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Rethinking the Collective Memory of the Turkish Cypriots in the Age
of Mass Culture

From Milieux de Mémoire to Lieux de Mémoire in the Shadow of Prosthetic
Memory

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Abstract

The issues related to the memory in the Turkish Cypriot community are becoming noteworthy because of the displacements, traumatic events and political disagreements since the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974 in Cyprus. *Milieux de Mémoire* as real environments of memory and *Lieux de Mémoire* as sites of memory are essential to realize the relationship between history and memory in the divided island. Besides, the concept of prosthetic memory provides an innovative way of investigating modern forms of collective memory in the community of the Turkish Cypriots. The collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots related to the inter-communal violence years between two major ethnic communities of the island is investigated through this research.

This is an exploratory study of the Turkish Cypriot's experiences of the inter-communal violence years related to the memory, history and place in Gazimagusa (Famagusta) and Lefkosa (Nicosia) in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, TRNC for two months; in addition, this research is based on the data gathered through formal and informal interviews and participant observation in the older generation who have experienced the inter-communal fight years in the island. Furthermore, the younger generation is also crucial in this research to investigate the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community. Thus, this research was composed to illustrate the Turkish Cypriot community is full of *Milieux de Mémoire* and *Lieux de Mémoire* in the shadow of prosthetic memory.

Abstract

Die Fragen im Zusammenhang mit dem Speicher in der türkisch-zyprischen Gemeinschaft werden sich auf Grund der Verschiebungen, traumatische Ereignisse und politische Meinungsverschiedenheiten seit der inter-kommunale Gewalt Jahre zwischen 1963 und 1974 in Zypern bemerkenswert. *Milieux de Mémoire* als reale Umgebungen Speicher und *Lieux de Mémoire* als Orte der Erinnerung sind unerlässlich, um die Beziehung zwischen Geschichte und Erinnerung in der geteilten Insel zu realisieren. Außerdem sieht das Konzept der prothetische Erinnerung einen innovativen Weg der Untersuchung der modernen Formen des kollektiven Gedächtnisses in der Gemeinschaft der türkischen Zyprioten. Das kollektive Gedächtnis der türkischen Zyprioten im Zusammenhang mit der inter-kommunale Gewalt Jahre zwischen den beiden großen Volksgruppen der Insel wird durch diese Forschung untersucht.

Dies ist eine explorative Studie der türkisch-zyprischen Erfahrungen der inter-kommunale Gewalt Jahr im Zusammenhang mit der Erinnerung, Geschichte und in Gazimagusa (Famagusta) und Lefkosa (Nicosia) in der Türkischen Republik Nordzypern, TRNC für zwei Monate, zusätzlich, diese Forschung basiert auf den Daten über formelle und informelle Interviews und teilnehmende Beobachtung in der älteren Generation, die interkommunale Kampf Jahre auf der Insel erlebt haben gesammelt wurden. Darüber hinaus ist die jüngere Generation auch in dieser Forschung von entscheidender Bedeutung für die prothetische Speicher in der türkisch-zyprischen Gemeinschaft zu untersuchen. So wurde diese Forschung besteht zur Veranschaulichung der türkisch-zyprischen Gemeinschaft ist voll von *Milieux de Mémoire* und *Lieux de Mémoire* im Schatten der prothetische Erinnerung.

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Introduction

The topic of this thesis is rethinking the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots in the age of mass culture from *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* in the shadow of prosthetic memory. In my research, I focus on particular places such as monuments, martyrdoms and museums in Famagusta and Nicosia in order to investigate the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots which is especially related to the memories of the Turkish Cypriots during the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974 by using Pierre Nora's (1989; 1996; 1997; 1998) suggestive approach to the spatialization of history and memory and Assmann's (2006a; 2006b; 2008) remarkable points about the relationship between history and memory. Furthermore, I use Alison Landsberg's (1995; 1996; 2001; 2009) concept, prosthetic memory to examine the modern forms of the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots in the age of mass culture due to movies and museums related to the traumatic events which occurred between 1963 and 1974 in Cyprus .

With the terms of Nora (1989; Pp: 7), "*Milieux de Mémoire* as real environments of memory" and "*Lieux de Mémoire* as sites of memory" are essential to investigate the relationship between history and memory in the Turkish Cypriot Community by relating with the particular places in Cyprus. Besides, the concept of prosthetic memory (Landsberg, 2004; Pp: 18) "as memories, which do not come from a person's lived experience", offers an inventive way of examining the modern forms of the collective memory in the Turkish Cypriot community.

The research question I have examined in this thesis is how the inter-communal violence years is remembered by the Turkish Cypriots through the *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* and how the Turkish Cypriots preserve these historic events in their collective memories with the shadow of prosthetic memory in the age of mass culture.

The matters associated with the memory in Cyprus' separated communities are getting significant because of the displacements, inter-communal violence years and political disagreements since 1960s. Many Turkish Cypriots have lost their homes and experienced the traumatic events; their memories were emerged because of the compulsory population interchanges between 1963 and 1974 in the island. Furthermore; these events which occurred

between two major ethnic communities of the island, have constantly changed their relations and for the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots, the inter-communal violence years would still maintain its importance. Indeed, the relationship between history and memory is challenging for the Turkish Cypriot case; because many times it is hard to differentiate what belongs to the memory and what is the part of the history in the Turkish Cypriot community. In addition, related to the memory; the place is also problematic because of the hardness of distinction between the real environments of memory and the sites of memory for the Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, the prosthetic memory influences the Turkish Cypriots, the Turkish and the foreigners who have not lively memories about the events which occurred between 1963 and 1974, and it is also feasible for them to get confused about what is really happened and what is mass-mediated. Linked to this problem, the function of the prosthetic memory in the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots is also examined through this research.

“The deep complexity of Cyprus’ past has turned this island, often presented in tourist literature as the idyllic “island of Aphrodite, Goddess of love” into a place renowned for hostile confrontations” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 1). Even though Cyprus has many romantic meanings, the traumatic events related to the inter-communal fight years are pushing those away in the divided communities of the island.

“The place of Cyprus on a map of the world testifies to this: nearer Turkey than Greece, the majority culturally and linguistically Greek, classified in the category of the Middle East in cheap international tariffs” (Anthias; Pp: 177). In fact, the location and two ethnic communities of Cyprus as the Greek and Turkish Cypriots are very suitable to the prospective problems which could happen between Turkey and Greece.

“At present there are two sovereign entities in Cyprus. The government of the Greek populated South Cyprus, now a full member of the EU, is accepted as the legitimate authority of the whole island by the international community although it has no jurisdiction in the North. The Turkish administration in the North unfortunately remains an unrecognized state more than 30 years after its declaration” (Islamoglu and Oznur, 2010; Pp: 220). As a full member of the EU, the Republic of Cyprus in the south is only official recognized state in the island, and this situation is leading to the underdevelopment of the Turkish Republic of the Northern Cyprus as an unrecognized state.

“Forced population movements from 1963, especially in 1974 led to internal flows and disruptions involving displaced persons and their memories” (Anthias, 2006; Pp: 179).

Because of the forced population movements during the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974, many Turkish and Greek Cypriots had to leave their homes and move to the south or north part of the island; actually, these population movements also influenced their memories. Indeed, these also devastated the relations of the ethnic communities of the island. In my opinion, these memories related to the displacements and the traumatic events between 1963 and 1974 could still influence their relations even nowadays.

“Most Cypriots have experienced or inherited vivid memories of momentous times in the island’s troubled history. For the Turkish Cypriots, the years between 1963 and 1974 are central to their remembrance of conflict, as these were the trying times when life was largely restricted to fortified, impoverished ethnic enclaves” (Bowman, 2006; Pp: 119). For the lively memories of the Turkish Cypriots related to the hard times in the island, the eleven-year period between 1963 and 1974 is very crucial. Many Turkish and Greek Cypriots have lively and innate memories of the inter-communal violence years in the island. Actually, it is not very difficult to realize both sides are focusing on memories related to the hardest times they have experienced in the island.

“In Cyprus, where one side officially proclaims its desire for reunification in a single state and the other for international recognition of its existence as a state” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 15). The ethnic communities of the island have different aspirations about the future of Cyprus. In contrast to the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots would like to be an officially recognized state. On the other hand, the reunification of the island as a single state is the wish of the Greek Cypriots. Indeed, it is one of the problems the divided communities of the island should solve to live peacefully.

“Two major ethnic groups of the island remember and forget the past in different ways, turning memory too into a means of legitimating their political claims, one side arguing that the past legitimates division and the other that it legitimates reunification” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp:13). The ethnic communities in the north and south parts of the island have different approaches related to their past, because of their political declarations and these affect their remembrances. In fact, it looks necessary to justify their stories; on the other hand, it is also problematic because the ethnic communities don’t share common desire for the future of the island.

“People in Cyprus, north and south, typically know one side of a certain story that reflects their own position and perspective, while ignoring, diminishing, or misrepresenting the experiences of those whose divergent stories threaten to complicate their own” (Bowman, 2006; Pp: 119). Knowing one side of the story and closing the eyes to any other stories for the ethnic communities would be dangerous, because it might increase the alienation of the communities of the island. Actually, it is not possible to solve problems by ignoring the stories of the other part of the island.

“Greek Cypriots who desired the reunification of Cyprus tended to forget the violent period of the 1960s, as remembering it would also make untenable the view that the past with Turkish Cypriots was one of “peaceful coexistence”; Turkish Cypriots officially posited this period as defining their history in order to argue that those events proved that two people could never live together again” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 12). I think the existence of different remembrances of two major ethnic communities of the island related to the same period in the 1960s is really interesting; in fact, it is connected to their political positions and memory and forgetting are also linked to each other in this process as Papadakis (1993; Pp: 139) stated “memory and forgetting are two sides of the same coin. Indeed, each provides the presupposition for the existence of the other”. The relationship between memory and forgetting is also a compelling point for two antagonistic communities of the divided island.

Indeed, when the Greek Cypriots illustrate their desire to forget the violent period in the 1960s, it affects the remembrances of the Turkish Cypriots because the same period is considered as a sign of the impossibility of living together again. On the other hand, the Greek Cypriots are focusing the period after the Turkish invasion as Bowman (2006; Pp: 119) uttered “Greek Cypriots concentrate their memories on 1974, when Turkey invaded and partitioned the island. As a result, roughly a third of the population was internally displaced and the northern 40 percent of the island fell under Turkish control in a war referred to by Greek Cypriots as the catastrophe”. However, the same event is regarded by the Turkish Cypriots as the “‘Happy Peace Operation’ when the ‘Heroic Turkish Army’ came to safeguard the ‘Turks of Cyprus’” (Papadakis, 2008; Pp: 14). In fact, it is one of the controversial issues two communities of the divided island focus on their memories about the same event in 1974 as “Turkish invasion” or “Happy Peace Operation”.

“The implementation of partition in Cyprus has followed the script to the letter and its people have invariably been victims and perpetrators of extreme violence and rape, mass murdering,

ethnic cleansing, forced population transfers and coerced assimilation” (Percopo, 2011; Pp: 127). One of the saddest results of the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus was the casualties from the both communities of the island; in truth, many Cypriot had experienced the violence, because of the hostile confrontations since the 1960s. I believe that the traumatic events they have witnessed would still play important role in their collective memories.

“Over the years, each community has formed negative opinions of the Other not only through the official education system, but also through social imaginary, the mass media and familial and social circles” (Zemblays & Bekerman, 2008; Pp: 134). I think the negative opinions two major ethnic communities of the island have formed are supporting their stories related to the inter-communal violence years and these are also manipulating the point of views towards the other community of the divided island.

This is an investigative analysis of the Turkish Cypriot’s experiences of the inter-communal fight years related to the memory, history and place in Gazimagusa (Famagusta) and Lefkosa (Nicosia) in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) for two months, starting in August and ending in September 2012. Indeed, this research is based on the data gathered through formal and informal interviews, and participant observation in the Turkish Cypriot community. I have adopted multi-sited fieldwork which gave me enough space to participant observation for my research, and a variety of empirical and analytical methods I have used.

In Famagusta; the fieldwork took place in Varosha, the Canbulat Museum, the Eastern Mediterranean University and common areas such as stadium, mosques and neighborhood coffee houses where the ethnic community mostly spends time. Famagusta and Nicosia were considered for this research because there are large populations who are living in these cities, would have memories about the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus; besides in these locations, the ethnic community has memories related to the places such as the city walls in Famagusta and the home of Dr. Nihat Ilhan in Nicosia. Furthermore, these cities have many real environments of memory and sites of memory such as monuments, martyrdoms, museums, cemeteries and memorials.

Then in Nicosia, the Museum of Barbarism, the Museum of National Struggle and the common fields the ethnic community usually meets were being considered during the fieldwork. Nicosia was chosen for the ethnographic fieldwork because it is keeping on being only divided capital in the world, with the southern and the northern parts separated by a

Green Line. The Museum of Barbarism and the Museum of National Struggle in Nicosia are the main quarters of the fieldwork in Nicosia to get information about the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots. Most of the time, I have spent time in Famagusta and then I went to the Museum of Barbarism and the Museum of National Struggle through daily visits; indeed there is approximately 60 km distance between Famagusta and Nicosia. Famagusta is located in the east of Nicosia; and has the deepest harbor of the island. Except of inefficiency of the transportation facilities in the city, Famagusta is a really nice place to do fieldwork.

Through the formal and informal interviews, collecting the personal narratives, memories and opinions of the Turkish Cypriots related to the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus was targeted. While focusing on the memories of the Turkish Cypriots, making conversations with the Turkish Cypriots who have been living in Famagusta and Nicosia was main aim of this research; indeed, firstly gathering the data was aspired by interviewing with the older Turkish Cypriots who have experienced the inter-communal violence years in the island. Afterwards, the younger interlocutors who are living in Nicosia and Famagusta have begun playing important role while I was researching the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot Community. Age is especially an important variable for this research because the younger population of the Turkish Cypriots hasn't really experienced what happened between 1963 and 1974; and how the Cyprus Peace operation occurred. Furthermore, the formal and informal interviews were made with the visitors who come to the Canbulat Museum, the Museum of Barbarism and the Museum of National Struggle; and the officers of these museums.

Regularly writing field notes and combining with the utmost participant observation were intended. As much as possible, spending time with the ethnic community, especially in the cafes, restaurants, museums, cultural fairs, festivals, national celebration days and of course in the city center was planned. The body language and also making friendship with them are very essential for this research because; in this way, it would be possible to get the information from this ethnic community through the informal conversations. Due to the different occasions, talking to them and visiting those a couple of times to get more information about their memories related to the inter-communal violence years were aimed, even though my efforts of seeing them again sometimes looked like awkward by the interlocutors. After I have shared my personal information with them, they did also reveal many private remembrances of theirs. As soon as I have completed the interviews with the

interlocutors, I did frequently write my field notes about that conversation. In spite of hard weather conditions during the summer and transportation problems, especially in Famagusta, making a good conversation with the ethnic community in any situation was aspired; furthermore, because of Ramadan, it was really difficult to talk to the Turkish Cypriots who were fasting in Famagusta, so the new methods were developed to handle this problem such as following agenda of the Turkish Cypriots on TV and in the newspapers. In addition, role playing was crucial in this research; indeed for getting more information, I have vitalized different characters such as being a nationalist, liberal and militarist or anti-militarist. Besides, finding their sensitive point during the interview was aimed; because, afterwards they were going to be more talkative about their remembrances of the inter-communal violence period in Cyprus.

During the fieldwork, the visualization of the events which occurred between 1963 and 1974 in Cyprus for the interlocutors such as describing image of the event such as the Bloody Christmas in 1963 and martyrizing of Pilot Cengiz Topel in 1964 was targeted. At the same time, *Shadows and Faces (2010)*, the movie is crucial for this research and during the interviews, some scenes related to the movie were described to the interlocutors who didn't watch this movie. In addition, taking many photos was aimed because they would be more valuable after the fieldwork to make connection between the memory, history and place related to the inter-communal violence years in the Turkish Cypriot community.

During the fieldwork in Famagusta and Nicosia, many times I have behaved as a tourist, because it always paid the attention of someone from the ethnic community and then, they suddenly began to talk to me. Afterwards, I started to make good conversations with them, and they didn't even know they were the interlocutors of this study.

In the museums, the books of visitors' were examined and being used as a data for this work; moreover, the comments of the visitors, feelings and opinions of the interlocutors were used against each other to get different information during the fieldwork. By comparing their point of views, acquiring better information from the ethnic community was aspired.

The theoretical aspects of this thesis are based on three cases such as history, memory and prosthetic memory with approaches of Assmann (2008), Nora (1989) and Landsberg (1995).

I have used the points of Aleida Assmann (2008; Pp: 57-63) to examine my topic of the thesis, because her approach through three stages related to history and memory is suitable for

the Turkish Cypriot case; indeed these stages are “the identity between history and memory; the polarization of between history and memory; and the interaction between history and memory” (Assmann, 2008; Pp: 57). The first stage between history and memory is connected to the premodern stage history and memory weren’t undoubtedly differentiated, because of inefficiency of historical research in that period, indeed the assortment of people and events to be retained by the uppermost class of the society is very essential. In the progressive second stage, history and memory are opposing each other; thus an efficient distinction between history and memory occurs through the development of the qualified historiography. History and memory have begun interacting and overlapping in the third stage because of the political changes during the 1980s and 1990s; so the relationship between history and memory is getting more collaborative through this stage.

Moreover, the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974 in Cyprus for the Turkish Cypriots is essential point for Assmann’s point of view related to the “symbolic events which are collectively experienced, interpreted and remembered” (Assmann, 2008; Pp: 62). Indeed, the traumatic event during the inter-communal violence years such as the Bloody Christmas in 1963 is an example for a symbolic event which would be collectively remembered in the community of the Turkish Cypriots.

Furthermore, Assmann’s (2006a; Pp: 261) point associated with the effect of the Holocaust as “the experience of living in the shadow of a historical event that in many ways maintains its presence” is also a convincing point for the Turkish Cypriot community, because; as well as the Holocaust, the events which occurred in Cyprus between 1963 and 1974 also would lead the similar effect in the community of the Turkish Cypriots.

Assmann (2006b; Pp: 216) indicated that “institutions and larger social groups, such as nations, governments, the church, or a firm do not "have" a memory—they "make" one for themselves with the aid of memorial signs such as symbols, texts, images, rites, ceremonies, places, and monuments”. Similarly, in the Turkish Cypriot community, the memorial signs such as monuments, places and symbols would have come into prominence as I have investigated through this research. It is also possible to examine this process through the museum such as the Museum of National Struggle in Nicosia.

The main theoretical aspect of this research belongs to Nora (1989; Pp: 7) through the places of memory such as *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire*, and the reason of benefiting from his revolutionary approach related to history, memory and place is very competent to

investigate the relationship between the collective memory and the places related to the inter-communal violence years in the Turkish Cypriot community.

