CyBC may relate to the fact that those educated prior to 1977 were never taught this subject. The viewers therefore believe its content, and find it informative and educational. The final function of the media is their effect on political and social action; for Lazarsfeld and Merton (1996: 18), the media have made the general public apathetic to issues that would once have mobilised them into action.

#### 4.2.3 State Control of the Mass Media

The very conditions which make for the maximum effectiveness of the mass media of communication operate toward the maintenance of the going social and cultural structure rather than towards its change (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1996: 23).



Broadcasting has always been intrinsically linked to government: “in many countries national monopoly control was taken to be a technical necessity to protect the national interest” (Golding and Elliott 1979: 45). In addition, broadcast journalism relies heavily on the main news-producing groups in society (the state, government and Establishment), thus serving to reproduce their values and cultural definitions (Golding and Elliott 1979: 18). Colin Sparks (1986) has identified six ways in which the media are influenced by the state, and/or government, through its role as: patron; censor; actor; masseur; ideologue; and conspirator.

Patron: the state as patron of the media is a role that is often overlooked. Its importance lies in its directly benefiting certain elements of the media in overt and covert ways. Thus the BBC receives direct economic benefits from the state, while the Socialist Worker receives negative patronage as it is amongst the very few media institutions not to receive advertising revenue from it (Sparks 1986: 77).

Censor: The state as censor is a role that is much more readily understood and acknowledged than the state as patron. Censorship can occur through positive and negative censorship. Through positive censorship the state intervenes to prevent the publication or transmission of a particular item of news. Negative censorship is more pre-emptive in its approach: “the publication of a piece of information can most effectively be prevented if those likely to publish it never become aware of it. The state has wide discretion over this, notably by means of the definition of something as an official secret” (Sparks 1986: 77). Thus negative censorship influences the media in ways that cannot be known by the majority of the population. Informal relations between the state and the media can also lead to a certain amount of self-censorship in the press, which is particularly utilised in wartime situations, or in unstable periods (Sparks 1986: 78). Self-censorship is particularly evident in Cyprus, due to the perceived vulnerability of the state since the 1960s.

Actor: The state as actor refers to the role of state and government officials and civil servants in the routine dissemination of news. The majority of newsrooms rely heavily on sources from within the state and the government for reliable up-to-the-minute information and the official version of events (Sparks 1986: 78-79). Thus by establishing congenial relations with the state, journalists can gain privileges and insights that might not be given to those who are out of favour.

Masseur: This role of the state relates to the nature of information that it provides to the media. As we have seen, the state is one of the media’s main sources, and this information is usually presented in a favourable light from the state or government’s perspective. The majority of media material “emerges from the state itself in a form which has already been calculated to make it news of a certain sort” (Sparks 1986: 79). Indeed, information provided by the state is presented in such a way as to make it appear to have come from the media, and



not the state (Sparks 1986: 79). The Press and Information Office (PIO) of Cyprus provides the media with almost *all* state information, including that relating to archaeological finds.

Ideologue: State definitions are often reproduced unquestioned in the media. This occurs for two reasons: firstly the media adopt the definitions of the state; secondly the journalist's 'objective' position precludes him or her from bringing his/her own opinion to the piece. Therefore the opinions of others (usually the state or state spokesmen, 'spin doctors') are given priority in media discussions through an attempt to be objective. In this way state and government spokesmen set the subsequent terms of any debate (Sparks 1986: 82). Journalists in Cyprus are not required to disclose their sources, thereby appearing objective when potentially reproducing state-sanctioned information.

Conspirator: The relationships between those in control of all aspects of society affect the way in which issues and news are presented to the rest of society. The people who are in a position to make the decisions that affect the state and the media are few and are connected on many levels (Sparks 1986: 84). This is particularly relevant to a small state like Cyprus, where connections (*meson*) are important in the acquisition and maintenance of power.

While it is clear from the preceding discussion that the presentation of the world in the mass media is affected by the state and dominated by the views of those in power, this owes more to working practices than overt bias. While journalists aim at objectivity and accuracy, their working routines perpetuate the status quo (Golding and Elliott 1979: 17).

News is ideology to the extent that it provides an integrated picture of reality. But an ideology is more than this; it is also the world view of particular social groups, and especially of social classes. The claim that news is ideology implies that it provides a world view both consistent in itself, and supportive of the interest of powerful social groupings (Golding and Elliott 1979: 208).

Broadcast news represents ideology because of two key factors: (1) the news is historically structured in such a way as to allow only a partial worldview because of its development as a service to the elite interests in society; and (2) in attempting to reach the broadest possible audience, it reflects the prevailing social consensus (Golding and Elliott 1979: 209). Within a Marxist framework, by owning and controlling the means of material production, the ruling class dominate and control the means of mental production (Hall *et al.* 1996: 428).

The absence of power and process clearly precludes the development of views which might question the prevailing distribution of power, or its roots in the evolution of economic distribution and control. *A world which appears fundamentally unchanging, subject to the genius or caprice of myriad powerful individuals, is not a world which appears susceptible to radical change or challenge* (Golding and Elliott 1979: 210-211, emphasis added).



Broadcast news is ideological in three ways: (1) it focuses our attention on ‘arenas of consensus formation’; (2) objectivity and neutrality lead it to draw on the values and beliefs of the broadest social consensus; and (3) it presents an unchanging and unchangeable world. Thus the key elements of national, ethnic and social identity are upheld by broadcasting (Golding and Elliott 1979: 211).

In their study of news production Hall *et al.* (1996: 427) found that while media messages fit into the ideology of dominant ideas, this was not due to media ownership or control. Rather, it relates to media attempts to achieve neutrality, impartiality and objectivity. By relying on ‘accredited sources’, such as MPs, trade unionists and experts, and attempting to stay ahead of a constantly changing situation, they reinforce the ‘definitions of social reality’ that the state and members of the Establishment provide.

The media are not biased towards the views of the ruling elite in a simple way as they do present other views. These are often presented in relation to those of the Establishment, and they have more limited access to the media.

The explanations proffered by news and current affairs programmes are made to seem the ‘best sense’ of a given situation. They are, in the unfolding of television’s account, categorized as ‘common sense’, ‘moderate public opinion’ ‘rational understanding’ or ‘the consensus’. The basis of these explanations are the already constructed definitions in dominance. Television actively and independently contributed to their dominance by working them into the fabric of its explanations and by granting them the status of what ‘many’ or ‘most’ people think (Connell 1980: 140).

By framing issues through television production, their orientation and stance appear to be natural (Connell 1980: 145). Media presentations of dominant ideas in this way stem from the position that government is the elected representative of the people (and therefore its position reflects that of the public), and because the majority of people in charge of broadcasting share the government’s logic (Connell 1980: 156).

### 4.3 Nationalism, Postcolonialism, and the Media

Until the triumph of television, there was no medium of secular propaganda to compare with the classroom (Hobsbawm 1987: 150).

“‘Mainstream’ images in our culture bear the traces of the capitalist and patriarchal social relations in which they are produced, exchanged and consumed” (Kuhn 1985: 10) – the same can be said of the nationalist and postcolonial relations that shape our societies. Feminists such as Annette Kuhn (1985) point out that in order to understand images of women, we must first keep in the forefront of our minds the fact that they have traditionally been produced, owned and consumed, by men. The possession of such images creates domination



and control over women by men, thus women who approach these images have traditionally been forced to see them from the perspective of the male producer/owner/consumer. If we supplant the female position in this model for that of another group and study images of them in this way, we can come to reassess the meanings behind media images. For instance, we can come to see the Cypriot people as the women in the above model, and nationalists and colonialists as the men. If we attempt to do so, in analysing representations of Cyprus (femininity) and Cypriots (women), we can come to understand how nationalism and colonialism inform and permeate media messages of them.

“Photographs say to the spectator: this is actual, this is how it is, you need make no effort to understand this, you have only to recognise it – isn’t this just the way you see it out there in the world?” (Kuhn 1985: 27). This could be applied to other media messages and related to how people within a society or group are represented to themselves. Thus the Greek Cypriots are represented to themselves (and others) as being Greek through and through, by nationalist (and colonial) uses of schooling, media and tourism. Photography draws on the ideology that what you can see is true, and photography of this type is utilised in poster campaigns, newspaper articles, tourism promotions, schoolbooks and television broadcasts.



Figure 4.2: The *Den Xecho* logo is found in the mass media, schoolbooks and clothing

The Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation regularly broadcasts images of the island and life on it between programmes. Perhaps more problematically they regularly broadcast a series entitled *Den Xecho* (I Do Not Forget), which serves to perpetuate the pain of 1974 by showing scenes from villages and towns ‘on the other side’. While these images are coded they are presented as being simple and un-coded.



### 4.3.1 Nationalism and the Media

Communications... have only accentuated ethnic antagonisms, and heightened the visibility of national differences. Far from creating a single world culture, the mass media have been ready instruments of state authorities, who have used them to mould or instil a national culture in every citizen and every household (Smith 1981: 3).

As we have seen in Section 3.2 above, literacy is central to the development of nationalism. Early mass media, such as books and newspapers, in national vernacular languages helped to increase the importance of these languages, spread the principle of nationality, and create the shared experience that paved the way for the 'imagined community' of the nation (see Anderson 1991 for further discussion). "The moment when textbooks or newspapers in the national language are first written, or when that language is first used for some official purpose, measures a crucial step in national evolution" (Hobsbawm 1962: 168).

The liberal project believed that the economic and cultural developments of society – including the mass media, education and tourism – would eventually lead to a global community where ethnicity became obsolete (Smith 1981: 2-3). In reality, however, despite increasing globalisation in contemporary society, these aspects have served to reinforce rather than erode nationalism (Smith 1981: 3). Indeed, in some states, these factors have contributed to an ethnic revival, notably in Scotland, Quebec and the Basque country (Smith 1981: 21).

The creation of vast factories and plants, massive urbanisation and slum conditions, fierce competition for jobs and housing, the rise of mass literacy and the impact of radio and television, have all tended to bring new insecurities, anxieties and frustrations which unscrupulous demagogues could manipulate by appealing to the comforting warmth of old ethnic bonds (Smith 1981: 3).

Michael Moore made a similar point in his film *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), where he shows that despite the decreasing crime rate, its reporting in the media has made the general public feel more threatened. Such activities serve to bolster support for the actions of governments such as that of George W. Bush in the USA, and the 'War on Terror' (Moore 2002). Intensive communications make people more aware of ethnicity and, therefore, ethnic inequalities (Smith 1981: 154), which reinforces feelings of insecurity, anxiety and frustrations. While mass communications do not create nationalism or nationalist sentiments, once these are established they serve to perpetuate them (Smith 1981: 49). For Gellner (1983: 37), culture has become the prevalent social bond within nations, and its communication through the media is therefore important in ascertaining a state's understanding of its own culture.



Monopolisation of the media can lead to propaganda as there is no outlet for counter-propaganda, thus the Nazis were able to control the German people to a certain extent through their manipulation of the media (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1996: 21). The mass media on their own are not able to create or maintain a movement, however, and other tools must be employed to back up media messages.

Naziism did not attain its brief moment of hegemony by capturing the mass media of communication. The media played an ancillary role, supplementing the use of organized violence, organized distribution of rewards for conforming, and organized centers for local indoctrination (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1996: 22).

While not all nationalist uses of the media are as extreme as the Nazi case in Germany, we must be aware that the state *does* make use of the media in order to present its own version of reality, norms, morals and development to the wider society. It has also been utilised to great effect in wartime situations, particularly in the UK during World War II, in order to keep up morale and encourage the nation to 'do their bit'. The cases of the Vietnam war and the ongoing situation in Iraq prove that the media can also be used to the detriment of governmental foreign policies.

Broadcasting has been used as a tool of development in many nations. In Nigeria the Military Government used the mass media to great effect in promoting a number of development campaigns, including changing to a right-hand drive road system. For the Nigerian Military Government, broadcasting was seen as an essential tool of national development to a state in crisis. In the national development plan for 1970-1974 in Nigeria, the two main development aims of the information services were the fostering of national harmony, and the promotion of a spirit of national reconciliation. Another major aim was the dissemination of information to help maintain and encourage support for the national development effort, along the lines set out by the Military Government (Golding and Elliott 1979: 67-68).

In another post-colonial situation, one of the main stimuli for national broadcasting development in the Republic of Ireland "was the need to create an integrating cultural force for the emergent state" (Golding and Elliott 1979: 33). The national broadcasting corporation of the Republic of Ireland was developed in part to diminish the increasing 'cultural power' of the BBC on the Irish public. Indeed, "concern with the ability of broadcasting to foster an autonomous Irish culture had swamped consideration of its potential as a news medium" (Golding and Elliott 1979: 34).



### 4.3.2 Colonialism and the Media

The development of the mass media in the colonised world was usually directly linked to the colonial administration, and was often used as a tool of the colonial administration rather than a product for local use and information. The development of journalism in Africa owes much to the development of western journalism, but it would be too simplistic to consider it a passive result of colonialism (Golding and Elliott 1979: 28). The first printing presses in Africa were brought over by missionaries and were originally intended to aid them in their attempt to bring literacy to the continent. In the earliest stages of the press in Africa, newspapers were limited to information sheets for colonial administrators, but by the 1870s, the first locally owned newspapers were in production (Golding and Elliott 1979: 29). The African press developed out of a belief in national, rather than individual, freedom and so developed along nationalist, anti-colonial lines. Three factors led to the transition of the presses in Nigeria from missionary to political purposes: (1) the climate of West Africa meant that there was little European migration to the area and so the majority of the population was indigenous; (2) the area was densely populated; (3) the creation of indigenous educated and commercial strata of society due to the lack of Western migration to the area threw up two ambitious groups who were to be frustrated by colonialism (Golding and Elliott 1979: 28). It was not long before the African newspaper proprietors used their forum for the expression of nationalist, anti-colonial expression.

The steady advance of nationalist ideas found ready expression in the pages of the embryo press. Journalism was a narrow avenue of advance for educated Nigerians with political ambitions, and politician-proprietors running one-man papers dominated the press until after the First World War (Golding and Elliott 1979: 29).

Expatriate firms tended to shy away from advertising in the local press because of its anti-government stance, despite it having a wide circulation in the 1920s (Golding and Elliott 1979: 30). The opposite is true in Cyprus where, during the EOKA campaign of the late 1950s, advertisements for British firms and their products were boycotted by Greek newspapers, much to the colonial government's consternation (CO 926/591 1958).

The Nigerian broadcasting service was very dependant on the BBC model because of its late development and reliance on external (colonial rather than indigenous) technical expertise. Broadcasting in many African countries developed as a service to settler communities by "bringing them news of the colonial homeland" (Golding and Elliott 1979: 40). This resulted in the development of most African broadcasting corporations out of BBC external services, leading to a strong organisational and administrative bias towards the BBC's ways of doing things and administrative culture (Golding and Elliott 1979: 41). Thus the British director of



Nigerian Broadcasting, T.W. Cambers, a former BBC controller, was able to state in 1951 that:

radio is... the most potent mass disseminator of culture and information that the world possesses, and... the objective of bringing it to Nigeria is to assist in the development of the country in every possible way and in an orderly fashion. Our aim in broadcasting therefore must be to assist those processes that go towards the making of an enlightened democracy. One of the most powerful weapons in the radio armoury is impartial news and information programmes which must develop as rapidly as possible (quoted in Golding and Elliott 1979: 41).

A system of wired rediffusion services was used in favour of wireless broadcasting, as this helped to prevent the spread of subversive material from abroad. The Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation was only separated from Government in 1957, yet even then all the members of the boards of governors and management were British and appointed by the Governor-General (Golding and Elliott 1979: 42).

In the Republic of Ireland, print media developed very much on a western model and were concerned with the needs and freedoms of particular groups and not specifically as a nationalist or anti-colonial activity, as they did in many colonial societies like Africa. While national and anti-colonial feelings were expressed in some areas of the press, they were not the main impetus for its development. Broadcasting was developed in order to counteract the growing cultural power of the BBC, as we have seen above (Section 4.3.1). As in Nigeria, until recently the Irish Government was very closely involved in the broadcasting service. In 1966, for example, a critical comment by a farmer about Ministry of Agriculture policies was dropped from a news bulletin because of an angry telephone call from the Agriculture Minister. In its response to criticism of this event, the Irish government stated that RTE (the Irish Broadcasting Service) was set up as an instrument of public policy with a duty to respect the institutions of Government (Golding and Elliott 1979: 60).

#### **4.4 Historical Programming in the UK**

Archaeology and history have come to play an increasingly important role in the mass media of contemporary society. While print media, museums and exhibitions have been important in disseminating information about archaeology and archaeological discoveries since its inception as an area of study, these have generally been aimed at the upper and middle classes. Broadcast media on the other hand, and in particular television, tend to be understood as a more democratic medium of instruction. The growing development of television representations of, and documentaries about, the past are therefore of particular interest to this study.



The profile of archaeology and historical programming as a media product has grown markedly in the United Kingdom over the last decade. While history documentaries are not a recent phenomenon, their style of presentation and areas of interest have changed from the authoritative single, middle class, male narrator's voice of, for example, *The World at War* to a more lively and multi-vocal (in terms of experts) programme model. In broadcasting the urge to entertain is the strongest of the three main tenets of the system (inform, entertain and educate) and often entertainment values are central to the broadcaster's agenda (Golding and Elliott 1979: 71) as they lead to high ratings. Therefore, informative programmes such as archaeological and historical documentaries and series are under pressure to entertain as well as inform. The increased popularity of historical programming is due in part to the success of such products as *Time Team* and *Horizon*, and has led to a profusion of historical, cultural heritage and archaeology television programmes and series from *Restoration* (BBC), to *Extreme Archaeology* (Channel 4).

A particular problem with television programmes about the past is their reliance on simplistic interpretations and explanations. This is a problem that confronts the academic on a daily basis as we use terminology that is often too simplistic, but that convention dictates is used in order for one's work to be understood. In an academic context, we are able to address these issues and justify our uses of terms. This is not the case in mass media products, and by reproducing simplistic versions of the past the mass media simplifies the history and archaeology that is understood by the general public. The past that is presented and the language that is used in current media representations of the past rely on unquestioned interpretations of the sort used by nationalists to further their cause, and say little about the theoretical and innovative approaches that are now common practice in most university archaeology departments.

Many archaeology series in the United Kingdom adhere to a particular formula. Firstly they represent archaeology as an activity that is 'against the clock'. As television production relies on constantly moving images and storylines in order to keep the viewing public interested, a sense of urgency makes the programmes seem like a challenge or game show. While an in-depth study of a six week excavation could be perceived as boring and might not generate high ratings, an exciting and potentially dangerous situation is much more audience-friendly. Secondly, many programmes fail to acknowledge the entire archaeological heritage that they come across when they do not answer the specific research question set up for the programme. Thus if the team is looking for a Roman fort, any medieval finds are generally ignored or not placed fully in context. While it is no longer acceptable to look for one particular answer or one particular period in archaeology, our



discipline is presented in these terms to the viewers. The production values of these television programmes dictate that there must be a particular narrative or story associated with each programme, and therefore evidence that deviates from the narrative is deemed irrelevant to the audience. Both of these factors lead to unrealistic and simplistic representations of the past, and to a certain extent they deny the increasingly polysemic nature of contemporary research.

Documentary programmes, such as the *Horizon* series or the programme *Pompeii: The Last Day*, focus on magnificent and spectacular finds or periods, and are based on culture-historical models of the past. They rely on historical events and archaeological sites from Egypt or the Classical world; other common areas of interest include links to astronomy, the bible and megalithic monuments. The past is presented through the lens of a magnificent find or site, after which a new theory is introduced, discussed and often 'verified' through scientific means. While these programmes are less like game shows they also follow a problem-based formula. They focus on a single research question and often present a relatively simplistic version of past events. In these programmes, television acts as re-enforcer of stereotypes, or preconceived ideas, about the people and places of the past. In a programme on BBC2 aired on 13 March 2004 (*Spartans at the Gates of Fire*), the battle of Thermopylae was recounted with reconstructions of classical scenes in order to illustrate the story. Classical temples were shown during the discussions of Spartan religion, even though there were no classical temples in Sparta at that time of the type represented in the programme (this links the imagery of the tourist to media imagery, see Section 5.2.3 below). Indeed, the subject matter of the programme owes more to an idealisation of the Hellenic past by the British establishment than to any new or interesting archaeological or historical discoveries that may have influenced the telling of the story. Would the battle of Thermopylae have been such a popular subject if it had been the Persians who had 'shown bravery and courage' in the face of a foreign invasion?

Contemporary archaeological and historical programmes present the general public with a very old-fashioned type of archaeology/history. It seems likely that the producers and contributors to these programmes believe the general public to be incapable of understanding complicated and multi-vocal versions of the past that challenge the history taught in schools (see Chapter 3 above). In a sense contemporary historical programmes reinforce the prevailing belief that the past can be relatively simple to understand. It fits in with the history that people learn at school, and reinforces a simplistic nationalist, state-sanctioned reading of the past. This may be because the majority of these programmes are produced by non-specialists, who try to present specialist information in the simple/broad terms consistent



with other media products. Historical programming, therefore, fits into the broad social consensus that is represented in almost all media production.

## 4.5 Archaeology and the Mass Media in Cyprus

### 4.5.1 The Mass Media in Cyprus from 1878 to 1960

Prior to the arrival of the British in Cyprus, the island had been relatively poor in terms of communications, there were no locally published newspapers on the island and all news came from outside the island. With the arrival of the British, however, the first printing presses came into use and numerous local publications began to be produced (Bryant 2004: 33). The law relating to the media remained unchanged from that of the Ottoman Empire for the early years of British dominion, but new legislation was finally introduced in the 1920s and was increasingly tightened due to the political situation from the 1930s onwards. Following the disturbances of October 1931, the press in Cyprus was censored until at least 1937 (Bryant 2004: 129; CO 67/278/5 1937: 38) and to a greater or lesser extent it remained under government censorship and strict control for the remainder of British dominion on the island.

The development of the press on Cyprus was widespread from 1878 onwards, with numerous newspapers and journals catering to all aspects of Cypriot society from the satirical journal to the highbrow newspaper.

Immediately upon the arrival of the British, printing presses began to whirl, so that a dozen years later seven newspapers in Greek boasted a combined circulation of nearly 3,000 in the island; a “Journal of Cyprian Studies” had been inaugurated, and approximately 450 books had been published (Bryant 2004: 33).

The publishers tended to be the elites who controlled the legislative council and who would use their power to frame the discourses of nationalism that emerged in the two main communities in Cyprus. The new print media served to bolster conservative forms of traditional authority by representing the villager as ignorant and gullible and therefore in need of guidance from those who were able to use their high literacy to their advantage. As the newspapers were published in high Greek (*katharevousa*) or high Ottoman Turkish, they were outside the scope of the average Cypriot whose education would have been non-existent or at a relatively low level. Thus villagers were in the main presented with an *interpretation* of the news by the local schoolmaster. The position of authority from which the publishers and the interpreters of the news came meant that in the minds of the mass of the Cypriot population, everything that was written in them was true (Bryant 2004: 35-45).

We are convinced that the Cyprus Press, disregarding altogether the true interest of this Colony and taking advantage of the mentality of the majority of the



people of Cyprus who are inclined to believe that whatever is published in a newspaper is true, follows a policy tending to excite and mislead the public (CO 67/278/5 1937: 39, Report by the Advisory Council on the excesses of the Cypriot press).

Under the 1930 press laws, newspaper proprietorship was brought under increased governmental control. The main points of the law are as follows: any person or organisation wishing to publish a newspaper had to pay £200; had to be living in Cyprus for at least seven years and be planning to stay on the island for the whole time that the paper was being published; and be of good character. A copy of each newspaper had to be delivered to the Colonial Secretary within three days of publication or the newspaper would be fined £5 per newspaper. All official communications sent to proprietors on behalf of the Colonial Secretary had to be published. All books published had to be submitted to the Colonial Secretary for free within one month of their publication. Those wishing to own a printing press were required to apply for a permit from the government. Anyone convicted of printing or publishing libellous or seditious material could be prohibited from publishing or contributing to a newspaper for up to three years after his/her conviction. The law did not apply to any Government printing establishments or printers (CO 67/235/5 1930: 9-21).

Following the disturbances of October 1931 censorship was introduced for a time on telegraphic and postal correspondence, and on the local press. Telegraphic censorship in the early days of the disturbances was intended to stop mis-information, encouragement and information that might prove useful to the insurgents. Local telegraphic censorship stopped on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1931 but telegrams to and from abroad remained subject to censorship. Defence Regulations, meanwhile, allowed for a certain amount of postal censorship. The Director and Assistant Director of Education were placed in charge of censorship on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1931. All newspapers published in Greek overseas were scrutinised and the majority had to be destroyed on arrival in Cyprus. On 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1931 a censorship co-ordinating officer was appointed for centralisation of the information obtained. A fortnight of censorship of all in and out mail yielded less information than anticipated but:

it has, however, assisted in revealing the general state of mind of Cypriots both at home and abroad and has resulted in considerably increasing the number of suspect persons whose correspondence is subjected to the special censorship which still continues (CO 67/243/3 1931: 18).

Press censorship was established on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1931 and resulted in newspaper proprietors having to present the censor with proofs prior to any publication.



The general principles adopted by the censor were to allow nothing to appear which was calculated to arouse in the reader hatred or contempt of the Government; to excite a spirit of resistance, active or passive, to the Government's measures, to glorify the policy of violence or to incite others to emulate them (CO 67/243/3 1931: 18).

"Many articles have been submitted for censorship which, under the guise of historical sketches, tend to propagate the same spirit of resistance in camouflaged form" (CO 67/243/3 1931: 20). Some British newspapers, meanwhile, had references to the events excised or modified prior to their distribution in Cyprus (CO 67/243/3 1931: 19). Foreign newspapers, especially those from Athens and Egypt, were censored on import and these restrictions were maintained for some time.

The correspondence from A.J. Dawe to Darnley within the Colonial Office serves to illustrate British opinion of the Cypriot press.

The proposals are certainly rather drastic. But as I have ventured to urge for some years, Cyprus is one of those places where you must either 'govern or get out', and an elementary necessity in the government of a country of this type is a firm control over the press (CO 67/246/2 1932: 6, Letter from Dawe to Darnley 16<sup>th</sup> March 1932 regarding the law to amend Seditious Publication Law 1921).

My own view is that as far as Cyprus is concerned we ought to scrap our ordinary ideas about liberty of the press, and model ourselves more on the methods of the French and the Italians in dealing with their Mediterranean territories (CO 67/246/2 1932: 7, Letter from Dawe to Darnley 16<sup>th</sup> March 1932 regarding the law to amend Seditious Publication Law 1921).

In order to achieve some control over the situation on Cyprus, it was felt that a propaganda department should be set up to circulate pro-government news and propaganda, with only newspapers that behaved correctly having access to government news. The second step would be to set up one or more pro-government newspapers with a government subsidy: "part of their job would be to rub in the fact that the British possession of the Island is a permanent thing, and so make the Cypriots feel the hopelessness of agitation" (CO 67/246/2 1932: 8). Lack of funding and willing personnel meant that these measures were not immediately taken, although they were not forgotten. An English-language newspaper with pro-government feeling was frequently suggested and attempts made to establish one on numerous occasions, while a propaganda department was eventually established in 1955 (following further nationalist disturbances which started in the same year), with Lawrence Durrell appointed as Press Censor (CO 926/507 1954-56: 47).



Indeed the relationship between the local Greek Cypriot press and the British administration continued to deteriorate throughout much of their period of administration. Despite numerous crackdowns on the press and strict control, the British were never able to gain control over the content and attitude of the newspapers. They felt that the irresponsible attitude of the Greek Cypriot editors and journalists contributed to the deterioration of the situation in Cyprus, and to a certain extent they were correct in this assumption. It was the press, alongside the other institutions of authority such as the church and schools, that served to create, maintain and escalate ethnic/religious nationalist sentiments in Cyprus. British policies that were felt to be illiberal served to give the movement more impetus, as did contradictory policies allowing for a certain amount of autonomy within each community. Had the British invested more in the creation of a pan-Cypriot identity, instead of the Christian and Muslim ones that were used in all relationships between them and the Cypriots, the position of the ethnic/religious nationalists on the island might have been weakened (although there were attempts to foster a Cypriot identity by the British, these were always half-hearted measures that were often implemented *after* the problem of nationalism arose).

#### 4.5.2 The Mass Media in Cyprus from 1960 to the Present

Freedom of the Press was safeguarded under the terms of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus ([www.cyprus.gov.cy](http://www.cyprus.gov.cy) Cyprus at a Glance).

Every person has the right to freedom of speech and expression in any form. This right includes freedom to hold opinions and receive and impart information and ideas without interference by any public authority and regardless of frontiers ([www.pio.gov.cy](http://www.pio.gov.cy) Freedom of the Press).

Broadcasting was required to serve both the Greek and Turkish communities in a minimum ratio of three hours of broadcasts in Turkish to every seven hours of broadcasts in Greek. Provisions were also made to ensure that “all official broadcasts in sound and vision shall be made both in Greek and Turkish” ([www.cyprus.gov.cy](http://www.cyprus.gov.cy) Constitution).

Matters relating to the mass media, publicity and ‘the Cyprus Problem’ are regulated by the Press and Information Office (PIO), which is the direct successor of the Public Information Office set up by the British towards the end of WWII.

During the liberation struggle of the Greek Cypriots against the British (1955-59) the Office served as a propaganda instrument of the British administration under the direction of the well-known novelist, Lawrence Durrell ([www.pio.gov.cy](http://www.pio.gov.cy) About Us).

The PIO also edits, issues and distributes all government and some semi-government news and press releases, including those of the Department of Antiquities.



The Cyprus press is free and independent and the Press Law of 1989 “safeguards the freedom of the press, the unhindered circulation of newspapers, the right of journalists not to disclose the sources of their information and access to official information” ([www.pio.gov.cy](http://www.pio.gov.cy) Freedom of the Press). There are currently seven daily newspapers in Cyprus; of these, three are right wing and Greek-language, two are independent and Greek-language, one is independent and English-language and one is left-wing and Greek-language. Broadcast media on Cyprus include the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (CyBC), a number of independent national and local broadcasters and free transmission of television channels from Greece. Perceived threats to the Greek nature of Cypriot culture from tourism, travel abroad, foreign education and the mass media led to a governmental attempt at strengthening the presence of Greek culture in Cyprus. To this end, the governments of Cyprus and Greece signed an agreement in 1990 whereby there is direct transmission of Greek TV programmes in Cyprus with the expenses paid by the Cyprus government (Persianis 1994: 106).

The Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation “is a state-funded public service ... transmitting island-wide on three radio and two television channels” ([www.pio.gov.cy](http://www.pio.gov.cy) Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation). It was established under the British in 1953, transmitting one radio channel, and began TV broadcasts in 1956. Daily transmissions were introduced in 1968 and the Corporation switched to colour in 1982. The main channel, CyBC1, has an emphasis on educational and cultural programmes, and those concerning public service, while CyBC2 (launched in 1992 to coincide with commercial transmission in the Republic) is more entertainment-based. The objectives of CyBC are:

to provide the Cypriot public with information and entertainment as well as cultural and educational programmes. The home produced programmes are generally aimed at the Greek-speaking public, but the CyBC also broadcasts news programmes in English and Turkish and a cultural programme in Turkish ... The CyBC also transmits via satellite a selection of its radio and TV programmes to the Greek-speaking communities abroad. It has also linked Cyprus viewers with TV channel ET1 of Greece ([www.pio.gov.cy](http://www.pio.gov.cy) Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation).

From the CyBC website, it is clear that the Corporation considers its role to be a national one, as illustrated by the quotation given below:

At the beginning of the island’s independence, CyBC television served the objectives and needs of the newly-founded member state of the United Nations. The history of CyBC television reflects the struggle of the Republic of Cyprus and its people ... Today, CyBC plans and schedules its programmes according to its national and social mission and at the same time it promotes Cyprus all



over the world ([www.cybc.com.cy](http://www.cybc.com.cy) History of Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation).

Programmes like *Den Xechno* (I Do Not Forget), and the continual connections with Greece represented on the Cypriot television channels (and the freely transmitted Greek channels), serve nationalist ends. They present the identity of the islanders in simplistic terms of Greekness, and use media imagery and language to reinforce state ideologies of a threatened nation whose mono-ethnic culture (where other voices are largely ignored) is never in doubt. Post- or anti-colonial sentiments in the Cypriot media are represented by references to the ‘freedom struggles’ of EOKA in the 1950s and negative representations of British people (including, to some extent, British Cypriots). On 1<sup>st</sup> April 2005, a programme was broadcast on CyBC to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the start of the EOKA campaign. This programme presented the movement in a positive light. The British were cuckolded by EOKA maidens who risked all for the ‘freedom’ of their country, while Turkish Cypriots and left-wing opponents to the movement played no part in the dramatisation.

Representations of archaeology in contemporary Cypriot television provide an interesting case and form one of the central elements of my study into the mass media in contemporary Cyprus. While archaeological finds are widely reported on evening news bulletins as they are released by the Department of Antiquities via the PIO, factual programmes relating to the archaeology and indeed history of Cyprus are few. Unlike Britain, history programmes such as those discussed in Section 4.4 above are almost completely unknown in Cyprus. Indeed, historical and archaeological programmes with Cyprus or Cypriot sites as their central theme are totally lacking outside of Cyprus. The only roughly contemporary exception to this is the CyBC series entitled *The History of Cyprus* (CyBC 1993-1997). While the recent past has been tackled by a number of producers and channels through period dramas and comedies, the ancient and historical past of the island has only been approached by the single male narrative voice of Andros Pavlides (Director of TV Programmes, CyBC) in his series (a wider discussion of this series is presented in Section 4.6.2 below).

## 4.6 Case Studies

### 4.6.1 Guides to Cyprus

During the British colonial period a number of editions of the *Handbook of Cyprus* were produced. They were written by British men – usually members of the colonial administration – and were intended as a reference book for British and foreign residents and visitors to the island. It is highly unlikely that these books were of any relevance to the native inhabitants of the island or that they were intended for their consumption. They do, however, provide an insight into the attitudes of the British towards Cyprus, and an insight



into how they felt the island should be represented. The sample used for this discussion comprises the 1903 (Hutchinson and Cobham), 1905 (Hutchinson and Cobham), 1913 (Lukach and Jardine), 1920 (Luke and Jardine) and 1930 (Storrs and O'Brien) editions of the *Handbook*. I also include the 1964 publication *Cyprus: a Handbook on the Island's Past and Present* (published by the Greek Communal Chamber of Cyprus) and the PIO's 2001 and 2003 publications *About Cyprus* as a comparison of the history of the island as represented by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

#### 4.6.1.1 The Handbook of Cyprus

It is important to consider the colonising position of those who produced the *Handbook* in order to understand fully the history presented in these editions. The discussion of the history of Cyprus in the *Handbook* develops from a few short pages in 1903 to a much expanded section by the 1930 edition, with the tone of the arguments as well as the dating of specific events changing over the period. The 1905 edition includes a disclaimer in the preface that the authors “would wish it noticed that the Handbook is in no sense an official publication” (Hutchinson and Cobham 1905: no page), despite the fact that one of the editors was the colonial Commissioner for Larnaca. By 1913 the editors were thanking “all those officials... who have been so ready to assist them” (Lukach and Jardine 1913: viii), while the illustrations were provided by the High Commissioner (vii). The claim to impartiality is not mentioned in any of the other editions – and certainly not in 1930 when the Governor was one of the co-editors. By 1930 the cost of producing the Handbook was the responsibility of the government (Storrs and O'Brien 1930: viii) – suggesting that by this time it *was* an official publication.