According to Nora (1996; Pp: 1-25), “history and memory are in opposition to each other in modernity; memory as real part of everyday experience which is linked to *milieux de mémoire* is represented in landscapes and familiar social settings, on the other hand; history which is linked to *lieux de mémoire* connects with officially monumentalized sites such as monuments, museums, martyrdoms and street names, etc”. I think we should consider real environments of memory as *milieux de mémoire*, when we have lively memories; actually we have to really experience that moment. In contrast to real environments of memory, sites of memory as *lieux de mémoire* provide how we ought to remember the events that we don’t have lively memories through the museums, monuments, rituals and martyrdoms, etc.

Thus, the last theoretical concept is Alison Landsberg’s (2001; Pp: 66) prosthetic memory as “memories that circulate publicly, that are not originally based, but that are nonetheless experienced with one’s own body by means of wide range of cultural technologies”. In my opinion, the cultural technologies play important role for the maintenance of the prosthetic memory; if the inefficiency of them, it would be hard to talk about this type of memory.

On the word of Landsberg (2009; Pp: 222), “prosthetic memories are derived from engagement with a mediated representation, such as a film or an experiential museum, and like an artificial limb, they are actually worn on the body; these are sensuous memories produced by an experience of mass-mediated representations”. Actually, people could have prosthetic memories by watching a movie or going to an experiential museum. Furthermore, these mass-mediated memories could also influence their approach to the issues related to the events they have seen in the movie or the museum.

According to Landsberg (1996; Pp: 176), “the cinema as an institution which makes available images for mass consumption has long been aware of its ability to generate experiences that film consumers both possess and feel possessed by. Then, we might read these films which thematize prosthetic memories as an allegory for the power of the mass media to create experiences and to implant memories, the experience of which we have never lived”. I believe that we could have experiences through mass consumption and it would be a reason for having prosthetic memories related to the experiences which are not our own; however, the role of the cinema in this process couldn’t be denied; actually, without the institution of the cinema, prosthetic memory would lose its strength.

The reason of using the concept of Landsberg (1996; Pp: 175) in this research is its ground-breaking role to examine the modern forms of the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots in the age of mass culture. Especially, even though the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriots who haven't really experienced what happened in the inter-communal violence years in the island; they would have memories because of the movies, television programs and experiential museums. Surely, this prosthetic memory is also possible for the Turkish Cypriots, the Turkish and the foreigners who visit these museums or watch the movies related to the violence years in the island because many of them don't have any lively memories about the events which occurred in Cyprus between 1963 and 1974.

As stated by Landsberg (2009; Pp: 222), "the memories made available by film and mass culture were equally available to all for the price of a ticket". For instance, when someone watches a film, they have a memory of the storytelling events without any real experience about them. Indeed, you should be ready to have memories which aren't your own such as the attacks on September 11, 2001.

According to Landsberg (2001; Pp: 63; 2009, Pp: 225), through the movies such as "*Schindler's List* (1993)" and "*the Pianist* (2002)", it would be possible to have the prosthetic memories which are not our own. In this perspective, for investigating the collective memory in the modern forms of the Turkish Cypriot community, the movie, *Shadows and Faces* (2010) and the museums such as the Museum of Barbarism in Nicosia were considered in this study.

In the first chapter; the theoretical aspects of this research related to the memory, history and place are going to be summarized. Firstly, the relationship between history and memory is explored through three stages, Assmann (2008; Pp: 57) established; in this part the differences between memory and history; is going to be illustrated through a table such as Polarizing History and Memory. Then I focus on the *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* and conceptualize these terms Nora (1989; Pp: 7) generated; in this perspective France's historiographical awareness process is given as an example for *lieux de mémoire*. Afterwards, the concept of prosthetic memory, Landsberg (1996; Pp: 175) created is investigated.

In the second chapter, the first stage between memory and history through the points of Assmann (2008; Pp: 57) related to "the selection of events and people are memorized" is investigated with the historical cornerstones in the inter-communal fight years between 1963 and 1974 in Cyprus which are established by benefiting the historical chronology in the

Museum of National Struggle are listed; then the fieldwork in this Museum is going to be described through the field notes and the expressions of the interlocutors.

In the third chapter, *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* are examined in the community of the Turkish Cypriots through particular places in Famagusta and Nicosia such as Varosha (Maras) and the Canbulat Museum; and the memories of the Turkish Cypriots related to the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974 are investigated, in addition the important break points such as the beginning of inter-communal violence years and the civil conflicts between the communities of the island are presented in this part by benefiting from the memories of the Turkish Cypriots who have lively memories about the events as *milieux de mémoire*. Besides, the monuments, martyrdoms and reliefs as *lieux de mémoire* related to the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus are described through the photos which were taken during the field research. Thus, in this chapter, the places of memory and the memories of the Turkish Cypriots related to the inter-communal violence years are examined; moreover, the feelings of the interlocutors are taken part.

Afterwards, the concept of prosthetic memory, Landsberg (1996; Pp: 175) generated is examined in the Turkish Cypriot Community through a museum such as the Museum of Barbarism and a film, *Shadows and Faces* (2010). Through the fieldwork in the Museum of Barbarism, the comments of the interlocutors are revealed and the objects in the museum are described in this part. Then, the comments of the interlocutors related to the movie, *Shadows and Faces* (2010) are arranged, after the summary of the movie is provided.

I believe a short historical overview is required to analyze the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots related to the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus. There are some remarkable points in the history of Cyprus which starts from the beginning of the Ottoman rule to analyze the current situation in the island; the Ottoman conquest in 1571 was essential for the Turkish Cypriots residents because; according to them, the Ottoman rule in the island more than 300 years is the biggest indicator of the island wasn't a Greek island as Scott (2002; Pp: 225) indicated through an extraordinary work in the Canbulat Museum. In my opinion, Scott (2002) intended with the expression of a Greek island as the island only belongs to the Greek Cypriots; however the Turkish Cypriots would like to prove the opposite through the Ottoman presence in the island more than 300 years. Through my study in Nicosia and Famagusta, I have also made effort to learn the feelings of the Turkish Cypriots about this issue.

“During the period between British colonialism which began in 1878 and the end of the Second World War, the Ottoman Empire failed to give the necessary support to the Turkish Cypriots; on the other hand, Turks on the island reacted, especially against the Greeks and struggle to preserve their rights” (Manisali, 2000; Pp:10). As it comes out, the hostile confrontations between the major ethnic groups of the island have begun early. However, this period was also vital for my work, because it was giving me the chance to realize the relationship between the ethnic communities of the island, before the beginning of the clash of the communities.

“The opposed aims of the two major ethnic groups and the British policies of exacerbating divisions (e.g., by enrolling Turkish Cypriots as auxiliary policemen against EOKA insurrection) led to violent interethnic confrontations” (Pollis, 1979; Pp: 45-80). At the beginning of the clash of the communities, the role of Britain was important because the Turkish Cypriots as assisting policemen had to fight against EOKA, because of the policies of Britain. In my opinion, the policies of Britain related to using the Turkish Cypriot forces against EOKA established the background of the hostility between the major ethnic communities of the island which led to the inter-communal fight between 1963 and 1974.

“Greek Cypriots strove for *enosis*, the union of Cyprus with Greece, while Turkish Cypriots initially expressed preference for the continuation of British rule and later demanded *taksim*, the partition of the island. From 1955, the Greek Cypriot *enosis* struggle assumed the form of an armed insurrection led by *EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters)*, and in 1958, Turkish Cypriots set up their own armed organization, *TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization)*” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 2). Two major ethnic groups of the island have different purposes about their future as *enosis* and *taksim*, besides they were ready to fight to achieve their aims with the support of their organizations. Furthermore, the memories related to EOKA and TMT were also significant for my examination in the divided island.

"In 1960, Cyprus gains independence after Greek and Turkish communities reach agreement on a constitution. Treaty of Guarantee gives Britain, Greece and Turkey the right to intervene. Britain retains sovereignty over two military bases” (BBC News, 2011). I believe that the independence of Cyprus was a great opportunity to end the conflicts between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots. However, the maintenance of the positions of Britain, Greece and

Turkey in the island was not corresponded to the idea of independent Cyprus Republic. Moreover, I have benefited this period owing to the collecting the memories of the Turkish Cypriots before and after the independence of Cyprus.

“Following the veto of the Turkish vice president Dr. Fazıl Küçük, the Greeks chose to have recourse to violence and in late December 1963 attacked some Turkish villages and towns including Nicosia’s Turkish quarters and murdered numerous unarmed civilians. Years later it 1963 and of early 1964 were neither spontaneous nor sporadic attacks but were, in fact, a part of a premeditated plan called ‘Akritas’ which intended to exterminate the entire Turkish population of the island” (Islamoglu and Oznur, 2010; Pp: 219). The events which started in 1963 were the beginning of the inter-communal violence years in the island. During inter-communal violence years, many unarmed Cypriot civilians were killed; I think it was the saddest result of those years. Indeed, it was also the crucial point for my research to examine the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots associated with the inter-communal fight years.

“The events of 1974 left Cyprus’s conceptual and constitutional status open once again. Greek Cypriots continued to lean toward Greece for political support, despite a strong sense of betrayal by Greece due to the disastrous actions of the Greek junta. Turkish Cypriots initially welcomed the arrival of the Turkish army but gradually began to feel uncomfortable with Turkey’s military and political control of their side and the influx of Turkish settlers” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 3). The year 1974 was very essential in my study because it indicates the end of the inter-communal violence years. Even though the peace was finally achieved in 1974, the problems were keeping on in the island.

“The 1974 conflict forced Greek Cypriots in the north and Turkish Cypriots in the south to abandon their property and flee across the Attila line. Although many refugees expect to return their former homes, most have settled into new communities. As a result of fighting, about 200,000 Greek Cypriots fled to the southern Cyprus, and about 50,000 Turkish Cypriots fled to the north. In 1975, the inhabitants of Turkish occupied Cyprus declared their portion of the island a self-governing region” (Lerner, 1992; Pp: 37). Many Greek and Turkish Cypriots had to leave their homes and move to the north or the south because of the inter-communal violence years in the island; so those years shaped the island as divided ethnic communities. Indeed; in my research, I also got deal with the displaced Turkish Cypriots because of the result of the inter-communal fight years in the island.

“In 1983, the Turkish Cypriot occupied area declared itself the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ which is recognized only by Turkey. The United Nations does not recognize the “TRNC”, nor does any country other than Turkey” (The World Factbook, 2012). The reason of ongoing problems in the TRNC is the existence of an unrecognized state in the island was also considered during this study and the feelings of the Turkish Cypriots were collected owing to the fieldwork in Nicosia and Famagusta.

“In 2004, through Annan Plan of the UN, two communities had approached to the solution of the Cyprus issue; however it was rejected by over 75% of the Greek Cypriots. Indeed, the politics of the two ethnic communities undermined the process again. After the referendum, Republic of Cyprus entered the EU; however the Greek Cypriot side efficiently became a part of the EU, and the Turkish Cypriots staying outside and the Green line of Cyprus turned into the EU’s ambiguous border in the east” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 4). The Annan Plan was a great chance for the reunification of the island; however it wasn’t reached a solution because of the politics of the two ethnic communities. In addition, I also have collected the information from the Turkish Cypriots about the Annan Plan during my research.

“In September 2008, after the election of a new Cypriot President, the leaders of the two communities began negotiations under UN auspices aimed at reuniting divided island. Thus, in 2011, UN supported talks on Cyprus Reunification began in Geneva, and these negotiations are still ongoing” (BBC News, 2011). In point of fact, this negotiation period is still maintaining and I have attempted to get information from the Turkish Cypriot community about the feelings related to the reunification of the divided communities of the island at some point.

At this point, I would like to share some quantitative information about the interlocutors during the fieldwork in Nicosia and Famagusta. There were 12 main interlocutors in this research as 8 male and 4 female; 9 Turkish Cypriot and 3 Turkish; five of them under 30 and the rest of them above 30. Except of these interlocutors, the tourists who did come to the Palm Beach and the visitors who came to the Museum of Barbarism through their comments and feelings were taking part in this research. Their quantity of them is 15. The sum up of all contributors of this research is approximately 50. The formal and informal interviews with the

interlocutors generally took between 30 minutes and one hour and half. In addition, due to the different situations; I have interviewed a couple of times with the interlocutors.

The oldest interlocutor was Ismet who is a 69 year old lady who was displaced many times because of the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus. I had chance to meet her in the Canbulat fair in Famagusta. She was so kind during the conversation. Even though she told many things about Cyprus, I could only have used some of them due to my research topic. Indeed, her memories related to the inter-communal fight years were really precious for this research. I could say that she was really proud of being a Turkish Cypriot and she was always repeated those years in the island were so harsh and the younger generation should have appreciated the existence of the TRNC, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, because the independence of this state was not so easily gained.

The second interlocutor, Ergun is a 60 year old guy who is working at the Private Ethnography Museum in Nicosia. He was born in Nicosia and he was really interested in the museums in the TRNC. According to him, there are many problems about the museums in the TRNC. He was very talkative during the conversation and he shared many things about the museology in Cyprus and the Museum of National Struggle. Another female interlocutor who was working at Private Ethnography Museum was Derya who is a 28 year old lady who studied in Germany. Indeed, she stated that the importance of the museums for the culture of the Turkish Cypriots. Her Turkish knowledge was not enough to state her feelings. Because of that, she frequently spoke English. She was really shy during the conversation; but after a while, she felt more comfortable and shared her point of view about the Museum of National Struggle.

An officer of the Museum of National Struggle was another male interlocutor, even though he didn't realize that because of the informal conversation between us. He was between 50 and 60 years old; indeed he was working for a long time in this museum and the notes I have taken while I was examining the objects paid his attention. That is why, he asked me many questions and then I have learned some points of his, related to the museum, the objects and prohibition of taking a photo in the museum. At the beginning, it was really hard to talk to him; however he shared some information about the Museum of National Struggle, when I have revealed my personal information with him.

Another male interlocutor was Sayer who is 55 years old and working at the dormitory of university where I have stayed during the fieldwork. He is from Famagusta and had many

memories about the inter-communal years in Cyprus. He was the closest interlocutor to me; actually I got chance to talk to him many times about the abandoned city, Varosha; the museums in Famagusta and Nicosia; the daily events which occurred in Cyprus; the Greek Cypriots, sports, politics and etc. He was really talkative and cheerful most of the time; however, he liked to complain for almost everything in Cyprus. It was really a great chance for me to meet and talk to him. His comments related to Varosha, Famagusta and the inter-communal violence years were so valuable in the research process of this study.

Mustafa was another male interlocutor who is working at the Canbulat Museum; indeed he was a displaced person who is 44 years old. He was born in Limassol and came to the Famagusta when he was seven years old. I had opportunity to meet him during the fieldwork in the Canbulat Museum; indeed he was a Turkish fan; that is why, talking to him about many things wasn't so difficult for me, in contrast to the other interlocutors. On the other hand, he was most aggressive interlocutor about the Greek Cypriots, whenever he had chance to swear to them; he didn't miss it. He was very friendly, although he sometimes felt bored. His expressions related to the museums, the Greek Cypriots, Makarios and Famagusta were so crucial during the fieldwork and he also was helpful to get deal with the problems I did face in the TRNC.

A Turkish Mujahideen was another male interlocutor who was a Mujahideen in TMT, the Turkish Resistance Organization. He was born in Nicosia and he is 59 years old. Currently, he is working at the Museum of Dr. Fazil Kucuk and also writing articles at the *Halkin Sesi* which is a newspaper in Turkish Cypriot Press. When he was 14 years old, he did join to TMT and many times he indicated that he is proud of it. His memories related to TMT and the peace period in the island, Makarios and the inter-communal violence years were so important in this research. During the interview, his attitude was hard to talk to him; however he shared more information when he trusted me. He was very brave person and he stated that he could fight again for his country. Actually, he was very patriotic about many things and he is also against to the reunification of the communities of the island.

Hasan is a 34 year old male interlocutor who was born in Famagusta and then moved to Nicosia to live. I have met him in front of the Saint George church of the Greeks; indeed I have interviewed with him, while I was behaving like a tourist. Indeed, this always paid attention of the Turkish Cypriots and suddenly they began to talk to me. Hasan was really friendly and talkative, even though he tried to sell the puppies he carried at the beginning of

our conversation. He shared his childhood memories about the Saint George church of the Greeks and the problems in TRNC; according to him, the biggest problem in the TRNC was unemployment. In contrast to the other interlocutors, he was very different; however talking to him was really nice occasion in Famagusta.

Erkan and his wife Pınar were two Turkish interlocutors I have met in the Museum of Barbarism. Erkan and Pınar are living in Istanbul and working as accountant. Erkan is 28 years old and Pınar is three years younger than him. In the Museum of Barbarism, firstly I have watched their reactions to the objects and listened to them for a while in silence. While they were sitting at in front of the museum, I had chance to meet them and talk. First of all, they indicated that they were in Cyprus for their honeymoon and they enjoyed visiting the historical places. After a while, they expressed their feelings about the objects in the museum and their comments were really useful for this research related to the prosthetic memory. They stated that in the museum they were mostly affected from the bathroom in which Dr. Nihat İlhan's wife and children killed and they told they will never forget this museum. By visiting this museum, they did have memories. At the beginning of our conversation, they were mostly skeptical towards my questions; however, then they shared more information with me. It was a great opportunity to meet them thanks to this study.

In the University of Eastern Mediterranean, I had a female Turkish Cypriot and a male Turkish interlocutor as Duygu and Mehmet. Duygu was one of the female interlocutors who is 21 years old and studying advertisement at the university. I have met her in the cafeteria of the university; indeed she was very secretive; however she felt more comfortable, after I have shared the details about my research. Her comments related to the movie, *Shadows and Faces* (2010) were very helpful for this research; indeed her rationalist approach to the issues related to the communities of divided island was actually admirable.

Mehmet who was a male Turkish interlocutor is studying business administration at the university. Indeed, he is 25 years old and coming from Ankara. I have met him in the library of the university. Mehmet's points related to the movie were also important in this research. During the conversation, he was so chatty and gracious. According to Mehmet, watching this movie established to be part of the history of Cyprus. Making interviews with Duygu and Mehmet was a really pleasant chance for this research.

Chapter I

I. History, Memory and Place

I.I. The Stages of History and Memory

According to Assmann (2006b; Pp: 210-211), “the relationship between history and memory is getting more remarkable because of the post-traumatic situation after the Holocaust and the two world wars, the decline of a generation of witnesses to these traumas whose experiential memory is now being replaced by translating it in externalized and mediated forms”. As we can see, when the number of the people who had experienced the traumatic events such as the Holocaust keeps on decreasing, the mediated forms of memory begin playing an important role owing to the post-traumatic situation. I presume this process related to history and memory would be possible for the Turkish Cypriot community in the age of mass culture.