It is unfortunate that no editions of the *Handbook* later than 1930 were available for this research, as they were not available through inter-library loans or from the British Library. It would be interesting to see how the colonial administration's presentation of the history of the island changed after the 1931 disturbances. Overall the history of Cyprus as presented in the *Handbook* highlights connections between Greece and Cyprus as well as connections between Cyprus and all the main powers in the region, in particular the numerous colonisers/conquerors of the island. The general British attitude to the Greeks is reflected in the *Handbook*. All connections with a Greek past (particularly of the classical period) are presented and discussed in the *Handbook* in positive terms. This is especially true of Onesilos and Evagoras of Salamis. Evagoras is described as having “governed with courage, wisdom, and success, reviving the cause of Hellenism and pursuing this task by entirely peaceful means” (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 9; Luke and Jardine 1920: 11; Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 10-11). Some allusions to the Mycenaean and Minoan connections with



Cyprus are made in later editions, and historical references to Cyprus are discussed, as are foundation myths.

Early Ionian immigrants colonized, no doubt, the coast towns neglected by the Phoenicians, and made free with the legends of Teucer, son of Telamon, of Theseus and Ariadne, the Arcadian Agapenor, and the Athenian Acamas. These last were in the end to prove the most pliable and most enduring element: the land took the imprint of successive conquests, but when once the conquered had assimilated the Christianity so early brought to their homes, their orthodoxy and their language were tenaciously cherished and transmitted together through the many crises in their history (Hutchinson and Cobham 1905: 3; Lukach and Jardine 1913: 6)

The foundation myths and Homeric references are seen as a vehicle for Greeks to establish close links with the Cypriots.

The mention of Agamemnon's corselet is adroitly seized as an opportunity for the interpolation of some lines intended to identify Cyprus as a Greek land. It is generally supposed that these lines were introduced into the text at the time when Greeks were establishing themselves in the island and wished to make good their claim to it as the successors of Agamemnon (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 7; Luke and Jardine 1920: 8).

The Greek elements of Cypriot history are important as they serve to connect Britain with ancient Greece through the medium of Cyprus.

Eastern contacts with Cyprus are presented in a more negative light than those of the Greeks, and generally take the form of conquests rather than colonisation (all sources examined refer to the so-called Mycenaean colonisation while all subsequent events are described as conquests). By 1930, however, eastern influences on the island are highlighted in the discussion of the Bronze Age with reference to Egyptian and Syrian imports (Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 64) and racial characteristics. "The early history of Cyprus is obscure and of the racial affinities of the early population we know little, except that already in the Bronze Age it included distinct types akin to those of Asia Minor and North Africa" (Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 7). The Phoenician presence is presented as one that was at times hostile to the Greek Cypriots but also generally as being of little importance to the cultural make-up of the people of Cyprus. The Phoenicians "attempted, always unsuccessfully, to extirpate the hardy growth of Greek civilisation from the island" (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 10; Luke and Jardine 1920: 11). By 1930 this sentence has substantially changed: "the Greeks of Cyprus were left to struggle unassisted with their Phoenician neighbours" (Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 10). The Persians are presented in a negative light and this reflects British prejudice in favour of Greeks and Romans in the classical period. This may also be a reflection of the



British role as coloniser in the Middle East, as well as an attempt to reduce the importance of eastern (and, by extension Ottoman) influences.

The export of wood, cereals, wine, and copper enriched the inhabitants, who were a by-word for their luxury, immorality, and sloth, engendered by the hot climate, and for their great wealth... Indeed, throughout the classical period the mass of the people were famous for their stupidity. In Greece they were spoken of with contempt (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 14; Luke and Jardine 1920: 16; Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 15-16).

The Roman period is presented as one of unchecked prosperity. In their discussion of the Roman period, a negative attitude towards Greek Cypriots begins to emerge. This links the British and Romans as colonisers of lesser nations.

The later periods are discussed in relation to the elites who controlled the island and little reference is made to the lives of the average Cypriots. This history, as well as the school history discussed above, relies on textual, rather archaeological evidence. Richard the Lionheart's capture of Cyprus is referred to as the first English occupation and the Cypriots were "fortunate to be relieved" of Isaac Komnenus's oppression as he was "a violent and ruffianly tyrant" (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 15-16; Luke and Jardine 1920: 17-18; Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 17). The two British periods of domination are linked with Government House being claimed to be on the site of King Richard's encampment (Luke and Jardine 1920: 71). While the Lusignan period was initially described in negative terms, by 1913 it was seen in a much more positive light. The Venetian and Ottoman periods are presented in a generally negative light and it is in the discussion of the Ottoman period that the inhabitants are referred to in clumsy terms such as Greek-speaking, Christian and Mohammedan, instead of Greek or Turkish (Lukach and Jardine 1913; Luke and Jardine 1920; Storrs and O'Brien 1930). This was a way to deny the authenticity of Greek Cypriot claims to a Hellenic heritage (Demetriadou 1998: 176).

Before the British occupation there was a sinking country, with increasing burdens, extra taxation and forced contributions, with no hope of improvement. Neither lives nor properties were safe. Justice was a matter of influence or money. The generation which suffered these things is passing away, and the evils of that time are forgotten, while they are unknown to the rising generation (Hutchinson and Cobham 1905: 119).

The British are discussed as having made a major contribution to Cyprus' economy and education as well as aiding progress along the lines of western civilisation (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 27; Luke and Jardine 1920: 31; Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 35).



It is but natural that Cyprus, situated as it is in the Mediterranean, the cradle of Western civilisation, and exposed as it has been successively to the influence of many artistic races, should prove to be of profound archaeological and antiquarian interest. Except in very early ages, Cypriot art has always been imitative; and the remains of the later periods are therefore the reflections of its history, and of the races which at various times have been its rulers (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 50; Luke and Jardine 1920: 59; Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 62).

The strategic location of the island is highlighted as being of the utmost importance to all who dominated the region throughout history, which reinforces the connections between ancient and modern colonial aspirations and shows Britain to be the most powerful or influential force in the eastern Mediterranean in the present. This constant colonisation/conquest of the island is also important as it serves to show the contemporary Cypriot as someone unable to rule her/himself as s/he has almost never had the opportunity to do so. The continual colonisations/conquests have diluted the Greek spirit of the island and the Cypriots are therefore acceptable as colonial subjects because they are not pure Hellenes (see Knapp 2001: 34 on the development of references to Cyprus as a 'crossroads' of other cultures).

The attitude of the British towards the Greek Cypriots can be understood when one studies their representation of the island in print. It has its roots in the British attitude towards Greece and to their Occidentalist/Imperialist position. The British – and the Victorians in particular – had long admired and emulated the achievements of the ancient Greeks, so much so that they claimed to be the true inheritors of the classical past. For the West, ancient Greece was something to aspire to while modern Greece was nothing but a backwater peopled by peasants (Herzfeld 1987). As classicism underlay most British notions of civilisation, it created an awkward juxtaposition between their role as the inheritors of ancient Greece and colonisers of the Greek Cypriots (Given 1997: 60). For the colonial British administration, the Hellenic past of Cyprus was important as it served to link their Empire with the classical past while also maintaining a presence in a geographically strategic position. It also served to connect Britain with ancient Rome (another tradition that the British claimed to inherit), by ruling over a land that was once held by the Romans. "There is, however, no place within the British Empire which is so rich in antiquities as Cyprus. In its remains of the classical civilizations it is, of course, a unique possession of the crown" (CO 67/224/2 1928: 11 Note from A.J. Dawe 18<sup>th</sup> June 1929). It is clear from the examples given above, however, that British attitudes towards the Greek aspect of Cypriot culture were cooling substantially by 1930.



The more recent past, and local present, of the island was belittled and treated with contempt. Little or nothing of the arts, crafts and society of the indigenous Cypriots was held in any esteem and their way of life was something to be modernised and westernised rather than explored or celebrated. As the contemporary Cypriots were simple peasants who bore little relation to their Hellenic ancestors and who needed to be modernised, they were therefore ideal subjects of British colonialism. The history of the island as presented in British media such as the *Handbook* focuses on external influences and control. This acts as a reminder that the indigenous Cypriots were not capable of self government while also reinforcing Britain's position as the main power in the region in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Perhaps by highlighting this aspect of the island's past in their histories of it, the British were asserting both their right to be there and their own importance and worth.

#### 4.6.1.2 Greek Cypriot Guides to Cyprus

There are three main phases in the archaeology of Cyprus, which are characteristic of the evolution of the whole Cypriot culture. The first is represented by a period of 4,000 years of highly developed prehistoric culture; the second by a period of two centuries in the second half of the second millennium, when the island was colonized and hellenized by Achaean Greeks from the Peloponnese; and the third by an unrelenting struggle on the part of the Cypriots to develop their Greek culture in contact with that of the Greek mainland, or to defend it against numerous adversities resulting from long and despotic oppression from the various occupations (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 51).

As might be expected, the tone in the guides produced by the Greek Cypriots differs significantly from those of the British produced volumes. The emphasis on a Greek past – or Greek influences in the island's past – are much more numerous and more strongly presented, and the importance of Cyprus is inflated. The main feature of the history of Cyprus as presented in the Greek Cypriot guides is the Mycenaean 'colonisation' in the Late Bronze Age. This 'colonisation' is credited with having altered the ethnic make-up of the people of the island for all time (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 28; 53; 55). Other 'ethnic' elements in Cyprus in the Iron Age and later are largely played down and shown as having no lasting impression on the demography of the island. Even the discussion of the Neolithic period highlights Greek connections over others: "recent research has shown, however, that even at such early times the people of Cyprus had a greater contact with the people of Greece than with the East" (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 27).

The 1964 *Handbook* presents a more definitely Greek history than any of the other publications studied, and in this sense it most closely resembles the *History of Cyprus* by



Andros Pavlides (see below). The “proof of the Greek descent of the Cypriots” is found in ancient textual references (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 28).

The new settlers, who brought with them their language, religion and highly developed culture, very soon absorbed the autochthonous element and dominated the political and cultural life of Cyprus. The Greek language,... the Greek gods and Greek way of life were planted in the soil of Cyprus, where they found a favourable atmosphere for survival (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 53).

The Greeks (Mycenaeans) supplanted the flourishing indigenous culture because of the high quality of their culture (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 53). The Bronze Age is discussed almost exclusively with reference to supposed Mycenaean contacts and virtually every aspect of life on the island from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age is related to the Mycenaean/Greeks. For example, the city-kingdom as a system of government in Iron Age Cyprus is seen as deriving from them and the kings of Cyprus are said to have lived and ruled in Mycenaean (Greek) fashion (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 30-31).

In the discussion of the many dominating forces in Cyprus the Greek people of Cyprus are repeatedly represented as trying to liberate themselves from foreign rule (against the Persians under Evagoras 1964: 32-33; and against the British through the *enosis* ‘struggle’ 1964: 44), with foreign mis-rule and oppression of the native Greek Cypriots as a recurring theme for all except the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean colonisation, and the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The eastern influences on, and rulers of, Cyprus are generally discussed in a negative light in this volume, and it is likely that this relates to the recent inter-communal problems that had taken place in Cyprus in 1963/4.

Political domination was inevitably followed in each case by an attempt at cultural penetration, but the Cypriots never surrendered whole-heartedly. Having enjoyed for several centuries the fruits of Greek culture, we see them now struggling to preserve Greek traditions against the oriental despots and their collaborators, the Phoenicians (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 55).

In this quotation we see the demonisation of the east, and by association the Turks who were often represented as collaborators with the British in the period 1878-1960. It is possible that the Ottoman administration was being alluded to in the phraseology ‘oriental despots’.

The later periods are discussed in a negative way except where Greek connections can be established, such as the Byzantine period. “Throughout the Byzantine period the Greek character of the island was preserved in all its manifestations. The Byzantine tradition is preserved to a great extent in the island to the present day” (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 40). The main feature of the Lusignan period is the feudal system and attempts to make the



Greek Cypriots adopt the Roman Catholic faith, while “under the Venetians ... Cyprus suffered intolerable misrule” (1964: 43); this is something the British and Greek Cypriots agree about. Under the Ottomans, the Orthodox church regained its position in Cyprus but otherwise the Greeks suffered under their new rulers as in the past, the Turkish period being marked by misgovernment, earthquakes, epidemics and plagues of locusts ... Despite the fact that many Turks came to settle in Cyprus, the great majority of the population remained Greek, and the Greek character of the island was preserved (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 43).

The discussion of the British period relates mainly to the *enosis* movement. Cultural continuity in the present is shown in the discussion of life in Cyprus, which “in many ways... has not changed for two thousand years, or even more” (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 264). The isolation of rural life in Cyprus helped to preserve a tradition of hospitality among the villages and “hospitality to strangers was one of the Homeric canons of behaviour” (Greek Communal Chamber 1964: 265).

Cyprus, according to mythology, is the birthplace of the goddess of love and beauty, Aphrodite. The island is both an ancient land, with an eleven thousand year-old history and civilisation as well as a young independent Republic since 1960. Its geographic location at the crossroads of three continents ... and the meeting point of great civilisations, has been one of the factors influencing the course of the island’s history throughout the centuries (PIO 2001: 18).

The PIO publications (*About Cyprus*) are much more even-handed in their discussion of the recent past – this may relate to reconciliation attempts in the wake of EU accession as well as a greater sense of security for the Greek Cypriots of the Republic by 2001 and 2003. The Historical Survey in both editions is very brief and while it also highlights the Mycenaean Greek ‘colonisation’ of the island, the main focus of these volumes falls on the economy and the political aspects of ‘the Cyprus Problem’ and contemporary Cyprus (PIO 2001: 18; PIO 2003: 8).

#### 4.6.2 The History of Cyprus as Presented on CyBC

Three programmes relating to the general history of Cyprus can be purchased from CyBC: *Aphrodite’s Island* (CyBC 1963); *Salamina* (CyBC 1973); and the series by Andros Pavlides, *The History of Cyprus (Ancient, Byzantine and Medieval)* (CyBC 1993-1997). Of the three, the *History of Cyprus* forms the main focus of the following discussion.

*Aphrodite’s Island* (CyBC 1963) was a 29 minute general programme about Cyprus in Greek with music by Mikis Theodorakis. The theme tune is a song about Cyprus sung by a Greek (Gregory Bithikotsis) called *Risoprasino Filo Pesmeno Sto Pelago* (Green Leaf Fallen in the



Sea) – this song was later adopted as a part of the symbolism (an aural sign) of the 1974 invasion and has strong emotional pulls for Greek Cypriots of the generations that experienced the events of the 1950s to the 1970s. The programme presents a discussion of the history and development of Cyprus through time and connects ancient to modern Cyprus visually and through the discussion of life in the island throughout its history.



Figure 4.3: Old men at a coffee shop (CTO advertising campaign 2003)



Figure 4.4: An old lady making cheese (CTO 2000: 7)

The main pictorial elements of the programme juxtapose the traditional/folk lifestyles of old ladies involved in traditional activities (Fig 4.4) and old men at the coffee shop (Fig 4.3) with modernity through images of western visitors dancing, partaking in water-spots and generally enjoying the ‘warm Cypriot hospitality’ (CyBC 1963).

*Salamina* (CyBC 1973) discusses the history of excavations at Salamis in Greek. Connections are made between the mythical foundations of the city, Homeric descriptions of funerary rituals, and offerings and evidence from the Royal Tombs at the necropolis. The simple graves of the necropolis are connected to the present through the evidence of offerings that included wheat, raisins and pomegranates. These are the same as the traditional ingredients for offerings to the dead in the Orthodox tradition (*koliffa*), which are still used in the present. This longevity of tradition presented in both *Aphrodite's Island* and *Salamina* serves to make a connection between the contemporary audience and their ancestors, as well as the archaeological site. The narrator states that the history of Salamis *is* the History of Cyprus (CyBC 1973).

The *History of Cyprus* series was written and presented by Andros Pavlides (Director of TV Programmes, CyBC) based on his own research. The history is split into four groups: the *History of Ancient Cyprus* (from the geological creation of the island to AD 330); the *History of Byzantine Cyprus* (from AD 330 to 1191); the *History of Medieval Cyprus* (from AD 1191 to 1570); and the *History of Modern Cyprus* (from AD 1570 to 1960) (this section was not available for purchase from CyBC). This series provides the *only* comprehensive broadcast history of Cyprus and it is shown repeatedly on CyBC and through the CyBC satellite to the



Greek diaspora. It has very high ratings and there are no immediate plans for a new history of Cyprus to be produced (Pavlidis pers. comm. 2004).

The *History of Ancient Cyprus* frequently connects ancient to modern life on Cyprus, thereby creating a link between the viewer and the history of the island; building and farming methods are a common example of this (as seen in the history textbooks above). As we have seen elsewhere (Chapter 3; Section 4.6.1; Chapter 5), the Mycenaean Bronze Age ‘colonisation’ of Cyprus is a central theme for this series. The audience is informed that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC the Mycenaeans brought the Greek way of life to Cyprus through their religion, language, norms and traditions and “the Hellenisation of Cyprus which developed in stages had begun” (CyBC 1993: 4). The earlier inhabitants of the island (the Eteocypriots) were not a coherent ethnic group, and as the Achaean/Mycenaean settlement of Cyprus was not violent, it was not contested by the Eteocypriots. This is the only time that the demography of the people of Cyprus is shown to be altered throughout the series. There were increasingly close relations between Cyprus and the Helladic countries in the LBA and evidence for this can be found in Homer: Agamemnon’s armour was a gift from Kiniras (CyBC 1993: 5). All subsequent groups and ethnicities are represented as being unable to alter the Greek nature of the islanders acquired in the Late Bronze Age, except to strengthen it, while the longevity of other groups on the island is diminished in relation to the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’. So although Kition is widely believed to have been established by the Phoenicians in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, it was really established at the end of 13<sup>th</sup> century by the Achaeans (CyBC 1993: 5). In programme five, brief mention is also made of ‘supposed’ Hittite control over the north of Cyprus in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century BC; this domination is disputed on the grounds that the archaeology shows Cyprus to be a rich and prosperous place at that time. The Hittites are described as coming from Asia Minor, near Ankara. This brief mention of the Hittites serves as a reminder of Greek Cypriot troubles with their northern/Hittite/Ottoman/Turkish neighbours.

Cyprus subsequently came under the control of Assyria, Egypt and Persia in turn, but “in truth they did not occupy Cyprus in the way we think of occupations today” (CyBC 1993: 7). The implication here is that contemporary occupations are more physical – like the occupation of the northern third of the island. This serves to reinforce perceived threats to national security while demonising an unmentioned eastern ‘other’. The Cypriot kings continued to have a certain degree of autonomy and were able to hold onto their Greek identity. The connections between Cyprus and Greece were strengthened in the classical period particularly through the connections between Salamis and Attica, with Salamis acting as the bastion of Hellenism in the eastern Mediterranean (CyBC 1993: 8). The period of



Evagoras' rule in Cyprus was an important one as it diminished the importance of the Phoenicians, led Cyprus to closer Greek contacts and brought the Greek way of life to the island (CyBC 1993: 9). The Ptolemaic period was peaceful and prosperous, during which Cyprus was a bright Greek centre (CyBC 1993: 10), while the Roman period was important as it brought Christianity to the island. While ancient religions continued to be worshipped on Cyprus, "Christianity wins in the end and meets the ancient Greek spirit and develops into something new and unique – the Byzantine world of which Cyprus was a major part" (CyBC 1993: 13).



Figure 4.5: The Palaestra at Salamis

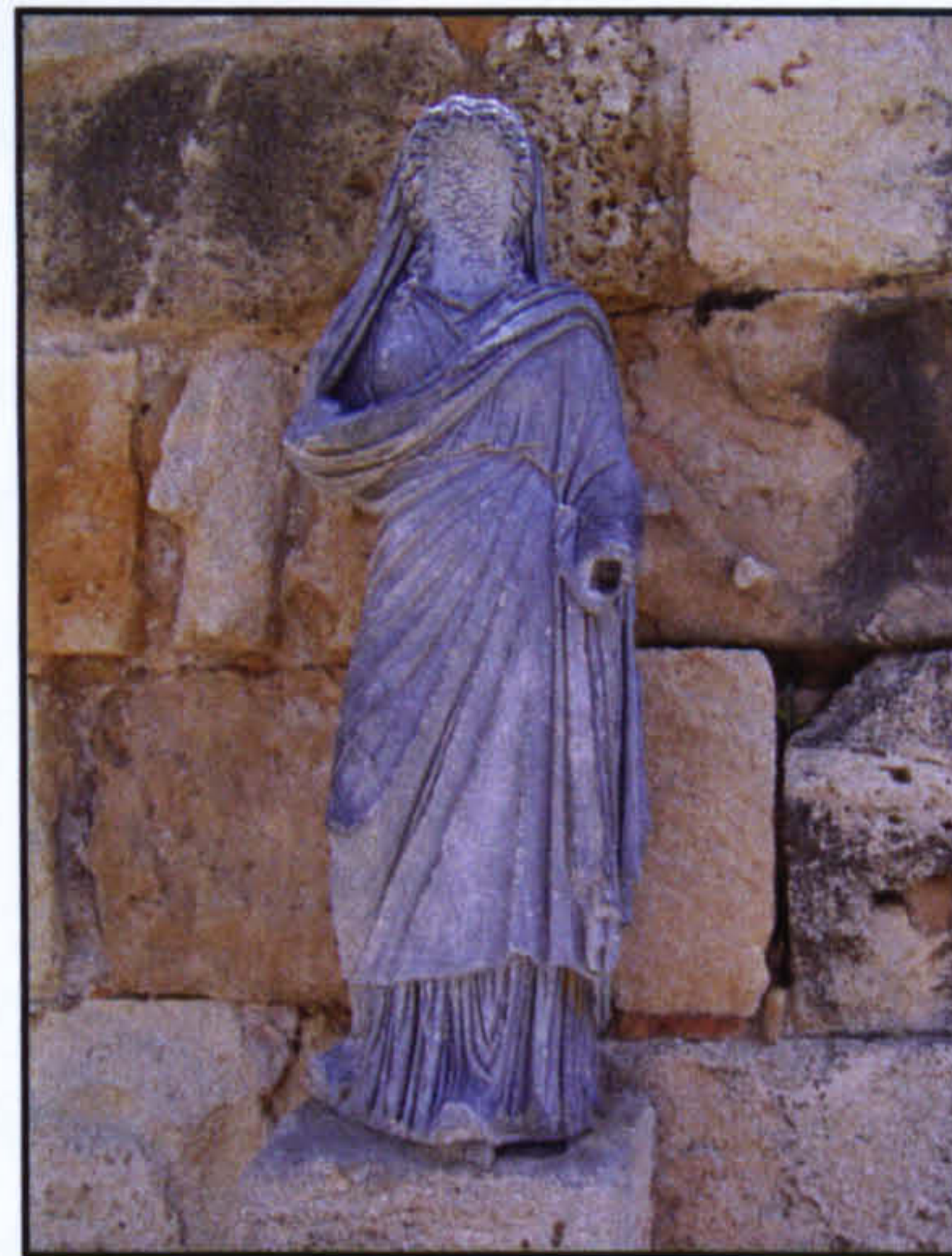


Figure 4.6: Classical sculpture at Salamis

As with the school textbooks, Salamis plays a central role in the discussion of the archaeology and history of the island. The wealth of archaeological finds (see for example Fig 4.5 and 4.6), coupled with the visual impressiveness of the site, make it an ideal product. Its location in the TRNC reminds the Greek Cypriots (and the Greek diaspora) of the political situation. It also serves to reinforce the perceived vulnerability of the nation, as well as the status quo in relation to the Turkish Cypriots. The Hellenistic and Roman periods are discussed with reference to their connections with Greek-ness and Orthodoxy. They are therefore used as a prop to reinforce the ethnicity of the Greek Cypriots.

In the *History of Byzantine Cyprus*, the audience is informed that Christianity found a population of slaves and downtrodden people in Cyprus. It offered a better afterlife to them and with the Byzantine Empire came Hellenism (CyBC 1996: 1). The discussion of this period mainly refers to religious events and includes the visit of St. Helena, the Synod of 482, and Cypriot religious architecture (such as the Monastery of Stavrovouni) (Fig 4.7).





Figure 4.7: The Monastery at Stavrovouni (HC2: 29)

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century an Arab historian wrote that the citizens of Cyprus were all Christians with not a single Muslim living there. “This is very important as it shows that even the Arabs knew that Cyprus was a Greek land” (CyBC 1996: 6). This statement serves nationalist ends by reminding the viewers of the relatively late arrival of Muslims on the island. This places the Greek Cypriots in a superior position historically and simplifies the ethnic make-up of the island. The *Akritika Epi* are discussed with reference to the main character, Dighenis Akritas (whose name was later adopted by the EOKA leader, Grivas), a guardian of border Greeks/Hellenism including Cyprus. Dighenis tried to change the bad things of life but he could not change the class system, and the audience are informed that he embodies the spirit of the people of Cyprus (CyBC 1996: 8). By the end of the Byzantine period the island was taken over by Richard the Lionheart because it was in a crucial strategic position for the Crusaders and not, as is widely believed, because his wife was ill-treated by Isaac Comnenus (CyBC 1996: 10). The discussion of the *Akritika Epi* serves to present something positively Greek in a period when the Byzantine Empire was in decline. The connection between Dighenis Akritas and Grivas could also be seen as producing a connotative understanding amongst the audience.

The main features of the discussion in the *History of Medieval Cyprus* are the poor living and working conditions of the Cypriots under the Franks, as well as the unsuccessful attempts to replace the Greek Orthodox church of Cyprus with the Latin church (CyBC 1997: 1-3). By highlighting these, the ethnic identity of the Greek Cypriots is strengthened to the detriment of a western ‘other’, thus showing them to be the ultimate victors in an ideological battle with the west. This statement may be seen as representing a postcolonial mentality, as it shows the Greek identity outwitting foreign attempts at domination. At the very least it represents anti-colonial sentiments. Much is also made of the political infighting and treachery amongst the Lusignan rulers (CyBC 1997: 5). The conditions of the Cypriot people decreased dramatically once the island came under Venetian control, while



the power of the Orthodox church increased due to the Venetian disinterest in religious matters (CyBC 1997: 11).

The programme has a very old-fashioned format whereby the sole presenter gives his version of events directly to the camera in an authoritative fashion. In Britain most programmes that specifically present the past in a factual manner are easy to digest and simply presented. They often have a narrator who presents the viewpoint of the programme, as well as a number of experts who give their opinions and assessments of the topic. These experts usually support the hypothesis of the programme. Where conflicting views are expressed, the problem is solved by the application of science. In Cyprus, on the other hand, historical dramas – especially those set in the golden age and formative period of Greek Cypriot national identity of the recent past – are very common and popular. However, more factual historical and archaeological programmes, while still popular, are dominated by a single presenter (usually Andros Pavlides) and present a very monolithic and personal view. Unlike Britain, where programmes about the past present the views of various experts (even if these are not necessarily engaged in a discussion), in Cyprus history programmes are presented in a purely narrative fashion. Cypriot historical programming therefore presents a more simplistic and monolithic version of events, which is related to the way that people are taught history in schools and general perceptions of the past.

In the *History of Cyprus*, the only alternative voices are those of ancient authors, whose texts are quoted as evidence for the narrative being presented. These include Homer, whose *Iliad* is presented as evidence for close connections between the Mycenaeans and the Cypriots (CyBC 1993: 5), and Leontios Macheras (CyBC 1996: 8). Stylistically the programme follows a simple formula whereby the narrator usually stands (or sits) facing (and sometimes walking towards) the camera, while presenting the events of the past as a simple, unquestionable narrative. Occasionally he is found within the archaeological or religious site that he is discussing (or that directly relates to the subject matter of the programme) but usually the background is fairly unidentifiable Cypriot countryside. The musical background and credits are extremely dramatic. This format is altered only once throughout the three series studied here. In his discussion of the birth of Aphrodite (CyBC 1993: 11), the presenter is shown swimming in the sea close to the *Petra tou Romiou* where Aphrodite is said to have been born. This singular change in format serves to connect the narrative to the imagery of the discussion in a very direct way. In addition, in this programme the narrator is vociferous in his defence of Aphrodite who he explains was not a scandalous or erotic goddess but a celestial being. The audience is informed that the traditional representation of Aphrodite as an erotic deity was based on an incorrect analysis by later historians who relied



on early Christian propaganda. This heated defence of the deity brings to mind positive propaganda. It is as though the presenter is embarrassed by the 'scandalous' image of the goddess and feels the need to re-market her as a 'clean' personage who has been on the receiving end of a slanderous campaign. This representation of Aphrodite also fits in with Cypriot morals and codes of female behaviour which are presented in an archaising fashion throughout Cypriot broadcast media.

This brief discussion of the series shows that it reinforces the traditional history of the island, while presenting evidence that disproves any claims to a multi-ethnic Cyprus. The state-owned television channel's presentation of the past therefore reinforces the nationalist and anti-colonial past presented elsewhere in the Republic of Cyprus. The continual domination of the island by the most powerful group in the region throughout history is as central to Greek Cypriot representations as it is to the British. By highlighting this aspect, the Republic of Cyprus presents itself as the eventual winner of a centuries-long contest for control over this place. Despite having been victims for hundreds of years, the Greek Cypriots eventually won through. In addition, by presenting this aspect of the island's past it is possible to create an inflated sense of the nation's importance to its citizens, while reminding them of their historical vulnerability (thereby perpetuating the role of the media as self-censor). The main features of media representations of the island's past by the Greek Cypriots are strong Hellenic connections. These are found in both print and broadcast media and serve to reinforce the nationalist ideology found elsewhere in cultural productions of Cypriot life. The ability of all Cypriots to live together is affected by these narrow representations of the island. Very few attempts have been made to foster a pan-Cypriot identity through the media and, as in all aspects of Cypriot life, Greek Cypriots are represented, and represent themselves, as primarily Greek. The Cypriot aspect of their identity is presented as a geographical rather than cultural element. Positive attempts to represent Turkish Cypriots are minimal in both print and broadcasting except in the arts, where inter-communal projects have begun to flourish since the relaxation of movement restrictions in 2003.

#### 4.7 Conclusion

As we have seen, the mass media, while not overtly biased, *do* reflect the prejudices of the state and recreate narrower historical understandings than would be acceptable in most academic discourse. While other voices can be presented in the media, these are always placed within the parameters of an Establishment assessment. In addition, the broadcast media present their messages in the most simple way in order to reflect the needs of the audience as well as the general social consensus. Nuanced arguments and balanced discussions are therefore anathema to the entertainment ethos of most programmes.



Exceptions to this tend to be aired late at night and often relate to the physical and biological, rather than social, sciences. Television representations of the past in Britain and Cyprus are simplistic and reinforce history as taught in schools; a history which is necessarily influenced by the needs of the state.

In the British period, relatively few efforts were made by the colonial administration to produce state-sanctioned media. This was largely due to a lack of will, funding and personnel. When radio and television broadcasts were introduced in the 1950s, they were too late to influence Greek Cypriot perceptions of themselves. Their lasting effect relates more to the practices of CyBC than to any public understanding of the island's history. The British period was dominated by attempts to suppress the Greek Cypriot press, which was felt to be largely seditious. By focusing on control and not producing alternatives for 'native' consumption, the British did nothing to diminish anti-colonial and nationalistic representations of Cyprus. The media produced by the colonial administration, including the *Handbook*, were largely intended for foreign (i.e. not 'native') consumption, thereby doing little to achieve alternative views of the history of the island.

Through the mass media, the Greek Cypriot state represents itself to its own people, and to the wider world, as a predominantly Greek nation. The colonial experience has clearly shaped Greek Cypriot presentations of themselves and their political situation in the media. The British period and British dominion are seen as central to the contemporary political problems on the island, and are represented negatively in the media. The media serve to reinforce the established negative relations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots by relying on right-wing official voices to the exclusion of all others (although the left-wing newspaper *Haravgi* is more balanced in its reporting and less nationalist). These chauvinistic media messages permeate the whole of Greek Cypriot society, thereby making the chances of a more open society, where all voices are heard, slim. While media messages alone are not responsible for nationalistic attitudes in the Republic of Cyprus, they do little or nothing to diminish them. Media messages showing the Greek Cypriots as perennial victims serve to reinforce nationalistic schooling while placing all blame for the political situation on others. This makes the presentation of other voices unlikely because of the perceived vulnerability of the state. The social consensus in Cyprus is therefore created and reinforced by the mass media because until 2003 most Greek Cypriots living in Cyprus had no contact with Turkish Cypriots, and even now contacts are relatively few. The Greek Cypriots therefore have few opportunities to evaluate the messages that are transmitted in light of personal experience within Cyprus.



## **Time Travelling: The Uses of the Past in Tourism**

Tourism is “multi-faceted and particularly bound up with many other social and cultural elements” (Urry 2002: 124).

### **5.1 Introduction**

Tourism is the medium through which states present themselves to the outside world, using the images and experiences they promote as the embodiment of their culture (MacCannell 1999: 193). The images and ‘cultural’ elements selected are telling in that they present a state-defined image of the nation. While these are not always intentionally selected by the state, they do represent state-sanctioned images, or codes, for the nation. Tourist images of a destination affect its meaning to ‘outsiders’, and they may also have an effect upon what ‘insiders’ understand of their home. The chances of this are increased if the tourist product conforms with other state-sanctioned representations of the nation such as education and (to a certain extent) the media. The past history of a state (especially its political history), and its position in the world, will also affect what it chooses for inclusion in its tourist imagery. In focusing on the pasts presented through tourism on Cyprus, I hope to make explicit that which is implicitly signified to the outside world.

Following a brief discussion of tourism theory, I consider the development of tourism in Cyprus from 1878 until the present. This investigation presents a discussion of the uses and development of tourism by the British and the Republic of Cyprus before looking into the contemporary Cypriot tourist product. This is considered in order to assess the impact of nationalism and colonialism on how the Republic represents itself to potential visitors (and by extension to its own people). In considering the role and importance of particular archaeological sites to tourism, I will explain why some are key tourist attractions while others are not. This discussion is supplemented by details of what one might expect in a typical Mediterranean or Greek tourist gaze and how this has affected tourist strategies and sites on the island. I then present a brief overview of the LBA, ‘classical’ and ‘folk’ gazes that shape the tourist experience of Cyprus.

### **5.2 Theories of Tourism**

The rise of the tourism industry over the last couple of decades has had major implications for considering its role in contemporary society. In terms of the global economy, tourism has grown consistently every year from 1982 to 2001, when increasing instability played a role in the slight reduction of tourist arrivals. In 2001 tourism generated US\$462 billion worldwide ([www.world-tourism.org](http://www.world-tourism.org)). Where once tourism was a minor facet of the contemporary world, in recent times it has become central to much state decision making, as



well as to the ways in which countries and states are presented and seen. This change in the status and importance of tourism has transformed it into an area of sociological study that is as important as the family or religion. The continued growth of tourism has shown that it is a permanent feature of the twenty-first century, although its predominant forms are likely to change through time.

World-wide tourism is growing at 4-5 per cent per annum. 'Travel and tourism' is the largest industry in the world, accounting for 11.7 per cent of world GDP, 8 per cent of world exports and 8 per cent of all employment (Urry 2002: 5).

The growth of tourism in the Mediterranean is one of the most significant economic and social developments of the post-war period, and its coastline is "the world's most popular tourist destination" (Urry 2002: 53-54). According to the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), about half of all global tourism revenues are earned in Europe ([www.world-tourism.org](http://www.world-tourism.org)). Little theoretical attention has been paid to this region, however, and until recently much research was empirical in nature (Ioannides *et al.* 2001b: 6). While many developing countries have little alternative to tourism as an economic strategy (Urry 2002: 57), a number of former colonies have found tourism beneficial as a means to achieve economic and political freedom (Meethan 2001: 42). The economic and symbolic role of tourism make it an important factor for any state, and it is for this reason that almost every nation state promotes itself to tourists.