“The term collective memory however is too vague and conflates important distinctions. The larger and more encompassing memory of which individuals are part of include the family, the neighborhood, the generation, the society, the state, and the culture we live in” (Assmann, 2006b; Pp: 211). When we define the collective memory, we should get aware how this type of memory is an exclusive and wide term. Indeed, it has many components such as the culture, the family and the community, etc. Besides, it is hard to differentiate it with the other types of memory.

“Collective memory is an umbrella term for different formats of memory that need to be further distinguished, such as family memory, interactive group memory, and social, political, national, and cultural memory” (Assmann, 2008; Pp: 55). Surely, the components of the collective memory could be differentiated; however, I think the collective memory still maintain being an umbrella term for the distinctive types of memory for the Turkish Cypriots.

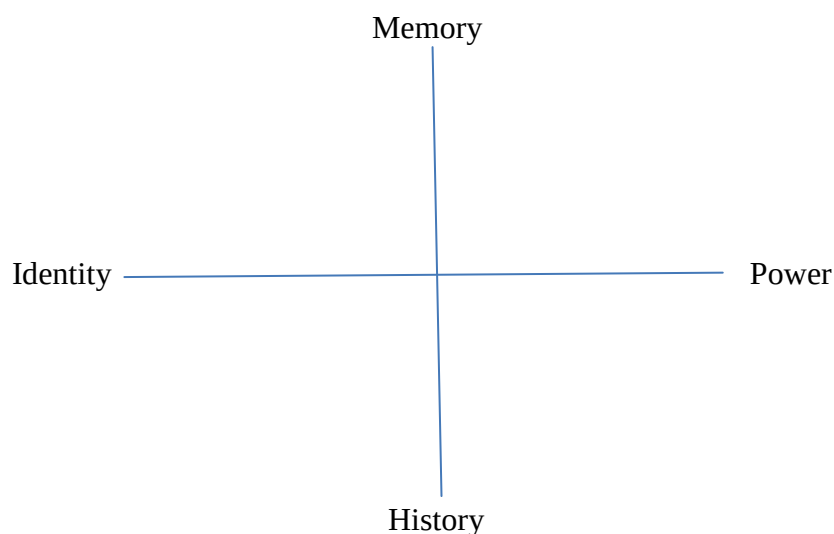
According to Assmann (2008; Pp: 57), history and memory are passing through three stages;

- a- The identity between history and memory
- b- The polarization between history and memory
- c- The interaction between memory and history.

“The first or premodern stage is marked by the *identity of history and memory*” (Assmann, 2008; Pp: 57). According to Assmann (2008), history and memory were not obviously differentiated; on the other hand, the main purpose of the writing of history was regarded to maintain the memory of dynasty, the church, or a state for legalizing such institutions and assuring their permanence by offering for them an admirable past. Moreover, the historiography was completely altered to the claims of the present and it achieved explicit purposes for the state or community such as validating the institutions of the ruling class, enacting the authority of traditions, and managing the future. In my opinion, this kind of process would be doable in the communities in which history and memory couldn’t be distinguished. Besides, the role of state or church is very essential in these particular groups.

As Assmann (2008; Pp: 58) stated, the familiar link between memory and history formed the accounts of the past in a particular way. Indeed, it restricted the criteria for the assortment of people and events to be remembered; only those of highest rank were picked out for persistence in memory and only those accomplishments and achievements were chosen that donated to the respect and reputation of those who were memorized. Besides, only such events were chosen that provided the opinions and interests of the ruling class. I think the events which are supposed to be remembered are linked to the positions of the state or church.

The identity between history and memory is grounded in a quadrangular relationship between memory, history, identity, and power, as Assmann (2008; Pp: 58) illustrated. In fact, this quadrangular relationship was established by the highest rank in the society through the allusion to a collective identity.



(Assmann, 2008; Pp: 58)

“The second one, the polarization between history and memory was the result of a long process of intellectual and institutional evolution beginning with the Greek historiography; furthermore, through establishing professional historiography, a withstand and methodical differentiation between memory and history rose” (Assmann, 2008; Pp: 58). In the second stage, history and memory are opposing each other through the development of the methodology in the historiography. In contrast to the first stage, the distinction between memory and history was emerged in this stage and the role of the highest rank is losing its importance due to the rational progress in the Greek historiography. Indeed, in the second stage, history and memory are contesting each other.

Assmann (2008) distinguished memory and history through Table 1;

Memory	History
- is an embodied form of memory	- is a disembodied form of memory
- stresses differences and exists in plural	- provides a universal frame and exists in the is singular
- linked to the identity of an individual, a group, or institution	- is disconnected from the identity of individuals, groups, or institutions
- bridges the past, present and future	- separates the past from present and future
- is highly selective, deploys forgetting	- develops an event and impartial attention
- creates values and meaning, and provides motivation and orientation	- searches for truth and tries to suspend values, disconnected from action for action

Table I (Assmann, 2008; Pp: 61)

In the Table I, Assmann (2008, Pp: 61) differentiated memory and history through the points such as the embodied or disembodied form of memory, the relationship between the past, present and future, universal and narrow frames in plural and singular, etc. I believe these polarizing points constitute how memory and history could differ from each other. As far as I am concerned with the relationship between history and memory, the point related to the association with the identity of a group or not is the most convincing point for myself, because, memory could be belonged to only a group; but it is difficult to say that for history.

According to Assmann (2008; Pp: 61), in the third stage, history and memory began interrelating each other because of the alteration of the political dynamics during the 1980s and 1990s; furthermore, the appearance of the frozen memories, after 1989 played important role in the cooperation between history and memory. In point of fact, in the third stage; the relationship between history and memory is more supportive than the second stage; besides

we may define the association between history and memory as partners, in contrast to competitors in the second stage.

In this perspective, as Assmann (2008; Pp: 62) stated that “ both history and memory developed as self-reflexive; indeed a sense of memory is become of their constructedness by noticing that memory has history and that history is itself a form of memory”. At this point, history and memory are overlapping and it is getting harder to distinguish them because the connection between them is becoming blurred.

At the end of third stage of the relationship between memory and history, “an important new configuration of memory and history has been developed in a new branch of historiography that can be termed ‘mnemohistory’” (Assmann, 2008; Pp: 62). Indeed, this novel term was different from the patterns in the previous stages of history and memory, because of its new approach.

“Mnemohistory is reception theory applied to history. But “reception” is not to be understood here merely in the narrow sense of transmitting and receiving. The past is not simply “received” by the present. The present is “haunted” by the past and the past is modeled, invented, reinvented, and reconstructed by the present” (J. Assmann, 1997; Pp: 9). When we talk about the mnemohistory, we should consider that it is a term in the wide sense and the role of the past and the present are also changing through this new pattern and it defines another step in the relationship between history and memory. I believe this reception theory would be convincing for the Turkish Cypriot community at some point.

I.II. Milieux de Mémoire and Lieux de Mémoire

According to Pierre Nora (1996; Pp:1-25), *milieux de mémoire* means to social spaces and landscapes that represent memory as lived experience; and *lieux de mémoire* which is sites of memory where memory develops and conceals itself has happened at a specific historical moment. While memory is connected to the *milieux de mémoire* within real environments of memory, history is related to the *lieux de mémoire* as sites of memory. In my opinion, a transition would be possible from *milieux de mémoire* to *lieux de mémoire* due to the loss of lived experiences and in this way, history would come forward through the sites of memory.

Indeed; archives, museums, cemeteries, memorials, all rituals, mottos, commemorative monuments, symbols and emblems establish sites of memory as *lieux de mémoire* as stated by Holtorf (1998). As we can see, the sites of memory as *lieux de mémoire* are emerged in which memory focused on a particular historical instant thanks to the sites such as museums, archives, memorials and monuments, etc.

According to Nora (1984-1992, Pp: 23-43);

History, memory are by no means synonymous but, as we are becoming more and more aware, opposite terms in every respect. . . . Memory is always a palpable phenomenon, a tie experienced in eternal presence. History, on the other hand, is a representation of the past.... Memory sacralizes the past, history which is oriented towards disenchantment, desacralizes it. Memory is owned by a group and it is the cement of this group. History, on the other hand, belonging to everybody and nobody makes a claim to universality.

In this perspective, memory and history are opposing each other; besides history represents the past, while memory is connected to the never-ending existence. In contrast to history, memory makes the past sacred and could be possessed by only a group. I believe this contrary relationship between history and memory also shapes the relationship between *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire*.

“Nora avers that history is made necessary when people no longer live in memory but become conscious of the pastness of the past and need the aid of written documents to recall it. According to him, *lieux de mémoire* come into being when *milieux de mémoire* disappear; however it will be a *lieu de mémoire* because there still is a *milieu de mémoire*” (Ho Tai, 2001; Pp: 915-920). In my opinion, *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* could exist at the same time due to historical backgrounds and memories of the different communities related to the particular events and places. On the other hand, it is comprehensible of the need of written documents to remember the past for the people who don’t have lively memories.

“In the Balkans, history and memory are constantly recycling each other to reproduce violence: in this setting, the pastness of the past does not exist. Tragedies that occurred several centuries ago are as vivid in the ethno-national consciousness as if they had happened yesterday. As a result, the Balkans are full of both *lieux* and *milieux de mémoire*” (Ho Tai, 2001; Pp: 920). Indeed, I think that similar to the ethnic communities in the Balkans, tragedies or traumatic events could be remembered as those occurred yesterday; furthermore, it would also be possible for the Turkish Cypriots to full of *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire*.

As Nelson (2003; Pp: 74) stated, “a *milieu de mémoire* is communal, belongs to public life, functions through a network of associations with diverse places, spaces, and groups, relies upon metonymic constructions, and, like human memory, condenses, abridges, alters, displaces, and projects fragments of the past, making them alive in the present for particular groups. Experienced dynamically and not viewed passively, reproduced mechanically; or studies abstractly, *milieux de mémoire* change and evolve. In contrast, *lieux de mémoire*, like the discourses that conserve and analyze them, employ the past tense to describe the depersonalized object and assume that a gulf separates past and present”. I think a *milieu de mémoire* could make the sections of the past alive in the present; in other words, it would unite the past and the present for the ethnic communities such as the Turkish Cypriot community. On the other hand, the role of the *lieux de mémoire* is to disconnect the past and the present through the sites of memory such as the monuments, martyrdoms and museums in the TRNC.

"A *lieu de mémoire* is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (in this case, the French community)" (Nora 1996; XVII). Indeed, symbolic elements could play an important role in any ethnic community related to memory, history and places. In this perspective, I believe that the symbolic role of a *lieu de mémoire* could be very vital through memorial heritages; for instance, the Martyrdom of Cengiz Topel and the Museum of Barbarism in the TRNC.

“*Lieux de mémoire* where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn- but in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists” (Nora, 1989; Pp: 7). Actually, a decisive moment in the history which signifies that moment and the memory related to that event turns into a secretive instant and these exacting moments in the collective memory of the particular groups tear off the past and the present. For the Turkish Cypriots, the Bloody Christmas in 1963 could be a turning point in the manner of the Turkish Invasion in 1974 for the Greek Cypriots associated with their memory and meticulous historical moments.

While Nora (1989; Pp: 9) is distinguishing memory and history, he gives the emergence of a history of history and the historiographical awareness in France as the most concrete

difference between them. In this division between memory and history, historiographical consciousness establishes an essential point as well as France; indeed, the Turkish Cypriot community might also experience this kind of realization at some point.

Nora's (1989; Pp: 11-12) study of *lieux de mémoires* based on the connection of two progresses in France such as historiographical movement and the ending of a tradition of memory. According to Nora (1989), a *lieux de memoir* establishes together with that a huge and close supply of memory vanishes by enduring only as a reestablished object through the look of critical history and these two progresses take us to the most elementary tools of history and the most symbolic things of our memory such as archives, libraries, dictionaries and museums in the same way as commemorations and celebrations.

In point of fact, the points related to historiographical development and end of a tradition of memory could be convincing in the case of France; however the existence of *milieux de mémoire* would be possible at the same time with *lieux de mémoire* due to the maintenance of the lively memories and experiences in the ethnic communities as well as the subsistence of sites of memory to my mind.

In accordance with Nora (1989; Pp: 7-12), we should create archives, preserve anniversaries, and organize celebrations because of *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory as sea of living memory which is no longer exists; indeed without *lieux de mémoire* such as museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, monuments, sanctuaries and fraternal orders; moments of history dissevered from the development of history. I believe that the role of archives, anniversaries and celebrations is unavoidable linked to the *lieux de memories* as sites of memory. Actually, *milieux de mémoire* as the sea of living memory wouldn't exist forever in any particular group; on the other hand, *lieux de mémoire* could sustain its presence by connecting with the moments of history thanks to monuments, archives and museums, etc. However, I still support the possibility of the existence of *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* at the same time related to the relationship between history, memory and place in any particular community.

“*Lieux de mémoires* are in three senses of the word as material, symbolic and functional; however it is possible for material site such as an archive to become *lieux de memoir* if the imagination invests it with symbolic aura. For the notion of a historical generation: it is material by its demographic content and supposedly functional since memories are crystallized and transmitted from one generation to the next; however it is also symbolic,

since it characterizes, by referring to events or experiences shared by a small minority, even though a larger group that may not have participated in them” (Nora, 1989; Pp: 18-19).

I think the sites of memory could be considered as material, symbolic and functional in particular groups, because of the characteristics of *lieux de mémoire*; for instance, as a function in the Turkish Cypriot community, the memories related to the inter-communal violence years could pass from one generation to the next thanks to the celebrations, anniversaries and Turkish Cypriot veterans associations in Nicosia and Famagusta; besides, National Archives and Research Office in Kyrenia could be an example for the materiality of *lieux de mémoire*; finally as a symbolic role of it, the traumatic happenings the Turkish Cypriots as a particular group have experienced would be a persuasive point, because these experiences are belong to this community would not shared by larger groups.

I believe that drawing a chart could help us to realize the distinctions of *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* as I have generated by benefiting the points of Nora (1989, Pp: 7-24) below.

Milieux de Mémoire	Lieux de Mémoire
❖ Real environments of memory ❖ Memory as a real part of everyday experience ❖ Landscapes and familiar settings ❖ Vivid memories ❖ Landscapes which are embodied with lived experience ❖ Landscapes and familiar social settings ❖ Sea of living memory ❖ Bridges past and present	❖ Sites of Memory ❖ Crystallized one moment in the history ❖ Associated with history ❖ Prosaic memories ❖ Officially monumentalized sites as monuments, museums, street names, heritage sites ❖ The will of remember ❖ Material, symbolic and functional ❖ Separates past and present

Table II. Milieux de Mémoire and Lieux de Mémoire.

According to Nora (1989; Pp: 19-20), *lieux de mémoire* only occurs because of their competence of metamorphosis, an infinite reprocessing of their meaning and a random production of their consequences. Furthermore, the Revolutionary calendar as an example for *lieux de mémoire*, was planned to give them a priori frame of reference for all possible memory such as the celebrated *Tour de la France par deux enfants* similar to the *Petit Lavis*

which instructed the memory of millions of French boys and girls. As well as the Revolutionary calendar which aims to stop the progress of history at the hour of Revolution, there are chronological moments in the history of the Turkish Cypriots, for instance; the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571, the Cyprus peace operation in 1974 and the founding of the TRNC in 1983. In fact, these historical moments which occupy a special place for the TRNC are reachable through the Museum of National Struggle in Nicosia.

The sites of memory such as people, places, symbols and events play important role in Nora's (1996, 1997, 1998) realms of memory through the process of the French national awareness due to the relationship between memory and history. In the first part of realms of memory, *Conflicts and Divisions* (Nora, 1996); political and sacred divisions are investigated by underlining distinctions between Paris and the provinces as well as Gaullists and Communists. Indeed, the distinction between Gaullists and Communists is consisting of left and right.

In realms of memory, the structure of the French past is examined by Nora owing to the issues related to "nation, nationalism and national identity, as well as its implications for the conceptualizations of the relationship between history and memory" as stated by Ho Tai (2001; Pp: 907). Actually, the relationship between memory and history is coming into prominence in the study of Nora (1996, 1997, 1998); furthermore, *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* were examined through the example of France.

According to Nora (1996; Pp: 6), the definition of memory sites is "the archives and tricolor; libraries and festivals; dictionaries and the Pantheon; museums and the Arc of Triomphe; the Dictionnaire Larousse and the Wall of the Fédérés (where defenders of Paris Commune were massacred by the French Army in 1971)". As we can see, Nora emphasized the sites of memory as *lieux de mémoire*, in this perspective the memory sites in France were revealed by benefiting from the French history.

As stated by Nora (1996; Pp: XV-XVI), "In French, the association of the words *lieu* and *mémoire* proved to have profound connotations-historical, intellectual emotional, and largely unconscious. These connotations arise in part from the specific role that memory played in the construction of the French idea of the nation and in part from recent changes in the attitude of the French toward their national past". In my opinion, at this point, Nora highlighted the intense nuances between site and memory in French and through these nuances, memory

plays an important role for emerging of the French nation and changing the approaches of the French to their national past; indeed these changes constitute the purpose of Nora's (1996, 1997, 1998) realms of memory by connecting it the sites of memory as *lieux de mémoire*.

In the second volume of realms of memory, *Traditions* (Nora, 1997) converged the difficulties related to being French and in this perspective, meticulous characteristics of Frenchness are arranged by investigating monuments, institutions such as Académie française; likewise the French cuisine and the Tour de France. Thus, in accordance with Nora (1997), the idea of this volume is coming from the Frenchness and its characteristics through French institutions and civic monuments as well as chauvinism. As a result, the monuments as sites of memory which are indicators of being French are exposed in the second volume. I think this volume is establishing a way of searching what is the meaning of French and it reaches a solution owing to *lieux de mémoire*.

In the third volume, *Symbols* (Nora, 1998) is associated with the symbols of France such as Eiffel Tower, Notre Dame and Descartes. In this volume, 'Emblems' contains the four symbols of state: the tricolore, the Marseillaise, the Republican motto and Bastille Day. Concerning on the Gallic Cock, Joan of Arc, Descartes, Paris, and the French language as identification quarters are investigated in the third volume of Nora's (1996, 1997, 1998) realms of memory. I believe that the symbols in this volume constitute the symbolic sites of French characteristics; furthermore, those give an opportunity to consider the French identity differently through sites of memory.

I.III. Prosthetic Memory

"Memory forms the fabric of human life, affecting everything from the ability to perform simple, everyday tasks to the recognition of the self. Memory establishes life's continuity; it gives meaning to the present, as each moment is constituted by the past" (Sturken, 1997; Pp: 1). As far as I am concerned with the types of memory, I also believe that the role of the memory is very essential in the life of human; for instance, our life makes sense thanks to memory and it leads us to deem our past and present efficiently.

“The concept of memory in visual culture tends to consider the memory dynamic, contagious and highly unstable – the famous photograph becomes a part of an individual’s memory and personal memory is incorporated into a narrative film; we all have ‘personal’ memories that come to us not from our individual experience but from our mediated experience of photographs, documentaries and popular culture” (Sturken, 2008; Pp: 75). As we can see, our personal memories could come from mediated experiences such as photographs, movies and popular culture, even though we might think these memories as equal as our individual experiences. I assume that these infectious memories are changing our personal memories and they are being part of it due to visual culture.