### 5.2.1 The Development of Tourism Theory

Discussions of tourism have developed substantially over the past thirty years or so from empirical descriptions and Marxist models to postmodern interpretations. My discussion of tourism focuses on the work of three theorists who have studied its effects and tried to elaborate on its importance since the late 1970s. One of the first critical discussions of tourism was provided by Dean MacCannell (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition 1999). He explains the phenomenon of tourism as a reaction to the alienation of contemporary life. This work considers tourism to be a replacement for the lack of structure inherent in post-industrial societies, and as such it provides authentic/pre-modern experiences for unfortunate moderns who have lost their sense of place. John Urry (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition 2002) argued that this was too simplistic an approach. While discussing the development of tourism from its roots in the 'Grand Tour,' he introduces the notion of the tourist gaze. These discussions have illustrated the visual and ephemeral, as well as the symbolic, nature of tourism (MacCannell 1999; Urry 2002). The most recent theoretical discussion of tourism, by Kevin Meethan (2001), takes a more postmodern approach while still building on the earlier approaches cited above. Using elements from all of these studies I present a number of concepts that will be used in my assessment of the impact of nationalism and colonialism on tourism in Cyprus.



### 5.2.2 Tourism as Symbolic and Cultural Capital

Tourism is central to the worldwide economy not only because of its economic benefits, but also because it plays a wider role in modern industrial economies. Since the onset of industrialisation, many theorists believe there has been a growing disassociation between society and the state. This has created a feeling of alienation amongst moderns, who use tourism to achieve authentic experiences (MacCannell 1999). For others, tourism has a role as provider of cultural capital (Meethan 2001). In both cases, travel and tourism have been seen as an important factor of industrial society since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is increasingly felt that travel and tourism are good for the health of workers, as they provide escape and recuperation from the everyday worries and pressures of the industrial world (this is probably connected with an 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century belief in the health giving properties of the sea and spas – Urry 2002: 4). The citizens of developed nations, therefore, benefit from tourism in two ways: economically with the advent of cultural tourism and city-breaks (see section 5.2.4 below for further discussion); and socially with the benefits that tourism is felt to provide the workforce.

As a form of cultural and symbolic capital, travel and tourism may offer kudos to people from all backgrounds, but by the same token choosing the wrong travel destination may prove to have negative connotations. While most tourists travel in order to escape their ordinary lives, this travel can take a number of forms. Tom Selänne (2001) has shown that for many younger Finns, the ‘four-S’s’ (sun, sea, sand and sex) are central to tourism, with the domestic attractions of the destination playing little role in the decision making process. In his studies of tourism in Greece, Selänne (2001: 110-115) found the majority of Finns who visited Rhodes had never been to the cultural and heritage sites on the island, and were not particularly interested in its culture. While Rhodes has been trying to promote itself as a cultural tourism destination, ‘cultural’ (as opposed to mass) tourists are reluctant to go there for fear of being associated with the masses. The perceived image of Rhodes, and a fall in tourist bookings since the media coverage of loutish behaviour in Faliraki during summer 2003 (Bowes 2003), have led the island’s government to hire a British PR firm to re-brand it. “Presumably we’ll hear so much of the ‘cultural delights’ of Rhodes... that we’ll be flocking there” (Hyde 2003). Other tourists will choose a destination because it is perceived as being exotic, distant and ecologically important, or because it has an important cultural heritage. By imparting cultural and symbolic capital, tourism can become a weapon in the armoury of the modern seeking to keep up with, or overtake, his/her peers, and all social groups are involved in this process.



In 1984 I was in my sitting room, playing on my Atari, and listened to the babysitter talk about Ko Samui. As I mopped the screen clear of space invaders, names and places stuck in my head.

Pattaya was a hell-hole. Chiang Mai was rainy and cold. Ko Samui was hot and beautiful. Ko Samui was where she had stayed with her boyfriend for five months, hanging out on the beach and doing strange things she was both keen and reluctant to talk about.

A-levels out of the way, my friends and I scattered ourselves around the globe. The next August we started coming back, and I learned that my babysitter's paradise was yesterday's news. Ko Pha-Ngan, the next island along, was Thailand's new Mecca.

A few years later, as I checked my passport and confirmed my flight to Bangkok, a friend telephoned with advice. 'Give Ko Pha-Ngan a miss, Rich,' she said. 'Hat Rin's a long way past its sell-by-date. They sell printed flyers for the full-moon parties. Ko Tao. That's where it's at (Garland 1996: 49-50).

As this passage from the novel *The Beach* shows, the 'in' place does not last long on the backpacker trail and by going to the wrong island you show yourself to be lacking in knowledge, symbolic and cultural capital. It is not only Richard (the narrator) who gains from this exchange, but also his friend who knows more than any guidebook about where is 'in' and where is not. As a result of the cultural and symbolic importance attached to tourism it is not simply an individual practice but a socially informed and constructed one.

Tourist destinations are increasingly becoming aware of the various levels at play when people chose their holiday; because of this states place increasing importance on getting their image right. As noted above, Rhodes is having difficulty in attracting the cultural tourist it believes will bring more revenue and less disruption to the island because of its image as a 'four-S's' resort. For those (predominantly middle class) tourists seeking authentic heritage experiences, Rhodes is no longer a viable option if they are to retain and continue to accrue symbolic and cultural capital amongst their peers. Similarly, the Cyprus Tourism Organisation (CTO) is striving to promote Cyprus as a cultural, heritage and activity-based, rather than a 'four-S's', destination, following negative publicity of tourists at Ayia Napa. By studying the images and history that are presented by a given state to the tourist market, however, it is possible to gain an insight into its national image and into the kinds of tourism that it wishes to promote. Studying the tourism statistics of the state can help to show how successful its marketing campaign has been.

Because of a general change in travel trends, Mediterranean islands have suffered from being associated with mass tourism since the 1960s. While it was once acceptable, in the 1960s and 1970s, to promote the Mediterranean as a 'four-S's' venue, cheaper air travel, along with



changing attitudes in the west, have made this form of travel less attractive to the higher end of the travel market. The ecological damage that has resulted from mass tourist-related development has also impacted on these destinations. Furthermore the importance of multinational travel companies and tour operators has had a detrimental effect on these islands as they have promoted an indistinct tourism product that could be anywhere in the world. “The largely undifferentiated mass tourism product that has emerged on many of the islands of the Mediterranean has meant that in recent years their competitiveness as destinations has been reduced” (Ioannides *et al.* 2001b: 12). In recent years the Mediterranean has faced stiff competition from increasingly affordable exotic locations in the Caribbean, the Far East and the Pacific. This development has resulted in Mediterranean states and resorts having to promote their individuality while retaining a classic ‘Mediterranean’ image established during over 40 years of tourism in the region. In some cases, traditions have been invented in order to keep up with or reinforce this image. In Malta, for instance, most ‘traditional’ dances staged are only a few years old (Black 1996: 117), while in other states, like Cyprus, traditions that were almost forgotten have been revived as part of the ‘folk’ image and Agrotourism scheme (see Section 5.4.2.2 below).

### 5.2.3 The Tourist Gaze and the Semiotics of Tourism

The tourist gaze endows the tourist experience with a striking, almost sacred importance (Urry 1992: 173).

The tourist is interested in collecting knowledge, photographs and glimpses of certain places and features that have increasingly come to represent tourist destinations and experiences (Urry 2002: 3). With the rise in tourism over the last century, especially the rise in foreign travel, there has been an increase in the signifiers and signs that have become intrinsically connected with places. These images and experiences are now central to the experience of going away, and to a certain extent they have become the *raison d'être* of travel. The tourist focuses on images and experiences that have become fixed in contemporary consciousness as being central to tourism through prolonged exposure in the mass media (Urry 2002: 3). As a result, there is a certain amount of social pressure to conform to the imagery in order to gain cultural or symbolic capital – this has cemented the gaze as an intrinsic part of the tourist experience.

Much academic discussion of tourism focuses on the semiotics of the touristic experience. With the increased importance of the mass media and the internet, the general public has access to much more information now than ever before. It is through these media that the sites and signs of touristic experience are made public. Images of other places permeate modern culture. They are used to promote everything from mobile telephones to pizzas and are included in books, films and television programmes. We are inundated with signs of the



other, the exotic, the desirable. The choice of certain objects as signs of places is often arbitrary; the objects themselves usually exhibit some national or historical importance. For instance, the leaning tower of Pisa is an instantly recognisable image of Italy as well as being a prominent historical structure. For this reason it features heavily in advertising campaigns that wish to tap into a certain image (both historically aware and Italian), as well as in touristic literature and programming. It is often the case that archaeological sites feature prominently in the touristic image of places and in this way they become signs.



Figure 5.1: Aphrodite Hills logo ([www.aphroditehills.com](http://www.aphroditehills.com))

Aphrodite is used as a symbol of Cyprus (both north and south), and can be used to promote everything from Turkish (or Cyprus) delight to luxury housing/spa/golf developments like Aphrodite Hills (Fig 5.1) ([www.aphroditehills.com](http://www.aphroditehills.com)).

The notion of a tourist gaze was first introduced by John Urry (2002) and has come to be adopted by most theorists as it encapsulates the semiotics of tourism and the highly visual nature of tourist perceptions. According to Meethan (2001: 81), this combination is one of the key elements of the tourist system. The tourist gaze is constructed in relation to its opposite – non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness, especially employment and the domestic sphere (Urry 2002: 1). Its roots lie in the Grand Tour of the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and the development of photography, which incorporated an increased visualisation of travel and an increase in descriptive guidebooks (Urry 2002: 4). The initial gaze is important as this affirms the expectations of the tourist and creates the potential for cultural and symbolic capital. Most tourists are less interested in return visits to the same gaze once it has been experienced and captured for posterity and the family slide show (Urry 2002: 44). For Urry there are two types of tourist gaze: the romantic gaze, which seeks out undisturbed natural beauty; and the collective gaze, which focuses on public places that were designed to be looked at in a public way (Urry 2002: 43). It is important to note that the two types of gaze need not be mutually exclusive as each individual tourist will read the site in a different way (Meethan 2001: 83). These will depend on his/her experiences and personal background and relate to his/her decoding of media as well as tourist messages. In addition, the same site can be felt by some to represent the collective gaze while others associate it with a romantic gaze.



The collective gaze is generally associated with mass tourism and guided tours: “it is the presence of other *tourists*, people just like oneself that is actually necessary for the success of such places, which depend upon the collective tourist gaze” (Urry 2002: 44). For the collective tourist gaze the presence of other tourists gives a place a sense of importance and makes it worth seeing. Moreover, it is important that those other tourists are perceived to be of the same or higher social class in order for issues of status to be allayed. The collective gaze is to some extent suspicious of empty attractions – if there is nobody else present, is there anything good to see or experience at the site? Examples of the collective tourist gaze may range from museums to theme parks.

The romantic gaze is often associated with more middle class, alternative forms of tourism. It involves a quest to find the new, to be the first person you know to have been to a place off the beaten track, to discover the unspoilt (by other tourists) regions of the world. “In such cases, the tourist will expect to look at the object privately and thus other visitors intrude on his or her consumption of the object” (Urry 1992: 173). There is often a semi-spiritual quality to the relationship between the tourist and the object in this type of gaze. Archaeological sites can often be associated with a romantic gaze while museums tend to belong to the domain of the collective gaze, although this depends on one’s reading of the ‘site’ and the status of the attraction. The Sir John Soane’s Museum in central London is certainly more in line with the romantic gaze than a busy archaeological site like the Athenian Acropolis, because of its peripheral position in the sphere of cultural knowledge. Most people simply do not know that it exists and it is therefore ‘off the beaten track’.



Figure 5.2: Church of Panayia Phorviotissa at Asinou (Erato Editions Postcard E-396)

In Cyprus, the Paphos mosaics may be considered by some to represent the collective gaze, while the church of Panayia Phorviotissa at Asinou (Fig 5.2) represents the romantic gaze (except when visited by coach tours). Equally, the status of certain archaeological sites as markers of place has brought them into the collective realm. One would not dream of going to Rome without *seeing* (not necessarily visiting) the Colosseum, for instance. Herein lies an important factor of the tourist gaze, namely that the sites and sights associated with it are not simple entities in themselves but may serve to represent places, people, nations and movements all at once. In certain circumstances, tourist signs can represent people or states



that are in opposition to one another; examples include Aphrodite (used as a symbol for Greek and Turkish Cypriot tourism) and the Star of Macedonia (used by Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).

Sites of the tourist gaze are signs that relate to place, experience and meaning. “Tourists are in a way semioticians, reading the landscape for signifiers of certain pre-established notions or signs derived from various discourses of travel and tourism” (Urry 2002: 13). Tourists see objects as signs (or tourist clichés), and therefore it is what people are told that they are seeing which is important and not necessarily the object. In this way the frame or marker becomes the meaning (Urry 2002: 117-118). Markers and sites make up the tourist experience and incorporate sites, museums, guidebooks, holiday programmes and souvenirs (MacCannell 1999: 110). They are central both to tourism and to the nation state. By creating and maintaining markers and sights the tourist potential of a place is enhanced and in some cases increased. Tourist signs and markers can often be the icons of a nation (Urry 2002: 158) or a region.



Figure 5.3: Dining at a taverna by the sea (CTO 2000: figure 23)

These objects and pieces of information are central to the tourist experience, be it a romantic drink on a Paris boulevard, gazing at the Pyramids at Giza or enjoying a ‘traditional’ Cypriot meal at a sea-side tavern (Fig 5.3).

The Mediterranean has been a popular tourist destination since the earliest phases of mass foreign tourism in the post-World War II period. Part of the reason for this was the increased affordability of organised package travel and statutory paid leave in the industrialised nations, which resulted in a move away from traditional forms of domestic tourism. It was during this period that countries like Spain and Greece gained their position as the main resorts for Europe. This situation was as much bound up with political as climatic issues, with both countries using tourism to bolster their political image abroad during the regimes of Franco in Spain and the military junta in Greece (Herzfeld 1991: 73; Ioannides *et al.* 2001b: 9).



The development of resort tourism on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean has led to a certain image/sign of the Mediterranean. It has become so prevalent that certain places have had to create new traditions to meet touristic expectations.

Restaurants, 'traditional' dancing and outdoor café life, though alien to Malta, were introduced to meet tourist expectations of the Mediterranean scene. After twenty-five years they have become part of Maltese culture (Boissevain 1996b: 12).

"Customs that are found in one Mediterranean country ... tend to become defined as the whole Mediterranean package, as a cultural requirement" (Black 1996: 117). The tourist spaces of the Mediterranean therefore take on elements from all over the region and market themselves with similar images in order to reach tourist expectations. This can take the form of Cycladic architecture in the Sporades (Zarkia 1996: 160), café life in Malta (Boissevain 1996b: 12), and classical elements anywhere in the Greek-speaking world, from the suburbs of north London to the south of Cyprus. The general elements of the Mediterranean package include: traditional lifestyles and crafts; images of a peasant lifestyle; spectacular beaches; traditional foods, dances and costume; and often classical archaeological remains. All of these elements are to be found in the tourist representations of Cyprus (see Sections 5.5.2 and 5.5.3 below), while the importance of tourist expectations may explain why some archaeological sites are more prominent on the island than others.

#### 5.2.4 Mass Tourism to Post-Tourism

In much recent discussion of tourism there has been an increased interest in sustainability, which aims to combat the problems of mass tourism development. In the Mediterranean, this development has generally resulted in ecological damage, the depletion of the natural environment, coastal development and overcrowding (see Ioannides *et al.* 2001a for wider discussions of sustainable Mediterranean tourism). As a reaction to this over-development, and in an attempt to reverse some of the problematic trends of mass package tourism such as seasonality and urbanisation of coastal areas, a number of Mediterranean countries have begun to look into more innovative and, one may hope, sustainable forms of tourism (Section 5.4.2.1 below discusses how this is being achieved in Cyprus). This development has taken the form of numerous alternative tourisms that include agro-tourism, eco-tourism, heritage tourism, cultural tourism and various other forms of travel. These alternative tourisms have been criticised by many as cynical marketing ploys aimed at niche tourists who want to distance themselves from the crowds. All tourism, however, is involved in making money and in that sense the entire activity can be seen as a cynical money-making scheme. The fact remains that there is a market and provision for alternative tourism, and it is for this reason that one of the biggest (and oldest) UK tour operators has recently set up an



alternative travel agency (Thomas Cook Signature range: [www.tcsignature.com/asp/Standard/aboutus.asp](http://www.tcsignature.com/asp/Standard/aboutus.asp)).

Much of the Mediterranean interest in alternative tourism has developed as a result of changes in industrialised nations, whose economies have moved away from traditional manufacturing and industry, and into the fields of leisure and tourism since the worldwide economic downturn of the 1970s and 1980s (Meethan 2001: 20). Part of the reason for the change in emphasis in tourism is a change in societal trends. Society has now come to a point where mass tourism is so prevalent that ordinary (package) tourism is derided for visiting places that are over-developed and therefore no longer worth seeing. Tourists are criticised for being satisfied with superficial people and places and *not* for going sightseeing (MacCannell 1999: 10). “The touristic critique of tourism is based on a desire to go beyond the other ‘mere’ tourists to a more profound appreciation of society and culture” (MacCannell 1999: 10). This change has led to more urban tourism and leisure areas in the industrialised nations, alongside an increased interest in cultural and heritage attractions. Interest in heritage and culture has been growing since the 1970s and has been described by some as a form of nostalgia (Lowenthal 1985: 6; Urry 2002: 94) and a reaction to post-industrial society (MacCannell 1999: 82; Meethan 2001: 8).

It is no longer the presence of the past that speaks to us, but its pastness. Now a foreign country with a booming tourist trade, the past has undergone the usual consequences of popularity. The more it is appreciated for its own sake, the less real or relevant it becomes (Lowenthal 1985: xvii).

This new nostalgia and its association with alternative forms of tourism has been linked to increasingly postmodern and globalised trends in contemporary society. In the contemporary world we are no longer content to have the same as our neighbour, ‘keep up with the Jones’s’ or to do things in the same way. Fragmentation and individuality are the order of the day and the same is true for holidays. With the increased availability of cheap air travel, internet access to anywhere in the world and an emphasis on the individual, tourism has moved beyond the package tour to a coastal resort, and towards city-breaks and heritage tours. Although the package tour is by no means ‘over’, it is no longer at the forefront of tourism marketing as it is seen as somewhat *passé* in the new climate.

The internationalisation of tourism means that all potential objects of the tourist gaze can be located on a scale, and can be compared with each other (Urry 2002: 45). This has led to specialisation in tourist locations, where countries like the UK market themselves as providing a destination steeped in history and heritage (Urry 2002: 45), the Mediterranean is developed in relation to traditional, more simple ways of life, and urban Europe becomes a cultural Mecca with cities like Barcelona representing the stars of the city-break. In this way,



alternative tourisms cater for all the tastes and aims of the traveller (since no one wants to be a tourist anymore), be they an authentic experience, an escape from reality or an opportunity to 'get one over' on your peers.

### **5.3 Nationalism, Postcolonialism and Tourism**

#### **5.3.1 Nationalism and Tourism**

Through the discussion of tourism theory above, it is clear that nationalist and touristic symbols and imagery are intrinsically linked. The nation selects tourist symbols to represent itself as having a dynamic, coherent and individualistic culture to the outside world, much in the way that it uses education and the mass media to represent itself to its own people. The use of these symbols to 'outsiders' means they can be analysed to show how a given nation wants to be understood by the world. These images can also affect how 'insiders' understand their position in relation to the rest of the world. The commercial nature of tourism imposes limits on the imagery that can be selected for this use successfully. The researcher of tourist images must therefore be aware of the wider aspects that affect the selection of tourist signs.

National tourist symbols are necessarily framed by the political and historical background of the nation. A knowledge of the major events of a nation's history, and its contemporary political situation, is therefore central to any understanding of why certain images are selected over others. The Cypriot state represents itself as being Greek as well as 'other' in its tourism marketing strategy, thereby continuing its policy of national representation as 'Greek' while at the same time creating a differentiated 'Cypriot' tourist product. In this way it responds to the commercial needs of the tourist market both by connecting its tourist product to a successful and anticipated image, while at the same time setting itself apart from other Mediterranean destinations. This is the only instance where the Republic of Cyprus represents its people, and the island, as having a 'Cypriot' identity separate to its Greek identity in its own representations of itself. This is clearly related to commercial, rather than ideological needs.

#### **5.3.2 Colonialism and Tourism**

With the colonial infrastructure gone, newly-independent post-colonial states need to be able to create and maintain economic opportunities. The initial reaction to freedom was often strongly linked to representations of identity, but independence also needed to be an economically viable process. It is partly for this reason that a number of former colonial states have turned to tourism (Meethan 2001: 42), although location and potential attractions are also important in the development of a new (or re-branded) tourist product. As an industry it can be set up almost anywhere, and with a warm climate half the battle for



business is won. The tourist industry has sent a lifeline to many former colonial countries as it helps to develop economic independence from the metropolitan centre, creates new jobs, results in increased monetary gains and is an important source of foreign exchange. For newly independent nations such as Cyprus in the 1960s, there was a strong need to cut the ties of colonialism and to move on.

A hidden benefit of tourism in post-colonial states is, ironically, their colonial past. Countries such as Cyprus and Malta capitalise on their connections with the UK to attract tourists, and in both states until relatively recently the majority of visitors were from the UK and Ireland (Ioannides and Holcomb 2001: 235). Some of the benefits of their postcolonial status include the fact that English is widely spoken and understood, and Cyprus also has a recognisable road system where the people drive on the 'right' (i.e. the left) side of the road. The important military functions of both islands mean that there is a ready-made market of former servicemen and women who come back year after year to a place that is 'safe' and familiar while at the same time being exotic. Many ex-service personnel are among the sizeable ex-patriate population who retire to Cyprus or buy second homes there. Another important factor in the appeal of Cyprus is migration. Tourists coming to Cyprus from the UK are often already familiar with Cyprus, its people, and its food, which is due partly to the large numbers of Cypriots living in Britain, and to representations of them in the British mass media. For these reasons former colonial dominions will draw on their colonial past in ways that they would not ordinarily, in order to develop lucrative tourist markets and potentials.

## **5.4 Tourism in Cyprus**

### **5.4.1 Tourism in Cyprus from 1878 to 1960**

With the British occupation of Cyprus in 1878, the tourist potential of the island was increased beyond any previous recognition. While limited numbers of travellers had visited the island in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, western contacts with, and knowledge of, the island had been scarce in the Ottoman period. Immediately following the announcement of Britain's occupation of Cyprus, the travel firm Thomas Cook was making preparations for its inclusion in their itinerary.

Should a sufficient number be registered for a tour through Cyprus at either of the dates, we shall send our own camp equipments from Palestine, so as to insure ample and good accommodation. In due course we shall also advertise special parties direct from England to Cyprus, to fall in with the dates of the completion of the Palestine Tours at Beyroot (Thomas Cook & Son 1878: 14).





Figure 5.4: Women at a well, Levka (Thomson 1985: Plate 36)

Within two months of the arrival of the first British troops in 1878, John Thomson, a leading British photographer, arrived in Cyprus to record the island that had just come under British administration.

The present work will afford those of my readers who have not visited Cyprus a fair notion of the topography of the country and its resources; and, on the other hand, those who have themselves travelled through the island will find in these volumes a faithful souvenir of their wanderings (Thomson 1985: xxii).

His work was intended as an introduction to the home nation, while creating the first pictorial references of the island for a wider audience (Fig 5.4). Numerous other travellers and visitors to the island, from the Victorian period to the 1970s, have produced similar reflections of their experiences of the island that are framed by the coloniser's terms of reference (although not state sanctioned). These encompass lady travellers from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Brassey 1880; Smith 1897) to more popular modern authors such as Lawrence Durrell (1957) and Colin Thubron (1992). While these are not necessarily aimed at tourists, their works (particularly Durrell and Thubron) are prominent terms of reference for western visitors.

British attempts to develop Cyprus as a tourist resort for a western market did not meet with any real support by the Colonial Office until the 1950s because of the expenditure required for any potential project. The possibilities for tourism in Cyprus do appear in the colonial records, however, as well as the *Handbook*. The first discussion of the tourist potential in the colonial archives appears in 1931:

the general idea seems sound enough. But I very much doubt whether Cyprus can afford this at the present juncture ... to start a new tourist resort – and Cyprus would necessarily, owing to its situation, have to cater for somewhat of a 'luxury' clientele – large expenditure is essential ... Greece offers very much more than Cyprus; and Greece – despite lavish expenditure in certain directions – has hitherto been able to do little or nothing to attract tourists (CO 67/239/8 1931: 3 Memo from Campbell 9<sup>th</sup> June 1931).

From the correspondence relating to this file it is clear that the Governor, Ronald Storrs, was very keen for Cyprus to be developed as a tourist resort (CO 67/239/8 1931: 22); however,



the financial implications of this were deemed too high for the Colonial Office to take up the scheme (CO 67/239/8 1931: 6). The issue of building a tourist trade on the island was raised again in 1933 with a report by W.H. Flinn into the potential expansion of the tourist trade in Cyprus. It was reported that in 1932 4000 visitors landed in Cyprus for a day and spent an estimated £4,200 on food, travel, souvenirs and boat hire (CO 67/251/16 1933: 15). Good hotels were reported to be few in number and small in size. The island would therefore be unable to cope with many extended visits. Single day trips to Cyprus from passing cruises were seen as the most viable option for tourism development; indeed these were the most common source of tourists at that time. The Colonial Office therefore wrote to a number of shipping companies in an attempt to encourage them to stop at Cyprus more frequently while cruising in the eastern Mediterranean. The companies felt unable to influence passengers, however, without government promotion and investment in the attractions of the island (CO 67/251/16 1933: 27-29). By the 1930s, the summer hill resorts of the Troodos were already popular with visitors from the Near East as well as some Europeans (CO 67/251/16 1933: 17), but their attractions and amusements were few compared to other rivals for the tourist trade. "Cyprus at present appeals most to persons who ask for quiet, a reasonable amount of sport and amusement, and cheap living" (CO 67/251/16 1933: 18).

More research into the possibilities of developing tourist trade on Cyprus was conducted in 1947 with a report by a Mr Briault on tourism opportunities in Cyprus (CO 67/358/2 1947: 24-72). This report was generally positive about opportunities for development while also highlighting areas that required improvement. These included the need for cheaper and better transport facilities; more and better hotels and eating establishments; increased organisation of tourist services; better publicity for the island and its attractions; and more information about antiquities as well as signposts to them.

The island possesses certain natural advantages which require exploitation. It has, however, very few developed or artificially produced advantages and these will be necessary to the development of Tourist trade (CO 67/358/2 1947: 42).

Responses to this report from the colonial administration as well as the Colonial Office were positive, although the economic outlay required to undertake the necessary investment was in the main lacking (see CO 67/358/3 1948: 66-70 for the Governor's response to the report). In 1949 a Greek Cypriot architect, O.C. Tsangarides, submitted plans for a proposed *Cyprus Riviera*, but the Cyprus Government did not give any support to this scheme (CO 67/358/4 1949: 24-60). By 1955 the tourist development of Cyprus was beginning to have some positive results (total visitor arrivals for 1953 numbered 46,000 – CO 926/148 1954-56: 33), but these were diminished by EOKA activities from 1955 onwards (total arrivals for 1955 numbered 37,000 visitors – CO 926/148 1954-1956: 17-20).



#### 5.4.1.1 Representations of Cyprus for Travellers

As discussed above, British attempts at development of a Cypriot tourist industry were generally half-hearted and lacking in adequate resources and will. Early editions of the *Handbook* are disparaging about the accommodation available for travellers in the island.

The traveller has to carry his own provisions and cooking appliances and cook; he is lucky if he finds a room free from fleas and bugs; and sanitary arrangements, where they exist at all, are generally primitive and filthy (Hutchinson and Cobham 1903: 80; Hutchinson and Cobham 1905: 89).

By 1913, the *Handbook* presents a more detailed account for travellers, including a guide to the main towns as well as general visitor information (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 72-85). The 1913 and 1920 editions also provide positive and lengthy descriptions of the joys of the summer resort at Troodos (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 86-87; Luke and Jardine 1920: 91-93), suggesting that summer visitors to the island were becoming more common.

The architectural features highlighted in British discussions of the island mainly relate to the Lusignan and Venetian defensive and ecclesiastical buildings. Traditional architecture and crafts, and archaeological remains from the classical period (i.e. those highlighted in the Greek Cypriot tourist product, see Section 5.5 below) are described as lacking the splendour of the gothic churches and defensive works of the Medieval period.

It should be added that of the monuments still standing, the most numerous, the most beautiful, and the best preserved are those of the architecturally prolific era during which the Lusignan dynasty reigned in Cyprus. The period of the Venetian domination has also produced some remarkable monuments. Of the artistic activity of the classical period, however, evidence has to be sought in museums, and not on the ancient sites themselves (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 50; Luke and Jardine 1920: 59; a similar sentiment is expressed in Storrs and O'Brien 1930: 62).

This positive focus on the western European remains serves the British administration's aims as coloniser. It focuses the tourist gaze on another period of western European domination in Cyprus, as well as diminishing the impact of other periods. Let us not forget that it was 'the first British occupation of Cyprus' that led to the Lusignan period. In addition, the ancient sites of Cyprus had been relatively under-explored before 1930 and no efforts towards conservation or presentation of them for the layman had been attempted by this time. Had the columns at Kourion (at the Temple of Apollo Hylates and in the Roman Agora) not been re-erected, would it still feature as prominently in the contemporary tourist gaze of Cyprus?

#### 5.4.2 Tourism in Cyprus from 1960 to the Present

Tourism in Cyprus began in earnest in the early 1960s following independence from Britain, when the government of the Republic of Cyprus realised its economic potential.



The government of the newly established Republic, realising the vital role tourism could play in the diversification and restructuring of the economic life of the island, placed from the outset a high degree of priority on the tourist sector

(<http://kypros.org/PIO/cyprus/economy/tourism.htm>).

The importance of tourism to the economy led the government to set up the CTO in 1969 as a semi-governmental organisation. Its responsibilities include the planning, promotion and marketing of the tourist industry in Cyprus and abroad. Prior to 1974 the tourist industry in Cyprus was predominantly located in the north of the island around the towns of Kyrenia and Famagusta. Following the events of 1974, 71% of the island's bed capacity and 40% of its tourist facilities (in the form of restaurants, night clubs and so on) were lost to the Republic. Tourism in the pre-1974 period focused on high and middle income tourists to the exclusion of mass tourism. The industry grew at an average rate of 20% per annum in this period. Following the invasion in 1974, the tourist sector was revitalised in 1976 and was again included as a high priority product in governmental development plans (<http://kypros.org/PIO/cyprus/economy/tourism.htm>). Since 1976 the tourist sector has grown at an alarming rate to become one of the main industries on the island. The focus of tourism shifted to the Paphos and Limassol regions post-1974, and focused mainly on the family 'sun and sea' market. The Ayia Napa area has also been developed relentlessly for the last 15 years or so, as this region increasingly has been marketed towards young clubbers as the Ibiza of the east. The tourist sector generated CY£879 million in 1998, which is equivalent to 20% of the Gross Domestic Product of the island (<http://kypros.org/PIO/cyprus/economy/tourism.htm>). In 2001 the tourist sector generated CY£1,277,000,000 and was responsible for 40,500 jobs directly related to tourism (in hotels, restaurants, travel agents and tours), a rather high proportion in a population of less than 700,000 (CTO 2001a: no page). This figure does not take into account the jobs created to support large tourist centres. The Cyprus tourist industry has grown from 47,085 visitors in 1975 (<http://kypros.org/PIO/cyprus/economy/tourism.htm>) to 2,696,732 visitors in 2001 (CTO 2001a: no page).

#### 5.4.2.1 Governmental Policy on Tourism and Plans for Future Development.

The CTO increasingly has been looking beyond sun and sea tourism and is focusing on new tourist products, while also trying to reduce the highly seasonal nature of Cyprus' tourism by developing attractions that can be enjoyed throughout the year. These include: agrotourism; conferences; domestic tourism; winter-sun holidays; walking holidays; and holidays that promote the environmental beauty of the mountains and the hinterland with increasing investment in forestry initiatives.

The basic aim of the official tourist policy is the increase of the contribution of tourism in the economic and social development of the country ... The main



goals of the official tourist policy for the coming years are the curtailment of high rates of growth in bed supply and the improvement, enhancement and enrichment of the tourist product  
(<http://kypros.org/PIO/cyprus/economy/tourism.htm>).

To this end the CTO designed a development strategy for tourism in 1998 with goals for the following 12 years. This document explicitly sets out aims for tourism development on Cyprus with a focus on a more sustainable tourist product aimed at differentiating Cyprus from its closest rivals in the international tourism market. The island is to be marketed as:

a mosaic of nature and culture, a whole magical world concentrated in a small, warm and hospitable island in the Mediterranean, at the crossroads of three continents, between east and west that offers a multidimensional, qualitative tourist experience (CTO 1998b: no page).

The main goals of the strategy aim to: reduce seasonality; increase per capita tourist expenditure on the island; increase tourism arrivals; increase length of stay; and increase repeat visitors. It is hoped that the changes implemented will maximise profit and efficiency. Some of the main aims of the strategy include: lengthening the tourist season to make Cyprus a popular tourist destination throughout the year; introducing tourism to agricultural and inland areas including traditional villages, the forests and mountains; and encouraging alternative tourists to visit the island, alongside the more traditional tourists. By doing so, it is hoped that tourist arrivals will increase, while at the same time having less impact on the environment, as the tourists will not all be located on the coast and will not all arrive in the peak summer season. The two core themes of the plan are culture and environment: “culture, given the dimension attributed to it, includes the ‘human’ factor, as well, upon which the identity and the uniqueness of the destination is dependant” (CTO 1998b: no page). Top priority tourist products are: themed routes; museums; agrotourism; national forest parks; nature trails; and cultural events and will include a focus on traditional Cypriot cuisine (CTO 1998b: no page).

#### 5.4.2.2 Agrotourism

One of the strategies adopted to achieve these ends is a move towards agrotourism. The Cyprus agrotourism programme has been designed and promoted by the CTO and was launched in 1991. The programme constitutes a strong incentive for rural revitalisation and an attempt to reverse the trend towards urbanisation. “The CTO pursued the development of agrotourism in its endeavour to differentiate Cyprus’s tourist product and to reposition it away from its traditional ‘sun and sea’ image” (Agrotourism in Cyprus 1999: 22). It has been developed as an environmentally friendly, sustainable tourist product (Agrotourism in



Cyprus 1999: 27). One of the main aims is to increase the possibilities available for independent travel, thereby including Cyprus in the alternative traveller's itinerary.

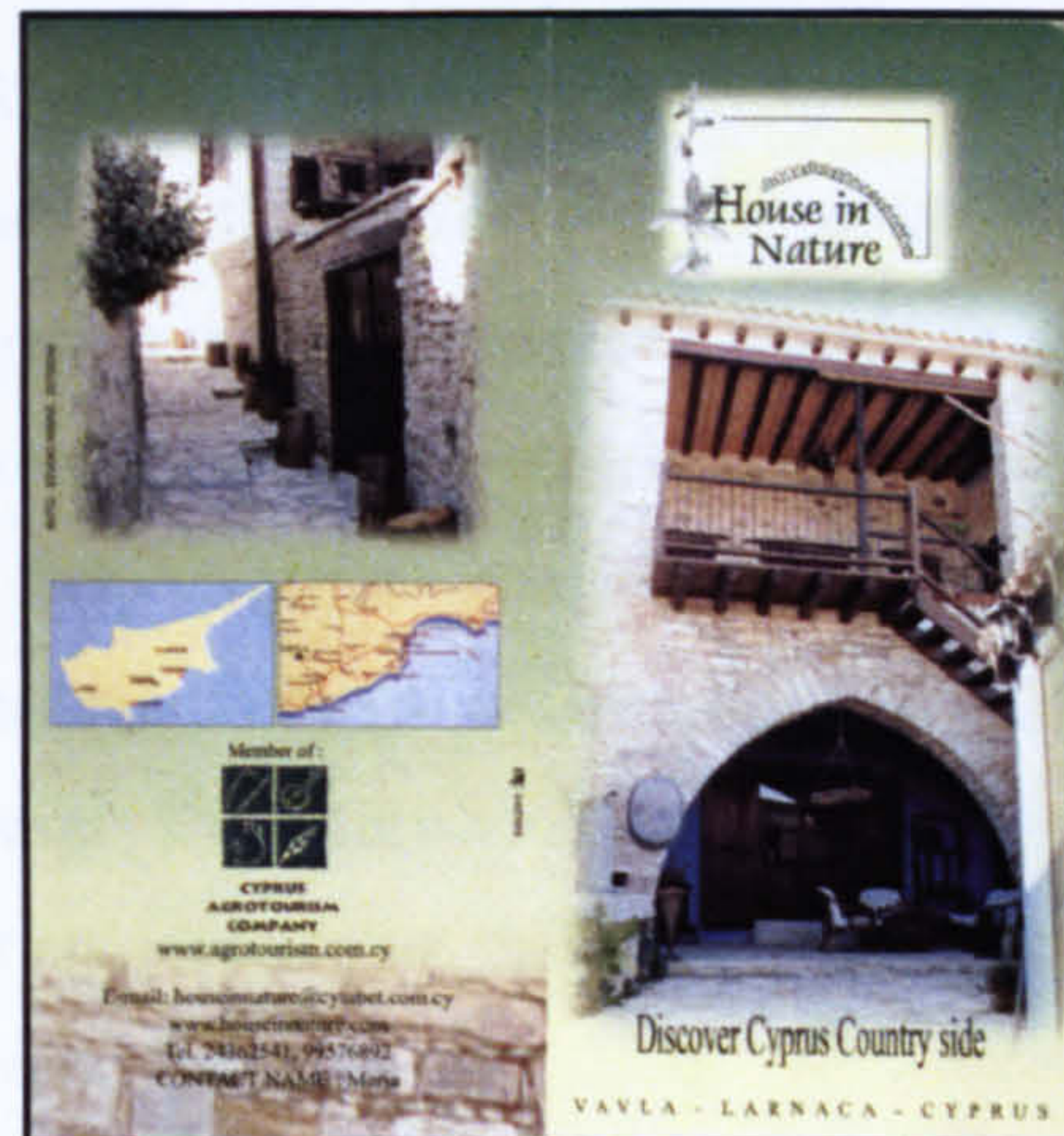


Figure 5.5: Agrotourism leaflet

The project helps to increase awareness and preservation of vernacular architecture and traditional village character (Fig 5.5) (new building construction is restricted in the selected villages and strict guidelines and planning requirements are in place for traditional restorations). The agrotourist infrastructure in the countryside was developed in two ways, firstly by the development and implementation of civic projects in 50 hinterland/mountain villages. This was financed by the CTO at a cost of over US\$2,000,000, and included projects involved in the restoration of village squares, the creation of nature trails, and the embellishment of points of interest. Secondly, a financial incentives scheme (administered by the CTO) provided partial subsidisation of interest payments on loans taken out for the restoration of traditional buildings and their conversion into tourist establishments, such as accommodation, taverns, and folk art museums (Fig 5.11) with a total cost of US\$4,500,000 (Agrotourism in Cyprus 1999: 23).

Agrotourism was developed as an incentive to reverse the trend towards urbanisation and therefore the income from it is designed to supplement traditional rural occupations. "Tradition and customs are the core ingredients of the agrotourism product" (Agrotourism in Cyprus 1999: 24) so traditional products and ways of doing things were encouraged and the local population was provided with educational opportunities in traditional arts and crafts, Cypriot cuisine, dancing, music, wine-making and traditional architecture. Only the inhabitants of villages or their direct descendants are the potential beneficiaries of financial incentives provided by the programme, although this does not stop rich developers from taking part. "With the decline of primary and secondary sectors of production in these areas, tourism development in the form of agrotourism is one of the very few means available in the effort to reverse their decline" (Agrotourism in Cyprus 1999: 28). According to the CTO this programme has a number of positive achievements. These include: the creation of a high



calibre tourism infrastructure and increased entrepreneurial activities in rural areas; opening up the countryside to tourism, thereby capitalising “on a most significant sustainable competitive advantage of Cyprus as a tourist destination and a unique selling proposition: the people, the hospitality tradition, the culture and the countryside” (Agrotourism in Cyprus 1999: 22); it has helped to even out the seasonality pattern as agrotourism is an “all weather project”; it has directed tourists to the countryside thereby leading to a less biased tourist distribution; and “it has helped attract quality, sophisticated tourism, in line with the objectives of the tourist product differentiation policy” (Agrotourism in Cyprus 1999: 22). Some commentators, however, are unsure about the overall success that this programme will have for non-Cypriot tourists, suggesting that it is locals who are most likely to consume such a product (Ioannides and Holcomb 2001: 251).

### 5.5 The Tourist Gaze in the Republic of Cyprus

The cultural heritage of a people is its most important asset, its identity and a sense of continuation through time. Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean and standing as it does at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa it has had a tumultuous history. The Mycenaeans Achaeans [sic] brought their civilisation here, establishing the first Greek roots 3,000 years ago. Many others passed through, including Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Romans, Crusaders, Venetians, Ottomans and the British. The apostles of Christ walked this land. The splendour of Byzantium, founded by Constantine the Great at Constantinople, encompassed the island of Cyprus. Here are prehistoric settlements, ancient Greek temples, Roman theatres and villas, Early Christian basilicas, Byzantine churches and monasteries, Crusader castles, Gothic churches and Venetian fortifications. In the villages, old customs and traditions are still kept alive. Young girls still engage in lace-making in the beautiful village of Lefkara just as their grandmothers did before them. Potters still create wondrous anthropomorphic shapes to decorate their earthenware vessels at picturesque Foini and the sound of hand-looms can still be heard in Fyti, home of the attractive hand-woven materials, whilst, men in traditional baggy trousers, ‘vraka’, still congregate at the coffee shop for a game of backgammon (CTO 2001b: 2).

In the passage quoted above we see all the elements of the Cypriot tourist product. These elements are found in all CTO representations of Cyprus, from pamphlets and advertisements to the CTO website ([www.visitcyprus.org](http://www.visitcyprus.org)). They represent the core elements of Greek Cypriot identity both to ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ and encompass the ‘golden age’ (the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’), the classical period, and folk lifestyles. The current CTO



television and poster advertising campaign focuses on Cyprus as ‘the island for all seasons’ (Fig 5.6).



Figure 5.6: CTO ‘The Island for All Seasons’ advertisement

The imagery of these adverts include the classical theatre at Kourion, traditional village scenes, mountain trails, spas, and golfing, separately and mixed together. These elements are discussed further below in relation to Cypriot tourist signs and markers.

### 5.5.1 The Bronze Age

The tourist literature associated with the history and archaeology of Cyprus is often presented in a chronological order that gives a brief discussion of each of the main periods of history on the island, beginning with the Neolithic (see for example CTO 2000; CTO 2001b). The LBA is the ‘golden age’ in this literature, because it is said that the Mycenaeans successfully colonised the island at this time and made it ‘Greek’.

The island’s strategic position, its copper deposits and its timber attracted the first Greeks who came to the island over 3,000 years ago at the end of the Trojan wars. They settled down bringing with them and establishing the Greek identity, language and civilisation (CTO 2001a: 3).

Such literature also makes the point that the long ‘Greek’ history of the island, ascribed to the remoteness of this period, was then augmented during the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. While the Late Bronze Age is central to the image of a Greek Cyprus, the main sites of this period are rarely visited by tourists and *never* represented in tourism imagery (at most, images of Mycenaean pottery are used to illustrate this period in tourist literature, but never the sites themselves). There are several reasons for this, including the accessibility of the sites, their state of preservation, and tourists’ expectations of Mediterranean archaeological sites.

The main sites associated with a Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus include: Maa Palaeokastro; Pyla Kokkinokremos; Enkomi; Hala Sultan Tekke; Kition; Alassa; Toumba



tou Skourou; and Kalavassos *Agios Dimitrios*. There are a number of difficulties associated with visiting some of these sites, while others seem to be ideally located for tourist access and tourist trade. Enkomi, like Toumba tou Skourou, is situated in the north of the island and until recently was inaccessible to visitors from the south. The extent to which these sites receive tourists in northern Cyprus, and how they are presented by the TRNC, are both unknown. The Bronze Age site at Hala Sultan Tekke is not open to the public: it is almost inaccessible (no roads lead directly to it) and excavations here are ongoing. Pyla *Kokkinokremos* is located in the British Sovereign Base Area at Dhekelia, and lies within an army firing range.

Kition, Kalavassos *Agios Dimitrios* and Maa *Palaeokastro* are all well within reach of major tourist centres, and yet even these do not feature on tours or in the majority of tourist literature. Kition is located in a residential district of Larnaca, with excavated sections of the ancient city located in several plots of land scattered around the town. The main area of the site open to the public is hard to find if you do not know where to look. The signposting for the site is poor, while there are no information boards to explain the features of the site; furthermore, in June 2002 there were no English-language guide books available at the site – it is therefore lacking in tourist markers. Kalavassos *Agios Dimitrios* is located close to Limassol, just off the main highway linking Larnaca to Limassol. It is situated immediately adjacent to the Neolithic site of Kalavassos *Tenta*, itself covered by a bright yellow conical canopy that is prominently visible from the highway. The site is never open, however, although it can be accessed by collecting the key from the guard at the site of *Tenta*. Obviously such a situation is not ideal, either for tourist access or in allowing tourists onto an unattended archaeological site. This could be resolved easily, however, by placing a guard at this locality as well as at *Tenta*.



Figure 5.7: Hotel construction at Maa *Palaeokastro*



Figure 5.8: Museum at Maa *Palaeokastro*

Maa *Palaeokastro*, on the other hand, is perfectly situated to enjoy tourist status. It could even be argued that its location is too perfect, as a large luxury hotel has recently been



constructed on the edge of the peninsula on which the site is located (Fig 5.7). Maa is situated on a promontory that juts out from the western coast, about 10km to the north of Kato Paphos in the direction of Polis. Lying directly beside the site is the well known beach of Coral Bay where hundreds (if not thousands) of tourists gather daily in the summer to swim and sunbathe. Because of the popularity of this beach, a mini-tourist town has sprung up in the vicinity, providing all that a tourist could need without ever having to leave the resort. With respect to the site itself, a small museum has been built within its perimeter (Fig 5.8). It contains a number of information boards and displays that explain the role of the Mycenaean 'colonisation' in shaping the future of Cyprus. There is also a clear and informative guide to the museum and site, which has been printed in several different languages. And yet, despite all the promotional literature and the presence of a modern, well-designed museum, and given the close proximity of Maa to a major tourist area, the site is virtually always deserted. This situation seems bizarre when one considers the effort and money invested at the site. That it does not even feature in the area's tourist literature is even more interesting. One possible explanation for this, is that the tourist industry in the area has no other appeal than the 'four-S's'. Nonetheless, almost all the shops and businesses in the tourist village have a classical theme, which is reflected in the names of many of the establishments as well as the external décor.

Perhaps one reason for the lack of tourist interest in Cyprus' Bronze Age sites is that they are harder to understand than classical ones, and that a certain amount of investment would have to be made in some of them in order to make them 'tourist friendly' and accessible. While these sites are of central importance to the nationalist doctrine of a long-term Greek character on the island, they fail to demonstrate this in a way that is accessible to the non-specialist. The architectural remains at the majority of these sites can be complex and usually consist of, at most, low walls. Such sites do not represent a picturesque scene and are not easily reproduced in a flattering light. Indeed, the impression one gains at such sites is more akin to decay than antiquity, with the implication or representation of mortality rather than the immortality accorded to certain classical sites. "We generally treasure relics for being old-fashioned rather than for being old, and favour the look of youth even in things whose historical antiquity we prize" (Lowenthal 1985: 127). This is not the case, however, at Alassa, where the site comprises the remains of some impressive ashlar masonry, and has recently been suggested as a possible candidate for the capital of Alashiya (Goren *et al.* 2003). It has impressive views over the Kouris dam and is situated in the Troodos foothills to the north of Limassol. The Department of Antiquities have recently constructed a ticket booth and there is also a refreshment stand on the road to the site, but it is still not widely known. For most of the general public, archaeological sites can only be understood with the



aid of reconstruction (Lowenthal 1985: 145) and they are expected to be spectacular and picturesque (Lowenthal 1985: 171). This is not the case for most Bronze Age sites in Cyprus, which almost certainly is the reason they remain deserted. Tourists are not seeking reminders of their mortality whilst on holiday. The classical sites on the island are more in line with the expectations of visitors to a purportedly 'Greek' Mediterranean island. At the same time the nationalist ideology of a Greek island is better illustrated by both the classical and folk styles.

### 5.5.2 The Classical Gaze

As we have seen, the Bronze Age heritage of Cyprus rarely features as a tourist attraction. The same cannot be said for the classical heritage of the island, which is used extensively in advertising and promotional literature. The Paphos mosaics make up one of the main images of Cyprus and are a key feature of its tourist gaze (Fig 5.9). The mosaics are located in the vicinity of the Kato Paphos harbour, and are part of an archaeological park that includes the remains of a number of other Roman buildings. This part of town lies directly in the centre of the tourist locality of Paphos.



Figure 5.9: Mosaic of Apollo and Daphne, House of Dionysos, Paphos (Michaelides 1988a: 45)

While the mosaics are not necessarily any closer to the main hotels and tourist shops than *Maa Palaeokastro* is to Coral Bay, the site is one of the few excursions that tourists in the area (and further afield) will make. Whether this is due to the World Heritage status of the site or to marketing is not clear, although one suspects that both factors contribute to the success of the site. The site's importance to the tourist economy of Cyprus is crucial, and the entire area is being rebuilt systematically by the Department of Antiquities in a bid to make the archaeology more accessible and clearer to the visitors who come in droves. Following the award of World Heritage Status to the Kato Paphos area, the CTO – in conjunction with the Department of Antiquities – drew up a 'General Plan' for the area that has resulted in this still-developing archaeological park. The mosaics are described by the CTO as "the epitome of all these findings" (CTO 2001b: 33) and are used extensively in the imagery of CTO publications and their website.

The legacy from its remarkable history adds up to nothing less than an open museum, so much so that UNESCO simply added the whole town to its World



Cultural Heritage List. Among the treasures unearthed, are the remarkable mosaics in the Houses of Dionysos, Theseus and Aion, beautifully preserved after 16 centuries under the soil (CTO 2001a: 17).

Rebuilding at the site has taken the form of preservation and reconstruction of the mosaics, as well as the erection of broken columns made of shiny new marble (Fig 5.10), all of which is redolent of a Roman Disneyland. In this way the site is being enhanced in order to meet tourist needs and expectations, to be able to imagine how it looked in the past with little effort.



Figure 5.10: Reconstruction at Paphos

“Most who return to the past in imagination like to see it as ‘new’ as it seemed to those who lived in it” (Lowenthal 1985: 145); the restoration project at Paphos certainly aids this.

Another site that features prominently in the classical gaze of the island is Kourion, located about 20km from Limassol. The site features an entire Roman town including a basilica, a bath complex, a reconstructed theatre and a sanctuary containing an aesthetically pleasing partial reconstruction of the temple. Picturesque columns, mosaics and arches can be seen throughout the site and it could be argued that in this way Kourion provides the ideal location for the imagery of a classical gaze. Although this site is comparatively far from the main tourist attractions of the ‘four-S’s’ along the Limassol coast, it has other features that make it an ideal day trip for the average tourist. Located a short drive away from the tourist centre, Kourion offers an ideal opportunity to combine the pleasures of the seaside with the cultural capital of visiting heritage sites: it is dramatically situated on a cliff overlooking an impressive beach. Unlike Paphos, this site incorporates a number of architectural features that would grace any slide show and that are *even more* representative of a classical gaze than mosaics. The partially reconstructed temple of Apollo Hylates features prominently in all tourist literature, as does the reconstructed theatre where entertainment ranging from ancient Greek plays to modern jazz can be enjoyed on a summer’s evening.



Through the imagery of a classical gaze, the Republic of Cyprus aligns itself with both the Mediterranean and with Greece. As stated above (Section 5.2.3.), the tourist imagery of the Mediterranean relies heavily on picturesque classical remains in order to differentiate its product from the exotic locations of the Far East, the Pacific or the West Indies. The classical heritage is a unique feature of the Mediterranean and for the average tourist the distinction between Roman and Greek is minimal. For most tourists it is the aesthetic qualities of antiquity, rather than its specific history, that are important and often the archaeological heritage is used simply to create the perfect photo opportunity and to impart cultural capital. As a Greek-speaking island containing such treasures as the Paphos mosaics and Kourion, Cyprus is understood as part of the same world and it is marketed in the same way. The focus on Greek-ness through the prominent position of classical remains in the Cypriot tourist product also serve to reinforce the nationalist and anti-colonial claim that Cyprus is, and (almost) always has been, a 'Greek' land. The perceived Greek character and cuisine of the island is a major selling point and is represented in both the classical and folk heritage of the island.

### 5.5.3 The Folk Gaze

There is also a trend towards promoting a traditional folk image on Cyprus, one that incorporates traditional Mediterranean hospitality, peasant lifestyle, and a uniquely Cypriot way of life. Although this way of life has all but died out, it is being encouraged increasingly by the government and the CTO. Examples of this include the agrotourism scheme discussed above (Section 5.4.2.2), and the growing number of folk art and ethnographic museums that have sprung up throughout the island during the last five years (Fig 5.11). As well as the obviously tourist-generated products like museums and agrotours, there is also an increased state interest in vernacular architecture. This has led to the regeneration of parts of the old towns in Nicosia and Limassol, as well as rebuilding and preservation work in the hinterland as part of the agrotourism project.



Figure 5.11: Dherinia folk museum

The development of the traditions and lifestyle of the island into a tourist product is also illustrated by the emergence of wedding tourism. According to a recent report in *The*



*Guardian*, Cyprus came third in the annual American Express survey of weddings abroad as it appeals to couples who “want a more traditional experience” (Balmer 2003: 18). The Dherinia Ethnographic museum holds a number of civil ceremonies for foreign tourists every year (Varnavas Hadjiliasi pers. comm. 2002).

Incorporated into the folk image are Orthodox churches, traditional arts and crafts such as lace-making and weaving, and Cypriot cuisine. Indeed the food that is generally perceived to be Greek in the rest of the world (particularly in western Europe) is actually Cypriot (and Middle Eastern) and includes dishes like hummus and halloumi cheese; this is partly due to the fact that most Greek restaurants in the UK are actually run by Greek Cypriots. The perception of Cypriot cuisine as ‘Greek’ by foreign tourists lies in its presentation to them as such. The Greek Orthodox church in particular is used as one of the main links between Greece and Cyprus because of its connection with Hellenic nationalism (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999: 127-130). In addition, in the Ottoman period Greek identity was formulated through the church. Cyprus’ Orthodox faith, therefore, serves as a link to Hellenism.

The Greek Orthodox Church has been the mainstay of religion in Cyprus since the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., and in a society where the church continues to play an important role, the old style values have been maintained and the family unit retains close-knit qualities that keep colourful customs alive, and underline the warmhearted character of Cyprus (CTO 2001a: 7).

These aspects of Cypriot life strongly connect the island to the rest of the Greek world, while also creating a distinctive Cypriot tourism product. The images of the folk gaze are even more prevalent in tourist literature and promotional material than the classical gaze. Through these images Cyprus creates a complex tourist product that is both different from, and the same as, Greece. This dichotomy is central to the nationalism of the state which cannot rely on ‘Greek’ as its sole identity if it is to maintain autonomy, and yet it feels threatened enough to make ‘Greek-ness’ a major factor in representations of itself. Being Cypriot, it seems, is not quite enough to attract the tourists and keep the national doctrine viable and active. The selection of Cypriot folk imagery can also be seen as a reaction to colonialism in two opposing ways. The generally negative British attitude to the peasant lifestyle and traditions of Cyprus has made them a badge of Cypriot-ness in defiance of colonial disdain. At the same time, British efforts to foster a Cypriot, *instead of* a ‘Greek’, identity on the island were rejected by Greek nationalists on the island. In re-adopting a Cypriot identity on their own terms, the people of Cyprus show themselves to be proudly Cypriot *and* Greek. This undermines colonial attempts to hijack certain aspects of Cypriot culture for its own ends. In addition to these reasons, commercial concerns dictate the creation and maintenance of individuality in modern tourist products, and the folk image is therefore used to create a uniquely Cypriot *and* Greek marketing tool.



## 5.6 Conclusion

Just as the individual tourist is free to make his own final arrangements of sights and markers, the modernizing areas of the world are also free to assemble their own images in advance of the arrival of the tourists (MacCannell 1999: 142).

This discussion has shown that while tourism is considered by many to be a base form of recreation for the masses, it is an important tool in the evaluation of state ideology. It is evident that tourism can take many forms and these are increasingly utilized by small states reliant on tourist revenues.

The British colonial administration of Cyprus did little to develop the tourism potential of the island, and it is clear that this relates to a number of factors. As we have seen elsewhere in this study, the British were reluctant to spend large sums of money on Cyprus. In addition, the international tourist industry was nowhere near as developed in the British period as it has subsequently become. Despite the low priority given to tourism, a coloniser's mentality is still evident in the products created by them for the traveller's consumption. Therefore, Greek connections and aspects of the indigenous lifestyle, crafts and architecture of the islanders were dismissed in favour of the remains from older western colonialisms/dominations.

For the Republic of Cyprus, the main focus of its tourist imagery has been its connections to Greece, through its classical remains as well as the religion, culture and language of the Greek Cypriots. These images and connections are comforting to the people of the Republic of Cyprus and also help to reinforce an image that is strongly Greek, and in opposition to the hybrid indigenous Cypriot identity promoted by the British colonial administration. By using classical as well as folk imagery, the island taps into the Mediterranean gaze while retaining a degree of individuality. The island of Cyprus has a number of roles to play, for both its people and its visitors, but the events of 1974 are never far from the surface. The daily reality of a threat of force has created a climate of fear that is perpetuated in education and the mass media. The reaction to this has been to demonise and ignore the Turkish elements of Cypriot history in favour of both a Greek and a traditional peasant past, where women wore headscarves and made halloumi cheese while men sat at the village café drinking ('Cyprus' or 'Greek', rather than 'Turkish') coffee. While these stereotypes are no longer feasible in a nation where information technology and off-shore banking have taken over from olive farming economically, they are still the predominant images presented to those outside the island through tourist marketing. These images fit the national bill, while at the same time enabling the massive economic growth that has been a feature of the island since the 1970s to continue unabated. Tourism is important to this growth in many ways and it is necessary



to be aware of how it uses the past in its nationalist agenda in order to try and avoid a situation where archaeology becomes a passive factor in a national product.

### 5.1 Introduction

The central focus of this research has been state use of the past in the formation of contemporary Greek Cypriot identity. In the preceding chapters I have shown how the past was used by colonial and post-colonial administrations in their attempts to influence Cypriot identities. Some of these attempts have been more successful than others; in particular nationalist representations of the past have proved much more durable than colonial ones. One of the main reasons for this appears to be a belief in the primacy of the past by its proponents (or lack of it). British attempts to create a hybrid, or *syncretic*, Cypriot identity were largely produced in relation to pre-existing Greek nationalist sentiments. This relates in part to the British belief in the superiority of Hellenic *paideia*, identity and education (Crown 1997; Harfield 1977). While some Greek Cypriots were formulating their national identity from the 1820s, few Cypriots thought of themselves predominantly as Greek or Turk prior to 1878. Greek Cypriot identity formation was very much influenced in by the elites who formulated it, which made it appear attractive and true to ordinary Greek Cypriots.

I have in the foregoing chapters sought to show how contemporary Greek Cypriot identity is formulated in relation to three key moments: the late Bronze Age, and supposed Mycenaean 'colonisation' of the island period, and the 1974 coup. All of these moments have been used in attempts to reinforce a Hellenic, or Hellenised, identity. This chapter takes up the discussion of education, state media, school texts, museum texts, monuments to modernity and Cypriot identity formation has been and continues to be used, and what this tells us about nationalist and colonialist in Cyprus.

## 5.2 Cypriot Moments

### 5.2.1 The Late Bronze Age/Mycenaean Colonisation

The Late Bronze Age Mycenaean 'colonisation' of Cyprus is a central in histories of the island, both colonial and post-colonial. While discussions of the 'colonisation' of Cyprus through time, its prominent position at the starting point for stories of development of the history of Cyprus since 1878 and the period in particular with relation to Greek identity, makes it central to any understanding of Greek Cypriotness. It is found in all editions of the *Handbook* (Hutchinson and Cobban 1987, 1997; Loxton and Jordan 1973; Loxton and Jordan 1975; Stone and O'Brien 1980), in *The Island of Cyprus* (1940), *Cyprus's Ascent to Modernity* (1964), Karagiannis' *Excavations, Reports and Studies* (1976, 1979, 1986, 2000, 2001; Karagiannis and Dengo 1984; 1985), in elementary schoolbooks (HC1 and HC2



## **Cypriot Moments: Discussion and Conclusion**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The central focus of this research has been state uses of the past in the formation of contemporary Greek Cypriot identity. In the preceding chapters I have shown how the past was used by colonial and post-colonial administrations in their attempts to influence Cypriot identities. Some of these attempts have been more successful than others; in particular nationalist representations of the past have proved much more durable than colonial ones. One of the main reasons for this appears to be a belief in the presented past by its proponents (or lack of it). British attempts to create a hybrid, or *mélange*, Cypriot identity, were always produced in *reaction* to pre-existing Greek nationalist sentiments. This relates in part to the British belief in the supremacy of Hellenic ideals, identity and education (Given 1997; Herzfeld 1987). While some Greek Cypriots were formulating their nationalist ideas from the 1820s, few Cypriots thought of themselves predominantly in terms of Greek or Turk prior to 1878. Greek Cypriot identity formation was very much believed in by the elites who formulated it, which made it appear attractive and *true* to ordinary Greek Cypriots.

I have in the foregoing chapters sought to show how contemporary Greek Cypriot identity is formulated in relation to three key moments: the late Bronze Age, and supposed Mycenaean ‘colonisation’; the classical period; and the folk image. All of these moments have been used in attempting to reinforce a Hellenic, or Hellenised, identity. This chapter joins up the discussions of education, mass media, and tourism, in order to show how each moment of Cypriot identity formation has been, and continues to be used, and what this tells us about nationalism and colonialism in Cyprus.

### **6.2 Cypriot Moments**

#### **6.2.1 The Late Bronze Age/Mycenaean ‘Colonisation’**

The Late Bronze Age Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ of Cyprus is a constant in histories of the island, both colonial and post-colonial. While discussions of this ‘colonisation’ change through time, its prominent position as the starting point for almost all discussions of the history of Cyprus from 1878 until the present (in particular with relation to Greek identity), makes it central to any understanding of Greek Cypriot-ness. It is found in all editions of the *Handbook* ( Hutchinson and Cobham 1903; 1905; Lukach and Jardine 1913; Luke and Jardine 1920; Storrs and O’Brien 1930), in Hill’s *History* (1940), Luke’s *Appreciation* (1965), Karageorghis’ excavation reports and historical writings (1976; 1994; 1996; 2000; 2002; Karageorghis and Demas 1984; 1988), in elementary schoolbooks (HC1. n.d.; HC2



2002), in CyBC programmes (CyBC 1963; 1973; 1993) and in CTO promotional literature (CTO 2001a; 2001b).

Uses of this starting point vary. In the British period, in particular in the *Handbook*, the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ was presented as a historical ‘fact’ based mainly on textual and mythical references to Cypriot city foundations. In early editions of the *Handbook*, Mycenaean contacts were presented as evidence of a strong connection between Cyprus and Greece, and by extension Britain and Greece. By 1913, however, the Greek foundation myths and their Mycenaean connections were turned on their heads. Instead of a colonisation, they were presented as means of later Greek control over Cyprus (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 7). This in turn justified British control (as the inheritors of ancient Greek civilisation), and showed Greek Cypriot nationalism to be flawed, based as it was on ancient Greek mockery of Cypriot gullibility. In schools, history was initially based exclusively on Greek models, although the development of Cypriot nationalism led to a partial move away from them (the history of Greece continued to be taught even after 1931 but the emphasis of schooling as a whole had changed). Instead, children were taught the importance of western European expansion and power, alongside ‘adaptational’ lessons such as hygiene, domestic science and agriculture. External representations of the colony for tourist purposes were few. The major sites and places of interest in Cyprus were presented as dating to the Lusignan and Venetian periods (which were, significantly, periods of western domination) (Fig 6.1 and 6.2).



Figure 6.1: Kantara Castle



Figure 6.2: Famagusta from the city walls

These sites were venerated as the most magnificent architecturally on the island, and again served to show the Cypriots to be under foreign domination or control.

For the Greek Cypriot State, the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ has always been seen as a key element of Greek identity. In schooling, media and tourism, this period is used to create



longevity, while the extent of its use depends on the medium. The necessarily commercial and ephemeral nature of tourist representations makes this moment feature in a minimal, yet crucial, way. It is used in all CTO discussions of the history of Cyprus to frame (or act as a marker for) the identity of Greek Cypriots (CTO 2001a; 2001b; [www.visitcyprus.org.cy](http://www.visitcyprus.org.cy)). Because it usually comes before any discussion of the other people or races that ‘passed through’ Cyprus, it supersedes them, while also showing this identity to be capable of withstanding all attempts to overcome it.

The Late Bronze Age features much more prominently in school representations of Cypriot identity, as well as media ones. CyBC programmes on the history of Cyprus *all* place an emphasis on the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’, while in its *History of Ancient Cyprus* (1993), programmes four, five and six are all directly related to this event/moment. The CyBC representations of the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ fulfil two important roles: (1) they reinforce state-sanctioned readings of the past; and (2) they educate those too old to have learnt state-sanctioned Cypriot history at school (most of the older population). Elementary education focuses on this period for both the imagery and text of schoolbooks. The subject of the Mycenaeans in Greece and their subsequent ‘colonisation’ of Cyprus is discussed in detail. Moreover, the exercises relating to these sections of the book ask the children to underline Mycenaean names still common in Cyprus, and therefore seek to amplify the importance of these connections in the present. Every discussion of the city-kingdoms is related to the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ moment through the foundation myths. The children are reminded of these myths in every period of ancient history, and thus this moment permeates the entire ancient history of Cyprus. State uses of the LBA Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ are represented in such a strong light that any other claims to the identity of Cyprus are simply and easily refuted. This identity is shown to be older than any others, it is connected to all aspects of the ancient history of the island, and it links the Cypriots to a glorious past. The longevity of this 3000 year old Greek identity is used to over-ride all forms of domination that followed it: “they [the Mycenaeans] left on Cyprus an indelible proto-Greek identity of great antiquity” (Iacovou 1999b: 7).

The narrative of the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ of Cyprus originally derived from ancient sources and myths, which continue to be central to state representations of the ‘colonisation’ moment in education, the media and tourism. The central elements that underlie it are the so-called Dorian Invasion of Greece, the reputedly destructive movements of the ‘Sea Peoples’ and the aftermath of the Trojan War. The thesis that the island was Hellenised in the LBA by Mycenaeans first dates to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and can be found in numerous works relating to



Cyprus and Greece in the LBA/EIA (Early Iron Age) period (Leriu 2002 provides a succinct discussion, with references).

Cyprus was hellenized (in language religion and art) by successive waves of Achaean colonists during the last part of the Late Bronze Age. The indigenous culture of Cyprus absorbed the new Achaean culture and that of new settlers from the Near East. This was the broad basis on which the Iron Age culture of Cyprus was built. So it came about that the new towns of Cyprus were developed as city-states, ruled by independent kings. The foundation of these towns was associated by tradition with the heroes of the Trojan war. According to these foundation legends Agapenor from Arcadia built Paphos, Teukros from the island of Salamis built the town of Salamis, and so on. Behind these legends lie the undisputed facts of the colonization and hellenization of Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age, an event which has paved the way for the historical development of the Island from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the present day (Karageorghis 1976: 152).

The archaeological features that are often used as evidence for the ‘colonisation’ include: the introduction of the Greek language (for instance the Opheltas inscription found at Palaepaphos in the 1970s proved the use of the Cypro-Minoan script by a Greek-speaking population, Iacovou 1999: 12); the introduction of Mycenaean IIC pottery (imported and locally produced, found at a range of sites including Maa *Palaeokastro*, Karageorghis and Demas 1988; Karageorghis 2000: 256-257); defensive architecture from a number of sites dating to this period, such as Maa *Palaeokastro* and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (Karageorghis and Demas 1984; 1988; Karageorghis 2000: 265-266); chamber tombs (Karageorghis 2000: 263-265); ‘bathtubs’ (Karageorghis 2000: 266-270); a range of metallurgical objects and techniques (especially from Kition and Enkomi, Karageorghis 1976: 144-152; 2000: 260; Tatton-Brown 1997: 33) (see Karageorghis 2000 for a brief overview of the archaeological evidence and Leriu 2002 for a critical discussion). Proponents of this Aegean-based ‘colonisation’ argue that it took place in two waves, c. 1200 BC and c. 1050 BC.

Here I present a brief discussion of one site, Maa *Palaeokastro*, which is argued to have been a staging post for the first wave of colonisation: this should serve to illustrate the use of the LBA as a site of Hellenisation through archaeological writings. Maa *Palaeokastro* was first excavated in 1954 with a small test trench by Dikaio (1971), and was systematically excavated by Demas and Karageorghis from 1979-1986. Three settlement areas of the site and the fortification walls were excavated; these constitute only a fraction of the peninsula (there is scope for further excavation). The excavators found two phases of construction on the site, with an ash and debris layer between them suggesting destruction by fire in the lowest level. There appears to be immediate reuse of the site between the two phases, and its



entire life-span is thought to be between 50 and 100 years, specifically dating to the years between 1200-1150 B.C. For the excavators, and in particular Karageorghis, the site is a point of first contact between Mycenaean settlers and Cypriots, as opposed to Mycenaean traders who had a long history of contact with Cyprus. Even though the lowest Bronze Age deposits are similar to those found at other Late Cypriot sites, the excavators propose that it was first settled by Mycenaeans. The reasons given for this include: the defensive nature of the settlement; the evidence of ashlar and cyclopean masonry – while hearth-rooms represent strongly Aegean architectural elements at Maa, the ashlar masonry is of Cypriot construction and layout; the evidence of bathtubs; large quantities of Mycenaean IIC pottery and in particular dining wares; a number of large buildings (in the early phase); and the barren nature of the site (it was felt by the excavators that local people would never settle in such a location) (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 262-264). The excavators propose a possible scenario for the settlement of the site whereby the Mycenaeans arrived at Maa following the collapse of the Mycenaean ‘empire’ on the Greek mainland, and with some co-operation from the locals, set up a trading site. With time, these people were accepted by the Cypriots, abandoned their inhospitable home at Maa, and moved to the urban centres of the island where they began the process of Hellenisation (Karageorghis 1996; 2002: 71-140; Karageorghis and Demas 1988).