According to Sturken (2008; Pp: 75), the relationship between mass culture and memory has frequently undertaken worries about how popular culture and mass media could assign the memories and reorganize histories in the name of entertainment as the ‘Spielberg style’ of history, in which unsophisticated tales are arranged to suggest exacting compassionate reactions in spectators, and through which memory passages are shaped. Actually, this relationship between memory and mass culture is having effects on the apprehensions related to popular culture and mass media. Moreover, this such as the Spielberg style also mediates and changes the memories of the viewers; furthermore, owing to popular culture, the memories are being manipulated. I suppose that the role of mass culture is so dominant on the memories of the spectators.

One kind of mediated memory, Landsberg’s (2004; Pp: 18) prosthetic memory which means memories that flow due to mass culture are obtained by the people who they don’t have lived experience. Indeed, this type of mediated memory is effective because of mass culture; moreover, it has influence on memories of the people because of inefficiency of their living memories.

The concept of prosthetic memory is "memories that circulate publicly, that are not organically based, but that are nonetheless experienced with one's own body -- by means of a wide range of cultural technologies" (Landsberg, 1996; Pp: 4). I presume that the function of cultural technologies on prosthetic memory couldn’t be denied, because without cultural technologies, the possibility of prosthetic memory would be imperiled.

“By prosthetic memory, forms of media— cinema and experiential museums—can enable people to ‘take on’ or ‘inhabit’ or be ‘sutured’ into other people’s memories. In this way

people now possess an unprecedented ability ‘to experience an event or a past without having actually lived through it’” (Landsberg, 2004; Pp: 48). Prosthetic memory provides people reach the other people’s memories thanks to forms of media and in this way, they would have memories which aren’t their own as I have realized; thus, this type of memory gives people chance to be part of an event or a past without any living experience. Surely, this event could be traumatic such as the Holocaust, Vietnam War or September 11. Associated to these events, there are many movies as well as museums and it would be easy to be part of the memories related to these events for the viewers.

Landsberg (2009; Pp: 222) uses the term prosthetic to underscore their usefulness; because they feel real, they help condition how a person thinks about the world and might be instrumental in articulating an ethical relation to the other. In point of fact, this point is so relevant for the memories of the Turkish Cypriots who don’t have lived experiences related to the inter-communal fight years between 1963 and 1974, because they would also have the prosthetic memories; besides, these could lead how they think about the other major ethnic group of the island.

“Prosthetic memory can be called “prosthetic” memory for four reasons: a- not natural or organic memory; b- like an artificial limb can be worn on the body; c- interchangeable and exchangeable in the commodified form; d- useful and feel real producing empathy” (Landsberg, 2004; Pp:20). In the reasons of referring this type of memory as prosthetic, I am interested in the way of producing empathy the most, because of the possibility of feeling empathy to the other in the Turkish Cypriot community; as if it leads to the empathy in this community, it would be the greatest function of the prosthetic memory as I have believed.

As stated by Landsberg (2004; Pp:18), “prosthetic memory argues that the technologies of mass culture and the capitalist economy of which they are a part open up a world of images outside a person's lived experience, creating a portable, fluid, and nonessentialist form of memory”. In fact, this transportable type of memory emerges because of the technologies of mass culture, and it depends on the capitalist economy to convey the images to the people. In this fashion, prosthetic memory is getting reachable for the people to be part of the memories without any individual lived experience.

“Roman Polanski’s 2002 film *The Pianist* is an interesting case because of the complicated ways in which it sets up cinematic identification. While the film tries to elicit spectatorial identification with the Jews, it recognizes that absence, not presence, characterizes the

Holocaust experience. This film is a powerful and difficult film in part because it recognizes and affirms that distance and difference, not proximity, absence, and not presence, constitute our relationship to the Holocaust experience.” (Landsberg, 2009; Pp: 225). I believe that similar to the effects of *The Pianist* (2002), *Shadows and Faces* (2010) could create the experience of the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus for the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots as well as the Turkish and the foreigners who don’t have lived experience related to those hard years of the island. Moreover, it would be doable for the viewers to attach and distinguish the experience of the traumatic events in the island thanks to the movie, *Shadows and Faces* (2010).

“Memories are central to our identity – to our sense of who we are and what we might become – but as this film suggests, whether those memories come from lived experience or whether they are prosthetic seems to make very little difference. Either way, we use them to construct narratives for ourselves, visions for our future” (Landsberg, 1996; Pp: 186). Thus, memories also shape our identity; however I think the difference between the memories which come from lived experiences and prosthetic is not very little. I believe that real memories are one step ahead of prosthetic memories. Furthermore, the point associated with creating narratives for ourselves by real and prosthetic memories is convincing to my mind.

As Landsberg (2004; Pp: 19) stated “prosthetic memories are not "socially constructed" in that they do not emerge as the result of living and being raised in particular social frameworks. At the same time, prosthetic memories are transportable and hence not susceptible to biological or ethnic claims of ownership. These memories are thus neither essentialist nor socially constructed in any straightforward way: they derive from a person's mass-mediated experience of a traumatic event of the past”.

In point of fact, a social structure is not required to have prosthetic memory; moreover, it is achievable to get the prosthetic memory from someone’s mass mediated experience related to a traumatic event of the past such as inter-communal fight years in Cyprus because of its aspect of transportability. I assume that the characteristic of prosthetic memory as emerging without particular social structure makes it more suitable and accessible for any meticulous group; that is why, I consider the possibility of the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community connected with the traumatic events between 1963 and 1974 in Cyprus.

Chapter II: History and Memory in the Turkish Cypriot Community

As Assmann (2006a; Pp: 261) declared , “the approach to the past is getting more contentious and difficult because of the reasons such as the continuous impact of the Holocaust such as the experience of living in the shadow of a historical event that in many ways maintains its presence”. Similarly, because of the inter-communal fight years in Cyprus, the ethnic communities in the divided island would still live in the shadow of the past.

Assmann’s (2008; Pp: 57) three stages between history and memory would be useful to understand the complex relationship among them for the Turkish Cypriot community; indeed in this chapter, the first stage between memory and history is going to be investigated.

In the first stage as the identity between history and memory is connected to the criteria for “the selection of people and events to be memorized” with the expressions of Assmann (2008, Pp: 58). For the Turkish Cypriot case; the struggle with EOKA, the Bloody Christmas in 1963, Martyrizing of Pilot Cengiz Topel in 1964, and the Turkish Peace Operation in 1974 and the Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda Massacres in 1974 are coming into prominence related to the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus between 1963 and 1974. In this perspective, there are some remarkable points in the history of Cyprus for the Turkish Cypriots.

Indeed, these historical points are considered by benefiting from historical chronology which is presented in the Museum of National Struggle in Nicosia. In this perspective, the Museum of National Struggle is a good place to examine which events and people are chosen to be memorized by the state through the quadrangular relationship between memory, history, identity and power in the Turkish Cypriot community.

“Over the last two decades, history has received a potent rival or partner in its claim to access, reconstruct, and represent the past, namely memory (Assmann, 2006a; Pp: 262). For the second and third stages between memory and history, the relationship of them in the Turkish Cypriot community is investigated by defining this association as a rivalry or a partnership. These two stages are highlighted at the end of this study, after the memories of the Turkish Cypriots are revealed in the subsequent chapters.

II. I. The Historical Cornerstones in the Inter-communal Fight Years in Cyprus

II. I. I. The Very Beginning of the Clash of the Communities in the Island

“In the period of British rule in the island the Turkish and Greek Cypriots forced to sing the Anthem of the Great Britain as ‘God save our Queen’ in the schools, the Turkish and Greek Cypriots were second class citizen. In festivals and other private days, the British flags were hanged everywhere” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 44). Actually, colonialism is an essential experience for the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots; even today, it is usual to hear the stories from the Turkish Cypriots about British rule in the island.

At the beginning, British colonization had been met by different reactions in the island; for instance; it is written in the newspaper *Alitheia* in 1889:

The Cypriots, being most Hellenic in their ideas, could not of course bear that the English, who have occupied their Island as saviours and profess to render its administration a model for the rest of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, should govern them as a conquered country inhabited by Asiatics or Africans (Bryant, 2006; Pp: 48).

As we can see, for the Cypriots, especially for the Greek Cypriots; because of their Hellenic ideas, it was impossible not to react British rule which governed them such as the Asiatics or Africans. In contrast to the Greek Cypriots, the reaction of the Turkish Cypriots was different such as in the newspaper *Mir’at-ı Zaman* in 1902:

We are not going to make our girls (serve as) English schoolmistresses, or Interpreters in the Government Departments, or let them dance a waltz at a public ball. If the intention of the Government is to drag us into English Civilization, such things can never be admitted by Moslem Civilization (Bryant, 2006; Pp: 49).

The approach of the Turkish Cypriots to British rule was based on the Moslem Civilization, they clearly defined they didn’t want the English schoolmistresses and they were against to English Civilization. Besides, they had considered them unacceptable for their civilization.

“Turkish National Struggle in 1920s also had changed the approach of the Turkish Cypriots to the British rule in the island” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 50). Turkish National Struggle would have been a reason for the Turkish Cypriots related to their attitude to British rule in the island, because they would have believed to fight the occupying states in their country.

“In 1955, Greek Cypriots begin guerrilla war against British rule. The guerrilla movement, the National Organisation of Cypriot Combatants (EOKA), wants *enosis* (unification) with Greece. British authorities arm a paramilitary police force made up of Turkish Cypriots” (BBC News, 2011). I assume that the foundation of EOKA and the paramilitary police formed by the British triggered the conflicts between two major ethnic communities of the island.

“In this period, the Turkish Cypriots also established their own organization as TMT, the Turkish Resistance Organization to fight against EOKA in 1958; however TMT was a secret organization and for a long time, any EOKA member realized its existence. At the first place, they aimed to sustain the Turkish Cypriots’ status quo; but then they had declared they wanted *taksim*, partition of the island through the demonstrations they have done with the motto *Ya taksim Ya ölüm* (partition or death)” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 50-71). I believe that the establishment of TMT was the response to the foundation of EOKA and two major ethnic communities of the island had their own armed organizations. Indeed, this was really dangerous situation for the ethnic communities of the island. The role of TMT through the demonstrations in the struggle of the Turkish Cypriots was very essential.

“In the late fifties the Turks, who lived in small and remote villages or as a minority in large mixed villages were left with no choice but to leave their homes and move to safer villages, neighborhoods or towns in order to escape the wrath of the Greek terrorists. The displaced people never even went back to the villages and properties which they left behind in the fifties” (Islamoglu and Oznur, 2010; Pp: 219). Due to the clash of the ethnic communities of the island in 1950s, the interchanges between the communities of the island happened and many Turkish Cypriots lost their possessions. I believe these years immensely damaged the relations of the ethnic communities of island.

“The result of Zurich and London Agreements in 1959, independent Cyprus Republic was founded as a comprise solution reflecting the opposed interests of the two antagonistic ethnic groups – Greek Cypriots constituted 80 percent and Turkish Cypriots 18 percent of the total population of around 600,000- and of foreign powers that included Turkey, Greece and Britain” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 2). Even though the independent Cyprus was

founded in 1960, the foreign powers such as Turkey, Greece and Britain were still arbiters in the island and in my opinion, this was improper for the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.

II. I. II. The Bloody Christmas 1963

“In 1963, President Makarios raises Turkish fears by proposing constitutional changes which would abrogate power-sharing arrangements. Inter-communal violence erupts. Turkish side withdraws from power-sharing” (BBC News, 2011). The President of the Republic of Cyprus, Makarios was playing an important role at the beginning of the civil conflicts in the island, because of the legitimate alterations he suggested.

Indeed, as Scott (2002; Pp: 223) stated, “the intercommunal fighting in the Bloody Christmas in 1963 led to redrew the map of Cyprus”. Indeed, because of the inter-communal violence in the Bloody Christmas in 1963, many Greek and Turkish Cypriots moved to the north or south part of the island and this period changed the map of Cyprus.

“In September 1963 the Greeks were drawing up a plan of action aiming at abolishing the so-called ‘excessive rights’ of Turkish Cypriots by ‘unilateral action’ creating a fait accompli. According to Clerides, this would have been achieved by the implementation of the Akritas Plan prepared by a select committee including the Interior Minister, ex-EOKA Commander Yiorgadjis (Akritas). The Akritas plan, he says, declared that unalterable objective of the Greeks ‘was to free the people of Cyprus [meaning the Greeks] from the Treaty of Guarantee and Alliance, so that we [the Greeks] would be free to exercise the right of self-determination (*Enosis*)’” (Clerides, Pp: 207). Actually, the plan the Greeks organized since 1963 was based on the idea that the Greek Cypriots were going to be rescued from the foreign powers in the island and finally they would have established *Enosis*, unite with Greece.

“Bloody Christmas, is the symbolic name of the armed attacks of the Greek Cypriots to the Turkish Cypriots which started in December, 1963. Indeed, the attacks began through the *Kumsal Baskını* (Kumsal Invasion) at the night of December 24, when the Christians began the Christmas celebrations, by the Greek Cypriot gangs who were member of EOKA and aimed to the *Enosis*, killed innocent the Turkish Cypriots. In the Kumsal neighborhood, EOKA gangs attacked the home of Dr. Nihat İlhan who was a lieutenant in the Turkish Cypriot Forces, and his family lived and they killed his wife Mürüvvet and three children,

Murat, Kutsi and Hakan at the bathroom where they were hiding and their photo (Figure I) which was taken after massacre, established the symbol of the Bloody Christmas” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 151-153, Tolgay, 1998; Pp: 82-83, Kucuk, 1999; Pp: 34-35). The happenings during the Kumsal Invasion led to increase the civil conflicts between the major ethnic communities of the island and to my mind; these events such as the Bloody Christmas in 1963 aggravated the relationship of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Furthermore, the Bloody Christmas also was attracted the attention of the foreign press; for instance, this event was published in the newspaper, *Le Figaro*:

“... I saw in a bathroom the bodies of a mother and three infant children murdered because their father was a Turkish officer...” (Mac Clos, 25-26/1/1964)

In fact, *Le Figaro* focused on this murder occurred because they were family of a Turkish officer; similarly, in the *Daily Express*, it was published through the title of *In the Forbidden City*:

We went tonight into the sealed-off Turkish quarter of Nicosia in which 200 to 300 people have been slaughtered in the last five days. We were the first western reporters there and we have seen sights too frightful to be described in print. Horror was so extreme that the people seemed stunned beyond the tears and reduced to a hysterical and mirthless giggle that is more terrible than tears (Rene Mac. Coll and Daniel Mcgeachie, 28/12/1963).



Figure I. The Symbol of the Bloody Christmas 1963.

<<http://www.aydinaktuel.com/haber/aydinli-amator-sanatci,-kibristaki-katliami-kisa-filmde-anlatti...-4118.html>>.

Actually, the reporters of the *Daily Express* described the feelings of the Turkish Cypriots near Nicosia in which many people from their ethnic community were murdered and the reactions of some of the Turkish Cypriots surprised them. In addition, *The Times* published about the attitude of Makarios with the title of *Match in the Powder Keg* on January 2, 1964:

“... The behavior of yesterday of president Makarios was appallingly irresponsible. The first statement he gave “had decided” to abrogate the treaty of Guarantee with Britain, Greece and Turkey and the treaty of Alliance with the two last. A second statement converted the “decision” into a declaration of intention. Even this watered-down version is match tossed into a powder-keg.” (The Times, 2/1/1964)

Likewise, *The Times* published with the title, *Turks to be exterminated* on January 4, 1964:

“... On the Greek Cypriot Side extremists resent President Makarios’ acceptance of British intervention and would have preferred the fighting to continue. Leading to the extermination of the Turkish community...” (The Times, 4/1/1964)

The Times concentrated the non-labile behaviors of Makarios and the result of it as the extinction of the Turkish Cypriot community; as a matter of fact, the attitude of Makarios was very significant in the inter-communal violence years in the island.

“Since December 1963; scores of Turkish people had to choose between the devil and the deep blue sea in order to save their lives and a lot of them became refugees once more and sought shelter in the considerably safer Turkish enclaves; where they were to live in deplorable conditions for next eleven years” (Islamoglu and Oznur, 2010; Pp: 219). Thus, the eleven year period since 1963 for the Turkish Cypriots was very tough because of the inter-communal fight years.

II.I. III. Martyrizing of Pilot Cengiz Topel in 1964

“Despite the deployment of UN peacekeepers in 1964, sporadic inter-communal violence continued forcing most Turkish Cypriots into enclaves’ through the island” (The World Factbook, 2012). Even though the existence of UN peacekeepers in the island since 1964, it didn’t stop the inter-communal fight and the enforcement of the Turkish Cypriots into the communes.

“Cengiz Topel was a pilot in the Turkish Air Force, whose plane was shot down during the Battle of Tylliria. Captain Topel ejected safely and was captured by the Greek Cypriot

villagers and taken to the British Hospital. He was removed from there by the representatives of the Greek Cypriot National Guard and taken to their headquarters at Kyko Monastery where he was tortured and murdered. Thus, the Greek Cypriots was hardly convinced to give back the body of Cengiz Topel four days later after his death; and he was the first casualty of Turkish Air Forces in Cyprus” (Cengiz Topel Memorial, 2012). Martyrizing of the Turkish Pilot Cengiz Topel was important because he was the first casualty who was a member of the Turkish Air Forces; moreover, he was also symbolized the Turkish support to the Turkish Cypriots during the inter-communal fight years between 1963 and 1974.

“Most Greek Cypriots at this stage considered independence to be only a first stage toward *enosis*. When the realization gradually grew that this was no longer a feasible goal, simmering intraethnic tensions began to escalate. Makarios, who had to worry about inter-communal rivalry, threats from Turkey, and strained relations with Greece, was forced to increasingly distance himself from ethnic nationalist goals, and in 1968 he declared that *enosis*, though still the “ideal” goal, was nevertheless hardly “realizable” (at least under the circumstances of the times), signaling his turn to the more realistic policy of supporting independence” (Peristianis, 2006; Pp: 103). As we can see, the purpose of *enosis*, unite with Greece was very dominant for the Greek Cypriots during the inter-communal fight years through the support of Makarios, although he had doubts about that because of the potential menaces from Turkey.

“Between 1963 and 1974, over 2,000 persons, both Greek and Turkish Cypriot, disappeared in Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots also claim that 803 of their civilians disappeared between 1963 and 1974. For Turkish Cypriots, the problem of the missing began in 1963, the first year of inter-communal troubles in the Republic of Cyprus. Encouraged by their leaders, who want to distance their communities from Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots perceive their missing as dead. For the Turkish Cypriot leadership, the missing is proof that Turkish and Greek Cypriots cannot live together” (Sant Cassia, 2006; Pp: 196).