There are a number of problems with this argument. Even according to the excavators (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 263), the earliest levels of occupation in the Bronze Age at Maa were typical of most Cypriot LBA sites, and evidence of an earlier phase of the site was found (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 3-7). Although the excavators claim that the site was settled by Mycenaeans who were helped by the Cypriots, the occupiers of the peninsula were seemingly protecting themselves from the people in the hinterland as well as people from the sea. The Mycenaean material evidence at the site is often scanty and totals no more than is found at other comparable sites. This material is more convincingly explained by close trading connections between Cyprus and the Aegean area (Karageorghis 1976; 2000; Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 266); indeed the type and quantities of Mycenaean pottery found at Maa are fairly typical of the entire eastern Mediterranean at this time. Some of the pottery is of a locally produced type (‘White Painted Wheelmade III’) and there are also possible Levantine imports such as ‘Canaanite’ jars. The excavators suggest that the site may have been a Cypriot lookout post but then disclaim this possibility by noting that the closest *known* contemporary settlement was 25 km away (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 262). The natural advantages of the site as a lookout post are numerous, so perhaps this was its real function. It could also have served as a defended settlement, a local trading settlement or a small-scale administrative centre (Knapp pers. comm. 2005). The main problem with the



arguments given for the Mycenaean settlement at Maa is its reliance on old-fashioned culture-history approaches to archaeology where pots equal people.

About a year after the excavations at Maa had been completed a Museum was commissioned for the site, with funding provided by the A.G Leventis Foundation and the Department of Antiquities. The Museum was designed to fit in with the natural environment of the site and to highlight the experience of the archaeologist. An arrow was even incorporated into the design (see Figure 5.8 above), purportedly showing the direction whence the original settlers came. Following the completion of the museum the Department of Antiquities felt that it was not cost effective to have a museum of nothing (as originally intended by the architect), and it became 'The Museum of the Mycenaean Colonisation of Cyprus'.

The generosity of the A.G. Leventis Foundation and the ingenuity of architect Andrea Bruno have created a model site museum at Maa-Palaeokastro, perfectly matched with the surrounding environment and the "spiritual" aspect of the site.

Andrea Bruno wanted it to be a "Museum of Nothing", a place for reflection and memory. After much thought, however, the Cyprus Department of Antiquities decided to combine the Museum with a small exhibition of objects, mainly copies, and much educational documentation, for the benefit of the general public, illustrating the fascinating theme of the Mycenaean impact on the culture of Cyprus (Karageorghis 1996: 11).

The effectiveness of this museum and site is ideological as it receives few visitors, although it features prominently in educational, mass media, and tourism discussions of the LBA Mycenaean 'colonisation'. It is presented in these three areas, and by the excavators, in simplistic and monolithic terms. The excavation report discounts any alternative interpretations (even those suggested by the authors themselves), even though only a fraction of the site was excavated, and the evidence does not perceptibly differ from other contemporary sites in the eastern Mediterranean. The main reasons for its identification as a Mycenaean 'colony' appear to be its location on the south west coast (the closest point between Cyprus and Greece) and its possible defensive/defendable nature. Even those that support the Mycenaean 'colonisation' thesis have argued that the archaeological evidence *alone* cannot support such a migratory movement (Iacovou 1999b: 5). It is clear that archaeology has been used to support the supposed Mycenaean 'colonisation' of Cyprus in an attempt to give longevity to the Hellenisation of the islands inhabitants (Leriu 2002; 2004). This use of the archaeology must necessarily be considered in the light of other nationalist and postcolonial uses of the past. Moreover, it seems evident that the archaeology



of a few sites dating to the LBA has been used to create, maintain and legitimise a Greek Cypriot ‘golden age’ that may bear little resemblance to Late Bronze Age Cypriot realities.

### 6.2.2 The Classical Period

Connections with classical Greece and Rome feature prominently in all aspects of Greek Cypriot self-representation, as well as British representations of the Cypriot past, although they are used in very different ways by the two groups. The classical period has a much more fluid use than the Mycenaean ‘colonising’ moment. For the British, the classical period was an important aspect of Cyprus’ status as colonised nation. It reminded other European colonisers, in particular the French, that the British were also in possession of important archaeological and historical lands. In addition it served to connect British colonialism with Rome and Greece – the two central elements of elite educational systems – and with the civilisations that the British chose as their ancestors. British veneration of Greece and Rome partly contributed to the administration’s acceptance of schooling along ethnic lines (Given 1997), and even after government crackdowns on education, the classical period continued to feature as an area of study. As we have seen elsewhere (Section 4.6.1.1), the British considered the classical archaeological heritage that they found in Cyprus to be of the utmost importance. They were therefore careful to control access to, and classification of, the archaeology of the island to ensure that it fitted in with government narratives (Given 1998). In 1928, for example, the Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, wrote to Secretary of State for the Colonies asking him to urge the press officer within the colonial office to warn British newspaper editors not to believe reports that the finds at Soli proved the Greek nature of the majority population of Cyprus: such a view might encourage Greek Cypriots to claim archaeology as proof of the Greek nature of the islanders (CO 67/224/2 1928: 6-7).

British attitudes to the classical period of Cyprus are most clearly elucidated in the *Handbook*, which served as a guide for English-reading travellers, and as a state-produced mass medium (albeit for non-‘native’ consumption). The central figure in the British (and Greek Cypriot) discussion of the Greek classical period is Evagoras. In the *Handbook*, he is described as bringing the high culture of Greece to Cyprus and “reviving the cause of Hellenism” (Lukach and Jardine 1913: 9; Luke and Jardine 1920: 11; Storrs and O’Brien 1930: 10-11). By focusing on this element of the classical period, the British align themselves with Evagoras *against* the Cypriots. As the inheritors of the classical tradition the British also bring Greek/western European high culture to the island, while by concentrating on the important trading and commercial aspects of Roman domination, Britain shows itself to be the new Rome. Descriptions of the British period in the *Handbook* focus on progress – commercially, socially, culturally and in terms of infrastructure – which connects them to the



Romans and again shows the 'indigenous' Cypriots to be in *need* of western dominance in order to meet their full potential (Given 2001).

For Greek Cypriots, the classical period is important in two related respects: (1) it reinforces the pre-existing Greek identity under such leaders as Onesilos, Evagoras and Ptolemy; and (2) it brings Christianity in the Roman period. Its use in the mass media and education are very similar, while tourist uses of the classical period are also informed by commercial concerns. As demonstrated above, the classical period has been central to Greek Cypriot historical and cultural socialisation both during the British period and since independence. Both education and the media in contemporary Cyprus focus on the classical period as a reinforcer of Greek identity through the foundation myths of classical towns (CyBC 1973; 1993; Ioannides *et al.* n.d.: 72), and through famous figures such as Evagoras of Salamis (CyBC 1993: 8-10; Ioannides *et al.* n.d.: 102-104). As an anti-colonial statement, the classical 'Greek' history of the island served to diminish the position and role of the British, while at the same time strengthening the nationalist bonds of race and culture. This was reinforced in the Roman period when Christianity came to Cyprus. The importance of religion to Greek nationalism should not be discounted. It has already been shown that Hellenism and Orthodoxy were linked in Greek nationalist and independence movements. By incorporating the Greek Orthodox church into the nationalist movement of Greece, its leaders were able to draw on a ready-made community extending well beyond the borders of the early Greek state, while the classical past was used in the construction of a Hellenic national consciousness (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999; see also Hobsbawm 1987: 162-163 and Kedourie 1966: 77 on the importance of religion to nationalist movements). In Cyprus, it was the church that controlled all of the early (pre-British) schools, and priests (in particular the Archbishop) were central figures in the nationalist movements of the island through their role as representatives and leaders of the Greeks in the Ottoman period.

While the importance of the classical period as reinforcer of Hellenic identity as discussed above is also used in tourist literature ([www.visitcyprus.org.cy](http://www.visitcyprus.org.cy)), the classical remains of Cyprus are used to more commercial ends. In this way the identity of the Greek Cypriots is represented as both Greek and Mediterranean. The archaeological remains that feature most prominently in the Cypriot tourist product date from the Roman period. The importance of this period in Cypriot tourism marketing has even resulted in the establishment of *two* Roman Hotels (both in Paphos) (Fig 6.3 and 6.4). Their decoration owes more to ancient Greek vase painting and mythology than anything Roman, and resembles the replica ancient pots for sale in souvenir shops throughout Cyprus (and Greece). There is a delicate balance



between marketing focus on Greek (albeit through Roman) identity, and tourism in practice (anything old or interesting looking is sufficient as a marker of cultural capital).



Figure 6.3: A suite at the Roman Hotel, Paphos ([www.romanhotel.com.cy](http://www.romanhotel.com.cy))

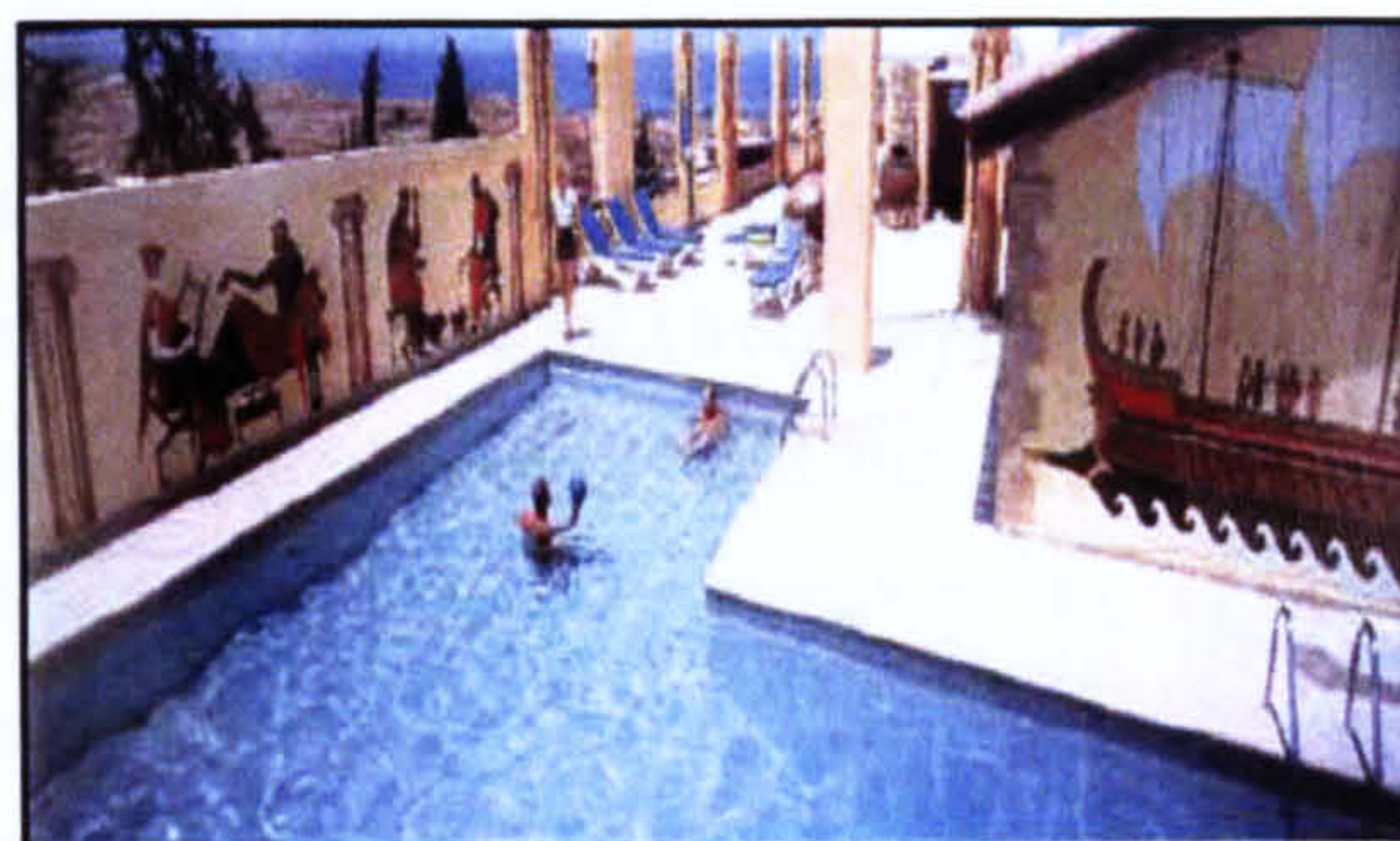


Figure 6.4: The swimming pool at the Roman Hotel II, Paphos ([www.romanhotel.com.cy](http://www.romanhotel.com.cy))

So while the Tombs of the Kings do not appear in television and poster campaigns, they still feature in tourist literature (CTO 2001a: 33) and are a major tourist attraction. Despite their more ‘eastern’ feel, they are an important tourist site as they still impart cultural capital, but they are not part of the official classical tourist imagery that is predominantly Greco-Roman.

The reliance on Roman archaeological sites in the imagery of the classical period in Cyprus for education, the mass media and tourism, is directly related to the nature of the evidence. While Greek connections with Cyprus focus on textual evidence of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries B.C., the visual motifs used in these discussions necessarily date to the Roman period (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), which is much richer archaeologically. Classical archaeology often relies on the works and deeds of great men (invariably men and not women) of the past. Early archaeological excavations were conducted in order to ‘prove’ the veracity the ancient texts – Troy and Mycenae in particular owe their excavation and ascription to Homer. Textual references and connections permeate much of classical archaeology and sites are often used to reinforce and corroborate textual evidence, instead of using such evidence as a secondary tool of the archaeologist.

Studies of the classical past in Cyprus have traditionally been concerned with the monumental and not the mundane. “Even the cities are known only through their tombs, sanctuaries, and walls. Little is known of urban domestic architecture, let alone settlements in the countryside” (Given and Smith 2003: 271). While recent studies and surveys have begun to redress this imbalance (see for instance Given and Knapp 2003; [www.scsp.arts.gla.ac.uk](http://www.scsp.arts.gla.ac.uk); [www.taesp.arts.gla.ac.uk](http://www.taesp.arts.gla.ac.uk)), the classical archaeology of Cyprus continues to be represented in monumental terms and is often based primarily on textual evidence. Central to this is a focus on urban or religious archaeological sites and great historical figures. Classical representations of the Cypriot past through imagery must



necessarily rely on the remains of the Roman period, however, as remains from the Greek classical period are relatively few, and tend to be less monumental in character than the narratives that they are called upon to represent. The site of Salamis, for example, is a central element of most discussions of ancient Cyprus, and in particular the classical period. It has been described by Karageorghis as “the easternmost outpost of the Greek world” (1969: 13), and it is clear that this site is central to Greek Cypriot narratives of the Hellenism and Hellenisation of the island (as demonstrated by continual references to in state representations of the past in education and the mass media).

The splendours of the city of Evagoras of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, which led the Greek orator Isokrates to praise it as the ‘most Hellenic’ of all the Greek cities, are still to be discovered. The coins of Evagoras, the abundance of Attic pottery including a Panathenaic amphora, and the quality of sculpture which the soil of Salamis has so far produced herald the architectural magnificence of its public buildings which one day must come to light (Karageorghis 1969: 166-167).

Interest in Salamis began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and a number of organised and illicit excavations took place on the site of the ancient city and the necropolis up to the 1930s, but none of these made significant contributions to contemporary understandings of the site (Karageorghis 1969: 18). The Department of Antiquities, and later the University of Lyon, initiated systematic excavations in 1952, which continued until the events of 1974. Amongst the results of these excavations were the discovery of the Roman gymnasium, the theatre and the necropolis (see Karageorghis 1999 for brief discussion of results with references). The systematic excavations resulted in impressive finds including a number of high quality sculptures, prestige grave goods and mosaic wall decorations, but despite 22 years of work at the site, the discovery of the architectural remains dating to the (Greek) classical period have remained elusive (this is due to the political situation more than anything else, since the site is no longer under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Cyprus).

Karageorghis’ archaeological narratives of the site make constant references to the Hellenic nature of the city’s people and rulers and particular attention is paid to Evagoras, despite the fact any architectural evidence of the fourth and fifth centuries is lacking (see for instance Karageorghis 1969; 1999). In his description of a fourth century sculpted female head he claims:

This is certainly the work of a Greek sculptor working in the court of Evagoras, justifying most eloquently the information which we have from Isokrates that many prominent Greeks came to live at Salamis because they regarded the rule of Evagoras as more democratic than the political system of their own country (Karageorghis 1969: 167).



Moreover, French finds dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC from the necropolis are “substantiating in a way the mythical foundation of Salamis by Teucer” (Karageorghis 1999: 110). In his narrative of the excavations at Salamis, Karageorghis (1999) directly relates the finds and excavations to the political events taking place in Cyprus from the 1950s to the 1970s. The collection of photographs of the site would have been larger but for the fact that so many of the inhabitants of Famagusta left their albums behind when they fled the advancing Turkish Army (1999: 11); the discoveries of Greek inscriptions and statues of Greek gods and heroes during the period 1955-1959 gave him and his Greek workers a strong sense of satisfaction (1999: 59).

In view, however, of the fact that the excavation covered twenty-two years in the activities of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities (created in 1935) and coincided with some major phases of the modern history of Cyprus (the Colonial period, the war of Independence, and the early years thereafter) its narration forms part of the modern history of Cyprus (Karageorghis 1999: 11).

Small scale excavations were resumed at Salamis in 1998 by a team from the University of Ankara much to the disgust and condemnation of the Department of Antiquities and the government of the Republic of Cyprus. Its role in Greek Cypriot narratives of the Hellenisation of the island may make it a particularly sensitive site. It is not clear what results these excavations have yielded.

Discussions of the classical period in education, the mass media and tourism rely on the imagery of Roman archaeological remains since architecturally impressive remains from the Greek classical period are few in Cyprus. The Roman theatre at Kourion is used to stage ancient Greek plays, serving to reinforce the textual narrative of the past (as taught in schools and represented in the media and tourism, and as used in western European notions of cultural capital) through the Roman imagery of the island. Discussions of Evagoras and Onesilos in both elementary textbooks and CyBC television programmes rely on the imagery of Roman Salamis. The tensions between these two periods are neither discussed nor highlighted, and instead the Roman finds of the island have been adopted as a badge of Hellenism, while Hellenistic sites such as the Tombs of the Kings (see Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 235-236 for a brief discussion of the Tombs) have been largely ignored due to their more eastern character.

### 6.2.3 The Folk Image

The folk image of Cyprus was belittled by the British who saw it as an example of the ‘Oriental’ nature of the islanders. This served to justify colonial motives, and was used in British attempts to impose an indigenous culture on the Cypriots following nationalist



agitation (Given 1997; 1998; 2001). British histories of the island reinforce a need for external organisation and government by focusing on the numerous powers that had an influence there. As Knapp (2001) points out, this is an ‘outside looking in’ approach related to the classical, rather than Cypriot, academic backgrounds of most scholars who worked on the island (particularly in the British period). It serves as a justification of domination on the grounds that Cypriots had no experience of self-government. In addition it gave the British a moral right to be there (‘the white man’s burden’) and an inflated sense of their own worth. The adoption of Cypriot vernacular architecture in government buildings, including the new Government House, and in pedagogic institutions, was an expression of domination and ideological control. The folk traditions and Cypriot way of life were continually derided by the British, however, as being, unclean, uncouth and backwards.

Some coarse but interesting native pottery, the best specimens of which are attributed by M. Enlart to the fourteenth century; a little peasant jewellery, and some embroidered linen, known locally as Levkara work; are probably the only minor objects still attractive to collectors (Hutchinson and Cobham 1903: 16; 1905: 17).

In contemporary Cyprus, the folk image encompasses much more than either the Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ or the classical period. It is about the recent past, Greek-ness, and a timeless peasant lifestyle that spans thousands of years. It is used by the Republic of Cyprus to define Cypriot-ness to outsiders and Greek-ness to insiders, and its use is growing in the tourism sector, as well as in Cypriot appreciation of folk heritage. The folk image and peasant lifestyle are used in education and the media in very similar ways. The mass media focuses on folk lifestyles in historical programming by making connections between ancient farming, building, and religious practices and 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Cypriot ways of life (CyBC 1963; 1973; 1993; Greek Communal Chamber 1964) (Fig 6.5 and 6.6). Later periods of the *CyBC History* represent the Cypriot people as poor farmers who were misruled by numerous dominating forces; their Greek Orthodox religion and ‘Greek’ heroes (such as Dhigenis Akritas) helped them through those hard times. Religion, poverty and domination are therefore represented as constants in Cypriot life – ancient, medieval, and modern. There are also numerous situation comedies and dramatisations on CyBC set in the recent past, which often promote archaising moral codes of decency and behaviour.

In education, the timeless folk lifestyle is introduced with particular reference to the similarities of Cypriot ways of life from the Neolithic period onwards. They too focus on subsistence strategies and religious practices in order to make connections for the children between the recent and ancient past in their homeland (HC1 n.d.) (Fig 6.5 and 6.6). By



making these connections, the abstract and often confusing aspects of ancient history and archaeological sites become linked with familiar images, tastes, sights, and smells. Few Cypriot children have no connection with small-scale agricultural practices, most families still have a small-holding or know someone who does, and almost all homes have store-cupboards full of home-pickled olives and homemade preserves (even in London). The agricultural practices of the ancient past are therefore closely linked to the daily lives of the children in this aspect of their schooling, and they therefore come to see the people of ancient Cyprus as their own *Greek* ancestors, because they are the same as them. In addition, by connecting religious practices of the past to the present, notions of Byzantium and Hellenism are brought into this sphere of connections. Both the television programmes and the school textbooks use the Neolithic site of Chirokitia to connect ancient with recent agricultural practices (see le Brun 1984; 1988; 1994 for discussion of archaeological finds at the site). While this is a World Heritage site that is also very popular with coach tours and school excursions, it is not included in the imagery of the Cypriot tourist product. The reason for this is not clear as it is a spectacular site that is well presented and is clearly a major attraction. Perhaps its position outside the classical or folk imagery of the nationalist tourist product makes its inclusion problematic. The fact that Chirokitia predates the Cypriot nationalist and postcolonial identities as presented to tourists (Mycenaean, Greek, classical, folk) makes it difficult to use within that framework.



Figure 6.5: Reconstructed houses at Chirokitia



Figure 6.6: Traditional agricultural scene (Cyprus at a Glance 2002: 18)

The folk image as used in the tourist marketing of Cyprus is located in both the Mediterranean package and as a marker of difference – Cyprus as a Greek Cypriot and not just a Mediterranean touristic place. While a timeless peasant past is depicted in the tourist product, it is also presented as a postmodern reality: village houses are the shells of modern luxury hotels ([www.linos-inn.com.cy](http://www.linos-inn.com.cy)); agricultural villages encourage tourists into their daily practice; folk museums show the recent past in a frozen moment (see Fig 5.11 above). Incorporated into the Cypriot folk tourist sign are architecture (ironically the architecture that the British wanted to promote to dilute Greek nationalism), food and hospitality, traditional



arts and crafts, and religion. Many aspects of this culture are understood to be both Greek and Cypriot, thereby re-establishing the connection between Greece and Cyprus. As a nationalist tool, the folk image reinforces Cyprus as being timelessly Greek through longstanding links to the ancient and recent past in culture, religion and food. By adding religion to the image (there are images of priests or churches in almost all depictions of the folk), the connection with Hellenism and identity is sealed.

The archaeology of the recent past is relatively under-studied in the Cypriot context, and as in the classical period, the physical remains are often used to back up written sources rather than vice versa. While some recent researchers have begun to study the recent past and the folk lifestyles of Cyprus, their results are under-represented in the 'heritage product' of the Cypriot state. These studies include recent survey projects that focus on the full range of the archaeology and history of particular regions (Given and Knapp 2003; [www.taesp.arts.gla.ac.uk](http://www.taesp.arts.gla.ac.uk); [www.scsp.arts.gla.ac.uk](http://www.scsp.arts.gla.ac.uk)), traditional forms of architecture and crafts (Ionas 1988; 2000), and an assessment of the archaeology of the recent past in political and social terms (Given 1997; 2001; 2002; Seretis n.d. PhD in progress). The status of the folk image as a 'known' and 'experienced' phenomenon rather than one seen through remains has meant that folk periods and remains are under-developed and studied archaeologically. Therefore the Byzantine churches found recently in the centre of Nicosia will not be preserved as monuments in their own right, but will be incorporated into the new municipality building whose construction prompted their discovery. The exceptions to the lack of focus on the Cypriot folk remains in traditional heritage terms, are folk and ethnographic museums, which have become increasingly popular in the past five to ten years. The fact that certain aspects of the folk past are still extant in Cyprus means that it can be 'known' and 'understood' without necessarily having to visit archaeological sites to back up this knowledge. People continue to worship in ancient churches, they continue to live, eat and drink in old houses and traditional crafts are still carried out to a certain extent. This aspect of the past is therefore more easily incorporated into Greek Cypriot identity representations as it is continually experienced on a daily basis by both locals and tourists.

### **6.3 Archaeological Applications and Implications**

My research has shown how the past, and by association archaeology, can be used by states (colonial and post-colonial) for nationalist and ideological purposes to both their own citizens as well as outsiders. By analysing the past as presented by the state I have shown that nationalism and reactions to colonialism can be central to formulations and uses of the past, as well as to the archaeological periods that are venerated and studied. The history



taught through education introduces the past considered by the state to be crucial to the nation-building project to its young citizens, and is often formulated in relation to domination (colonial, imperial or otherwise). State-sanctioned mass media representations reinforce the history taught in schools and are useful in the creation of public knowledge of the past. Tourism, on the other hand, serves to represent the state's understanding of itself to others, thereby distributing it in a wider context. By creating an awareness of the influence that these factors can have on the archaeologies and histories produced and consumed by states and their citizens, it is hoped that situations such as that discussed in this study can be avoided in the future.

The uses of the three Cypriot moments are most closely linked in the mass media and education. Tourism relates very closely to their use in education and the media, but is necessarily distinct as it is used for 'outsiders' as well as 'insiders', and is effected by the commercial concerns of the Mediterranean tourist package. All three media show the effects of nationalism and colonialism in their representations of the past. It is clear that these state-sanctioned readings of the past show the island as stubbornly 'Greek + Cypriot + Orthodox', in reaction to numerous others that either have been, or are perceived to be, a threat to the sovereignty and cultural hegemony of the Greek Cypriots. Greek Cypriot representations of the past that show continual periods of domination and attempts to Latin-ise, Persian-ise, or even Cypriot-ise the inhabitants of the island have created a climate of vulnerability; which is addressed by the loud, single voice of the state saying 'We are Greek, we have always been Greek, and we will always be Greek'.

Many scholars have highlighted the need for a more politically aware archaeology (Hamilakis 1999a; Shanks and McGuire 1996; Trigger 1984 among others). If we accept that "what we call 'cultural heritage' is not given but produced by disciplinary practices, by social and political processes ... and more importantly, by processes such as the construction, maintenance and reproduction of identities" (Hamilakis 1999a: 69), then we must necessarily be reflexive in our research and academic practices. Studies such as this illustrate how archaeology and the past are used in the wider society, which can lead to manipulations of the data to chauvinistic ends. It is important, therefore, for archaeologists to be aware of this and incorporate a degree of reflexivity in their work. In producing pasts that are politically aware, multi-vocal and polysemic in the present, it may be possible to introduce these elements into the past. Complex pasts and archaeologies may make it more difficult for states to use them to create simplistic historical narratives that deny difference in the past and the present. It is important for archaeologists to be aware of the pasts as presented by a particular state and to place them in their wider contemporary context, be they



nationalist, colonial, postcolonial or threatened from without or within. Such awareness empowers archaeologists, enabling them to avoid proposing simplistic results that might be misinterpreted and to question the narrative framework of past in more reflexive ways.

If the U.N. has been called upon, for the last 30 years or so, to solve what is known as the “Cyprus Problem”, a historian should seek its roots in what happened around 1200 B.C.E. Of all the lands visited by the Sea Peoples, only in Cyprus do we witness the effects of their activities more than 3000 years afterward (Karageorghis 2000: 255).

As the preceding discussion shows, the central focus of much archaeological fieldwork in Cyprus (particularly of the LBA and classical period) has often been the search for evidence that proves the longevity of a Greek identity. Although such research is admittedly out of date, few researchers have explicitly rejected claims to a Mycenaean ‘colonisation’ or other manifestations of contemporary Greek identity on Cyprus through ancient archaeological or textual evidence (see Leriou 2002; 2004 for a notable exception). While Knapp and Antoniadou (1998: 32) argued that the archaeology of Cyprus will always be politically informed, this will not necessarily always be negative. If those studying the archaeology of Cyprus (or indeed anywhere else) move away from the monumental and monolithic pasts that have, until recently, been the focus of much research, its simplistic appropriation in contemporary society can be avoided. By shifting the focus from culture historical archaeologies dependant on texts, monumental remains and great historical figures, to the human scale, we can attempt to fundamentally alter the uses of the past to nationalist (and colonial/postcolonial) ends in Cyprus. If we see the results from Maa as evidence of Mycenaeans because of the existence of certain classes of material evidence based on culture historical readings of the past, we fulfil the needs of the state in the creation of a strongly Hellenic Cypriot identity through time (does the profusion of Chinese products in the west mean we are all Chinese?). Furthermore, by being aware of the nationalist, colonial and postcolonial context of the *idea* of a Mycenaean colonisation, archaeologists are able to be more rigorous with their interpretations and to ask more difficult questions of their data, in order to avoid such simplistic readings of the past. By having an awareness of how archaeological research is used outside academia, we can begin to free archaeologists from the ulterior motives of certain dominant groups and the state. The creation of such politically aware archaeologies may encourage the state to link the archaeology of Cyprus to not just one group of people or one area, but place in its wider eastern Mediterranean context.



## 6.4 Future Prospects

My research has shown the Greek Cypriot state as a creator and reinforcer of nationalist readings of the past in reaction to perceived vulnerabilities and threats. Because of this, it is important for archaeologist to remember that the pasts we create are not *ours*, but rather belong to the wider community. If we are unhappy for our creations (the past) to be used in simple nationalist and colonialist ways, we must necessarily represent the complexity of the archaeological record to the general public. By doing so, academics can also make their own voices heard, and this may encourage the presentation of other voices within and by the state. This research has also made it clear that a postcolonial mentality *is* present in Cyprus. The colonial past is acknowledged in all aspects of life and the colonial period is beginning to be studied academically (by Cypriots, as well as *metropolitans*, see for instance Demetriadou 1998; Gibson 2005; Given 1997; 1998; 2001; 2002; Seretis n.d.; Sollars 2005). For the average Greek Cypriot the colonial period *is* the anti-colonial struggle, while the present is informed by, and different to the colonial past. This is clear from the representations of the British colonial period in education, the mass media and tourism (literature rather than imagery).

While this research necessarily listened to only one voice – that of the state – the framework created here can be applied to a study of other voices in the future, and it is hoped that this will be the case. The theoretical background has been elucidated explicitly. It can be employed and developed to assess different places and different times. It can also be used to expand on the research into Cyprus by looking at different voices, which would necessitate a more focused, anthropological approach to the uses of the past. Despite the impression given in all (state produced) data analysed in this study, Cyprus is a diverse society both ethnically and politically. The Republic of Cyprus incorporates Greek Cypriots, Maronites, Latins, Armenians and Turkish Cypriots as well as a number of more recent immigrants from Europe, Africa and Asia. Cypriots are also extremely political, from communist to extreme right wing and all points in-between – even down to choices over beer and coffee brands. All these groups have their own perceptions of Cypriot identity and how the past has made them and created their identities, which do not always toe the state line. It would be particularly beneficial to compare the findings from this study to a similar one on the identity formation of Turkish Cypriots in the TRNC. This research has answered many of my own questions about how my personal Greek Cypriot identity was formed and where we (Cypriots) can go from here to establish positive new relationships based on similarity and not difference. It is hoped that it will contribute to more archaeological research that looks beyond traditional narratives in other political and cultural situations.



### **Appendix 1: History Curricula from 1886 to the Present**

This Appendix contains translated history curricula for Greek schools, from 1886 until the present. All translations from the original Greek are my own, and where necessary explanatory remarks have been made in parentheses.

The first curriculum (SA1/476/1886) was introduced by the British as a guideline for schools, although it was not compulsory. It was based on models used in Greece (Turkish schools were provided with similar guidelines). The second curriculum included here (SA1/731/1934) was introduced after the disturbances of 1931 and was compulsory for all elementary schools. The programme for instruction from 1949 (SA1/1392/1949) lifted the almost total ban on Greek history and was compulsory from 1949 to independence in elementary schools.

The final two curricula were obtained from the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus (MOEC) and cover the period from 1982 to the present. These were the only curricula that I was able to obtain from MOEC, although I had requested all history curricula from independence to the present (the missing curricula were not available in the state archives). These curricula are compulsory for all state elementary schools.







	Reading from the alphabet (under the supervision of a student from the 4th year)	Reading interpretation and grammatical analysis of the from the elementary work	Copying from the previous lesson	Preparation and some reading for the following lesson	Writing of letters from the alphabet and words that have previously been read (under the supervision of a 3rd year student)	Reading, interpretation and grammatical analysis from the elementary work	Solitary grammatical exercises in writing from the Grammar lesson	Solitary grammatical exercises in writing from the Grammar lesson	Correspondence exercises on a subject chosen by the teacher
10-11am									
	Calligraphy exercises depending on the level of the class (under the supervision of a 3rd year student).								
11-12pm									
	Grammar and some reading interpretation and grammatical analysis								
	Calligraphy exercises (under the supervision of the most competent 4th year student)								
	Reading interpretation and grammatical analysis								
	Copying from the reading lesson or a report of a short story narrated by the teacher before the beginning of the 3rd yr lesson								
	Calligraphy exercises (under the supervision of the most competent 4th year student)								
	Reading interpretation and grammatical analysis								
	Continuation of the above lesson and answers if possible								

1.30-2.15	Verbal arithmetic (under the supervision of a 3rd year student)	Verbal arithmetic (under the supervision of a 3rd year student)	Preparation by themselves for the following lesson	Geography	Verbal arithmetic (under the supervision of a 4th year student)	Geography	Solitary preparation for the following lesson	Verbal arithmetic (under the supervision of a 4th year student)	Religious catechism	Solitary preparation for the following lesson
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2.15-3.15	Written arithmetic from the text book	Written arithmetic	Verbal Arithmetic (Half and hour for each class)	Written arithmetic from the text book	Written arithmetic	Solitary preparation and study for the following lesson	Reading interpretation and grammatical analysis	Written arithmetic from the text book	Review of the 4th year correspondence and reading from the Moral Speeches with interpretation and particularly with reference to the Sunday gospel reading
3.15-4	Verbal arithmetic	Problem solving (on the slate) set by the teacher	Problem solving (On the slate) set by the teacher	Verbal arithmetic (under the supervision of a 4th year student)	Religious history	Drawing or copying of geographical maps	Calligraphic exercises (under the supervision of the most competent 2nd year student)	Preparatory exercises for the evening verses, prophecy, Psalms or Apostles of the forthcoming Sunday or religious holiday	
4-4.45 or 5	Calligraphy exercises depending on the level of the class	Geography of Cyprus	Problem solving (on the slate) set by the teacher	Problem solving (on the slate) set by the teacher	Important: The teacher has an indispensable responsibility to escort the students to the evening service, the Sunday service and important religious holidays				
AMENDED FOR THE SUMMER TERM (6 MONTH PERIOD) After Easter the morning work of the school starts at 7 am and continues based on the above timetable until 11.30 am. The afternoon session is to begin at 2 pm instead of 1.30 and is to continue until 4.45 (4.15 in winter), when they follow the additional lessons									
5-6pm	Repetition of poems (under the supervision of the most competent 2nd year student)	Reading from the Natural Science text book with interpretation and writing from dictation	Repetition of poems (under the supervision of the most competent 2nd year student)	Reading from the Anthropology with interpretation and writing from dictation	Important: In this slot the teacher will mark work which has been marked with red ink.				
6-6.45 or 7	Recitation of poetry based on age and class of the student	Calligraphy exercises	Arithmetic exercises about coins, measures weights etc						



Programme of Instruction in Greek 1934 edition: (SA1/731/1934)**History and Geography General:**

The instruction of these two subjects will be synthesised to as great an extent as is possible. The programme is set up in such a way that the history of a place or a country is to be taught in conjunction with its geography. The interconnection between history and geography must be highlighted.

**History**

It is necessary for the sufficient teaching of history that preparations are made for detailed preparations to be made for each class from the beginning of the school year. In World History, the small details should be avoided with only the general flow of events being studied. Major movements like the spread of civilisation must be paid particular attention in the lessons. In order that the children develop knowledge about the major events and development of every country or place, the teacher must stress these in the lessons; this in turn will give the students understanding of the development of history.

**The use of chronological maps**

With the purpose of providing the children with some understanding of chronology, it is a good exercise to set the children a task to make chronological maps, dividing time periods up evenly and comparing countries. The important events – but not too much emphasis on numbers – should be incorporated into these maps in the correct chronological order. The simpler the chronological board is, the more effective it is. If parallel chronological maps illustrating the history of Cyprus and the other countries being studied are displayed by the students, it will be possible to study the main events in different places and their relations with the history of Cyprus, Europe, and the world.

**Local History**

During teaching of the history of Cyprus, particular attention must be paid to local history and myths. Many places in Cyprus are rich in historical episodes that both the teacher and the student alike must be proud to discover. The trips to nearby ancient monuments must be described.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Year:**

**History of Cyprus:** General history of Cyprus. Creation of a chronological map that shows the major events. It is also possible to talk about important people.

**World History:** Every year the main countries will be considered in terms of geography; these countries must also be taught in history.



- a) Description of the current state of the county
- b) Survey of main stages of the history of the country, e.g. North America – from 15<sup>th</sup> Century onwards, European expansion, setting up of colonies by Britain and France, the establishment and expansion of Canada

#### 4<sup>th</sup> Year:

History of Cyprus: History of Cyprus in more detail

History of the Near East: (Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Greece and Turkey) – in connection to the geography of these countries:

- a) description of current state of the country and its people
- b) survey of the development of these countries from the beginnings of civilisation in the Near East to the current political situation in these lands

Egypt: Ancient civilisation, Roman Empire, Arab control, Ottoman empire, the British in Egypt. Kingdom of Egypt.

Palestine: Jews, Romans, Anatolian empire, Saracens, Crusaders, Ottoman empire, World War I, British control, Jewish colonisation.

Syria: the same as above

Turkey: Anatolian empire, Saracens, Ottoman Turks, spread of Ottomans, Empire in Europe, Turks, pinnacle of Ottoman power, World War I, Turkey today.

Greece: Civilisation of ancient Greece, Roman empire, Anatolian empire, Turks, pinnacle of Ottoman power, genesis of Modern Greece.

#### 5<sup>th</sup> Year:

History of Cyprus: Continuation of the history of Cyprus

History of Europe: (The British Isles, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal, Russia, Scandinavia, Belgium and Holland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary, the Balkans, Switzerland, Poland, Baltic lands. Concentration on the British Isles). Following geography teaching of these lands their history must also be taught by:

- a) description of the current state of the country and its people
- b) study of the history and development of the country from the Roman period until today.

England: Population prior to the Roman conquest, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, kingdoms. Norman conquest. Description of the Parliamentary government and industrial revolution.

France: 'Galatia' (Celts?), Romans, Barbarian raids, Franks, Kingdom of France, French revolution, modern France.

Germany: Holy Roman Empire, genesis of Prussia, Napoleon, union of German states, modern Germany.

Spain: Romans, Arab raids, development of the Spanish kingdom, antagonism towards England, Spanish monarchy, modern Spain.



Italy: Romans, Holy Roman Empire, the Normans in Sicily, Venetian states, union of Italy, modern Italy.

Russia: Russia before Peter the Great, Peter the Great, Russia and Turkey, Napoleon, Russia under the Tsars, WWI, modern Russia.

NOTE: the obvious points of contact with Cyprus in the history of England, France and Italy must be pointed out and highlighted.

### 6<sup>th</sup> Year:

History of Cyprus: More detailed discussion of the history of Cyprus. – temporal connections with world history must be pointed out and highlighted.

World History: While the general history of the world will be discussed there should be an emphasis on the spread of Europeans in other parts of the world:

Discoveries and inventions of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Colonies of Portugal, Spain, England, Holland, and France. Antagonism between England and Spain, England and Holland, England and France. The British in N. America, India, South Africa. Later discoveries. Colonisation in Australia and New Zealand.

With reference to economic geography, history teaching should include: the printing press, steam, machines, transport etc.

## Programme of Instruction in Greek, 1949 edition (SA1/1392/1949).

### History

As far as possible history should be connected to Geography and the pupils should have a general idea about the development of the area. History of an area should be studied and connected to the history of man. In all the school stages, especially with the younger students, biographical methods have particularly effective results, as it shows the following:

- (a) the human character and human attainment; and
- (b) what possibilities arise when people work together.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> year, teaching must focus mainly on the history of personalities or children.

### 1<sup>st</sup> Year:

How civilisation developed in a valley surrounded by rivers, where life was easier, and later the importance of the sea and of boats – Greece and Rome. The Trojan War.

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Year:

History of people connected with ancient Greece and Rome, with particular reference to Athens. Athens and Sparta. Macedonia and Alexander the Great. The rise and fall of Western Rome, Byzantium, the appearance of Mohammedanism, the Crusades and the fall of Byzantium.



3<sup>rd</sup> Year:

The spread of Christianity in the West and appearance of new political states. The Turkish domination of Eastern Europe, the position of the enslaved people, trade and trade routes and the effect of all of the above on Cyprus.

History of Greece and Cyprus.

4<sup>th</sup> Year:

The age of discovery, the Renaissance, Marco Polo, Columbus, Vasco da Gama etc. Description and some explanation of the different civilisations. The importance of the sea and the discoveries of the West – Venice, Spain, Holland, England.

History of Greece and Cyprus until the Roman Empire.

5<sup>th</sup> Year:

- a) The development of Western government and particularly the development of constitutional government and the civil war in the UK, the French Revolution. The discovery of the machine. The government of the Ottoman empire and the ethnarchic system.
- b) History of Greece until 1821. History of Cyprus.

6<sup>th</sup> Year:

- a) the development of democratic government – French Revolution, UK – nationalism – Western Europe, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Eastern Europe.
- b) History of Greece from 1821 to the present. History of Cyprus.

School History Curriculum: Republic of Cyprus 1982-1993 – Primary School Classes3 to 6General Aims:

The subject of History seeks to help the student to comprehend the civilization changes that occur in time and place and the factors that bring about or stop this process. History helps the child to respect and to identify with his own cultural inheritance, without deprecating or disdaining the civilization of other countries and teachings derived from them. He/she thus becomes capable of interpreting contemporaneous events in the light of history and of comprehending human relations, which are indispensable tools for harmonious human cohabitation.

1 Targets:

The students:

- To learn the main historical events of his/her country
- To learn the main historical events of other countries that have influenced his/her country



- To acquire a lively national identity that will be manifested with love for the protection and advancement of the national inheritance.
- To comprehend the contribution of his/her nation and of all the people in the development of their culture and civilization and in this way to be released from prejudices of race, religion, colour, language etc.
- To place the communal and national interest above his/her own, to accept differences of opinion and to solve his/her differences with democratic judgements.
- To cultivate sentiments of patriotism, free from chauvinistic tendencies, and love for freedom and respect for a democratic way of life and democratic values.
- To comprehend the beneficial role of the international organisations and the importance of peaceful judgements in the solution of differences.
- To end up in a situation where the student is able to come to general conclusions that will help him/her to comprehend civilized behaviour in the past, the present and the future and to respect the universality of change in the contemporary world and to learn how to reconcile him/herself with this change.
- To comprehend that history is very much based in the acceptance of facts that might echo different opinions.
- To learn to differentiate fact from opinion.
- To judge the opinion and not the person when making a critique.
- To recognise that there are many ways in which the same events and situation can be studied.
- To develop the ability to not see every piece of written text as trustworthy, but to subject it to critical scrutiny.
- To become capable of considering the importance and the authority of the creative arts and of written evidence and to use them accordingly in the comprehension of the past.

## 2 Material – Resources – Activities

### 2.1 Material:

#### Class 3 (Γ)

- Our village/our town in order to embrace legends, traditions (παραδόσεις), place names etc.
- Elements of mythology:  
Choice from the following:
  - a) Stories of the Gods;
  - b) Herakles, Theseus, Daidalos and Ikaros;
  - c) the campaign of the Argonauts;



- d) Trojan war;
  - e) Odysseus' travels.
- Study of historical and archaeological sites:
  - Choice from the following:
    - a) The life and occupations of Cypriots in the Stone Age – Choirokitia, Erimi
    - b) Changes to lifestyle that can be attributed to the discovery of copper and to the use of wood – Enkomi
    - c) Greek colonisation of Cyprus – Salamis, Kition, Kourion, Soloi etc.
    - d) Paphos – Tombs of the Kings, mosaics, baths and temple of Aphrodite etc.
    - e) Religion in Cyprus and Greece.

Opportune subjects: National/ethnic holidays, anniversaries, contemporary historical events.

#### Class 4 (Δ)

- Extension of the study of our village/our town.
- Monuments that relate to the ancient Greek period.
- Greek civilisation in Greece and Cyprus:
  - a) Study of historical and archaeological sites
  - b) Choice of the historical and archaeological sites that were given in class 3
  - c) Museums: finds that tell us about the life and civilisation of ancient Greeks.
- Life in ancient Greece and Cyprus and the civilisation that developed from it:
  - a) Athens, Sparta, Salamis, Kition and other Greek centres (centres of Greekness)
  - b) Relating to the establishment of the ancient cities of Cyprus, to their dealings with Greece and to the prevalence of Greek elements in Cyprus
  - c) Olympia, Olympic games
  - d) The religion, language, the customs and habits, the wars, divination and amphiktion (a form of religious league where city-states would come together to make formal alliances – the Amphyktionic League of Delphi is the prime example), as examples of the unity of the Greeks
  - e) Discord between Greeks and their destructive tendencies
- Battles in Greece and Cyprus for freedom:
  - a) The actions of the Persians to enslave Greece and Cyprus. Ionian Revolt
  - b) Marathon, Thermopylai, Salamis
  - c) Onisylus, Evagoras
  - d) Alexander the Great. Selection from his life and works.



- The blossoming of letters and art in Greece and Cyprus:
  - a) The Golden age of Pericles
  - b) Evagoras and Salamis
  - c) Study of the remains that show the development of letters and art (temples, sculptures, pottery, texts etc) in Greece and Cyprus.
- Opportune subjects: National/ethnic holidays, anniversaries, contemporary historical events.

### Class 5 (E)

- Extension of the study of our village/our town:
  - a) Icons, churches, monasteries in the area
  - b) Border songs (ακριτικά) (heroic songs from the tradition of Dhigenis Akritas, a legendary Byzantine guardian of the borders).
  - c) Legends and traditions relating to the Roman and Byzantine periods and to the time of the Franks
- Study of historical and archaeological sites:
  - a) Study and visits, wherever possible, to monasteries – include the life of the saint, the history and architecture of the monastery, the life of the monk, heirlooms, art
  - b) Walls and castles – intention of their erection
  - c) Historical events connected with the above.
- The Roman Period:
  - a) The conquest of Greece and Cyprus
  - b) Life in the Roman period
  - c) Spread of Christianity in Greece and Cyprus
  - d) St. Paul and St. Barnabas
- The Byzantine Period:
  - a) The foundation of the Byzantine state. Constantinople
  - b) Elements of religion, society, politics, economic and family life in Byzantium
  - c) Dress, ceremonies/celebrations, schools: icons, churches etc.
  - d) Constantine the Great and St. Helen. Visit of St. Helen to Cyprus
  - e) Justinian – Ayia Sophia
  - f) Heraclius and the Akathyist Hymn (the Emperor Heraclius was in power when the Barbarians attacked Constantinople and were expelled due to the prayer to the Virgin Mary called the Akathyist Hymn/‘*Akathistos Imnos*’)



- g) The Arab incursions and their results
  - h) The Crusades
  - i) Isaac Komnemos – Richard the Lionheart
  - j) The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks
- Life in Cyprus under the Franks:
  - a) The feudal system in Cyprus and Europe. Oppression of the people
  - b) Attempts by the Franks to inflict religious subjugation of the Cypriots
  - c) The martyrdom of the monks of Kantara
- The Renaissance:
  - a) The lives and works of great men of the Renaissance
  - b) Contribution of the Renaissance to the development of civilisation
  - c) The most important inventions and discoveries
- Opportune subjects: National/ethnic holidays and anniversaries, contemporary historical events.

### Class 6 (Στ)

- Extension of the study of our village/our town:
  - a) The history of the village and its different institutions (school, Church, cooperative establishments etc)
  - b) Heroes from the village and the surrounding area
- Turkish Rule in Greece and Cyprus:
  - a) The life of the enslaved Greeks
  - b) The organisation of enslaved Hellenism
  - c) The administrative system of the Turks
  - d) The Ethnarchic system
  - e) The secret school. Teachers of the race
- Great attempts by the people for freedom:
  - a) The American revolution for independence
  - b) The French revolution
- The Greek war of Independence:
  - a) Preparation: Rigas Feraios, Friendly Society, psychological preparation of the Greek people
  - b) Armed Mountaineers and Guerrillas. Souliots (Souliot uprising of late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries). Ali Pasha
  - c) The commencement of the revolt in the different regions of Greece



- d) The reaction of the Turks. The hanging of Patriarch Gregory 5<sup>th</sup> (E) and Archbishop Kypros Kyprianou. The events of 9<sup>th</sup> July
- e) The main events that particularly highlight the love of freedom, the self-sacrifice, the collective attempt, the superiority, but also the black points which happened to be very damaging for the war.(Ag. Lavra, Ieros Lochos, Dhervenakia, Chani tis Gravias, Alamana, Maniaki, Zaloggo, Mesolongi, imprisonment of Kolokotroni, in-fighting between the leaders etc)
- f) Philhellenes
- g) The creation of the Greek state: Navarino – Kapodistrias.
- The new Greek state:
  - a) Persistent attempts by the people to secure constitutional government – Otto and Amalia
  - b) The liberation of other Greek territories
  - c) The Ionian islands
  - d) The Cretan revolt of 1896 and the Greek-Turkish war of 1897
  - e) The Macedonian struggle
  - f) Eleftherios Venizelos and the revolt at Goudi
  - g) The Balkan wars 1912-1913
- Greece after the Balkan Wars:
  - a) 1<sup>st</sup> World War, and the idea of a greater Greece
  - b) The Asia Minor catastrophe of 1922
  - c) The 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. The 1940 epic
  - d) Occupation, freedom and civil war
- Struggle of the Cypriots against the British for freedom:
  - a) Oktovriana (October riots of 1931 when government house was burnt down)
  - a) The struggle of 1955-1959
  - b) Makarios – Digenis
  - c) The Zurich and London agreements
- The struggle of Makarios for progress and democracy:
  - a) Progress in all areas
  - b) Separation of Greeks and Turks in Cyprus
  - c) Foreign intervention, division, coup d'état and Turkish invasion
  - d) The Long Struggle (the struggle starting in 1930/1955 for a new political order – anti-colonial/nationalist/independence – the struggle to find a just settlement)
  - e) Death of Makarios



## 2.2 Resources:

- The surrounding of the children, immediately and on a broader scale, with historical relics and finds
- Museums
- Icons/pictures and photographs
- Models
- Plans
- Ancient pots, manuscripts, letters, documents, costumes and other texts
- Cassettes – transparencies
- Radio – television – cinema
- Print – books, magazines, newspapers, letters, atlases, chronology charts/maps, historical maps/charts etc.

## 2.3 Activities:

- Visits to historical sites and relics, their study and investigation, and resumption of activities from their observations. (Problems, findings, studies, plans, reconstructions etc)
- Inventory and description from the students of characteristic manifestations of our land
- Collection and description (or recording) from the students or the school of the customs, habits, parables, legends, folk songs, riddles and other elements of our popular/folk heritage
- Organisation from the schools of displays that revive the traditions of our land
- Organised trips to churches, monasteries, museums, catacombs and other places of historical interest
- Collections of icons/pictures, objects, finds etc and the establishment of small museums in schools where possible
- Study of written texts (books, letters, poems, documents)
- Making good use of cassettes, transparencies, folk songs, programmes from the television and radio etc.
- Study and making of chronological and other maps/charts/papers, icons/pictures, iconography, diagrams, models etc
- Resumption of creative exercises (descriptions, essays, dramatisations, posing of problems and research into them etc)
- Interviews/meetings with surviving combatants, parents of heroes and other people that can give trustworthy information
- Correspondence with other children



- Contact with specific and other experts
- Dialogues, conversations and exercises for:
  - a) Analysis of events/facts
  - b) Distinction between facts and opinions
  - c) Distinction and cross-examination of information
  - d) Comparison of facts/events

### 3. Methodological Suggestions:

It is good for the examination of historical places to be connected with our land and for it to begin from the immediately local historical relics and findings.

Historical events must be connected with the place, the period and the state of the area that they contribute to, in order to enable the investigation and comprehension of them in the right dimension. By using this method the children comprehend the inter-dependence of historical events, their chronological connections and the effect that they have on a range of examples. In this way the correct historical thoughts of the children are made steadfast.

With the study of history, historical accuracy is questioned without sentimentality or expediency. For the Secondary Schools, however, strong details or cruel and inhuman treatment of people must be excluded in order not to create psychological confusion in the children.

The children must have opportunities to study their national history – from the ancient times until today – and to come to know the historical course of the Hellenic race in this way. The children will also study other races that were influenced by Hellenism, as well as other cultures, because in this way they are able to better comprehend the history of their race.

Particular emphasis should be placed on the customs and habits, civilizing traditions, brilliance and world-wide importance/influence of Greek civilisation, to the struggles for freedom, the internal strife and dissent, achievements, the failures and national misfortunes that highlight and cultivate a correct patriotism. The spread of Christianity in the course of the history of the race must be highlighted in particular.

During the course of history teaching the characterisations that deprecate other peoples and their civilisations should be shied away from and instead details should be discussed that unite humans and promote international understanding. The events and the representation of historical figures should be given in relation to their historical framework.

It is good for children to take an energetic role in the collection of elements and information around one theme or problem. They should share ideas between them and with their teacher, before they come to their conclusions.



Elements from history can also be studied and incorporated into other elements of the curriculum.

In the lower classes the children begin with Greek mythology and with legends and traditions from our land which are suitable to their needs and temperaments. In this way they get their first taste of history. In the higher classes problematization can lead to the fundamental pivot of our work.

Within this environment, through opportune subjects and different anniversaries etc. we study historical events and we show their relevance to the present. We try to look at the present with reference to the past.

In order for it to be understood that history is heavily based in issues that result in different opinions, it would be good to give the children the chance to know the opinions of different side for the same issue.

In order that the edifying role of the international organisations be understood, it would be good to refer to specific instances, old and current, and for the children to analyse the benefits and importance of peaceful judgements in the solution of differences.

In order to help the children come to conclusions, to arrive at generalisations and to comprehend human contributions to the past, the present and the future, it would be good to use different sources, for cross-examination and critical analysis of information and for comparisons, correlations and analysis of events to be made.

The subject of history should not be confined to the study and analysis of the events of the past and the present. It should be organised in such a way that it will result in adequate opportunities for the comprehension of historical events by the children themselves. This can be achieved through direct contact with the sources of history.

#### 4. Evaluation:

Evaluation is an inseparable part of our work in history. It occurs in many ways mainly with direct and constant observation or with a range of oral and written essays and it is aimed at helping us to ensure the degree to which we attain our aims.

Some questions relating to the evaluation of aims in history are:

- Do the children comprehend the different concepts of history (castle, remain, walls, museum, hero, bust, freedom, struggle)?
- Do the children have basic knowledge of their land, Greece and the whole of the Hellenic race?



- Is a love of the nation cultivated (connection with the place, promotion and preservation of its freedom, the common good over personal gain, feelings of responsibility towards the whole etc)?
- Are the children given opportunities to get to know and comprehend the Greek traditions and national heritage, to cultivate a feeling of respect towards the elements of our national culture/civilisation and to live up to these?
- Are they propelled towards correct attitudes of respect and understanding for other peoples, their history and civilising traditions?
- Is a feeling of co-operation and mutual understanding cultivated that must be true in relations between men and nations?
- Is the critical thought of the children developed so that they can understand the beneficial effects of the unity and accord between the citizens of one nation?
- Do the children comprehend the catastrophic results of ethnic division and internal civil war?
- Do the children comprehend the correct attitudes towards laws, the elected leaders and to the state in general?
- Have the children understood the elements of democratic judgements and do they use them?
- Is respect and value for all the great achievements of the peaceful realm highlighted?
- Can the children distinguish truth from opinion?
- Have the children understood that every written text is not always trustworthy?
- Can they accept different opinions for the same situation and do they respect the opinions of others even if they differ from their own?
- Do the children comprehend chronological connections and mutual dependence of different historical events?

School History Curriculum: Republic of Cyprus 1994 to the present – Primary School  
Classes 3 to 6

General Aims:

The aim of teaching history is to help the students to know and respect the historical life and the heritage of the civilisation of Cyprus and Greece and to formulate a national consciousness as members of the Greek race and as citizens of the partly-occupied Cyprus.



## 1 Targets:

The students' targets are:

- To know the basic details of Greek mythology and to be able to make the distinction between myth and history
- To be aware of the most important historical event of Cyprus and Greece, as well as those of other peoples, and to be able to explain the connections between them
- To love the heritage of our civilisation and to contribute to its preservation for the conservation of a healthy ethnic/national identity
- To respect the achievements of other countries and peoples that have influenced humanity, to draw examples from them and to develop a positive attitude towards them
- To perceive the historical continuity of the Hellenic race and to respect the contribution of Hellenism to the development of European civilisation
- To interpret contemporary events in relation to their historical setting
- To understand the interdependence and connections between historical events and to be in a position to derive useful conclusions from them
- To respect the beneficial role of the international organisations and the importance of peaceful negotiations in the settlement of differences between nations
- To understand the human relations that are crucial for the harmonious co-existence of people
- To be conscious of the importance that the ideals of democracy hold for humanity, freedom and peace in human history
- To know the main achievements affecting human life, such as human thought and the collective works in the evolutionary development of humankind
- To be conscious of the interdependence and interaction between historical events and other elements, such as geographical position, geological composition, economic factors, mankind etc
- To understand the misfortunes that happened to the Hellenic race due to dissent and to place the ethnic/national interest above personal interest
- To be conscious of the tragedy of our country as a result of the *coup d'état* and the Turkish invasion and occupation, and to struggle for national/ethnic justice in the correct way
- To develop skills such as the distinction between fact and opinion, critical analysis etc, within the study of historical themes



Description of Curriculum:Class 3 (Γ)

- Study of historical and cultural remains
  - a) The historical and cultural remains in my community and my area and their importance
- Greek Mythology
  - a) Brief reference to the Olympian deities and their role in the life of the ancients
  - b) Study of events and important parts of the lives of characters from Greek mythology
- Life in Cyprus in the Stone Age
  - a) Neolithic settlements in Cyprus: Choirokitia, Erimi,
  - b) Comparison between life in the Neolithic period and life today
- Religion in Cyprus and Greece in ancient times
  - a) The gods of Olympus, Aphrodite
  - b) Religious customs
  - c) The Adonia (the festival of Adonis)
- Life in the Bronze Age
  - a) The life of the inhabitants in the Bronze Age with reference to ancient Enkomi
  - b) Changes that occur with reference to the discovery of copper and the use of wood
  - c) Trade with neighbouring people
  - d) The Kyrenia shipwreck
  - e) Art in the Bronze Age
  - f) Comparison between the Stone and Bronze ages
- Greek civilisation in Cyprus
  - a) The Greeks (Mycenaeans) in Cyprus
  - b) Establishment of cities
  - c) Life, organisation and civilisation in ancient Salamis
  - d) Relations between the cities of Cyprus and the cities of Greece
  - e) Acquaintance with archaeological sites and important archaeological finds

Class 4 (Δ)

- Study of one of the archaeological sites of Cyprus
  - a) Its history and importance
- Basic points that connected the Greeks in antiquity in Greece and Cyprus



- a) The basic features connecting the Greeks in Cyprus and Greece in antiquity
  - b) The works of civilisation
- Life in Greece and Cyprus in antiquity
  - a) Study of life in the cities of Athens, Sparta, Salamis and Kition
- Blossoming of arts and letters in Greece and Cyprus in antiquity
  - a) Arts and letters in Greece in the classical period with emphasis on the 'Golden Age' of Pericles
  - b) Arts and letters in Cyprus
- Struggles of the Greeks for freedom in Greece and Cyprus
  - a) The Persian wars
  - b) The importance of the unity of the Greeks in their victory in this struggle
- The discord between Greeks and its catastrophic results
  - a) The discord between Greeks and its catastrophic results
  - b) The Peloponnesian war
  - c) Thebes and the conflict with Sparta
  - d) The stand of the Amathusians in response to Onisilos' revolt
- The union of the Greeks and its positive results
  - a) The Macedonian state
  - b) Philip
  - c) Alexander the Great and his victorious battles against the Persians
  - d) The results
- National/ethnic anniversaries and current events

### Class 5 (E)

- The Roman state and Roman civilisation
  - a) The Roman state
  - b) Study of parts of Roman life
  - c) The Romans in Cyprus and Greece
  - d) Religion in the Roman period
- We know Byzantine relics in Cyprus
  - a) Study of one Byzantine relic in the area
  - b) Important Byzantine relics in Cyprus
- Important events from the highest points of the Byzantine state
  - a) Establishment of the Byzantine state – Constantinople
  - b) Constantine the Great
  - c) Christianity becomes the main religion



- d) Justinian
  - e) Heraclius – Akathyst Hymn
- Things associated with the decline of the Byzantine state. The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks
  - a) Basic reasons that resulted in the decline of Byzantium
  - b) The Arab incursions, the appearance of Mohammedism, the internal disputes, the conquest of Constantinople by the Franks and the Turks
- Important events that influenced Cyprus in the Byzantine period
  - a) Visit to Cyprus of St. Helen
  - b) The Arab incursions
  - c) The Crusades and their results in Cyprus
- Byzantine civilisation and its influence on life up to the present
  - a) Elements of Byzantine civilisation (political organisation, legislation, economy, communal and familial life, religious life, philanthropy, language, education, arts)
  - b) Relics of worldwide cultural heritage in Cyprus
- National/ethnic anniversaries and current events

### Class 6 (Στ)

- Frankish rule in Cyprus and its adverse effects upon the island
  - a) The political organisation in Cyprus in the Frankish period
  - b) Daily life
  - c) Reasons for the conquest of Cyprus by the Franks (geographical position, strategic advantages, centre of trade)
  - d) Attempts by the Franks for religious enslavement and ethnic alienation
  - e) The reaction of the church
- Turkish rule in Cyprus and Greece and the attachment of enslaved Hellenism to its ethnic and religious foundations
  - a) The life and organisation of enslaved Hellenism (communal organisation, economic situation, justice, oppression, the ethnarchic role of the church)
  - b) Preparation for the revolution (teachers of the race, guerrillas and thieves, the ideas of the French revolution, Rigas Feraios, the struggles of the Souliots, the Friendly Society)
- The Greek uprising of 1821 for ethnic/national independence
  - a) The beginning of the uprising in different areas



- b) The reaction of the Turks (hanging of Patriarch Gregory 5<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> July, the hanging of Archbishop Kyprianou)
  - c) Important events that show the patriotism of the Greeks and their love for freedom
  - d) The discord among the Greeks and the catastrophic results that it had
  - e) The Philhellenes – Lord Byron
- Important attempts for the formation, establishment and extension of the Greek state
  - a) Creation of the Modern Greek state
  - b) Bavarian rule and struggles for a liberal administration and constitution
  - c) Freedom of other lands
  - d) The Balkan wars
- Important events in the historical development of Greece after the Balkan wars
  - a) 1<sup>st</sup> World War
  - b) Discord among the Greeks and the Asia Minor catastrophe
  - c) 2<sup>nd</sup> World War
  - d) The 1940 epic
  - e) Occupation and freedom
  - f) The Greek civil war and its catastrophic results
- The recent history of Cyprus and the struggles of the Greeks of the island for freedom
  - a) The period of English control (the English administration, the uprising of 1931, the struggle for emancipation of 1955-1959)
  - b) The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus
  - c) The *coup d'état* and the Turkish invasion, and their catastrophic results
- National/ethnic anniversaries and current events.



## Appendix 2: CyBC Programmes

This appendix contains my translated summary of programmes relating to the history of Cyprus available for purchase from CyBC. Some of the descriptive passages (particularly of styles and features of archaeological periods) have been condensed.

### Aphrodite's Island (CyBC 1963)

Text: Cyprus is at the edge of Europe where it meets Asia and Africa.

Cyprus is where Aphrodite, the goddess of love was born.

Images: people taking part in sport and dancing. Images of the Cyprus syllabary.

Text: Chirokitia is an 8,000 year old settlement with houses and tombs; the tombs were under the house floors

Images: Cypriot cross-shaped figurines; ancient jewellery and stone bowls.

Text: Petra tou Limniti was a fishing village contemporary with Chirokitia.

Images: fishing and sea-sponges; folk scenes – man wearing a *vraka* dancing with a scythe in a traditional Cypriot house; old lady making bread in a traditional oven.

Text: The discovery of copper led to trade and contact with the outside world. The bull, snake and woman were the religious symbols of Cyprus until the Cypriots got new gods from Greece.

Images: Temple scenes and the horned god from Enkomi.

Text: The Greeks bring their Gods to Cyprus including Aphrodite, the lady of the island; poem about Aphrodite in Ancient Greek.

Images: Kouklia

Text: The Mycenaeans came to Cyprus and Mycenaean pottery was made by Cypriot hands.

Images: A modern Cypriot potter.

Images: Ancient sculptures becoming more and more Greek in style.

Text: Salamis was Teukros' city.

Images: Play in the ancient theatre of Salamis.

Text: The Romans came; their culture was based on Greek myths, sculpture and gods.

Images: Sculptures; Paphos mosaics.

Text: Wine making traditions in Cyprus.

Images: women picking grapes; mosaics of wine scenes.

Text: Apostles Paul and Baranabas brought a new love to Cyprus. The Mother of God has the hope of Romiosini (i.e. the Byzantine Greek people) in her eyes.

Images: Byzantine frescoes; churches and monasteries.

Text: Kykko monastery holds one of three icons of the Virgin Mary by Luke.

Images: Scene of Archbishop Makarios at Kykko; bells ringing; church service by Makarios.



Text: Byzantium is not a distant memory for Cyprus; Digenis poem.

Images: Pendadaktilos Mountains.

Text: Poem about love in Cypriot dialect.

Image: Buffavento castle.

Text: The Franks left castles and churches; they had an easy life in Cyprus; St. Hilarion castle stands on the site of the hermitage of St. Hilarion; Ayia Sophia and St. Nicholas churches are now both mosques.

Images: Bellapais Abbey; Othello's Tower.

Text: In 1570 Selim II wanted Cyprus for strategic reasons and sent a force to the island; when the Turks first came to the island the shrine of Hala Sultan Teke was established; after 300 years of Ottoman control the British came.

Images: Scenes of destruction

Text: As always Cyprus accepted its fate with patience and hope.

Images: Traditionally dressed old man drinking coffee; old lady making lace; young woman making lace; young men in mountain villages wearing *vrakes*; people going to church.

Text: Poem 'We Rose Up'; song about freedom.

Images: Mountain scenes, waterfall.

Text: Song '*Rizoprasino Filo Pesmeno Sto Pelagos*' (Green Leaf Fallen in the Sea).

Images: Cities, aeroplanes; tourists; wine barrels; people on beaches; people at archaeological sites (possibly Salamis).

### Salamina (CyBC 1973)

The Cypriot city of Salamis was very rich in people, history and wealth. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later the site was a chaos of stones. In 1880 Max Ohnesfalch-Richter held excavations. In 1890 the acropolis and Gymnasium were excavated. The first systematic excavations at Salamis were held in the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From 1952 onwards the Department of Antiquities held 15 years of continuous excavations.

The Royal Tombs were excavated by the Department of Antiquities, they date to the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC and are very rich and well built. In 1965 the French School of Archaeology at Athens found evidence for the foundation of the city by Teukros – a proto-Geometric tomb. The Royal Tombs were first excavated in 1896 by the English and then by the Department of Antiquities. The ashlar masonry is similar to that found in Mycenaean tombs. The wide dromos shows proof of burning. This suggests funerary pyres – these are new for Cyprus. Horses were sacrificed in the dromos. There was a silver dagger next to the skeletons. Among the grave goods were amphorae containing oil; similar grave goods were placed in Patroclos' grave (according to Homer). In the Necropolis, the ceramics show



evidence of Greek merchants in the city, while a bed with ivory plaques shows Egyptian influences. In the Salamis necropolis the world of Homer exists beside the world of Anatolia.

114 tombs of common people were also found in the necropolis. These are very different to the Royal Tombs and contemporary with them. They show a simpler way of life, with evidence for grave goods consisting of wheat, raisins and pomegranates – these are like modern *koliffa* (offering of wheat, raisins, almonds and pomegranates taken to church to commemorate the dead) and this is a tradition that dates to the Mycenaean period. The ceramics show close contact with Greece.

A mausoleum was found in 1966 by the Department of Antiquities under Dr Vassos Karageorgis. The tumulus was surrounded by the houses of modern Enkomi. The excavators found a platform upon which was a pyre containing burnt stones and alabaster, as well as four ceramic heads. It is possible that this was the mausoleum of the tragic king Iphercantos or Nicocles who committed suicide to save himself from Ptolemy. The archaeological finds from Salamis often back up the written sources.

Archaeological remains of the classical period, when Evagoras was king, are not found. Of the Roman finds, the Gymnasium is the most striking. The Roman city was built on top of the Hellenistic city. It was first built by Augustus, and then rebuilt by Hadrian. The Palaestra was surrounded by a Π-shaped Corinthian colonnade – the capitals are not original as they are too small; they were therefore re-used. There is a covered pool surrounded with statues, including a crowned Apollo in the style of Praxitelis, as well as very fine figures of Artemis, Asklepius and Aphrodite. The head of Aphrodite found at Salamis is *definitely* of Greek workmanship. The narrator goes on to explain the hypocaust in the baths, during this discussion the surviving wall mosaic is depicted, followed by imagery of mosaic restoration work.

The theatre was first built by Augustus but it was never rebuilt after a seismic collapse. In its current form it holds 15,000 people; the first eight rows are original and the rest have been reconstructed. The scene then shows foreign students excavating. A Byzantine basilica was found by the French School at the southern end of the Salamis forest, proving there was continuous occupation at Salamis until the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. Costantia replaced Salamis, which had been destroyed by earthquakes. The history of Salamis *is* the history of Cyprus. In 1890 the British said ‘if Italy has Pompeii, Cyprus has Salamis’.