As a matter of fact, because of the inter-communal violence years, many Turkish and Greek Cypriots were disappeared and this also used as an opportunity to alienate the ethnic communities of the island. While the Turkish Cypriots were considering their missing as dead, the Greek Cypriots maintained their missing discourse, indeed they believe their missing persons will come back someday.

II. I. IV. The Cyprus Peace Operation

“EOKA B with the support of Greek Junta had tried to kill President Makarios; indeed it would lead to the interethnic strife among Greek Cypriots and 2000 Greek Cypriots were killed by EOKA B in this period; then EOKA B struggled to seize control of Cyprus on the 15th of July, and old EOKA member, Sampson was announced as President of Cyprus Republic” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 3, Stavridis, 2009; Pp: 4). The Greek Cypriots also experienced the intraethnic violence with the inter-communal and it led to killing of many Greek Cypriots because of the attacks of EOKA B and Sampson.

“Fearing that Sampson would declare the island a part of Greece, Turkey invaded Northern Cyprus on July 20. A cease-fire two days later brought about the collapse of Sampson’s government. Despite the cease-fire and the presence of British and UN troops, violence and widespread destruction continued on Cyprus until late August” (Lerner, 1992; Pp: 36). Even though Turkey invaded the island before Sampson announced Cyprus was a part of Greece as a result of *enosis*, the peace between the ethnic communities of the island didn’t emerge.

“The peace operation (Figure II) to the island was announced by the Prime Minister of Turkey, Bülent Ecevit who was going to be symbol of the Cyprus Peace Operation by the Turkish Cypriots. Ecevit stated that they organized this operation to bring peace to Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the island” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 246). In my opinion, this peace operation or invasion didn’t completely end the problems in the island; on the contrary, it led to another chaotic situation, in spite of the statements of the Turkish Prime Minister in 1974.



Figure II. The Turkish Soldiers in the Cyprus Peace Operation.

<http://www.muharipgaziler.org.tr/kibrisav.html>

During the Cyprus peace operation in the island, many news articles about the situation of the Turkish Cypriots were published in the newspapers:

London Times (22/07/1974):

“In the island, thousands of Turks were held as hostages. Turkish women were raped and Turkish children killed on the streets. The Turkish Quarter in Limassol was burnt down. The incidents have been confirmed by Greek Cypriots” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 189).

Washington Post (23/07/1974):

“In a Greek raid on a small village near Limassol, 36 people out of the population of 200 were killed. The Greeks said they had been given orders to kill the inhabitants before the Turkish forces arrived” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 189).

United Press International (23/07/1974):

“The Greeks killed many women and children in Limassol. I have seen the bodies of 20 children lying on the road...some were wounded and crying... The Greek soldiers are waiting for their turn to enter in the Turkish homes and kill the women” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 187).

Deutsche Welle (30/07/1974):

“The human mind cannot comprehend the Greeks butchery. Greek National Guard ... entering the Turkish homes, ruthlessly rained bullets on women and children, they cut the throats of many Turks; rounding up the Turkish women, they ... raped them all” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 187).

Thus, these articles were emphasizing the tortures the Turkish Cypriots had experienced after the beginning of the Cyprus peace operation and highlighting how the Greek soldiers were merciless to the Turkish Cypriots without distinguishing them as adult or infant and woman or man.

II. I. V. The Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda Massacres

“The Invasion had two phases. The first invasion, effectively resisted by Greek Cypriots, lasted from 20 July to 30 July and resulted in the capture of small area from Kyrenia in the north to Nicosia. The Turks started second invasion effectively sweeping everything before them in the north from Pírgos in the North West to Famagusta in the south east, cutting Nicosia in half. During the coup an unknown number of Greek Cypriots were killed in internecine fighting. Irregular Greek forces then killed unarmed Turkish Cypriots in various

villages” (Sant Cassia, 2007; Pp: 21-22). The result of the Turkish invasion through two stages, many Greek and Turkish Cypriots were killed by the fatal combat; actually I think it was one of the most miserable results of the invasion and inter-communal violence years in the island.

“The populations of three villages; Murataga, Sandallar and Attilar were massacred by the Greek Cypriots in the early of 1974” (L'Événement du jeudi, 1995; Pp: 45). Indeed, these happenings in these villages also attracted attention of the UN and the foreign press. For instance, the United Nations described these:

A crime against humanity, by saying "constituting a further crime against humanity committed by the Greek and Greek Cypriot gunmen" (*UN Monthly chronicle*, 1974).

While the UN portrayed these happenings as a crime against humanity, *Associated Press* Reporter, David Lancashinge (1974) described these, while he was conveying more than 20 Turkish Cypriots as men, women and children were being buried into a mass grave in the outside of Maratha village such as:

"This is one of the biggest atrocities that were done against the civilians” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 194).

Similar to the UN’s statement, David Lancashinge was considering the happenings in these villages as one of the biggest acts of violence. Indeed, the details about the happenings led to these kinds of explanations from the foreign press.

“The parts of the bodies had been removed and sharp tools, as well as machine guns had been used in the massacre” (Milliyet, 1974; Pp: 10). In my opinion, it was the most horrible part of the happenings.

“The first mass grave was opened in Aloda on the 20th of August, 1974 and 37 corpses were taken out” (BRT-Kibris Postasi, 2010); in fact the mass grave which was found in Aloda was very stunning at the end of the inter-communal violence years in the island.

According to Oberling (1982; Pp:45), the massacre in Aloda was carried out thanks to the opportune coming of the British and French forces and just three people in the village could have achieved to escape from this massacre. I think the role of the foreign powers was very crucial to end the inter-communal fight years in the island.

“The other mass grave was opened in Maratha on the 1st and 2nd of September, 1974 and 89 corpses were taken out by the Turkish Military forces with the observation of the Swedish

officers of the United Nations Peace Force” (Milliyet, 1974; Pp: 10). In point of fact, the opening process of the mass graves also paid attention of the foreign press such as in the *United Press International* described the works of opening the graves:

Every on the hour; new dips and tens of corpses are being found; it is so hard to resist these works (Milliyet, 1974; Pp: 6).

Likely, the reporter of *Expressen*, Cunnar Hilson referred to the statements of an eyewitness in the newspaper on the 2nd of October in 1974:

“83 people ranging from men, women to children were killed in Murataga (Maratha) village by Greek soldiers in last August. There are only 15 residents in the village. There is no life for them in Murataga. Their wounds will likely not heal easily” (Somek, 2012; Pp: 196).

As a result, the happenings were described in the *United Press International* and *Expressen* in this way; moreover, Haliloglu (1990), defended the idea “massacres which happened in the Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda villages proved the second operation of Turkey on August 14 to the island right”. Actually, his idea is based on illustrating the rightness of Turkey related to its second operation because of these massacres, as far as I am concerned with these issues, I could get agree the point of Haliloglu (1990); however there are still missing points in his approach.

II. II. The Museum of National Struggle

“In the island’s divided capital, Nicosia, are two museums with the same name, Museum of National Struggle, one each side. One has the name written in Turkish, the other in Greek” (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz, 2006; Pp: 6). The Museums of National Struggle which are located in the Turkish part and the Republic of Cyprus have their own positions as well as their Turkish and Greek names.

“Their historical narratives express the two sides’ paradigmatic official constructions of the past, each employing (verifiable and on the whole accurate) historical facts but ending up with totally opposed stories” (Papadakis, 1994; Pp:409). These Museums have different stories about their past, even though some of them are based on their historical truths. I believe that the positions of these museums are related to their policies of the Republic of Cyprus and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. As Assmann (2008; Pp: 56) indicated, “sites and

monuments that present palpable relics that periodically reactivate the memory and enhance collective participation”. Indeed, the Museum of National Struggle could be considered as a site that triggers the memory of the Turkish Cypriots.

The Museum of National Struggle (Figure III) is located in Nicosia which was built on the historical bastion known as Barbaro in the Venetian period, Musalla in the Ottoman period and Barbaros at the present time. The Museum has been arranged to exhibit the documents of the national struggle of the Turkish Cypriots since 1955 and passes on the following generations the causes and conditions of the struggle. The history of the Turkish Cypriot struggle is exhibited in four different frames, including the period from 1955 to 1958, from 1958 to 1963, from 1963 to 1974 and from 1974 to the present.

“The Turkish Cypriot Museum was constructed in 1978 in commemoration of the Turkish Cypriot struggle. It stresses the events of interethnic violence from 1963 to 1967 and concentrates on the suffering of Turkish Cypriots at the hands of Greek Cypriots and the resistance struggle of the fighters of TMT, the Turkish Cypriot equivalent of EOKA, with photographs of those who died prominently displayed. The 1974 'Happy Peace Operation', as the Turkish offensive is called, is presented as having delivered them from the Greek Cypriot yoke and allowed them to set up their own state. In contrast to the Greek Cypriot Museum whose narrative did not attain closure as it implied that the struggle should continue, the Turkish Cypriot narrative distinctly finishes with 1974 standing for the final act in any self-determination struggle, independence itself” (Papadakis, 1995; Pp: 63). In my opinion, the Museum of National Struggle summarizes the history of the battle of the Turkish Cypriots against the Greek Cypriots from its own perspective. Surely, they differently approach to the same issues through their political positions related to the inter-communal violence years in the island.

At the entrance of the museum, there is information about the Ottoman period in the island and three break points are putting forward as 1571, the Ottoman Conquest; 1974; the Cyprus Peace Operation and 1983; the founding of TRNC. It is not allowed to take picture in the museum; besides it is located in military region and you can visit it by showing your identity document. There are paintings which describe the Ottoman navy and conquest; besides there are two figures to describe the Ottoman soldier. There are photos of the leaders of the TRNC as Osman Orek, Fazıl Kucuk and Rauf Denktas; besides there are paintings which illustrate

the Turkish Cypriots as so weak. In the second stage, the photos of the founders of TMT, Turkish Resistance Organization the anthem of TMT, and ten county flags which are belonged to the cities of the TRNC are exhibited. There are different types of guns, rifles are exhibited in the museum; indeed some of them are made of water pipes by the Turkish Cypriots.



Figure III. The Museum of National Struggle in Nicosia.
http://www.sivilsavunmakktc.com/haber_detay.asp?haberID=38

Then, the historical periods are began from 1878-1960 firstly and the photos of the Turkish Cypriot citizens who were killed by the EOKA gangs are displayed. The resistance of the Turkish Cypriots and the demonstrations of the Turkish Cypriots who had lived in London are showed through the photos and the logs which were used for the secret communication are presented in this stage. Another historical period between 1960 and 1963; is illustrated through the photos which describe the period of founding of the Cyprus Republic and then 1963-1974 inter-communal violence period are exhibited through a couple of paintings, guns, photos and other properties such as a motorcycle, mortar and boat. As from this stage, the photos which are symbolized the attacks are being increased.

Even though it is not allowed to take pictures in the museum, I was familiar to most of the photos there; because it is so common to see photos and iconic pictures which symbolize the events between 1963 and 1974 even in the martyrdoms in Nicosia and Famagusta. For instance, the picture of the family of Dr. Nihat Ilhan is showed with the part of Bloody Christmas in 1963. There are also mass graves (Figure IV and V), torture and violence photos which are exhibited in the Museum of National Struggle in the stage of 1963 and 1974.

There are many guns, rifles which are belonged to the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots and TMT are exhibited in the museum; in this stage there is a private place for Cengiz Topel who was a Turkish pilot and tortured and killed by the Greek Cypriots after his jet was fallen down by the EOKA gangs. Indeed, the pieces which left from his jet and his gun are exhibited in the museum together with his biography. There are paintings which portray the violence of the Greek Cypriot forces; for instance in one of them; in a village a family which has old, young, women, children members are about executed by the shootings of the Greek soldiers and the EOKA gangs; indeed two women in the family are naked and illustrated as raped.



Figure IV. The Mass Grave near Aloda. <<http://www.ekinoxcomputer.com/kkctc/21-aralik-kumsal-katliami.html>>.



Figure V. The Mass Graves near Maratha which were opened in September 1974. <<http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/yunanistan-turkiye-yi-neden-uyardi/Blog/?BlogNo=196361>>.

There are some titles from the newspapers are exhibited such as *We're independent now; 88 residents of Murataga and Sandallar villages don't exist anymore*; indeed there are also photos which describe the Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda Massacres and the Turkish Cypriots who were looking for their family members (Figure VI and VII) in the villages are exhibited in the Museum of National Struggle.



Figure VI. The Mass Graves near Maratha which were opened in September 1974.
< <http://trnc--for--ever.blogspot.co.at/>>.



Figure VII. A Turkish Cypriot Woman who was looking for his husband.
<<http://www.kibris1974.com/kibris-turkune-yapilan-mezalimlerin-insanlik-disi-resimleri-t5116.html>>.

In one stage of the museum, the reasons why the Greek Cypriots attacked the Turkish Cypriots are explained through Megali Idea, *Enosis*, EOKA and Akritas Plan. While I was examining the guns which were belonged to the Greek Cypriots; the officer of museum came near me again and warned me not to write the details about the guns and at this point I asked him why is taking photo not possible in the museum, he replied:

First of all, the flash of cameras damages the objects here and secondly we have experienced before, the photos which were taken here were used against us and then that is why we don't let visitors to take pictures.

I have told him, indeed I have realized it when I came here because the museum is located in the military territory; and then he smiled and added:

Surely, it is located in the military region because these objects illustrate the national struggle of the Military. Indeed, it is the struggle of the army.

Afterwards, I have asked him, who is usually visiting this museum and he replied:

Actually, many people who are coming different nationalities such as Greek, Turkish, British, French, etc. visit this museum; there is no problem about the visitors.

It is clear that this officer is coming from a military background and he asked me how long my note taking was going and he indicated that I didn't have much time to write everything. Actually, it was really hard to take notes with this kind of suspicious officer near me; then he also admitted:

You are right, we couldn't give any brochure which gives information about the museum either; and indeed, this museum is just for visiting, not to take pictures and take notes.

Especially, he asked me many questions about my research and then I asked him about the importance of the museum for the Turkish Cypriots:

Indeed; our leaders are visiting this museum every year and you can see these pictures in the final stage of the museum; knowing its history for a nation is so important and actually; our younger generation don't know the importance of it, because they didn't live the violent years in the island; however at least they visit this museum by the school trips and they can learn how their ancestors lived in the horrible conditions.

At the next stage in the museum, there are some photos related to the foundation of the TRNC in 1983 and the demonstrations because of the UN embargo decision for the TRNC are exhibited; for instance on the placard the Turkish Cypriots carried, *Shame on you, the UN* is written which is displaced. Besides, there is a board which lists the 1856 names of the Turkish who were died for the existence of the Turkish Cypriots in the island through the title

“*Unutmayacağız*”, we will not forget; indeed a similar board is also exhibited in the Museum of Barbarism. Then, before the officer of the museum didn’t warn me again; I left the museum by examining the big statue of Atatürk, the founder of Turkish Republic in front of the Museum of National Struggle.

Sayer is a 55 year old Turkish Cypriot interlocutor who lives near Famagusta, works in a university dormitory. He always mentions his territory in the south and has never taken the compensation from the Turkish Cypriot government and he usually complains about the problems related to the Turkish Cypriots; as well as some Turkish people he doesn’t like; indeed, he is pessimistic about many things which happen around him. He has never missed the news and usually watches the channel *BRT; Bayrak, Radyo, Televizyon; Flag, Radio and TV*. He believes that exaggerating of nationalism could be dangerous; on the other hand, he is so talkative and friendly most of the time.

When I asked Sayer (55) why is it not possible to take photo in the museum, he surprised and replied:

I guess it is supposed to be new rule of the Museum of National Struggle; because I have heard that first time from you, it is really interesting and I don’t understand why they do that.

It was different experience not to be allowed to take any photo in a museum; however I solved this problem by taking many notes.

Ergun is another Turkish Cypriot interlocutor who was born in Nicosia, 1952 and he is working at the Private Ethnography Museum in the TRNC. He is so sincere and friendly and he is really interested in museology; besides he has given good information about the museums as well as the working hours of the museums in TRNC and he replied to the all questions as much as he can; maybe for another research, I could talk about this information and the Private Ethnography Museum. He always repeated the importance of the museums during the conversation and it was really great opportunity to talk to him.

Ergun (60) expressed his point of view about the Museum of National Struggle:

Of course, this museum is so crucial because it illustrates the process of national struggle of Turkish Cypriots; however these museums in TRNC are not enough for modern museology, for instance, there is no good archeology museum here. I believe that the state neglects the museums, for example you are going to one museum and you will see the same objects when you come there again ten years later; I think it is a big problem many people couldn’t notice in Cyprus. Private museums are also

necessary to get rid of this vicious cycle. It is also valid for the National Struggle Museum, if you come here again; you are going to notice the objects which are exhibited today are not changed much.

Indeed, the point of view of Ergun (60) was really good and I asked him what he feels when he visits the museum and he replied:

For my generation, the Turkish Cypriots who have lived those hard years, this museum reminds us how we come today; indeed it also shows we couldn't live side by side with the Greek Cypriots again; on the other hand, there are also few people who make demonstrations for disarmament, however it is not possible for us anymore.

Then, Ergun (60) continued to talk about the museology in TRNC:

I think the museums should be subsidized by the government and the public museums are also not enough to announce the voices of the Turkish Cypriots; that is why the private museology is very essential for the Turkish Cypriot community in the island.

Afterwards, I asked same question to the other interlocutor, Derya is a 28 year old girl who studied in Germany; that is why, her Turkish is not very well; indeed I haven't talked about that before; however the Turkish language, Turkish Cypriots speak is also problematic because of their accent. When you close your eyes; you may think you are hearing a Greek Cypriot who speaks Turkish; many people in the TRNC could also speak Greek very well; that is why the melody of the Greek also affects their Turkish. Derya is also working in the Private Ethnography Museum and before she comes here; she declared she worked in a museum, Nurnberg. She mostly talked about the importance to learn the Cypriot culture; and the role of the museums in this process; because she believes that education in the schools are not enough to learn the Cypriot culture. Similar the other interlocutors; it was really nice to talk to her.

Derya (28) stated that:

Indeed, our generation is so unlucky because it is not easy for us to live the Cypriot culture like our fathers, grandparents did and museums are really important to understand our culture. Actually, in the schools, education related to the Cypriot culture is really few. We have not lived the history like our ancestors did; that is why the Museum of National Struggle is crucial for us at least to realize what and why happened in Cyprus.

While Derya (28) rationally approached the Museum of National Struggle, and she believed that school trips are supposed to be increased to the Museums of National Struggle, Museum of Barbarism and the Martyrdom in the Maratha village for younger generation to understand

their history and appreciate their country and flag. Furthermore; according to her, these museums are so essential to learn their culture and past.

Even though Derya (28) approached the museums as the places young Turkish Cypriots learn their culture and history; an older interlocutor uttered that younger generation of the Turkish Cypriots are careless about the museums in Nicosia; for instance, Ergun (60) explained his approach about that:

They just care which car they drive and which iPhone model they use and nothing more such as museums is important for them; indeed they behave according to their benefits they would have.