## The History of Ancient Cyprus (CyBC 1993)

### Programme 1: The Creation of Cyprus; The First Occupants.

“Aphrodite was born out of the sea, as was Cyprus”. The old theory that Cyprus was once connected to Anatolia has been disproved; Cyprus comes from the sea. The movement of the Eurasian and African plates led to the formation of Cyprus. The top of Troodos has evidence of the ocean floor from 50 million years ago, while pillow lavas in the rocks of Troodos also show evidence of the ocean floor. Fossils from the bottom of the sea found in the rocks of Troodos prove that Cyprus came out of the sea. Fossilised sea life can be found throughout Cyprus, from the coast to the central plain. Initially the island was uninhabited and covered in forests; five million year old fossilised pine cones have been found in Troodos. In the Pleistocene animals first came to Cyprus. The remains of bats, mice, hippos, and elephants have been found in caves around the island including Ayia Saranta and Pentadaktilos. These animals must have swum [or flown] here. When Cypriots found bones in caves in the past, they thought they were the bones of the saints.

Finally, men came to Cyprus from neighbouring lands; we do not know why or how. Natural disasters or the curiosity of human nature might have been the reason. The green island visible from neighbouring lands must have been contemplated for many generations before the first travellers came. We do not know much about the inhabitants of Cyprus prior to 7,000 BC but there were almost certainly people in Cyprus from 12,000 years ago. The extinction of pygmy hippos and elephants is due to these people. Akrotiri Aetokremos is the oldest site to have been systematically excavated in Cyprus and dates to 8,500 BC. Thousands of fossilised animal bones of pygmy hippos and elephants were found here. There is the suggestion that it was a hunting site with a possible settlement above the cave.

Neolithic settlements include goats and deer, which must have come with men. There is evidence of Neolithic objects made from stones that are not local to Cyprus. The most famous Neolithic settlement on Cyprus is Chirokitia; it dates to 7,000 BC and lasted around 1,500 years. It was rebuilt in 4,000 BC and the settlement ended c.3,900 BC. The settlement comprises round houses of three to seven metres in diameter. These houses had very thick walls of up to 1.25 metres, and very narrow entrances. The foundations of these houses are stone, with mud-brick upper walls. Such construction continued until 80 years ago in Cyprus. The largest house in the settlement has an internal diameter of seven metres and is situated at the lower end of the site; it may be the chief's house. The houses all had flat roofs, which is still common in agricultural houses in Cyprus.



Kalavassos *Tenta* is another Neolithic settlement. The round houses had stone foundations and mud-brick walls (the walls were much thinner than at Chirokitia). Some of these houses also had internal walls. The floors were of beaten earth with remains of circular hearths. The Neolithic inhabitants preferred hill-side settlements for safety reasons. These settlements were usually located close to water, the sea (for fishing) and forests (for hunting). Other Neolithic settlements have been found at Petra tou Limniti and Apostolos Andreas. The Neolithic economy of Cyprus was mixed, including: farming; fishing; hunting and husbandry. The people made bread, and ate olives, peas, chick peas and beans. They worked leather and fabric, and stone for bowls as well as grave goods.

### Programme 2: From Stone to Copper

Neolithic man was short and dressed with skins and wool. He was religious to some extent and skilled, and felt a need to make an effort to decorate stone bowls, the most impressive of which are from Chirokitia. Most Neolithic bowls from Cyprus are made of alésite and are plain yet symmetrical. A high degree of culture can be seen in the jewellery that these people made from hematite, alésite and seashells. Bone needles provide us with evidence that these people could sew and make cloth. They made stone tools of various types out of various materials, as well as bowls and grinding stones. We also have evidence of what might be gaming stones. Burials were accompanied by grave goods, which shows that the people were religious to some extent.

At Kalavassos *Tenta* evidence was found of the first wall painting in Cyprus. It dates to the 7<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, is painted in red and might depict a man. Evidence of religion at this site comes from some tombs with evidence of beheading and women buried with children, which might be evidence for sacrifice. People were buried below house floors and in some burials, large stones were placed on the dead suggesting some fear of the dead. The double and triple walls at this site are similar to the Natufian houses of Palestine; this provides evidence of outside contacts, possibly for trade.

Pycrolite figurines are unique to Cyprus and are the first Cypriots sculptures. They represent worship of the dead and some are phallic symbols. A human head of unbaked clay is the first evidence of choroplastic art from Cyprus. The Aceramic/Proceramic Neolithic period in Cyprus lasted from 7,000 to 5,300 BC. In 5,300 BC clay was discovered. In this period there was a high mortality rate, with the average lifespan for men being 35 years, and 33 years for women.



Large parts of Cyprus must have been inhospitable for humans. The importance of security is clear from the position of settlements in defensive positions at strategic points. At the end of the Neolithic period, c. 4,500-3,900 BC, new settlers came from Syro-Palestine (we know this because of evidence from some settlements). In Sotira (near Limassol) the settlement is comprised of elliptical or square houses, as well as square houses with rounded corners. The construction method was the same, but the houses were larger and were separated into distinct rooms. There were low benches within the houses which would have been used as beds. The graves were no longer in the houses but outside the settlement, and contained fewer grave goods. The site of Erimi was excavated between 1933 and 1935 (the site no longer survives), and a copper tool dating to 3,500 BC was found here.

In the Chalcolithic period ceramics became more experimental in style and decoration, with red on white ware predominating. Kissonerga (and Lemba) are important Chalcolithic settlements. The houses are round and of the same construction as found in earlier periods. They were larger with internal pillars serving as roof support and for internal divisions. Tombs have been found under house floors, and include the first example of a chamber tomb (this type of tomb construction continues into the Bronze Age). These houses had a central hearth and flat roof (agricultural houses in Cyprus still have flat roofs). Much of the activity was conducted outside the houses. The audience are shown how to use a stone mill. Religious practices appear to be related to a female deity who may be connected to Aphrodite.

### Programme 3: The Road to Prosperity

The cemetery at Souskiou is made up of Chalcolithic rock-cut tombs. These were hollowed out from the rock and contain the remains of two or three burials each. They date from c. 4,000 BC. Grave goods found here include: jewellery; cross-shaped figurines; and pottery. The cross-shaped figurines predominantly depict females as represented by breasts. Some of these figurines depict men and women, and may relate to the worship of Hermaphrodite/Aphrodite and rebirth. At Lemba, numerous ceramic figurines have been found, and some of these have details painted in red. A larger limestone figurine was also found at Lemba; it is similar in design to the cross-shaped figurines. It has breasts and deeply incised genitals as well as a phallic long neck. Idols of all media suggest similar worshipping practices. These female idols relate to the worship of a female fertility or mother goddess; this worship ultimately leads to Aphrodite.

Very early copper items are described from Souskiou, Kissonerga and Lemba. In the Bronze Age new settlers come to Cyprus from neighbouring countries; these people will be the



cause of the prosperity of the island in the future. The earth of Cyprus has a wealthy treasure of metal. Copper was the major Cypriot discovery of prehistory; it was probably discovered accidentally in the fourth millennium BC. In Sotira in the Early Bronze Age (EBA), houses were square, built of stones with thick outer walls, with interiors divided into a number of rooms. Houses get bigger and change with people's needs in the EBA. The cemetery at Sotira consists of rock-cut tombs; grave goods include the oldest evidence of the goldsmith's craft in Cyprus. Red-slip ceramics begin in the EBA and there is continued worship of a mother goddess; she is often depicted in clay with a young baby. The bull and snake feature in other areas of worship. The bull is a symbol of life, while the snake is a symbol of death. Some ceramics depict sanctuaries. The ceramics found in Morphou are similar to Anatolian ones; this may mean that new settlers came here. Cyprus started to have increased contacts with neighbouring countries in this period – it was a crossroads, or a connecting place. In the economy farming predominates, and the same ploughing methods were used in prehistory that were used 50 years ago in Cyprus.

The name for Cyprus comes from copper – the two words are similar in many languages. So Cyprus was the island of copper or the copper island. The first copper was found on the surface and later, when this ran out, it was mined from the mountains through galleries. The copper was brought to the surface in baskets and was mined close to the galleries. This means that there were settlements close to the mines to house the workers. Cyprus soon began exporting copper.

#### Programme 4: Comfort and Problems

Cyprus was known as Alasia, and this name comes from the Greek root for 'by the sea' – Als; the name Alasia therefore means island. This name is found in 18<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century BC scripts as well as 7<sup>th</sup> century Phoenician texts (Eknomi or Cyprus was referred to as Alasia). In the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) the island was divided in terms of economy: the west produced copper; the east specialised in agricultural products, and trading areas were also located here. This led to a division of society with the workers in the west and the traders and merchants in the east.

Thousands of workers were employed in the Troodos copper mines and many fatalities were sustained due to gallery collapses. The more the new metal was known, the more popular it became, and the forests of Cyprus were destroyed 16 times over in the production of copper alone. The wealth of Cyprus attracted warlike groups such as the Hyksos, who were expelled from Egypt c. 1700 BC; there has been some suggestion that they form the twelve tribes of Israel who followed Moses out of Egypt.



New ceramic styles and forms of decoration are found in Cyprus in the MBA and some ceramics show evidence of trade links with Crete. Contacts with Syria and Palestine are also shown through ceramic finds in Cyprus dating to this period. In the east of Cyprus the town of Enkomi develops from a small agricultural settlement in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC to a mercantile centre in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, when it reaches its peak. Enkomi was the most important site of Late Bronze Age (LBA) Cyprus. The city contains copper workshops as well as houses and was destroyed by an earthquake in the 13<sup>th</sup> century; it was finally abandoned in 1075 BC and was replaced by Salamis. Indeed, there were a number of important centres around the coast of Cyprus. Hala Sultan Tekke was a city of 180,000 square metres. Many of its buildings contain central courtyards, and bathrooms, and are built of ashlar masonry. The city was laid out on a grid-plan and was once connected to the sea via the salt lake. It was connected to Kition and destroyed c. 1075-1050 BC.

In 1400 BC Mycenaean ceramics come to Cyprus; Mycenaean domination over Crete dates to this period, as does their expansion into Italy and Asia Minor. The Mycenaeans could not ignore Cyprus and they started to settle on coasts around the island. This symbolises Greek connections with Cyprus. They bring the Greek way of life, language, religion, norms and traditions with them. The Hellenism of Cyprus which developed in stages had begun. The population of Cyprus before the arrival of the Mycenaeans were Eteocypriots. In prehistory lots of people from the surrounding countries came to the island in small and large numbers to form the Eteocypriots. This term does not refer to an ethnic group, however, but rather the inhabitants of the island prior to its Hellenisation. The language of the Eteocypriots continued until well after the island's Hellenisation but it remains un-deciphered.

Trade in the past was more than monetary exchange, it also meant contact between languages and the movement of ideas and political systems. The written language comes to Cyprus with trade in the LBA (Cypro-Minoan script); this script is very similar to the Minoan Linear A syllabary but is as yet un-deciphered. It is believed to have developed out of Cretan contacts with Cyprus. There were so many Mycenaean ceramics found in Cypriot graves dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries that they led some to believe they had been produced in Cyprus. These were more likely to have been Peloponnesian exports, however. There were also close links between Cyprus and Egypt in the LBA; Nephertiti may have originated from Cyprus. The Tel el-Amarna tablets show close relations between Akhenaten and the King of Cyprus (Alasia). The worship of a war god (the Enkomi horned god) could be related to the high number of raids on Cyprus in this period.



### Programme 5: The March to Hellenism

In the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, the King of Cyprus, writing to his 'brother', Pharaoh Akhenaten, asks for Egypt to stop the Hittites as they were the enemies of Cyprus. The Hittites were from Asia Minor; their capital, Hattusa, was located close to Ankara and it is possible that they controlled the north of Cyprus. According to the Hittite texts, the Cypriots were enslaved by them, although, the archaeological record shows Cyprus to be prosperous and rich at this time. At the town of Vournes we see the development of large central municipal buildings; these include storage areas and workshops, as well as evidence of (potentially centralised) olive oil production. There is also evidence of mercantile production of opium; this was exported to Egypt and used in local Cypriot religious practices. Central municipal buildings have also been found at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhemetrios* dating to c. 1325-1225 BC. They point to large-scale economic and civic development here (and at other sites including Kition). Rich funerary evidence from Kalavassos includes faience, gold, Mycenaean vases and ivory.

There were continuing close relations between Cyprus and the Helladic countries in the LBA, and there is evidence for these connections in Homer – Agamemnon's armour was a gift from the Cypriot king Kinyras. This hospitality between the two kings reflects the close relations between Cypriots and the Mycenaeans; Agamemnon may even have come to stay with Kinyras. The mass Achaean colonisation of Cyprus at the end of the Trojan war was not a chance event. There was a war between the Egyptians, Hittites and Greeks for control of Cyprus in the LBA (end of Trojan war), and the Greeks won. While the Cypriots were not directly involved in the Trojan war, they did support it.

Many Mycenaeans, including Odysseus and Menelaos, passed through Cyprus on their return from the war and they established many Cypriot cities (the narrator is at Maa *Palaekastro* during this discussion). The establishment of Cypriot cities by eponymous heroes is an ancient tradition. The Iliad was used as a source because the cities wanted to be associated with heroes, and the tradition stems from the mass colonisation of Cyprus by Achaean Greeks. Many Cypriot toponyms are related to Greek (and in particular Peloponnesian) place names. The Achaean colonisation of Cyprus therefore stems from the Dorian invasion of Greece; this colonisation came in waves and was associated with upheaval in Greece. The Greeks knew where they were going; they were going to a large island that was familiar to them and where many Greeks already lived. They brought with them their belongings, and their civilisation. Maa *Palaekastro* and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* were staging posts for the new arrivals to Cyprus. Kition was believed to have been established by the Phoenicians in the 9<sup>th</sup> century but it was really established at the end of



13<sup>th</sup> century by the Achaeans. The Achaean settlement of Cyprus was not violent and it was not contested by the Eteocypriots. Matriarchal Cypriot dynasties were related to the Mycenaean Greek political systems. By the 9<sup>th</sup> century the Phoenicians had arrived and the Greeks had taken charge of the Eteocypriots; Greek and Eteocypriot culture had become mixed.

### Programme 6: The Kingdoms and The Conquerors

Ancient textual references to the city-kingdoms of Cyprus start in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC. We do not know when the island was divided into these kingdoms, but it was probably immediately after the Greek colonisation. There are at least twelve cities referred to in the ancient texts, but they were not all founded at the same time. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century there is epigraphic evidence for 10 Cypriot city-kingdoms; eight out of the ten kings had Greek names, and the other two had Phoenician ones. A stele established by Sargon describes seven kings of Cyprus bringing gifts to him. This stele proves two important points: (1) Cyprus was only partially controlled by Assyria; (2) the people of the Mediterranean knew that Cyprus was Greek as they refer to these kings of Cyprus as Yatnana (Greeks). Herodotus does not talk about Assyrian domination of Cyprus. According to him, the first conqueror of Cyprus was Amasis of Egypt.

The period from c. 725-475 BC is called the Cypro-Archaic because this was the beginning of Greek art in Cyprus, which found its fruition in the next (Classical) period. There is a large body of choroplastic art from Cyprus in this period, and after the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC these were predominantly mould-made. Many ceramic idols have been found at rural sanctuaries. At Ayia Irini near Kyrenia, almost 2,000 idols of many different shapes and sizes were found. They include men and women from all walks of life and depict scenes of daily activities; many bulls are included.

The Cypro-Minoan script continued until the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century and possibly later; this is a Greek language. The Cypriot dialect comes from the Greek south Achaean/Arcadian dialect, and therefore the Cypriot language comes from the ancient Mycenaeans. Ceramic decoration was predominantly geometric, schematic and of high quality in the Cypro-Archaic, and the free-drawing style develops from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC; the harmony and aesthetic results of this style of decoration are very high. In funerary practice, large built and chamber tombs dominate; rich grave goods show evidence of a belief in the afterlife. At Salamis, extremely rich grave goods were found in the graves of the elites; these included furniture, ceramics, sacrificial horses, and tools. Lower class graves were much poorer; nowhere were social divisions clearer than in cemeteries. The governing system of Cyprus



was closer to eastern than Greek contacts in the Cypro-Archaic. Each kingdom was ruled by a king who was an absolute monarch. Palaces controlled production in the kingdoms and there was a clearly defined class system; the aristocracy controlled production. Towns were cosmopolitan and busy places dominated by traders, sailors and craftsmen; the rural areas were concerned with agricultural production and consisted of small houses in villages. Plutarch tells us that Solon came to Cyprus in the Cypro-Archaic period to help rebuild the city of Soloi; this refers to the spiritual, rather than physical, rebuilding of this city.

### Programme 7: Between Two Worlds

In the Cypro-Archaic period, Cyprus came under the control of Assyria, Egypt and Persia, but in truth these groups did not occupy Cyprus in the way we think of occupation today. The Cypriot kings retained their thrones, minted their own coins, and controlled their kingdoms. The Cypriot kingdoms remained autonomous. Persian control of Cyprus meant payment of taxes and provision of military aid when it was requested – and it was requested many times. There was no Persian satrap in Cyprus but their control over, and interference in, Cypriot affairs became too much to bear and led to fights against them by Cypriots. The different struggles between Cypriots and Persians are also relevant to struggles between the Greeks (in particular the Athenians) and the Persians.

In the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC the Persians were the greatest power in the eastern Mediterranean; in 576 BC Egypt and Cyprus fell under Persian control and their expansion into Asia Minor made them a direct threat to Greek people. In Salamis Onesilos took control from Gorgon who was pro-Persian. Under Onesilos Salamis began a revolt against the Persians; all the other Cypriot cities except Amathus joined in this revolt. The Cypriots joined in the Ionian revolt and the Ionians sent a force to Cyprus to protect it from Persian retribution. In 498 BC there was a pivotal battle at Salamis, which was lost because of the Amathusians and the people from Kourion (although we must not blame them). Onesilos died, and after just one year of freedom, Cyprus was back under the Persian yoke. Onesilos attempted to unite Cyprus for the first time and he failed; many years later, another king from Salamis – Evagoras would attempt to free Cyprus again.

The palace at Vouni-Soloi was built around the time of these attempts to free Cyprus from Persian control, and the struggle is evident in its construction. The four phases of this building develop from an Eastern to a Greek (megaron-type) model. Cyprus was a small place between two big powers in 479 BC; the islanders were stuck between Greece and Persia and therefore the kings had to be pragmatic in their relations at this time. In 480 BC, 150 Cypriot ships were included in Xerxes' fleet against the Greeks. The Cypriots were seen



as bad slaves and not as allies to the Persians. Following Greek victory at the battle of Plataia on 28<sup>th</sup> August 479 BC, the Athenians attempted to free Cyprus from Persian control numerous times (one of these resulted in the death of Kimon). The Persians controlled the choice of Cypriot kings and turned the Greeks against the Phoenicians within Cyprus. The Cypriots were good sailors in antiquity, and Aphrodite was a protectress of sailors. Under the terms of the peace of Kalynikos, the Persians had to stay out of the Aegean and the Athenians had to stay out of the Middle East, and so they give up Cyprus after many hard struggles. Many Greeks were buried in Cyprus.

### Programme 8: Classical Cyprus

The classical period spans from 475-325 BC and is characterised by closer connections between Cyprus and Greece (especially Attica). This was also the acme of the Phoenicians in Cyprus, who were supported by the Persians. The close links between Cyprus and Greece are especially evident in the arts in this period. Cypriot sculpture reaches its peak in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century; Cypriot sculptors were trained in Greece and even worked on the Athenian Acropolis. Imported Red Figure and Black Figure ceramics flood the Cypriot market, while Cypriot pottery is used for utilitarian purposes. In architecture, the palace at Vouni is the best example of Classical architecture as it takes on a Greek character in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, while the nearby temple of Athena has a Greek character. The Greek gods also came to Cyprus.

Cyprus was still a cosmopolitan place with eastern contacts and the Phoenician presence continued to be strong. Eastern religions were also worshipped in Cyprus, including the cult of Isis, so there was a mixture of Greek and eastern religious practices on the island. Poseidon was not a strong figure in Cyprus because Aphrodite took on his attributes; there was no worship of Ares because Cyprus is the island of love; and there was no Hephaistos because in the Cypriot tradition, Aphrodite was unmarried. Aphrodite worship in Cyprus was not shameful or scandalous. The Phoenicians took control of Idalion with the military help of the Persians and there was a strong Persian influence at Lapithos, Tamassos and Salamis for trade reasons. The Phoenicians were at the height of their control of Cyprus because of Persian assistance.

Salamis was the bastion of Hellenism in the eastern Mediterranean. The strength of the Phoenician's in Cyprus was to the detriment of Athenian influence, which was bad for the Greek and Philhellenic spirit of Cyprus. Salamis suffered barbarism by the Phoenicians. Evagoras was born in 435 BC from the line of the old Greek royal family of the city. His antipathy to Persian control of his homeland led to his expulsion to Cilicia. In 411 BC he returned to Salamis in secret and overthrew the ruler of the city; returning the throne to the



Teukrid family. He decided to remove Persian and Phoenician control from the island and had close links with Athens. The Greek spirit and civilisation came to Cyprus through Salamis. After the Peloponnesian wars, the Athenians needed Evagoras' help and many came to Salamis. He took control of most of the cities of Cyprus after 410 BC (only Amathus, Kourion and Soloi did not join him). Until 380 BC he fought Persian control with the support of almost all the cities of Cyprus.

### Programme 9: War Against the Persians, Alexander the Great

Isocrates tells us that Ataxerxes feared Evagoras as he saw him as his greatest opponent. Evagoras tried to gather all the Cypriot defences under his control and had achieved this to a great extent through strength and violence. Salamis was a very Greek city. The coalition of Cypriot powers made the Persians very uneasy as it could have wider effects in the eastern Mediterranean; Egypt had defied Persia with aid from Evagoras in 380 BC and there was a secret treaty between Salamis and Cilicia. Salamis was the most beautiful, wealthy and strong city in Cyprus; it had military (6,000 strong army and 90 triremes) and nautical strength, and a large number of allies. The Persians decided to fight Evagoras to stop his support to Persian enemies. Evagoras did not see the Persian king as his superior – he minted his own gold coins. 300,000 men and 300 triremes were sent to Cyprus via Asia Minor in 383/382 BC to fight Evagoras. There were problems in the Persian camp between the leaders and the war lasted two years. With the passing of time the strength of Evagoras and his coalition of allies diminished; Evagoras was, therefore, forced to make peace with the Persians. He was contained within the city of Salamis but he refused to supplicate to the Persian king. There were many autonomous cities in Cyprus again and most gave their allegiance to Persia. Evagoras died in 374 BC and his son Nicocles followed him to the throne. Evagoras' war with Persia led to many economic problems but his time in power was very important.

Although he did not manage to unify the island, he diminished the importance of the Phoenicians, led Cyprus to closer Greek contacts and brought the Greek way of life to the island through life, laws, letters and civilisation. In 351 BC there was a new uprising against the Persians; all the kingdoms were involved. They took advantage of internal problems in Persia as well as external attacks on it to try and rid themselves of Persian control. There were many Cypriot contacts in Greece. Cypriots won the Olympic games, made temple dedications, were philosophers and artisans. In Cyprus Greek theatres were built, Greek plays were staged and Greek schools were established. There were also plenty of Cypriots educated in Greece. The spiritual and artistic products of Cyprus were connected to Greece, and Cyprus was a lively centre of the Greek diaspora.



Alexander the Great united the Greeks against the Persians and defeated them. All Persian lands were taken over by him, including Cyprus. Alexander allowed the Cypriot kings to retain their autonomy and their thrones. The Cypriot kings supported Alexander and many Cypriots followed him into Asia as soldiers, sailors and historians. With Alexander came the end of Persian control over Cyprus and the slow demise of the Phoenicians in the island. Because of Alexander Cyprus was a clearly Greek place as there were hardly any foreign influences or groups left in Cyprus. In 332 BC Alexander's monetary system was introduced, but this did not mean the end of Cypriot coinage as they were minted in Cyprus and there are still Cypriot coins depicting Alexander as Hercules. There was still a Phoenician king at Kition but he supplicated himself to Alexander by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. He never came to Cyprus, but there was a city in Cyprus named after him. We do not know the whereabouts of this city; it may have been in Tylliria. The death of Alexander brought the death of a heroic period, and the death of a very important Greek hero. Following his death the empire was divided; Cyprus came under the jurisdiction of the Ptolemies, who were the Greek kings of Egypt. The island reaches a new peak in the Hellenistic period.

#### Programme 10: Hellenistic Cyprus

Alexander's empire was divided among his generals, and Cyprus was fought over by Ptolemy and Antigonus because of its strategic position for both of them. Cyprus continued to have its own kings and they had to decide their allegiances in this struggle. Four kings sided with Ptolemy (the kings of Salamis, Soloi, Paphos and Amathus), and three sided with Antigonus (Kition, Lapithos and Marion). Cyprus was again divided by war, and the whole island was under Ptolemy's control by 312 BC, when he visited in person. The three kings who had opposed him were executed, while the city of Marion paid the highest price as it was razed to the ground and its occupants were moved to Paphos. Nea Paphos reached its peak in this period and became the new capital of Cyprus. The last Kinyrad king of Paphos was Nicocles, who moved from Palaepaphos to Nea Paphos, which he built with large and impressive buildings that even surpassed Salamis. King Nicocles and his ruling family met their tragic ends in 311/310 BC. Because he was perceived to have sided with Antigonus he killed himself; then his wife killed their unmarried daughters, made the king's brothers kill their daughters and themselves, and eventually she killed herself.

When Ptolemy took over the king of Cyprus was appointed general of the island, but he died in 311 BC and Ptolemy's brother Menelaos became general. Between 312 and 310 BC all the kings of Cyprus fell under Ptolemy's control, so there were no more kings on Cyprus; the whole island was controlled by one governor who was chosen by Ptolemy and sent from



Egypt. In 307 BC Demetrius (son of Antigonus) came to take control of Cyprus. He landed at Karpassia, took it and then went on to take Cyprus. The ensuing sea battle resulted in Demetrius' victory. He established a cenotaph in Salamis for his dead soldiers, and within it were ceramic heads from the school of Lyssipus. Demetrius and Antigonus continued to fight Ptolemy until 285 BC (Demetrius continued the battle alone after his father's death in 301 BC), but Ptolemy re-took Cyprus in 294 BC. Following this Cyprus became part of the Ptolemaic empire and years of peace followed. Under the Ptolemies, Cyprus reached a new artistic peak. There were no more kings and Cyprus was part of the empire as a single state for the first time. This gave the Cypriots a new identity as Cypriots, and not as inhabitants of one or other city-kingdom for the first time.

The main cities of Cyprus had a degree of democratic self-government regarding education, economics and local laws, and in each city a number of public works including theatres, gymnasia, temples and baths, were carried out. The gymnasia were used for physical and spiritual education. Cypriot cities were independent and allied by the *Koinon Kyprion*; this organisation originally had a religious character and was responsible for athletic, communal, spiritual, religious, political and economic matters. It became very powerful and eventually minted its own coins. The Hellenistic period was the economic peak of Cyprus because of trade. In this period we see the continued influence of the Greek world over Cyprus; the Cypriot dialect was replaced by Greek, the Cypriot syllabary was replaced with the Greek alphabet, and so contact with other Greeks was even easier. The capital of Nea Paphos was chosen due to its proximity with Alexandria, because it was far from the danger at Syro-Palestine, and because it was close to the forests of Troodos.

The Tombs of the Kings was not a royal burial place, but it gives some impression of the high peak of Paphos. The city had high walls with large towers, a closed harbour and many public works; indeed all Cypriot cities flourished in this period. Palaepaphos continued to be an important religious centre, and every year thousands of worshippers visited the temple from Cyprus and abroad. The Greek deities continued to be worshipped in the Hellenistic period, the two most important gods being Apollo and Aphrodite.

### Programme 11: Aphrodite and Apollo the two great gods

Among all the gods worshipped in ancient Cyprus, Aphrodite and Apollo were the most important and they were worshipped across the whole island. There have been many archaeological finds as well as references in ancient texts. In Cyprus Aphrodite had the epithet Kypris and Apollo was Kyprios. Aphrodite was known as the goddess of beauty, cunning and love, while Apollo was the god of male beauty and the male 'idolic' prototype.



From archaeological finds and philology, it is possible to surmise that there were tens of places of worship of Aphrodite in Cyprus, while all the places of worship of the two gods have not been found in Cyprus yet. Aphrodite and Apollo have very ancient roots in Cyprus dating back to the prehistoric fertility and war gods discussed earlier in the series.

In ancient Cyprus Aphrodite was unmarried, as was Apollo who was a free spirit. The notion that Aphrodite was a scandalous or erotic goddess is incorrect and the result of early Christian propaganda and an incorrect analysis of the ancient sources. According to Plato there were two Aphrodites, one erotic and the other celestial. In Cyprus an unsullied celestial Aphrodite was worshipped. Cyprus could not have had a shameful goddess as its protectress and her name shows the cleanness of her character; her birth reflects this too. She was born from the water which falls from the sky; Ouranos was her father and the sea was her mother. These are two unsullied and central elements of the physical world. She was the goddess of love, not in any dirty or animal way, but with reference to life-giving and fertility. In Cyprus, Aphrodite was not just the goddess of love, but also a heavenly deity who protected sailors and birth. In some places (including Amathus) she was worshipped as a hermaphrodite, because of her ability to reproduce on her own. She was therefore unmarried as she was male and female. Scandals, sex and prostitution occur in the present and the past but this is not a religious expression; it is a social problem, not a religious one. There was prostitution around some religious places including the temple of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos but this was not her fault. Because thousands of worshippers came to the temple every year, it was an easy place for prostitutes to trade. Indeed, at the temple to Aphrodite close to the Apostolos Andreas monastery, women were not allowed in so as not to sully the place – rather like Mount Athos today. The statue at Palaepaphos was not in human form; it was the heavenly god who was worshipped here.

Aphrodite came to Cyprus from the East and then went on to Greece. In Cyprus she was related to a mother goddess and in the Greek world Aphrodite is represented as having come from Cyprus. Apollo is clearly a Greek god; he is the god of music, medicine, the sun and is a shepherd on earth. In Cyprus Apollo has many epithets and his worship on the island is known from at least the 8<sup>th</sup> century at Kourion. The sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion was one of the largest cult centres on the island. The sanctuary was surrounded by a park and the animals here were holy and could not be killed. The sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos also contained a park (Yeroskipou). Many other gods were adopted in the later periods but these were the two most enduring deities of Cyprus.



### Programme 12: From the Ptolemies to the Romans

The Ptolemaic period was a peaceful and prosperous one when Cyprus was a bright Greek centre and gave her own spiritual giants to humankind, especially Zeno. There follows a discussion of prominent Cypriots in the Greek world, including playwrights, artists, athletes and philosophers. This was the blossoming of Cyprus. Sculpture developed along Greek lines and Greek plays were performed in Cyprus. To this end there were theatres in every Cypriot city. Odeons were used mainly for musical performances and tended to be smaller than theatres, while in the Roman period theatres were adapted to Roman needs and were used for gladiatorial battles. Cypriots were good sailors and shipbuilders, and a great deal of trade was conducted in Cypriot cities.

The riches of Cyprus brought the interest of third parties, and there were two attempts by the Seleucids to take Cyprus, in 202 BC and 168 BC. Both of these attempts failed because of Roman strength. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC Rome started to get involved in Cypriot affairs and there were friendly relations between the Ptolemies and the Romans. The Ptolemies provided Cyprus with strong, democratic rule and were interested in the life and welfare of the people. They founded new cities and encouraged arts and literature. Members of the Ptolemaic family were worshipped, the most notable being Arsinoë. The Ptolemies were protected by Rome. There was a great deal of piracy in the seas around Cyprus, and a Roman statesman was taken hostage by them. Ptolemy sent a small sum of money to free the prisoner, which caused offence to the pirates and Romans, and on his release he returned to Rome and arranged to take over Cyprus as revenge for this affront. This was not the only reason Rome took over Cyprus, however; the wealth of the island was also important when the Republic's coffers were almost empty. Marcus Cato was sent to take over Cyprus, Ptolemy killed himself, and Cyprus was taken without a struggle. Cyprus was given back to the Ptolemies in 51 BC but was then taken back by 30 BC. Cyprus was now a small part of the Roman empire. The Roman period led to the new religion – Christianity.

### Programme 13: Christianity: the new Religion

Christianity was the result of the Roman period on Cyprus. Cyprus was under Roman control for three centuries; it was governed by proconsuls who governed for a year, starting on 1<sup>st</sup> July. The island was divided into four areas and the islanders led a peaceful life under the Romans. Nea Paphos continued to be the capital and was the centre of Roman government. Octavian helped to rebuild Paphos following an earthquake; indeed there was much destruction in Cyprus because of earthquakes. Many Roman emperors were worshipped in Cyprus, including Septimus Severus, whose bronze statue was found in Kithrea. There were a number of rich houses in Paphos, and many of these contained mosaics. Roman mosaics in



Cyprus depict Greek myths and bear Greek epigraphy. Cypriot cities continued to organise themselves under the *Koinon Kyprion* under the Romans. The Romans used the Cypriot wealth to their advantage and heavily mined the mountains of Troodos for metal.

There were a number of Jews living in Cyprus from the Hellenistic period, and relations between Cypriots and Jews were unproblematic except for one very serious incident. In AD 116 there was a Jewish uprising, when Salamis was almost totally destroyed, which caused 270,00 deaths. The Romans expelled them from Cyprus. Hadrian helped to rebuild Salamis and may have visited the island. Christianity came to Cyprus and the Jews were the first to be converted, while Cyprus was the first country to systematically adopt the new religion. Saints Barnabas, Paul, and Mark christianised the island, and while there were many ancient religions in Cyprus, they were able to live together. Christians suffered in the Roman world, however, because this new religion taught hope to the poor and slaves and love among men; it alluded to a better life after death and appealed to the poor and the lower classes. The Apostles Paul, Barnabas and Mark converted the Roman governor Sergius Paulus and so Cyprus was the first country in the world to be ruled by a Christian. Tradition has it that St. Paul was flogged at Cyprus but there is no evidence for this. In the second apostolic visit to the island St. Barnabas was tortured to death by the Jews and St. Mark buried him in the cemetery at Salamis. Later a church and a monastery were erected to him there. By this time the new religion had taken root in Cyprus. Christianity was hard in the early years and Cyprus has its own martyrs for Christianity, but it won in the end and met the ancient Greek spirit where it developed into something new and unique: the Byzantine world, of which Cyprus was a major part.

### The History of Byzantine Cyprus (CyBC 1996).

#### Programme 1: The Old and the New

From the moment Christianity began to be taught in Cyprus, it was in contention with the old religions. It was first seen as a heresy of Judaism; the Jews in Cyprus were the first to be converted, and it was also the Jews who had killed Apostle Barnabas. Once Christianity was taught to the non-Jewish population of the island, it began to have an effect on the old religions. Christianity found a population of slaves and downtrodden people in Cyprus and offered a better afterlife to them. It taught them patience and goodness, and these were things that could change their lives for the better. The two Apostolic periods sunk deep roots in Cypriot society.

There was contact between the old and new religions in Cyprus. The Jews, who were against Barnabas, attacked, tortured and killed him in Salamis. He was buried in the necropolis of



Salamis by St. Mark. Barnabas had been the founder of the Christian church of Cyprus, and was its first Archbishop; St. Heraclitos took over as Archbishop in AD 50 and St. Paul sent good Christians to the island to act as bishops. By the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD there were eight episcopal seats in Cyprus: Salamis; Tamassos; Kition; Amathus; Soloi; Paphos; Neapolis; and Kourion. From its early years, the Christian church carried out public works and built churches. In Soloi, the 6<sup>th</sup> century basilica is probably situated in the same place as the 1<sup>st</sup> century church, which was described as being amazing. The new religion was strong and communal, although it was not adopted as a state religion until later. A number of earthquakes affected the cities of Cyprus in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD and Salamis was almost totally destroyed in AD 116; it was rebuilt by Hadrian.