Chapter III: The Places of Memory in Famagusta and the Memories of the Turkish Cypriots in the era between 1963 and 1974 as *Milieux de Mémoire* and *Lieux de Mémoire*

III. I. The Places of Memory in Famagusta

III. I. I. Famagusta (Gazimagusa) between *Milieux de Mémoire* and *Lieux de Mémoire*

“Famagusta, *Ammochostos* in Greek, means hidden in sand, is surrounded by walls of which many a stone is still perfect. On an average of the walls are 50 feet in height and are in some places as much as 27 feet thick. It is more or less a square. One of the walls faces the sea and harbor; the other three overlook the plain. Round these landward walls runs a fosse. There were two main gates as the Sea Gate, opening on the harbor, and the Land Gate” (Figure VIII) (Gunnis, 1936; Pp: 79). Actually, the city still protects its medieval view through the walls and the gates.



Figure VIII. The Land Gate of the Venetian Walls. Cagkan Ubay. August 2012.

An interlocutor, Sayer (55) stated that about the walls of the city:

The biggest chance of the Turkish Cypriots in 1974 against the attacks of the Greek Cypriot forces was the walls of the city because it gave opportunity to defend them inside it and they were protected from the bombardments of the Greek Cypriots.

The walls of the city were also famous because of the defense of the Venetians in 1571 against to the Ottomans; Gunnis (1936; Pp: 86) described it:

It is said that over 100,000 cannon-balls were fired into the city by the Turks, till hardly a building was left standing. The Turkish general, Mustafa, promised to allow the garrison to embark and sail for Crete with full honors of war, taking with them whatsoever they liked.

One of the interlocutors, Mustafa who is a displaced person from Limassol in the south part of the island. He is 44 years old and working as a museum officer; indeed, thanks to him I didn't have to pay fee to enter the museums in Famagusta. He came to Famagusta in 1975 when he was 7 years old in accordance with the agreement of population exchange between the ethnic communities of the island. He is incredibly a Turkish fan; that is why it was usually easy to talk to him about almost everything.

Mustafa (44) started to explain the great defense of the Turkish Cypriots against the Greek Cypriot forces in 1974.

They protected the biggest port of Cyprus, Famagusta port and they didn't let the Greek Cypriots come inside the castle. Even though, starvation and thirst arose during the defense; the Turkish Cypriots had stood until the Turkish military came to the Famagusta.

I asked to Mustafa (44); how did the Turkish Cypriots obscure the Greek Cypriot forces? He replied:

Firstly, their belief was very crucial at that time; whatever happened they didn't leave to pray; secondly, the walls of castle which were constituted by Venetians were very efficient to protect the city from the attacks which would have come from the outside.

Then, he pointed out the walls of the city and told me it is impossible to pass these walls; however I indicated that it could have been passed similar to Fatih conquered Istanbul in 1453. At that time, I partly succeed to convince him; Famagusta is a walled city such as Nicosia and Kyrenia in which the walls were constituted by the Venetians. The important point for the Turkish Cypriots, who live there, is to believe their city will never be conquered like in 1571 and 1974, because of the walls which cover Famagusta. Mustafa (44) also believed:

There would be gold of the Venetians under the walls of the city, they should have buried it during the siege of the Ottomans; indeed many people in Famagusta believe that.

As well as *milieux de mémoire*, *lieux de mémoire* is also possible for the memory in Famagusta because of the monuments, museums, street names, mosques which were dedicated to the martyred Turkish Cypriot citizens, the Ottoman generals and the Turkish soldiers. Especially, the mosque of Lala Mustafa Pasha is very important for the Turkish Cypriots who live in Famagusta; because according to them, the mosque shows that the Turkish presence in the island since 1571. Indeed, this mosque looks like the cathedral from the outside (Figure IX); however the inside of it seems like mosque (Figure X). When I have entered the mosque; I have noticed that inside of it was painted by white color and the entire artworks got lost, actually same situation is also valid for the Selimiye mosque in Nicosia. As I have learned from the ethnic community in the TRNC, the cathedrals were turned into the mosques through the conquest of Ottomans in 1571.



Figure IX. The Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.

During researching the places in Famagusta, many times I have surprised when someone from the ethnic community suddenly began to talk to me about anything they want; for instance while I was sightseeing in the historical places, one of them came and started talking about the place like a guide. Actually, at the moment I was investigating the Saint George church of the Greeks and I asked to Hasan (34) what he remembers about this place and he replied:

My childhood passed over through playing in these churches; indeed these historical places were playgrounds for us; that is why I have known every detail of these places. Indeed, this church has been eventually losing its parts.



Figure X. The Inside of the Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque. Cagkan Ubay. August 2012.

Hasan is one of the Turkish Cypriot male interlocutors, who was born in Famagusta; indeed he works at Nicosia and he is seldom coming to Famagusta for vacation. He is 34 years old and I have met him in front of the Saint George church while he was trying to sell the puppies he carried on. It was very pleasure to know and talk to him.

Hasan's memory about the church is *milieux de mémoire*, as real environment which intellectualizes his lived experience. Indeed, this place is a part of his childhood memories and he remembers how he played his friends there and it reminds him the happy moments in his memory by sanctify his experiences there and because of that, he knows the place very well.

It is said that this church have been built by a wealthy Greek Orthodox quarter of Famagusta; but for the interlocutor, Hasan (34); it is a playground, indeed because of his vivid memories about the place, it turns into a *milieux de mémoire* for him. These historical places remind different things to the Turkish Cypriots who live in Famagusta; for instance, Mustafa (44) talked about the Othello Tower as:

There was a military casino near this place and I was playing piano there twenty years ago, it is the most important moment I remember about this place.

Even though the Othello castle hosted many historical moments, Mustafa (44) remembers this place due to his memory when he played piano; indeed his memory is also part of his *milieux de mémoire*.

III. I. II. Canbulat Pasha as a Lieu de Mémoire

The myth of Canbulat Pasha plays an important role in the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots; indeed the figure of Canbulat has a crucial place for the identity of the ethnic community. This is represented in the naming of schools, cinema (Figure XI), street, bastion, football field and university hall of residence as well as the museum (Figure XII).



Figure XI. The Canbulat Cinema in Famagusta. Cagkan Ubay. August 2012.

It is so usual to meet the national hero of the Turkish Cypriots, Canbulat Pasha, while you are even walking on the street, going to school, playing football in the pitch and watching movie in the cinema. For the Turkish Cypriots who live in Famagusta, Canbulat Pasha is part of their identity. Thus, Canbulat Pasha is really a good example for *lieux de mémoire* with the term of Nora (1989, Pp: 7) as the past is represented in sites like monuments, museums and street names.



Figure XII. The Canbulat Museum. Cagkan Ubay. August 2012.

The Canbulat Museum (Figure XII) is located within the Venetian Walls of the mediaeval city of Famagusta (Gazimagusa) in the TRNC. Indeed, it symbolizes the place of the Ottoman Warrior Canbulat fell during the siege of Famagusta in 1571. In the museum, ethnographic artefacts and artefacts categorized; ceramics and pottery, swords and shot guns are exhibited; besides objects such as bridal dresses, bowls and plates, cups and plates are presented. The Ottoman hero, Canbulat Pasha is glorified in the museum and artefacts mostly related to the Ottomans and the Venetians. There are portraits of important Ottoman generals in the conquest of Famagusta who are II. Selim, Lala Mustafa Pasha, Piyale Pasha and Barbaros Hayrettin and ethnographic objects are mostly associated with the Ottomans. In many maps and paintings in the museum, you can see how the Ottomans attack and conquer the island. Besides, the daily life of the Turkish Cypriots is displayed in some paintings. The civilians, the appearance of women in the society are also illustrated through the objects and artworks in the Canbulat Museum. Except of the entrance hall, two small floors are in the museum; in which the Venetian soldier is described in the second floor, how he observed the port and did artillery shooting from his guarding place and slept there. Finally, in the third floor, again some paintings, maps and miniatures which are belonged to the Ottomans and the Venetians are displayed. The legend of Canbulat Pasha is also shared through the brochure which is written as English and Turkish is given to the visitors who come to the Canbulat Museum.

“Djamboulat Bey, one of their bravest generals was able to place a Moslem standard on the bastion. The story goes that the Venetians had here a machine formed of a wheel covered with knives that cut to pieces any Turk who tried to force this way through the narrow entrance. Djamboulat Bey, seeing how many of his men had been killed by this machine and how despondent they were becoming, decided to destroy it, even at the cost of his own life. Mounting his white horse, he rode forward, urging his steed straight at the machine. He and his mount were killed at once, his head being cut off and the horse torn to fragments; but he had accomplished his desire, for the Venetian machine was put out of action. Nor was this the only thing which emboldened the Turks to press forward the conduct of the siege. Wherever the fighting was hottest, or the Venetians appeared to be gaining, there was the ghost of Djamboulat, plain for all the army to see, one hand waving a sword, the other holding his head tucked under his arm. When the city at last fell, Djamboulat was buried by the bastion, for which he had given his life, and there his tomb (Figure XIII) can still be seen” (Gunnis, 1936; Pp: 203-204). Indeed, the legend of Canbulat Pasha is inured by the Turkish Cypriots who live in Famagusta and Nicosia.



Figure XIII. The Tomb of Canbulat Pasha. Cagkan Ubay. August 2012.

An interlocutor, Mustafa (44) stated about the legend of Canbulat Pasha:

Canbulat Pasha had fought for 3 days and 3 nights with his head under his arm against the Venetians; he jumped into a turning wheel which had sharp blades to enter the castle and because of him; the Venetians were defeated by the Ottomans.

When I asked the officer of the Canbulat Museum, Mustafa (44); do you remember your first visit to the Canbulat Museum? He replied:

Yes, I came here when I was a child; mostly the Turkish Cypriots come here thanks to a school trip, when they were kids.

“The Canbulat Museum has its roots in a bloody battle, which established the Turkish presence in Cyprus, and the climax to the visit – the inner sanctum housing the tomb of Canbulat – is marked by a proliferation of the paraphernalia of war” (Scott, 2002; Pp: 219). The Canbulat Museum as an indicator of the Turkish existence in the island illustrates the belongings of the war between the Venetians and the Ottomans; furthermore, it is a holy place due to the tomb of Canbulat Pasha. I assume that the position of the Canbulat Museum is still compelling in the Turkish Cypriot community.

According to Scott (2002; Pp: 220); there are nuances and additional elements when we compare the Canbulat Museum with the National Struggle Museums such as civilian and female appearance in the ethnographic objects. Indeed, these objects related to the civilian and female look are the dresses of the Turkish Cypriot women and the paintings related to the daily life of the civilians as I have noticed.

The visitors who come to the Museum are the Turkish and foreign tourists; and also the Turkish soldiers who are duty in Famagusta; one of the Turkish soldiers explained his feelings about the museum:

When I did come to Famagusta for joining the military; I couldn't have realized why we have come to Cyprus and protect the Turkish Cypriots; however I have understood the reason of it when I come here, Cyprus is always a Turkish territory and it will maintain forever.

It is so common to hear different feelings from the interlocutors; Sayer (55) stated that:

When I come to the Canbulat Museum, I have felt honor again because I am a Turkish Cypriot, I wish bless from Allah for our casualties and Canbulat Pasha.

“Canbulat's tomb has been playing more important role, because of the loss to Turkish Cypriots of the Hala Sultan Tekke near Larnaca which has stayed in the territory of Greek Cypriots after the invasion in 1974. Marking the burial place of the Prophet's paternal aunt, Hala Sultan Tekke is one of Islam's holiest places, and before 1974 was the main Turkish Cypriot focus for the activities of making Adak (vows) and simple family picnics on religious and national holidays” (Scott, 2002; Pp: 227). Actually, the sacred function of the museum is

very essential for the Turkish Cypriots who live in Famagusta and Nicosia and it is possible to observe these practices during the Islamic festivals and religious days in the TRNC.

Sayer (55) expressed the importance of Canbulat Pasha:

Canbulat Pasha is a national hero for the Turkish Cypriots who live in Famagusta and his name was given to many places in Famagusta; I believe the myth of Canbulat Pasha, I could say that I believe he fought with his head under his arm.

As Scott (2002; Pp: 223) indicated, when the inter-communal violence years began in 1963, “the legend of Canbulat was again incorporated into the new circumstances such as *Canbulat Radyosu* from February 1964 until 1987 and Canbulat Radio’s news centre: Karga (‘The Crow’)- The Turkish Cypriot nickname for natives of Famagusta- which is published until 1966”. As we can see, Canbulat Pasha played an important role during the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus; moreover the legend of it preserved its presence owing to the Radio in those years. As far as I am concerned the legend of Canbulat Pasha, I believe that the shadow of Canbulat Pasha is still walking around the streets in Famagusta.

III. I. III. Varosha (Maras) as a Milieu de Mémoire

“In the early 1970’s, the Varosha quarter in Famagusta, Cyprus was one of the Mediterranean’s most popular and glamorous tourist destinations. The bright blue waters and beautiful sandy beaches were draws for such stars as Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton, Raquel Welch, and Brigitte Bardot. Population of the area grew to about 39,000 people, but by the end of 1974 the town would be conquered by Turkish troops, fenced off completely, and have a population of zero. Today the former millionaire’s playground resort still stands vacant and fenced off, guarded by Turkish soldiers and doubtful to open anytime soon” (Sometimes Interesting, 2011). As I have observed, Varosha is currently craving for those glorious days and these information about the city look a part of fairytale, when I have seen it as much as possible.

With the terms of Nora (1989), Varosha as a *milieu de mémoire* is a real environment of memory for the Turkish Cypriots. I think it would be helpful to share the quantity of the buildings in Varosha to realize desperate situation;” there were 45 Hotels, 60 apartment hotels, 1953 establishments / shops, 99 entertainment places, 143 public functions, 4469 houses, 380 sites (hotels, houses, etc), 21 banks, 9 cemeteries, churches, mausoleums, 24 theaters and cinemas, 25 Museums, 8 schools and 2 sports facilities” (Zypern Times, 2011).

Actually, it is hardly doable to see which buildings remain these days, because of unfeasibility to enter the city.

An interlocutor, Sayer (55) stated about Varosha:

I remember when I was child before 1974, we were going to Varosha to buy ice cream and there were many tourists in the city and they looked different from us, I haven't remembered that I have seen anybody who has dark hair there; indeed everybody has blonde hair. There was no such a place like Varosha in Cyprus before 1974; even though I usually go to Antalya, Turkey for vacation; I couldn't have seen hotels as much as in Varosha.

Today, Varosha looks like a ghost city and it is forbidden to enter the city, take a picture or record any video; there is under the Turkish military control and only way to enter the city is to be a member of the Turkish military or a personnel of the United Nations. For the tourists, it is possible to visit the Icon Museum inside the city, if you come to Varosha with a travel agency. Surely, if you have any family member in the Turkish army, you can pass from the line the soldiers protect. There is a student dormitory for female children of the Turkish soldiers. As you see below (Figure XIV), you can see Varosha as behind the strings. Besides, when you are walking in the Palm Beach (Figure XV) which is the closest point to the Varosha; you get familiar with these signs as you see below (Figure XVI). Still, the tourists, especially British ones come to see what left from Varosha; they walk on the Palm Beach as the point where they are allowed to approach to the border.



Figure XIV. Varosha behind the Strings. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.



Figure XV. The Abandoned Hotels in the Palm Beach. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.



Figure XVI. The Warning Signs on the Border of Varosha. Cagkan Ubay. August 2012.

The term "ghost town" for Varosha was coined later by the Swedish journalist Jan-Olof Bengtsson, who visited the Swedish UN battalion in Famagusta port and saw the sealed off part of the town from the battalion's observation post. He wrote in the Kvallsposten (Bengtsson, 1977):

“The asphalt on the roads has cracked in the warm sun and along the sidewalks bushes are growing. Today. September 1977, the breakfast tables are still set, the laundry still hanging and the lamps still burning. Famagusta is a ghost-town.”

Of course, the tourists also are not allowed to take picture; many times I have observed that the soldier who waits at the entrance of Varosha really tries to obstruct any photos they take or any video they may record. Indeed, he yells to the tourists as “No Photo No Camera” and usually they whistle to harshly warn the tourists when they try to take picture as I usually noticed. Besides, it is feasible to take pictures of the beaches the Turkish military and family members use, they especially may prevent from anybody who wants to take picture; you can notice these buildings through the Turkish and the Turkish Cypriot flags on the top of them.

Varosha is one of the saddest results of the inter-communal violence years and the Turkish invasion in the island, and also a part of collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots; as an interlocutor, Mustafa (44) stated:

It is really disappointing situation what happened in Varosha; I live near the city and it is hard to believe Varosha once was one of the biggest tourist centers in the world; however, the current situation here is absolutely mistake of the Greek Cypriots.

The reason why Varosha was left is the UN Security Council Resolution 550 (UN, 1984), which in short states that: “attempts to settle any part of Varosha by people other than its inhabitants as inadmissible”. Thus, the resolution forbids from any settlement in the city, except of its residents; however, there is no tangible progress for Varosha as I have perceived through the fieldwork.

“A United Nations peace plan in 2004 proposed returning Varosha to Greek Cypriot control within a loose confederation that the Turkish Cypriots accepted. But the Greek Cypriots rejected reunifying the island” (Bilefsky, 2012). Indeed, this situation always made me curious; that is why, I have also concentrated on finding the reasons of it during the conversations with the interlocutors.

I asked to Sayer (55); why did the Greek Cypriots reject the Annan plan, didn’t they want to come back their homes in Varosha? He replied:

The wish of the Greek Cypriots to come back to the North of the island and Varosha is a big lie; indeed they don’t want to come back, because they say the Turkish Cypriots have contaminated our lands such as streets, homes, everywhere you can imagine.

Then, I asked to him; so do you want to come back there? He answered:

I have a 300 round trip lands in the south of the island; and of course I want my land back, indeed I couldn't have got the cost of the land from the TRNC government.

Sayer (55) explained the situation in the Varosha after invasion as:

I have seen that the city had been looted by the Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish military; thousands beds were taken by the Turkish Army, and jewelry, properties from hotels, restaurants, shops and homes, everything you can envisage were being sacked by the Turkish Cypriots.

As you see in the photos below as before and after the invasion (Figure XVII), the destruction to the buildings (Figure XVIII, XIX and XX) in Varosha since 1974 is unbelievable; I asked one of the interlocutors; what led to this situation in Varosha, Sayer (55) replied as:

Our government couldn't have done anything to get the situation better in Varosha; even though international organizations have made efforts for that. Both communities might have got agreement to reopen the Varosha and our former president Rauf Denktas didn't support this process enough. Indeed, he would have let the Greek Cypriots to open it with the condition of using the labor and sources of the Turkish Cypriots; however, it didn't happen.