At first the Romans were not interested in Christianity; they saw it as a heresy of Judaism but its growth was worrying for them. It was made illegal by the Romans for many reasons, but in particular its monotheism meant there could be no emperor worship. The Christians were expelled from the Roman empire many times, and the Cypriots suffered in particular. In the second period of expulsions there were Cypriot martyrs who fought for the new religion. The Christians of Cyprus could not worship freely so they hid in catacombs to carry out their services. In Paphos the ancient tombs became places of worship, including the Tombs of the Kings (one of these was known until recently as Paleoklisia, which translates as 'ancient church'). Christian worship was hard until the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century when Constantine ended the persecution of Christians. In AD 324 Constantine made Christianity the official religion of the empire.

Constantinople was the capital of Constantine's empire; it was beautiful, it had strategic importance, and was an important centre for trade. It was the gate between Europe and the east, and became the seat of the Eastern Roman Empire when it was split. Cyprus came under the jurisdiction of the Eastern Roman Empire; this led to the Byzantine Empire and Orthodoxy. The entire Greek world was controlled by the Byzantine Empire (which was a Greek empire) and it led to the Hellenism of the state. By the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century the old religions had mostly disappeared and Christianity was the religion of the majority. This led to the destruction of idolatrous monuments – a mania of destruction that has made us poorer today. Uncountable works of art, temples and books were destroyed and the ancient Greek arts ceased. The temples in the Cypriot cities and countryside were replaced by churches. Cyprus suffered two major earthquakes in 332 and 342 that caused widespread destruction. St. Helena visited Cyprus in 327 and established Stavrovouni monastery and conducted other works.



### Programme 2: The First Christian Centuries

One of most important events in Cyprus in the Byzantine period was the visit of St. Helena. In 326 she went to Jerusalem to find the holy cross and she stopped in Cyprus on her way there and back; she found the island a destroyed place. The foundation of churches in Cyprus and elsewhere by St. Helena is a true event. The chronicle of Leontius Macheras tell us that when she visited Cyprus was a desolate, empty place full of snakes. After her visit (and her foundation of churches and leaving of relics) rains and life came back to the island. The population returned along with others. Cyprus was obviously not empty when she visited as we have archaeological evidence to the contrary (including the visit of a Cypriot archbishop to the synod of Nicaea in 325).

The Nicaean synod of 325 was very important for the Christian religion; it had 218 representatives including a number from Cyprus (possibly 10). By the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century there were 14 episcopal seats in Cyprus, all the older religions had died out and Salamis was the archbishopric. The Cypriot church had rid the island of idolatrous activities and taken over. Following the earthquakes of 332 and 342 Salamis was almost totally destroyed, and was rebuilt by Constantius and took his name – Constantia. St. Hilarion came to Cyprus from Cilicia and lived a hermit's life at the site of the castle of St. Hilarion, which had earlier been a temple to Apollo. In Cyprus there was only one governor in charge during the Byzantine years, and s/he was sent from Constantinople. The second ecumenical synod was held in 381 and Cyprus was highly represented. The autonomy of the church of Cyprus was recognised.

### Programme 3: Establishment of the Church of Cyprus

There was antagonism among the churches. The apostolic church of Cyprus was autocephalus and autonomous, but the church of the Antioch tried to take it over in 431. The archbishop of Cyprus went to Ephesus to the third ecumenical council with some of the other bishops of Cyprus. In the meantime the church of Antioch had organised a side-synod with the bishop of Karassia, and they were penalised for this. In 482, when the church of Cyprus was again in danger of losing its autonomy to Antioch, a miracle occurred, and archbishop Anthemios found the grave of Apostle Barnabas. This ensured the autonomy of the church of Cyprus. The archbishop went to Constantinople to inform the emperor of his find and to give him the bible written in St. Mark's hand that was found with the body. The emperor Zenon gave the archbishop of Cyprus the right to sign his name with red ink and the right to autonomy and these rights continue until today. Justinian I was famous for building the Agia Sophia church in Constantinople but he also completed works in Cyprus, although there is no evidence of the specific works carried out on the island.



The early Christian churches of Cyprus were large and well decorated with mosaics. They were very impressive, and most had three aisles, although some had up to nine aisles. The floors were decorated in mosaics and opus sectile. The mosaics of Cyprus were of the highest standard and continued in their development from the Roman period. The walls and floors of the churches of Cyprus were decorated in mosaic and marble decoration. Unfortunately few of these survive because new churches were rebuilt on the site of old ones, and often the old churches were incorporated into the new ones. The church of Panayia Kanakaria dates to the 6<sup>th</sup> century and is now in the occupied areas. Some of the mosaics from this church were removed and put on the international art market. The Angleoktistis church is slightly later in date than Panayia Kanakaria and also has very high quality mosaic decoration. The highest quality mosaic decoration was from the church of Panayia Kyras at Karpasia, which was destroyed. There were 58 early Christian basilicas in Cyprus, of which 20 have been excavated (a discussion of the early Christian basilicas of Cyprus follows). It was characteristic for seaside towns to have basilicas beside the beach for sailors to have easy access, examples of this have been found at Kourion, Amathus and Paphos. There is some evidence that Jews had returned to Cyprus in small numbers in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, while in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century some Armenians came to Cyprus. The worship of St. Mamas came to Cyprus in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. There was a new major power in the region at this time, these were the Arabs.

#### Programme 4: Between Byzantines and Arabs

In the early Christian period Constantia was the capital of Cyprus, while Amathus was also an important centre in the island. The Persians were the enemies of Hellenism and the Greeks and sacked Alexandria and Jerusalem in 620. The emperor Heraclius fought against the Persians and used Cyprus as a military base. He came to the island in 609 and stayed in Constantia. He also used Cyprus as a religious centre and an example as it showed the harmony between Orthodoxy and daily life.

There was internal and external strife in the Byzantine empire and there was also religious strife between the numerous religious Christian schools. There was also a new threat from Islam and the Arabs from 622. This religion spread quickly and reached as far as Spain and Indonesia. There was enmity between the Byzantine empire and the Arabs because of the amount of land lost to the Arabs by the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Cyprus became a frontier of Byzantium in the eastern Mediterranean. Some cities were surrounded by walls in this period, although we do not know details of the armies on Cyprus; its island status was its best defence. The Arabs were not good sailors initially but they soon learned to master the seas. In 633/634 there was a small Arab raid on Cyprus; the first major raid came in the spring of 649. There



were two more raids in 649 and 654 when Constantia was raised and attacked. In 649 Umm Haram died in Cyprus (accidentally by falling from her donkey) and the mosque of Hala Sultan Tekke, one of the most important Islamic sites, was built on the site of her tomb. She was not Turkish but had an Arab background and she was not directly related to Mohammed. Constantia was destroyed totally in 654 in the second Arab raid and was never rebuilt. The Arabs attacked the whole island and took slaves with them. A Byzantine fortress was built at the site of Saranta Colones in Paphos and there was a Byzantine army on the island. The Arabs saw Cyprus as a place between them and Byzantium but belonging to neither.

In 688 Justinian II and Antal Malik made a treaty dividing the taxes of the island between the two empires; they also agreed to remove their armies. The burden of taxes led to the reduction of wealth of all the cities of Cyprus, while none of them were rebuilt following the raids. Some people lived in the remains of the ruined cities; others took the remains to build more modest accommodation. The bright architectural past of Cyprus was buried under the earth and all cities moved to inland sites. The Cypriots also lost their sea legs as a result of the raids and the island was instead covered in look-out posts to protect the island from enemy ships.

#### Programme 5: Period of Neutrality

From the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century there were many important events in Cyprus. There were at least five Arab raids in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and from 726 the iconoclastic period took hold in all Byzantine lands, including Cyprus. In 722/723 travellers reported that there were Saracens in Cyprus, describing it as an unarmed place between the Greeks and Saracens. Justinian decided to move the Cypriot population to the Hellespont to protect them and because they could not be protected at home. This diminished the power of Byzantium and was bad for Cypriots. In 691 the Cypriots were told to leave their country and were very sad to leave their homeland. Many Cypriots were lost on the way to the Hellespont and some stayed in Asia Minor as they were unable to finish the journey. Few Cypriots made it to their final destination. This was the wrong thing to do and so was doomed to failure. The Cypriots were allowed to return to the fatherland after a few years in 705, and collected their stragglers on the way. This period led to a new title for the Archbishop of Cyprus, who was now the Archbishop of Cyprus and Nea Justinoupolis.

Cyprus continued to have close spiritual, economic, cultural and religious relationships with the Byzantine empire. There was a period of iconoclasm and idolatry in Cyprus for over 100 years from 726-843 and the empire split into two factions at this time. The Arab raids continued despite the internal problems of the empire. Many icon painters were exiled to



Cyprus and a large number of icons were destroyed because of the divisions in this period. Cyprus became a centre for monks who brought a number of holy icons to the island. Many years later important monasteries were built to house these.

### Programme 6: Strong Byzantinism

The monks who came to Cyprus found a strong and deep Orthodox Christianity in Cyprus and this was a period of blossoming of Byzantine arts in Cyprus. The iconophiles included artists from Constantinople and many churches were decorated with their paintings. The worship of icons was not stopped in Cyprus; indeed it was supported by the church. At the seventh ecumenical council in 787 the heads of the church of Cyprus argued that icons were a form of respect and not an item of worship; this was accepted by the synod. Many important icons came to Cyprus in this period including a painting of Mary by St. Luke. These were later housed in the monasteries of Troodos. The high number of monks and hermits in Cyprus made it a place of pilgrimage.

The Orthodox religion helped people to keep their faith despite all the raids. Many of the icons and religious items brought to the island during the iconoclastic period were taken back to Constantinople, although many had been hidden in the mountains and churches were dedicated to them much later when they were found. The remains of St. Lazarus were found and taken to Constantinople and a church was built on the site of the discovery in Larnaca; it has been rebuilt many times. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century an Arab historian wrote the citizens of Cyprus were all Christians and that not a single Moslem lived there. This is very important as it shows that even the Arabs knew that Cyprus was a Greek land. Other Arab historians inform us that there was trade between Cyprus and the Arab lands, and that it was a beautiful land rich in silks and mastic. Despite the problems, Cyprus was well populated in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and continued to trade with its neighbours. There was a small number of Muslims in Cyprus in the 10<sup>th</sup> century but these must have left as the Byzantines re-established their control over the island.

### Programme 7: Return to Empire

Cyprus was split between the Byzantines and the Arabs for a small time. The Arabs had a military governor and the Byzantines had a Greek governor. The Arabs were happy with the Cypriot attitude towards them, as they saw them as equals. There is little physical evidence for the division of the island and there was probably a great deal of cohabitation between the Greeks and the Arabs. The victories of Niciphorus II against the Arabs in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century led to Cyprus' release from Arab control. The Arabs appear to have left the island peacefully following the fall of Syria to the Byzantines. In 965 Cyprus came under the



control of the Byzantines both politically and strategically and after this date the empire paid a great deal of attention to the defence of the island. The capital of Cyprus was moved to Nicosia for defensive purposes, as its position in the middle of the island, meant that it was as far from the sea as possible, and it could control the rest of the island.

There were three strategic points on the Pentadaktylos mountain range at St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara. St. Hilarion protected Kyrenia and the only pass from Nicosia. All these fortifications were rebuilt in later periods, although some Byzantine features still survive, such as the church of St. George at Kyrenia castle dating to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Other fortifications were built around the island in Paphos, Limassol and Famagusta. There was also a fort at Nicosia that later formed part of the castle of the Lusignan kings, although no traces of this survive. Members of the Byzantine aristocracy became the governors in this period; it was characterised by high taxes and insurgencies.

Leonitios Macheras tells us that in the 11<sup>th</sup> century the monastery at Kykko was established and that the miracle-performing icon of the Virgin Mary was taken there. The trees kneeled down in respect of the icon when it was on its way to the monastery. There is no historical evidence for this but it must have some basis in truth. Cyprus was a strategic and important place for the Byzantine empire.

#### Programme 8: The Saints of Cyprus and the Border Epics (*Akritika Epi*)

Leontios Macheras, the medieval chronicler of Cyprus, called it the holy island because of the large number of saints there (230); 88 of these were not Cypriot, but they lived or worked on the island. (A long description of the saints and holy men/women of Cyprus follows). Large numbers of saints were related to Cyprus for a number of reasons: it was one of the first places where Christianity was accepted; it was an island of hermitage; many religious people came to Cyprus during the upheavals of the 7<sup>th</sup> century; it was a place of refuge in the iconoclastic period.

The hard life and tragedies of island life in Cyprus led to the continued devotion of the people to the Orthodox church. The deep religious devotion of the Cypriots helped them to get through the hard times of raids and disasters. There was a strong oral tradition in Cyprus, and many legends of the saints survived through this. The Virgin Mary was very important in Cyprus for a number of reasons: her miraculous icons; her connection to Jesus; her position as a mother; and as a military saint, meant that all the monasteries founded in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries were dedicated to her.



Through all the hardships of life on Cyprus, the island was in need of heroic prototypes. The border epics, alongside the religious oral traditions helped to fulfil this need. The main character of the border epics was Dhigenis Akritas, a guardian of border Greeks/Hellenism including Cyprus. Dhigenis was a late Christian version of Herakles, whose enemies included the Saracens. Only small fragments of the border epics survive and there were many other heroes of whom little information survives. The mythical heroes were outside the human realm but also had to be related to the natural cycle of life and death. There are many places in Cyprus with names related to Dhigenis, in particular rocks that he threw at his enemies. He loved life and was like a mythical Alexander the Great. He tried to change the bad things of life but he could not change the class system. Despite all the tragedies suffered by the islanders, their spirit was embodied in Dhigenis. The people had deep religious beliefs, while the heroic legends helped in their practical life. The local saints lived side by side with the mythical heroes in the lives of the ordinary people. The heroes of the border epics and the military saints were all foreign to Cyprus, as there was no military strength left on the island following the decline of the country from the Roman period onwards (this was because the island was part of a larger empire). The population of Cyprus always followed the eastern Orthodox church.

#### Programme 9: Formation of new Conditions

Three centuries of Byzantine control did not diminish the dangers that the island faced, while new conditions in the area brought danger to Cyprus from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The first and second crusades did not have a direct impact on Cyprus, although it may have been used as strategic and nautical post by the Byzantines in the first crusade. In 1148 Manuel I Komnenos allowed the Venetians to use Cyprus and Crete for their trading routes. The Venetian stronghold in the eastern Mediterranean was ultimately a bad result of the Byzantine period. In 1204 the Venetians and Genoese were involved in sacking Constantinople as part of the fourth crusade.

Manuel Komnenos made many dedications and foundations in Cyprus including the Chrysoroyatissa of Paphos and the royal monastery of Macheras (a list of churches dedicated in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries follows). Many Byzantine churches survive in Cyprus; they are mostly simple churches due to the conditions on the island. Cyprus was attacked and suffered many natural disasters in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, since the empire could not protect it anymore.



### Programme 10: The end of the Byzantine Period

Andronikos I was the last Komnenid emperor; he killed the Latins of Constantinople in 1182 and took over the dynasty in 1183 after killing his brother. In 1185 Isaac Komnenos came to Cyprus and became the governor of the island; he no longer accepted the authority of Constantinople and was a tyrannical ruler. St. Neophytos, an uneducated farmer from Cyprus became a saint and important chronicler of domestic events at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. He came from the Lefkara area and was one of eight children. After his 18<sup>th</sup> birthday he joined a monastery where he learnt to read and write. His grave was found in 1750 and his bones were distributed among a number of churches in the island. (This is followed by a discussion of failed Byzantine attempts to rid the island of Isaac Komnenos).

The Muslims were having a great deal of success against the crusaders under Saladin, and so the third crusade was organised under Philip II of France. Guy de Lusignan was captured and released by Saladin but the third crusade was his big opportunity. (Discussion of Frederick Barbarossa's campaign and death). Richard I of England arrived in the area last because he stopped on the way to conquer Cyprus. Many believe that Richard took Cyprus as a result of bad treatment that Benegaria of Navarre received from Isaac Komnenos. (Discussion of the struggle between Richard I and Isaac Komnenos; Guy de Lusignan is described as fighting with Richard against Isaac). This story is an excuse to cover the fact that the Crusaders needed Cyprus strategically and because Isaac had an agreement with Saladin not to let the Crusaders use Cyprus as a base. In addition it was important for its wealth and its position along important trade routes. Richard's raids on Cyprus were very harsh and took a huge amount of wealth and resources from Cyprus – so much so that he shared it with the French King. On 12<sup>th</sup> May 1191 Richard married Benegaria in Limassol, but probably not at the castle as it had not been built yet; instead they were married at a small church of St. George.

Richard left Cyprus on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1191, taking Isaac with him as a prisoner. The third crusade did not free Jerusalem, but instead the crusaders gained Cyprus. In the summer of 1191 Richard sold the island to the Knights Templar for 100,000 gold coins. The Knights attacked the islanders on Easter Sunday 1192 while the people were celebrating. The Knights were not able to hold the island because of the spilled blood and returned it to Richard, who in turn looked for a new buyer. Guy de Lusignan, the former king of Jerusalem bought the island on the same terms as the Knights Templar. In 1192 the new king of Cyprus came to the island accompanied by nobles, Latin churchmen and crusaders. These groups formed the new aristocracy for Cyprus. His successors established a feudal system of administration on the island. During this period (the *Frankokrateia*) the Greek population formed the lowest



social class. They continued to follow Greek Orthodoxy and look to Byzantium despite all their hardships in this period.

### The History of Medieval Cyprus (CyBC 1997).

#### Programme 1: The Foundation of the Cypriot Kingdom

From 1192 until 1489 the kingdom of Cyprus was under the control of the Lusignan dynasty. This was the Frankish period, not because Cyprus was under French control, but because it was an independent kingdom under the French kings. The founder of the dynasty was Guy de Lusignan who bought the island from Richard the Lionheart in 1192. Richard had originally sold the island to the Knights Templar who took Nicosia as their capital; soon after their arrival they had a confrontation with the Cypriots and closed themselves into their castle in Nicosia (discussion of the possible reasons for the uprising, attack on islanders on Easter Sunday, resale to Richard and then Guy).

Guy de Lusignan had married into the Kingdom of Jerusalem but this had been lost to Saladin. Following the death of his wife in 1190 he lost all rights to the throne of Jerusalem and so Guy bought Cyprus in order to retain a throne. Guy had been in Cyprus to help Richard conquer it in 1191 and returned in 1192 as lord of the island. He brought Latin nobles with him and started to organise the island as a kingdom but died in 1194 before he had completed this. He behaved in a better manner to the Cypriots than the Knights Templar had and there was no opposition to him from the locals. The feudal aristocratic class of Cyprus was made up mostly of French nobles and other foreigners. Guy was succeeded by his brother Amaury, who was a very clever king. He tried to install the Latin church in the place of the church of Cyprus and the people revolted at the thought of this. In 1195 Eric VI of Germany recognised Amaury as king of Cyprus and he received official recognition in 1197. In 1204 the Crusaders sacked Constantinople. Amaury was supported by the Pope because of his attempts to convert the Cypriots to Catholicism; he and his successors were never successful in this aim, however, as the people continued to be faithful to Orthodoxy. There were now two churches in Cyprus; the Latin church took much land and wealth from the church of Cyprus. In 1197 Amaury regained the throne of Jerusalem by marriage and the two kingdoms were linked. The sack of Constantinople in 1204 meant there was no more danger from the Byzantines and the Cypriots lost their hopes of freedom from the Frankish yoke.

#### Programme 2: The First Lusignan Kings

Amaury was recognised as the king of Cyprus in 1197 and a feudal society began on the island; each noble was ascribed the land and people of a whole village with the king as first



among equals. There were about 100 noble families on the island and a number of Latin sects gradually came to the island, including the Knights Templar, Franciscan Monks and soldiers. More Latins came to Cyprus following the fall of the Middle East to the Saracens. Many monasteries and Abbeys were built at this time.

Cyprus was used as a major base for the fifth crusade and its king and nobles joined in the battle. In 1219 the king died fighting at Tripoli and his eight month old son succeeded to the throne under the protection of his mother (who gave trading rights to the Genoese). The Muslims came to Cyprus to try and stop the crusaders at Limassol, this led to fires and raids and 1,300 people lost their lives. In 1209 the foundation stone of the church of Ayia Sophia was laid in Nicosia, probably on the site of an earlier Byzantine church. The church was still under construction when Eric I was crowned in 1225 (internal divisions among the Lusignans; natural disasters on Cyprus). The sixth crusade was established in 1228 by Philip II of Germany (discussion of in-fighting amongst crusaders in Cyprus and power struggle over the island which was eventually returned to Eric I in 1247).

### Programme 3: The two Churches and Class Relations

The main events of Eric I's reign (1233-1253) were the problems between the two churches on the island and the seventh crusade. The monastery of *Panayia tis Kantaras* in the Pentadaktylos mountains was very famous and respected; this angered the Latins and so in 1230, 13 monks of Kantara were imprisoned for heresy and eventually killed. This upset people in Cyprus and abroad and the Patriarch complained to the Pope. The 14 episcopal seats of Cyprus became four and the Latin church took over much Orthodox church land and the power of the Orthodox church was reduced. Orthodox bishops had to answer to the Latin Archbishop. The Orthodox church of Cyprus was enslaved to the Latin church and this led to bad relations between them. Orthodox clerics were above the level of ordinary Orthodox people of Cyprus (who were serfs), and so there was an increase in monasticism.

The general population of Cyprus were serfs who did not have the right to property and were owned by the nobles. If they had their own land this was restricted to 40 feet and they still had to work the landowners the land free for two days a week. The landowners also took one third of their produce. Freedom could be bought at various rates, normally 60 ducats, but the price went down when the state needed money; free men paid tax but had a right to property. The urban population was very mixed and included Armenians, Venetians, and Genoese. These foreigners had many freedoms in the kingdom and the Venetians and Genoese became very powerful. Most foreign traders lived in Famagusta, which became a major trade centre and by the 14<sup>th</sup> century it was one of the richest cities of the known world.



The high court of Cyprus was made up of nobles and foreigners, while the low court consisted of Cypriot nobles. The Orthodox church was able to control rules relating to Greek-ness as well as Orthodox Byzantine law. Most castles were royal, although some belonged to other groups such as the Knights Templar at Kolossi. In 1248 Cyprus supported and contributed to the seventh crusade, this resulted in the loss of Egypt to the Mamluks (from 1250-1517 when it was taken over by the Ottomans). (Dynastic details from Eric I to Hugo III).

#### Programme 4: Cyprus, Bastion of the West

Between 1253 and 1324 Hugo III, John I and Eric II reigned in Cyprus, and from 1284 all the kings of Cyprus held the titular crown of Jerusalem, even after its fall to the Muslims in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (followed by dynastic discussions). By 1291 the Muslims had taken over all Christian lands in the Middle East, including Agra and Tyre; the remaining Christians made efforts to come to Cyprus while those who were left were killed by the Muslims. Cyprus was now the only Christian place in the eastern Mediterranean and was the frontier between the Christian west and the Muslim east. For the following 100 years Cyprus was in an important position as the only Christian port in the eastern Mediterranean (more dynastic details follow).

The order of the Knights Templar was forced to disband by the Pope in 1308; this was hard to achieve in Cyprus where they were very powerful, particularly in Limassol. They barricaded themselves into their castle and threatened to fight to the death, and many were taken prisoner by the king. In 1313 their order was finally dissolved and their land given to the Knights of St. John; in Cyprus this amounted to 70 villages. The Knights of St. John were based in Rhodes and had close relations with Cyprus; they made Commanderia at Templon, Kolossi and Phoinikos. King Eric II was a bloody tyrant; in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, he was used as the model for bad kings. The infighting between Amaury, Eric and their supporters did not affect the lives of the ordinary people of Cyprus; they probably sang and gossiped about these events but they were simply spectators. In this period construction of the walls of Nicosia began, as did the cathedral of St. Nicholas in Famagusta. In 1322 the Muslims began to impinge on the lands of the Armenians and Cyprus sent ships to help; thousands of Armenians were returned to Cyprus.

#### Programme 5: Faith and Might, Peter I

King Hugo IV (1324-1359) was wise, educated, and a protector of the arts and philosophy, but he was also violent and strict. He was interested in the Ancient Greek spirit and



philosophy, and he aided the development of education in Cyprus and tried to help the poor Greeks of his land, according to the spirit of his time. The king was friendly with the Cypriot poet George Lapithi, and he in turn was closely linked with the Orthodox church and helped the poor of the island, often by helping them to buy their freedom. Under Hugo IV the position and wealth of Cyprus increased, although, there were also a number of catastrophes at this time (floods, epidemics, black death, locust attacks). Hugo built the walls of Nicosia, although the surviving walls date to the Venetian period. The wealth of the island brought the attention of pirates as well as military galleys. The nobles of Cyprus lived in rich conditions (they were described as the richest in the world) and they loved to hunt.

Leontios Macheras tells us of a struggle between the Latin and Orthodox church over the relic of the holy cross that had been left at Tochni by St. Helena. In 1318 a Latin priest stole the relic but could not leave the island with it so he threw it into a field. In 1340 a shepherd found the relic and discovered its miraculous healing powers. The Latins decided to test the relic and threw it into a fire but it survived; they built a monastery to house it at Ayios Dhometios but neither the monastery or the relic survive.

In 1359 Hugo was succeeded by his son Peter I; he was the most important king of the island. He fought the Muslims in the surrounding countries and he showed that they were not invincible. Peter tried to organise another crusade and spent three years in Europe trying to rally support. Despite the support he organised, this crusade never materialised because the Venetians and other traders stopped it as it was against their interests to have war in the region. Needing money for his travels, Peter allowed many serfs to buy their freedom and he also stopped the battle between the churches on the island. Indeed, when the monastery at Kykko burnt down in 1365, he assisted in its rebuilding. In January 1369 Peter was killed by his nobles in his room, marking the end of the heroic period and the beginning of the decline of the kingdom.

### Programme 6: Battle Against the Genoese

Following Peter's death, his son Peter II succeeded him but due to his young age Cyprus was ruled by a regent, Prince John. The nobles who had killed Peter took control of the island and only his wife, Eleonora tried to stop them and get justice. In August 1370 Eleonora's attempts for justice were discovered and her messenger was killed. In January 1372 Peter II was given the throne (a discussion of trouble between Venetians and Genoese following coronation in Famagusta, expulsion of Genoese from Cyprus follows). The Genoese attacked Cyprus in 1373 and all men on the island over 15 years old were conscripted. They took Famagusta quite easily on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1373 and rounded up the royal family and many



nobles (there follows details of a prolonged battle against Genoese). The Knights of St. John arranged a peace whereby Famagusta and the surrounding area was placed under Genoese control and compensation was paid to them. For the following 90 years the wealth of Famagusta diminished and the island established a new harbour at Larnaca. Following Peter II's death, his uncle James took over the throne and ruled from 1385-1398. In 1392 Cyprus suffered another epidemic and the local people paid then as always.

#### Programme 7: Mameluk Invasion, Cypriot Uprising

The Genoese war of 1373-1374 was very destructive for the kingdom and had long and short term consequences. In 1396 James I managed to expel the Genoese from Famagusta and built many castles and defences. In the meantime there was a new force in the area, the Ottoman Turks, who had already taken Constantinople and the Greek lands. Following James's death in 1398, his son Janus succeeded to the throne. In 1419/20 more epidemics hit Cyprus and there were catastrophic attacks by the Mameluks in 1426-1427. Janus tried to take Famagusta twice more but failed and piracy blossomed around Cyprus. (Discussion of piracy, raids, traders and Mameluks).

In 1426 there was a major battle between Janus and the Mameluks at Chirokitia, Janus lost and the Mameluks raided many places. They took Nicosia on 7<sup>th</sup> July and spent four days sacking the city; the people who always paid could not take anymore and rose up. The Mameluks left and this was followed immediately by a peasant uprising. We only have one source for this, Leontios Macheras. He tells us that Alexis, a serf from Kato Milia was the leader of the uprising for ethnic/national (of the *ethnos*) freedom. The uprising lasted many months, when the peasants attacked noble stores and appointed their own king. The uprising was eventually quashed as it was so far ahead of its time that people could not accept it. Cyprus was now supplicant to the Mameluks, to whom they paid 5000 ducats a year. The peasants were controlled from above as before and the king returned in 1427.

#### Programme 8: Greek Counterattack: Helena Palaeologina

Following the events of 1426 many Cypriot settlements were destroyed and Famagusta continued to be held by the Genoese; the Cypriot kingdom became consistently weaker and poorer. In 1432 Janus was succeeded by his son John II. The family had also acquired the throne of Armenia in 1393, but this was just a titular honour. John II was tall, handsome, clever, and he also had a weak character; he often tried to shirk his kingly duties and his Greek Orthodox wife, Helena Palaeologina, eventually took control. Helena was from the Byzantine noble family and brought many Greek courtiers, clerics and artists to Cyprus with



her in 1442. This was the first time that Cyprus had a Greek queen. She was Orthodox and opposed to the Latin church. She was strong, decisive and energetic, and under her rule the Orthodox church and the Greek people were in a good position for the first time. The king was more interested in the good life and love affairs and so the queen became regent.

Helena placed Greeks in charge of the main decision making positions, the Orthodox church began to grow in influence and to regain some of its wealth, and the Greek character of Cyprus began to gain political strength and grow momentum. Epidemics and locusts continued to hit the island. Important Greek families with Byzantine names came to Cyprus in this period, and began to accumulate power and wealth. When the Latin Archbishop died in 1442 Helen would not allow his replacement onto the island, and when he did eventually come he soon died and was replaced with her own choice.

In May 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Ottomans, which was a bad blow for the Greek ruling classes in Cyprus, and many more Greek nobles and monks went to Cyprus and were helped to settle by Helena. (Intrigues and in-fighting amongst the family and the Latin church follows). Eventually the throne of Cyprus went to the 16 year old Charlotte who was married to Ludovic of Savoy.

### Programme 9: Charlotte and James II: Conflict for the Throne

Following the death of Helena and her son John II, Cyprus was attacked by plagues of locusts, epidemics and the Mameluks. Charlotte was on the throne but soon faced problems from her brother James, who was vying for the throne. James II eventually left to ask for help to regain his throne, and in the meantime Ludovic arrived, married Charlotte and took the throne of Cyprus. He was a bad opponent against the wise and knowledgeable James. The Sultan recognised him as the true heir to Cyprus, named him a son, and gave him military help to regain the throne (followed by a description of battles and sieges fought by James to regain the throne). James eventually succeeded in regaining Cyprus, including Famagusta, and reigned from 1460-1473, while Charlotte continued to attempt to regain the throne until her death in 1487. James had good relations with the Sultan, but the struggle for power between the siblings had bad economic implications for the island; crops failed, locusts attacked and there was famine and death. The ordinary villages of Cyprus suffered at this time, but there are no surviving sources. (A discussion of problems between James, the Pope, France and Savoy, and marriage proposals follows). James II pledged himself to Catherine Cornaro, whom he married in Famagusta in 1472. Following James's death in 1473, the throne went to his wife Catherine who was used as a tool by Venice to take control of Cyprus. Catherine knew nothing about the Venetian plans.



### Programme 10: Catherine Cornaro: the end of the Frankish Period

James's death meant the end of the Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus, the Venetians were believed to have murdered him and it was a critical situation. Immediately following his death, the Venetian fleet arrived in Cypriot waters. Catherine had a baby in 1474 who died within the year, and the Venetians pressured her to hand power over to them (a discussion of details of intrigues and attempts to gain control by Venice, Catalonia and Sicily follows). The Venetians soon took control of the island and the royal family and nobles were sent abroad. By 1474 Cyprus was officially under Venetian rule.

The Cypriot population was not inert as many claim, as they fought for their own rights and the Greek people supported Catherine, who they saw as the best ruler for Cyprus, especially as any freedom movement was doomed to fail. The population of Cyprus truly loved, and was loved by, Catherine Cornaro, and so Venice had to work hard for another 15 years to take total control of the island (a discussion of plots to remove, marry or kill Catherine follows). In 1488 Cyprus was attacked by the Ottomans at Famagusta and the Venetians asked Catherine to give up the throne for the sake of the island; she refused and eventually her mother and brother were sent to convince her. Finally on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1489, Catherine left crying and dressed in black. Venice gave her and her family many honours and the flag of St. Mark was raised in Cyprus.

### Programme 11: Cyprus under the Venetians

Cyprus continued to pay Queen Catherine until her death in 1510 and it also continued to pay tribute to the Sultan. The Cypriot general population was in an even worse condition than before when it fell to the Venetians who saw Cyprus simply as a place to make money. The Lusignan nobles had at least seen Cyprus as their country and so they cared about the progress of the island. The Venetians, however, simply saw the island as a possession and had no other connection with it. Only defensive works were carried out during the period of their control and the island was governed by the Venetian aristocracy. As they were not interested in the religious matters of the island, the power of the Latin church decreased in this period and the Orthodox church increased in strength. The majority of the population was rural and agricultural and according to 16<sup>th</sup> century travellers the Venetians were tyrannical lords over Cyprus. The people had to work for the state for two days a week without pay, and still had to pay high taxes. The island still suffered from earthquakes, locusts and epidemics and the Cypriot population found it hard to survive; many left the island or tried to oppose the Venetians but this just made life worse.



The Ottoman Turks were the greatest threat to Cyprus and by 1507 Cyprus was the only land in the eastern Mediterranean not under their control; their eventual attack was inevitable (there follows a discussion of Ottoman conquests in the region over the following 50 years). In Cyprus the Venetians tried to make the defences of the island ready in case of an attack, but most plans remained on paper. The defences of Famagusta and Kyrenia were strengthened and the walls of Nicosia were completely rebuilt and surrounded by a moat in 1567. In February 1570 Selim II sent a letter to the Venetians telling them to either give Cyprus to the Sultan or he would take it by force.

### Programme 12: Heroic Resistance, Horrible Death

Selim II decided to take Cyprus because he like Commandaria wine and because he was convinced by the arguments of Muslim fanatics. Selim came to power in 1566, and by 1568 he had made peace with the Holy Roman Empire and so he could turn his attentions to Cyprus. He had made his intentions clear by 1570, and his navy, under Ali Pasha, was in Cypriot waters by July 1570. The Cypriots were outnumbered by the Ottomans in the battle for control of the island (1570-1571). The siege of Nicosia began on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1570 and lasted for 46 days, even though the walls were not complete. A European force was sent to help but never arrived because of internal squabbles. On 18<sup>th</sup> August there was a heavy attack, and the city was taken over on 9<sup>th</sup> September 1570. This was followed by an orgy of killing and raiding. The siege of Kyrenia began on 14<sup>th</sup> September and the generals gave up without a fight, which meant that Famagusta was the only place still under Christian control. Among the force at Famagusta were Albanian Knights, who were actually Epirot Greeks. The siege of the city lasted for 11 months. It was finally defeated because of hunger and because it was clear that no help was forthcoming from the west. The city eventually fell on 5<sup>th</sup> August 1571 but the Turks did not comply with the ceasefire agreement (followed by a description of the Ottoman failure to comply with the ceasefire). Bragadino's (the Venetian commander in Famagusta) last words were 'never trust a barbarian unbelieving race'.



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