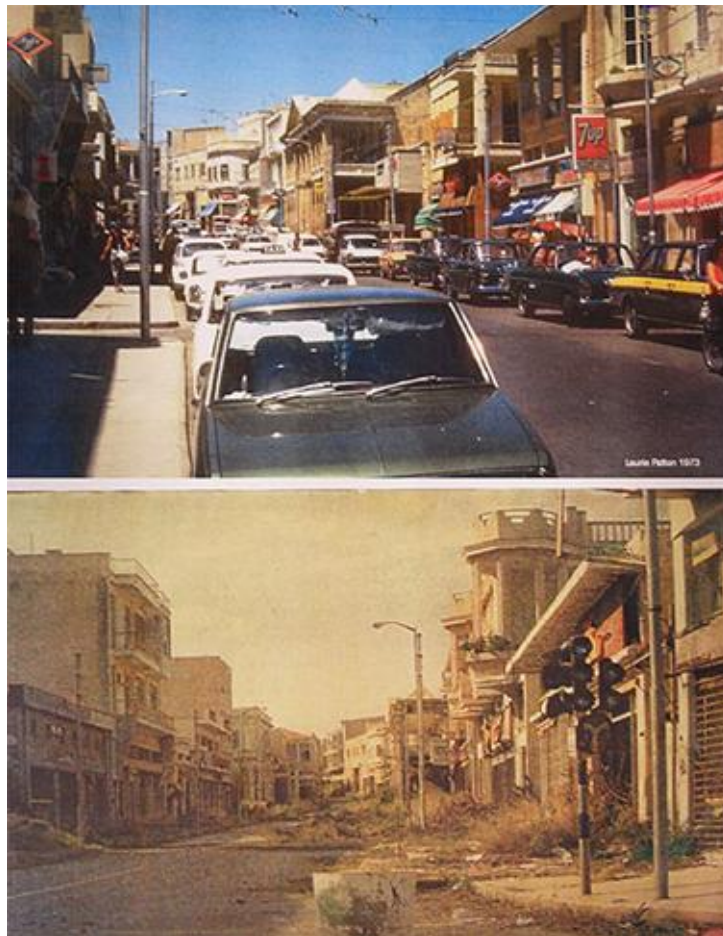


Figure XVII. The Scenes from Varosha as before and after the Turkish Invasion.
<http://sometimesinteresting.com/2011/07/19/abandoned-mediterranean-resort-varosha-quarter-in-famagusta-cyprus/>.

The tourists who are tanning in Palm Beach are usually finding themselves as they are curiously looking at Varosha; and one of the female Turkish tourists, Pinar (25) expressed her feelings as:

I have really become aware of Maras (Varosha) when I came here; indeed many people in Turkey don't know much about Maras. I heard that if it is opened now, 100,000 people might be inhabited there and hotels, stores and restaurants service again.

Pinar is a Turkish female interlocutor I have met in the Museum of Barbarism; indeed she is living in Istanbul and working as an accountant. She is 25 years old and she did come to Cyprus with his husband for their sponsal; I was lucky to meet and talk to them.



Figure XVIII. The Abandoned Buildings in Varosha. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.

Many tourists have realized what happened here, when they come to near Varosha and even though the city is closed, it keeps on pulling tourists into itself similar to before. When they come to Famagusta, they get nearer Varosha and they also visit the Icon Museum inside the city. When you look at the city, it is impossible not to feel sorry about the situation; you may think it is one of the film set of Hollywood such as *Inception* (2010) as I have observed through the high abandoned buildings in Varosha; however in reality it is one of the horrible results what happened in Cyprus between 1963 and 1974, and it is part of the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots as a beautiful, famous and former tourist center.



Figure XIX. The Abandoned Buildings in Varosha. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.



Figure XX. The Abandoned Buildings in Varosha. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.

III. II. The Memories of the Turkish Cypriots in the era between 1963 and 1974 as *Milieux de Mémoire and Lieux de Mémoire*

III. II. I. The Remembrances of the Turkish Cypriots related to the Peace Period in the Island

During my fieldwork, firstly I aimed to get replies from the interlocutors associated with how they remember the Greek Cypriots before the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974 in Cyprus.

An interlocutor, Sayer (55) explained those days:

The Greek Cypriots are very organized religious society; they can't do anything without permission of their bishops. In this period, they were organized in the churches and the churches work like an assembly.

In contrast to the inter-communal violence period between 1963 and 1974, at the beginning of 1950s; the Turkish and Greek Cypriots were living together without any problem; as the interlocutor, Sayer (55) stated:

They were happily living together and cooperating; because of lack of people, they assisted each other when they needed. Both groups did let the other one rent their homes, shops and etc.

Ismet is a 69 year old female interlocutor who was born in Nicosia and had experienced displacement many times, indeed I had chance to talk to her during the Canbulat fair in Famagusta. She remembered everything as she lived yesterday and she always was talkative and cheerful and happy to share her memories; however she looked really sorry when she talked about the events which occurred in the island. As many interlocutors I have talked to, she also against the idea reunification of the island because of her experiences and she preferred living in the TRNC, even though it is not officially recognized state, indeed she usually repeated they would survive if they could behave as a unity and she gave some advises to the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriot community. It was really nice to meet her and listen to her stories in my fieldwork process.

Ismet (69) expressed her feelings related to the years two communities were living together:

From our garden, spring water was coming; and in this period there is not much spring water at homes of our neighbors. My parents were giving the water to the neighbors without distinguish them as Turkish or Greek Cypriot (*Rum*).

One of male interlocutors is a Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen who was born in Nicosia and he is 59 years old; actually he is currently working at the Dr. Fazil Kucuk Museum as an officer. Even though he was talkative many times, I should have pushed him to take more information, indeed he was self-conscious during the interview, however he honestly had replied to the all questions I have asked. As I declared before, he was a Mujahideen for 6 and an half years in the Turkish Resistance Organization, TMT and it was clear that he is really secretive in the some situations. It was really hard to discuss some issues he didn't get agree with me; however his opinions and advises also were so crucial for my research.

The Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) explained the situation in Cyprus until 1955:

In the villages, we were living together; there were many people who could speak Greek and Turkish in that period; the numbers of populations in the villages were close to each other such as 600-400 or 400-200. However, they didn't like us; for example some Turkish Cypriots were working near the Greek Cypriots and they had known after six months employment, we would have got insured by the government; that is why they fired us before six months passed over and did take us back later and it was the proof I remember they didn't enjoy us much.

Besides, the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) stated about his Greek Cypriot friends during the peace time in the island:

We had many Greek friends and neighbors, we had been playing cards together in the neighborhood coffee houses; however then we had seen many of them joined the EOKA gangs, and somehow they turned into our enemies.

III.II.II. The Beginning of the Inter-communal Violence Years

Another interlocutor, Mustafa (44) confessed his feelings about the Greek Cypriots who were the members of EOKA:

The EOKA gangs were suckers; I am happy they don't exist anymore, because I am sure now nobody will kill torture or rape any Turkish Cypriot. In this period, my uncle was also killed and I am still sorry for that. I still hate EOKA and the EOKA's leader Grivas.

Sayer (55) also stated about EOKA:

EOKA and the Greek Cypriot resisters wanted to imprison us into the ghettos and they attacked to the villages where the Turkish Cypriots were living and they killed Turkish Cypriots; furthermore they raped women.

İsmet (69) talked about how they forced to leave their home in this period:

We had to leave our home to run away from the cruelty of the Greek Cypriots, we went to our home to get our properties in the territory of Greeks (*Rum*); I remember I was really fearing and we had to be quickly, because every moment the EOKA gangs could have attacked us. In one hour, we tried to get the most important properties of us. While we were putting our properties to truck, our neighbors giggling to us without doing anything. My mum yelled to them and cursed for the water she had been given to them for years. I remember we had cried a lot after we left our neighborhood.

One of the interlocutors, the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) who had been a member of TMT confessed that about the Turkish Resistance Organization:

Indeed, TMT was founded as a reaction to EOKA, because every effect leads to a reaction and it was the reaction of the Turkish Cypriots against the Greek Cypriots.

In fact, he is still keeping on his memories about TMT:

I was 14 years old when I joined TMT and I had serviced to this organization for six and an half years; indeed I had to do that, because we were fighting against *gavur*, Turkish word means non-Muslim, Greek Cypriots. There was nothing except of protecting us from the armed struggle. If my country needs me again, I could still join the army and protect my homeland.

Another interlocutor, Sayer (55) declared:

Our fathers couldn't have found steel to do guns; and the Greek Cypriots didn't sell iron and cement to us; besides, British forces made this process harder.

In Nicosia, it is very usual to see monuments (Figure XXI) related to TMT, the Turkish Resistance Organization. It is written under the emblem of TMT as *Toprak Eđer Uğrunda Ölen Varsa Vatandır*, Territory is homeland if someone died for it. Indeed, in martyrdoms, cemeteries and many places, this sentence could be seen in the TRNC and this monument as a part of sites of memory in Nicosia also constitutes *lieux de mémoire* with the term of Nora (1989; Pp: 7).

İsmet (69) said about Turkey's assistance to the Turkish Cypriots:

Turkey's support was very significant for us; where I attend to demonstrations in Nicosia, likewise it increased our trust to our national struggle.

Besides, the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) added about that:

In many cases, Turkey had supported us a lot in these hard years and especially, Turkish aid organization, *Kızılay*, Turkish Red Crescent sent many things through the ships such as tents, blankets and we couldn't forget those assistances. I hope Turkey could always be with us.



Figure XXI. A monument of TMT in Nicosia. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.

The Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) explained one unknown situation about the inefficiency of the guns in this period:

Actually, we had guns because, TMT provided guns by getting from Turkey, even though many people assume that incompetence of the guns in the island; however it was true we had given less guns to the villages related to the number of their residents.

Ismet (69) added about the period between 1960 and 1963:

At the beginning of founding of Republic of Cyprus, everything was good enough; however; after a while, President Makarios began to make problems and ruin the republic due to any opportunity he would have found.

Mustafa (44) confessed about that period:

The inter-communal violence began because of the Greek Cypriots; they had seen us as other, made us minority and excluded us from the society; indeed we had common rights in the 1960 founding constitution of Republic of Cyprus; however they didn't obey the Constitution. They have tried to decrease our population through the cruel attacks.

Sayer (55) gave another example how he feels about Makarios:

Makarios had deceived poor Turkish Cypriot families by giving them passport to go to Great Britain or Australia. Even though they didn't have money, Makarios arranged

everything to send them from the island and the aim was clear which was reducing our population in the island.

And I asked the Mujahideen (59), how he felt after the republic founded; actually he replied:

Indeed, they had seen us as the other and they accepted us under the African people as an ethnic group in the island.

III.II.III. The Civil Conflicts between the Communities of the Island

Sayer (55) stated about the occurrences which began in 1963:

If Greek Cypriots had chosen to live with us peacefully instead of attacking us, actually, many Turkish Cypriots would have left the island in accordance with their own decisions; however the attacks of the Greek Cypriots led to a reaction in the Turkish Cypriots and it triggered inter-communal violence in the island.

Ismet (69) explained her feelings about the events:

Indeed, it was part of *Akritis* Plan and the EOKA gangs were performing this plan through the cruel events such as Kumsal Invasion; however for this time, Nikos Sampson was assigned by the Greek forces and their first aim was *Enosis*.

Then she also indicated that about the Kumsal Invasion and family of Dr. Nihat İlhan:

Killing innocent and women was the indicator of the Greek Cypriots' barbarism and the photo was taken after the massacre, turned into a symbol of the events which emerged in December 1963.

Today, the names of Turkish Cypriots who were murdered in Kumsal Invasion are being presented in the garden of Museum of Barbarism through this monument (Figure XXII).



Figure XXII. The Monument for the Turkish Cypriots who were Martyrized in the Kumsal Invasion. Cagkan Ubay. August 2012.

Sayer (55) described these events which began on the 21st of December, 1963 as barbaric and he also added:

The EOKA gangs and the Greek soldiers with the support of the Greek Commander Grivas and President Makarios tried to kill all Turkish Cypriots in one night with the support of the Greek Army and in point of fact, it illustrated how a stupid nation it is.

Besides, the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) explained these attacks through the Orthodox culture:

In the Orthodox culture, the community is tied to the church and their bishops and nationalism was very high in these communities such as Russia, Serbia and it is also clear what and how these states killed the minority groups. We also have fought against the Greek Cypriots; however we have never killed the children who were sleeping in their beds, because we were Muslims and we were scared of God.

Mustafa (44) also had to leave his home in Limassol and move to Famagusta. I asked him, how do you remember those days now? Indeed, he replied:

My childhood memories have passed in the violence years; however I have still missed my home there; it was difficult to leave the place I was born in South. On the other hand, I am happy to be here; at least I know nobody would try to harm or murder me and my family here. The EOKA gangs were rats.

Indeed, Makarios was one of the most important figures in the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus and when I have asked to the interlocutors what they think about Makarios, I got the same reply from different interlocutors as there was nothing to enjoy him; and the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) said about Makarios:

He was a big liar and deceived us many times as well as many Greek Cypriots; I remember we had heard false news on radio as the downtown was bombed by the EOKA gangs and Greek Junta. There would be no deceptive nation such as the Greek Cypriots. Actually, Makarios started this war; but at the end he lost, either.

Ismet (69) described the day Turkish Pilot Cengiz Topel was captured:

It was one of the days we almost lost our hope against Greek Cypriots' (*Rum*) cruelty, then I heard sound of the Turkish jets; we were so happy and we watched the jets for a while and our mujahedeen were protecting them; however the coast was being held by the EOKA gangs and the Greek Cypriot resisters. After a while, we heard a great explosion and saw a black smoke; and we learned the jet of Cengiz Topel was shot down by the Greeks; however it was told us he jumped with parachute; indeed, he was tortured and killed by the EOKA gangs.

Ismet (69) also added:

We have lived the history and we have paid a lot to come to these days.

Similar to the family of Dr. Nihat Ilhan, Cengiz Topel was also a symbol of the victims in the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus; his name was given to the streets, squares, mosques, military and administrative places, martyrdom (Figure XXIII), and a village in TRNC and Turkey.

The Monument for the Turkish Cypriots who were martyred in Kumsal Invasion in the garden of Museum of Barbarism in Famagusta and the martyrdom of Pilot Cengiz Topel in Bogazkoy as sites of memory proved the points of Nora (1989; Pp: 7) as *lieux de mémoire* connecting with officially monumentalized sites such as monuments, museums and street names, etc.



Figure XXIII. The Martyrdom of Pilot Cengiz Topel
<<http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=79466>>.

Mustafa (44) talked about Cengiz Topel:

Indeed, we have learned what happened to Cengiz Topel thanks to the books we had read in the school; after we have displaced from Limassol, I have kept on going to school in Famagusta and this event always reminds me there is no limit of the cruelty of the Greek Cypriots.

The Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) explained the role of the UN peace forces in the inter-communal violence years:

Actually, in this period the UN forces had observers in every city and village in Cyprus and they were neutral; however they were usually coming to us to warn about any dangerous situation; for instance they were telling us the amounts of the soldiers and tanks were coming and we should have run away before they come.

III. II. IV. The Floating Memories of the Turkish Cypriots about the Cyprus Peace Operation

Ismet (69) described those days before the Cyprus Peace Operation:

Towards to the Cyprus peace operation, the barbarism of the Greek Cypriots had increased a lot; every day we were hearing new massacres in the Turkish villages and I was scared for my children; any moment it would be happened to us. Our only hope was Turkey which could have helped to us.

Sayer (55) shared one moment he couldn't forget about those days before the peace operation:

We were going our village in Magosa (Famagusta) by bus and we did come to the first check point which was enforced for the Turkish cars by the Greek Cypriot forces. There were some polices and Greek Cypriot soldiers; they were checking the identity documents. Then, the inspection line came to us and the Greek officers wanted the driver to take the luggage down on the top of the bus; after a while the police stopped in front of two plastic bags and asked what is inside of these. The owner of the bags said there was flour in one of them and the other one was full of cracked wheat. Even though the poor guy begged the police not to drill the plastic bags; unfortunately the police drilled the bags and flour and cracked wheat spilled out from the bags.

Sayer (55) also stated about coup d'état on the island in the island:

At the same period, there was also a civil conflict among the Greek Cypriots; indeed the supporters of Makarios and Grivas have fought each other; and because of that many Greek Cypriots were killed.

At this point, the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) confessed one truth many people missed:

In fact, in the inter-communal violence period in the island, the EOKA gangs killed the Greek Cypriots more than the Turkish Cypriots, because of the political conflicts and clash of the leftist and rightist groups in the Greek Cypriots, however many people didn't know that.

Ismet (69) has described the day the peace operation began:

At 5 o'clock in the morning, we were excitedly waiting and praying for the Turkish soldiers. When we first saw the Turkish jets, we were yelling as *Allah Allah*. It was the day we had waited for a long time; finally the cruelty of Greek Cypriots (*Rum*) was going to end; *Mehmetcik* (Turkish Soldier) came to the island to save us.

Many times I have experienced that the interlocutors didn't distinguish the Greek Cypriots with the EOKA or EOKA B gangs; they have just defined them as *Rum*. Rums are defined as

rats, suckers or the other slangy words and many times all Greek Cypriot community was accepted as integrity; even though it wasn't like that.

Many interlocutors who had lost their family members such as Mustafa (44) stated that the Turkish proverb, *Ates dustugu yeri yakar* to express their feelings related to the pain they had felt, which means "a calamity only really affects its immediate victim"; that is why, according to them; living with the Greek Cypriots again is intolerable; indeed, it is the one of their most horrible nightmares they wouldn't like to see again.

Ismet (69) clarified the hardest situation for her, during the Cyprus Peace Operation:

One of the saddest moments I have experienced was slavery; during the Happy Peace Cyprus operation, we had been taken captured by the Greek Cypriots, the bomb was fallen into my garden and we gathered at my home with my neighbors and I did hide my children under the bed in my bedroom. We were feeling the death near us every moment; indeed it was a terrible situation. Whenever we heard the sound of the Turkish jets, we actually could have taken breath for one moment.

Mustafa (44) explained what he lived after the Cyprus Peace Operation of the Turkish army in 1974:

The Peace Operation was our biggest dream which came true; however after the invasion, our city, Limassol was surrounded by the Greek gangs and we all gathered in the Limassol Hospital; I remember I have never feared like that until that day. The Greek soldiers walked around us.

Then I asked Mustafa (44), why you didn't leave; he replied:

Why should I have left? Who are the Greek Cypriots? Here was my homeland, too. I was born in Cyprus and I am going to die here. Indeed, we could have lived in peace; but, the Greek Cypriots started the war and we lost that chance forever.

Ismet (69) described her feelings at the end of the war when the Turkish Cypriots came to save them from the slavery:

The noisy of the tanks did take all fear from our hearts; indeed we began crying because of the happiness and we hugged each other. We tried to give bread and water to the Turkish soldiers to show our gratitude; actually we didn't know what we do. Still, I couldn't forget that view of the Turkish tanks in front of us. We got freedom again, thanks to the Turkish army.

At this point; I would like to share what the interlocutors feel about the Cyprus peace operation, Mustafa (44) stated his feelings:

If Turkey didn't come, there would not be any Turkish Cypriot presence in the island. God bless them. If we still live today; we owed that to Turkey, I hope the Turkish

forces will never leave the island. Someone who says opposite of that is fascist. Indeed, as many Turkish Cypriots, I have still kept the photo of Bulent Ecevit, who had decided for the operation to the island by the Turkish Military, at my home.

Sayer (55) stated:

We all were going to die because of the massacres the Greek Cypriots had done, if Turkey didn't come to the island; indeed, I also supported to the second operation because the embargo was already going to be occurred whatever happened. Our former President, Rauf Denktas' biggest success was to bring the Turkish military to the island and it was right of Turkey as a guarantor state.

The Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) explained his approach:

If we live today, we owe for that to TMT, the Turkish Resistance Organization and the Turkish Military; indeed the Greek Cypriots made mistake by bringing the Greek military to the island and this action met by the Turkish operation. The Turkish Military's presence on the island is very crucial for us and I hope they will not leave the island because we feel more secured with its existence. Owing to the Turkish army, we have been freely living without any fear which the Greek Cypriots currently may cause.

Ismet (69) expressed her point of view:

I remember that I have prayed a lot for the Turkish Military to come to the island and save us; our young generation was lucky because they didn't live those days; and I hope they won't. However; they should know the value of this flag and this country and they should think again, when they support the reunification. Whatever happens, I am happy because we have our own nation, state and flag and I am grateful to the Turkish military for providing these. We should be powerful and establish a unity inside us against the great powers of the world.

For the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots who has been living in Famagusta and Nicosia; the massacres in the Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda villages were crucial events they have remembered from the inter-communal violence years and most of them; these massacres illustrate why they don't want to live with the Greek Cypriots again.

In many places in the TRNC; it is so common to see the figures to describe the Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda Massacres; for instance in Famagusta; these figures (Figure XXIV) are exhibited in the Temporary Genocide Museum.

Sayer (55) stated about these artworks as:

These are made by a Turkish artist who would like to draw reaction to the cruel events which took place against the Turkish Cypriot community; however that museum isn't an official museum; it is just like the artworks which are exhibited on the streets and the municipality doesn't give importance much to these artworks. In my opinion, these artworks are still essential for the Turkish Cypriots to internalize especially for the younger generation of the community to realize what happened in Cyprus.

The Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) expressed his feelings about the massacres in the Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda villages:

In these three villages; the Greek and Turkish Cypriots had lived together such as many villages in Cyprus; however these villages were between many Greek villages. At the beginning, the EOKA gangs attacked to Aloda; however in the situation in Maratha was worse because the residents who lived in the Santalaris were brought to Maratha; and the bodies of these people were decayed and burned in the garbage; indeed, it was impossible for the family members to recognize them.

Sayer (55) also expressed his point of view about these massacres:

My village was close to Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda villages; these massacres showed that how their cruelty was strong against the Turkish Cypriots, otherwise how it could be explained to kill the women, children and old people and burn them in the dust area. Indeed, nobody even the Turkish Cypriot villagers could imagine these massacres happened like that.

Every year on August 14; these casualties are remembered in the martyrdom of Maratha (Figure XXV); furthermore there was a small museum (Figure XXVI) for the casualties in the primary school in Aloda; the photos of the people who died in these massacre are exhibited here.

The reliefs in the Temporary Genocide Museum in Famagusta, Martyrdom of Maratha and Primary School in Aloda also establish *lieux de mémoire* with the term of Nora (1989; Pp: 7); however, related to these places, the Turkish Cypriots also have lively memories as *milieux de mémoire* and many times these types of memory are overlapping in the case of the Turkish Cypriot Community.

I also have noticed many times the interlocutors only talked about the EOKA gangs; not the EOKA-B resisters such as written in the books or the other resources; I have asked about that to the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59); he replied:

There was only the EOKA gangs; not the EOKA-B resisters; there wasn't any difference between them for us and they did lock up, torture, beat, rape and kill us.

Sayer (55) declared his wish for the TRNC to unify with Turkey:

We believe that new referenda will take place soon in Cyprus, and we would like to vote for unifying with Turkey at this time; the EU and the UN should respect to our self-determination. It is irresistible.



Figure XXIV. The Reliefs from the Temporary Genocide Museum. Cagkan Ubay. August 2012.



Figure XXV. The Martyrdom of Maratha. <<http://www.nhaber.com/toplu-katliam-sehitleri-torenle-anildi.html>>.



Figure XXVI. The Primary School in Santalaris Village.

< <http://www.fotokritik.com/609162/murataga-sandallar-atlilar-koyu-sehitleri-muzesi>>.

Although I remind him it is impossible without the approval of the Greek Cypriots, he insisted that the Turkish Cypriots have already been recognized in the referenda through Annan Plan in 2004. He kept on trying to convince me one example he expressed:

When I go to visit my children in Britain, I usually stay at a hotel near London and when I declare I am from Cyprus; the receptionist always asks me which part of the island I come from as North or South.

All of the interlocutors I have interviewed in this chapter supported the operation of Turkey in 1974 and many more think this operation was necessary to save them from the attacks of the Greek Cypriots. Even though I reminded them, it would be possible for some Turkish Cypriots don't like Turkey and the Turkish presence in the island; they didn't want to accept it and some of the interlocutors described these Turkish Cypriots as uneducated. However, I have never met anyone who said the operation of Turkey was unnecessary, of course some of them talked about the problems related to the long presence of the Turkish. Except of these complaints; I haven't experienced any hate from the Turkish Cypriots against the Turkish or the Turkish military during the fieldwork.

Chapter IV: Prosthetic Memory: The Museum of Barbarism and Shadows and Faces (2010)

As Landsberg (1995; Pp: 175) defined “prosthetic memory as implanted memories and the unsettled boundaries between real and simulated ones are frequently accompanied by another disruption: of the human body, its flesh, its subjective autonomy, its difference from both the animal and the technological”. Indeed, due to prosthetic memories, it is possible to get confused with the real and replicated memories; moreover, these entrenched memories on the human body are getting more complicated. I believe that this controversial situation is also convincing point for the Turkish Cypriots associated with the memories of the inter-communal violence years in Cyprus between 1963 and 1974.

“Prosthetic memories emerge at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past, at an experiential site as a movie theater or museum. In this moment of contact, an experience occurs through which a person sutures him or herself into a larger historical narrative. In this process, the person does not simply learn about the past intellectually, but takes on a more personal, deeply felt memory of a past event through which he or she did not live in the traditional sense” (Landsberg, 2009; Pp:222). Actually, the function of a movie theater or museum is very essential for a person to connect to a historical narrative, besides; in this way prosthetic memory appeared owing to an experience which happens between a person and historical narrative through feeling intensely the memory as Landsberg (2009) pointed out. I think this relationship between a person and historical narrative is very important for the emergence of prosthetic memory, because it indicates the person would have the prosthetic memories or not. Although a person experiences memory without living it through prosthetic memory, it is feasible to attach with this past as I examine due to the inter-communal fight years in the Turkish Cypriot community.

Landsberg (2009; Pp: 222) also expressed the importance of empathy in this process as well as people could experience this empathy for ‘others’ through prosthetic memory they get by watching a movie or visiting an experimental museum. For the prosthetic memory of the Turkish Cypriots, the Museum of Barbarism is a good destination to investigate the prosthetic memory with the term of Landsberg (1995; 1996); this prosthetic memory would be suitable for the Turkish Cypriots as well as the Turkish and foreigners who come to visit the museum

or watch the movie, *Shadows and Faces* (2010). Even though the Turkish, foreigners or Turkish Cypriots who haven't experienced the events in Cyprus, they would have the memories of the events related to the inter-communal years between 1963 and 1974 thanks to the museums and the movies related to the this period. In this perspective, the Museum of Barbarism is going to be the first place I examine the term of prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community.

IV.I. The Museum of Barbarism

The Museum of Barbarism (Figure XXVII) is located in the house was once lived in by Dr. Nihat Ilhan and his family in Kumsal neighborhood of Nicosia. On entering the museum as free of charge, a brochure is given to the visitors telling that “Dr. Nihat Ilhan was assigned to the regiment sent by the Turkish army as part of the guarantee agreement made when the new Cyprus Republic was established in 1960. At the night of December 24, 1963; while Dr. Nihat Ilhan was on duty, his wife, his three children, Kutsi, Tecer and Hakan along with the house owner Hasan Gudum's wife, Feride Gudum were killed by the EOKA gangs. Following the barbaric act of murder the house was turned into a museum in 1966 to commemorate the martyred with the photos exhibited showing the scene of crime”. Especially, the photo of this event was taken after the unfortunate happening in this house was established a symbol for the attacks of the Greek Cypriots in the island.



Figure XXVII. The Museum of Barbarism. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.

In many places in the TRNC, similar to the Museum of Barbarism, the Bloody Christmas 1963 is monumentalized such as in the martyrdom of Lefkosa Tekke Bahcesi (Figure XXVIII), and in the Temporary Genocide Museum in Famagusta (Figure XXIX).



Figure XXVIII. The Martyrdom of Lefkosa Tekke Bahcesi. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.



Figure XXIX. The Relief which describes the Bloody Christmas 1963. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.

There are seven rooms in the museum; in addition to the part of the bathroom and toilet, indeed, at the entrance there are several published articles of the newspapers such as *Le Figaro*, *the Times* and *Daily Express* about 1963 and 1964 events in the island are presented. It is also written at the entrance as Turkish and English:

Bu müze Rum katliamı sonucu şehit edilen ve göçe zorlanan tüm masum insanlarımızın öyküsünü yansıtmaktadır. This Museum is reflecting the story of our innocent people who were brutally murdered and forced to leave their homes as a result of the Greek Genocide.

Then, you notice the bullet holes in the walls within a black frame; also it is written in the glass frame as:

At the night of December 24, 1963; in this house, Turkish Forces Commander Dr. Nihat Ilhan's wife, Mürüvvet Ilhan and children, Murat, Kutsi and Hakan; and House owner Feride Gudum were martyred.

In the second room, the photos of the Turkish Cypriots who were harmed because of inter-communal violence years in the island are exhibited and in the third room; the articles from the foreign press are showed; moreover, the clothes and the other properties that were belonged to Mürüvvet Ilhan and her children are displayed.

In the fourth room, the photos (Figure XXX) which are reflecting savagery and bloodshed; and a painting which symbolizes the attacks are presented and in the fifth room which is the most important room I assumed that through the bathroom and toilet which the unfortunate event happened in 1963; indeed, the bullet holes still remain in the wall of the bathroom and it looks like the time stopped there. At the entrance of the bathroom; it is also easy to notice the photo as the symbol of this event. In the sixth room, the photos of the villages which were being devastated between 1963 and 1964; and a painting which shows the hope of the Turkish Cypriots are displayed. In the last room, a frame (Figure XXXI) in which the names of the casualties who died between 1963 and 1968 is written with the title of *Unutmayacagız* (We will not forget!).



Figure XXX. The Turkish Soldier who was Martyrized in Gecitkale Village in 1967. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.



Figure XXXI. The list of Casualties between 1963 and 1968. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.

In the same room, the photos of the residents (Figure XXXII) who were martyred in this house are presented, besides the former President of the TRNC, Rauf R. Denktas' opinions related to the events in the inter-communal violence years are written in the frame:

At this home, the worth of the freedom and the response of being Turkish were paid out. Cyprus' turning into second Crete was obscured. Shame on the fans of Megali Idea! I wish bless from Allah for our casualties.

It is also written in a frame, in the sixth room:

In the events which started in 1963 and continued for 11 years; the hundreds of the Turkish were killed without mercy and the hundreds of them were missing, and many villages were devastated, our schools and mosques were fallen down and more than a quarter of the Turkish Cypriot population forced to the migration.



Figure XXXII. The Children and Wife of Dr. Nihat İlhan. Cagkan Ubay. September 2012.

I also had chance to investigate the visitor book of the museum; the visitors were generally calling for blessings on the souls of the people who died at this home and the soul of all our martyrs. Besides; many comments are being completed with the sentence of *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene*, *How happy is the one who can say, "I am a Turk"*. I would like to share some of them:

Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene, Türk olmak ayrıcalıktır [How happy is the one who can say, "I am a Turk". Being Turk is a privilege] (Gülhayır, İstanbul).

Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene [How happy is the one who can say, "I am a Turk"] (Sema)

Türklüğümden bir kez daha gurur duydum, Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene, Kıbrıs sağolsun [I am proud of being a Turk again, How happy is the one who can say, "I am a Turk", Viva Cyprus] (Salih).

Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene, Allah rahmet eylesin [How happy is the one who can say, "I am a Turk", God bless them] (Sevda).

Allahtan rahmet diliyorum tüm şehitlerimize [I call blessing for our all martyrs] (Gürkan).

Mustafa (44) expressed his feelings about this museum:

This museum shows how the Greek Cypriots could have been barbaric, otherwise how could it be explained to kill the children with the automatic guns. Shame on the EOKA gangs!

Many Turkish through their visit to the Museum of Barbarism, have memories; although they didn't live in this period. This museum as a real environment of memory constitutes *milieux de mémoire*; because many Turkish Cypriots have vivid memories about the happenings in the island and similarly; it is also closer to the *lieux de mémoire* for the Turkish Cypriot community, because this museum establishes a monument for them. They accept also this museum as a monument to pray and bless their martyrs; furthermore, it is also related to the prosthetic memory through the books they read and movies they watch. Indeed, their memory about Cyprus is mediated through this museum when they visit it; it is also possible to see that in their comments in the visitors' book and discussions I have made with them. Many visitors stated that they feel they live these events when they come here and that makes them feel really sorry about the Turkish Cypriots and increase their hate to the Greek Cypriots. Besides, some of them don't miss the chance to show the Turkish chauvinism, for instance one of the visitors who did write in the visitors' book:

Hiç kimse sevmese de Türk olmaktan bir kere daha gurur duydum ve daha da hırslandım, bir gün ülkenin başkanı olduğumda tüm dünyaya Türkün gücünü bir daha göstereceğim, bunu yapacağım. Ruhunuz şad olsun.[Although nobody likes, I am proud of being a Turk once again and I got angrier, when I become the President of the State, I will show the power of the Turk to all the world again, I will do that. Rest in Peace] (Sema).

There are also some comments in the visitors' book related to the reactions of the visitors to the Greek Cypriots:

Affedilmez insanlık dramı [Unforgivable humanity drama] (Neriman).

Bu müzeyi gördükten sonra bize (Türkler) barbar diyenler utanmalı. Dünya aslında bize soykırım yapmıştır [After seeing this museum, somebody who says barbarian to us (Turkish People) should shame. Indeed, the World committed us genocide] (Safiye).

Geçmişte bu barbarlıktan ders almalıyız, yine aynı Rumlar yine aynı barbarlık devam ediyor [We should learn something from this barbarism in the past; again same Greek Cypriots and same barbarism continue today] (Atakan).

Buraya ne zaman gelsem tüylerim diken diken oluyor. Bir Türk hiçbir zaman bir bebeğe kurşun sıkmaz. Bir de bize barbar dersiniz, gerçek barbar kimmiş buraya gelince gördük. Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene [Whenever I come here, my hairs get goose

bumps. A Turk never shoots a baby. However, you call us barbarian; when we come here; we see who the real barbarian is. How happy is the one who can say, “I am a Turk”] (Murat).

Many visitors censured this event; in addition the foreigners are coming to visit the Museum of Barbarism; I have noticed some French comment in the visitors’ book:

Cette visite me provoque le nage “barbarie” [This visit causes me swim “barbarism”].

The other comments of the visitors about this museum in the visitors’ book:

Bu müze adadaki iki toplumun bir daha birleşemeyeceğinin en büyük kanıtıdır. Geçmişte şehit olan tüm Yurttaşlarıma Allahtan rahmet diliyorum [This Museum is the biggest proof of why two communities in the island couldn’t unite again. I wish bless from God to my all own citizens who were martyred] (Serkan).

Buraya hep beraber Gaziantep’ten geldik, bu vahşeti yapanlar insan olmaz; bir de gençler Rumlarla birleşme çabasında [We all came here together from Gaziantep, somebody who did this savagery couldn’t be a human-being; however the younger Turkish Cypriots make efforts to unite with the Greek Cypriots] (Abdullah).

Pınar is a 25 years old female interlocutor who is coming from Turkey. I have got opportunity to talk to her and her husband, Erkan (28) after they visited the museum. They have come to Cyprus for their honeymoon, and they indicated that they enjoy visiting the historical places in Nicosia. They are both working as accountant in Istanbul. Firstly, Erkan (28) had expressed his feelings about the Museum of Barbarism:

During our visit to this museum; unfortunately we feel like living that moment as well as our citizens, it is so sad; it will never be forgotten. This Museum is a proof of how the Greek Cypriots see the Turkish Cypriots.

Pınar (25) also stated that:

For one moment, my heart seemed like stopped. When I saw the bullet holes, I felt like I am really living that moment; indeed this event is hurting me from my heart. It is really horrible.

Actually, this explanation of Pınar is a good example for the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community; because somehow she had this memory through her visit to the Museum of Barbarism. In this perspective, owing to his visit to the museum, Erkan (28) also has memories about the events which occurred in 1963 December.

Then, Pınar (25) added about the museum:

What can I say about this landscape? I am just looking with the eyes which are full of the tears. I will never forget here.

Erkan (28) differently approached to the issue:

In my opinion, the Greek Cypriots who attacked to the women and children in 1963 had common points with the *PKK, Kurdistan Workers' Party* which has been killing many Turkish people in the eastern part of Turkey. It is the same cruelty.

Of course, they have known something about the inter-communal violence in the island; however, when they come to the Museum of Barbarism, they have opportunity to visualize the events through the photos, paintings and a real environment of the event occurred in 1963 December leads them to have memories which aren't their own.

Mustafa (44) talked about the Museum of Barbarism:

Whenever I go to the Museum of Barbarism; I remember my uncle who was killed by the EOKA gangs through the attacks which began in 1963 December in the island.

Sayer (55) also stated:

Even today; it is hard to accept this attack which happened at the house which turned into museum in Kumsal Neighborhood. I hope our young generation could realize what we lived in the past by visiting this museum.

Ismet (69) also explained her feelings about the museum:

This museum symbolizes the hate and grudge of the Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Cypriots and it is the proof why two communities of the island couldn't live together anymore.

The Museum of Barbarism, as prosthetic memory, with the term of Landsberg (1996; Pp: 175) is very efficient to investigate the modern forms of the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots, especially about the inter-communal violence years in the island. Many interlocutors stated that this place is not only a museum; indeed it is one of the places which the inter-communal violence occurred and this museum is very important for the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots in the island. In many parts of the museum, it is common to read the word *genocide*; and the visitors who come to the museum define this event as barbaric. On the other hand, this museum leads to glorify the feeling of being Turkish or Turkish Cypriot; however it triggers the hatred against the Greek Cypriots as defining them as a barbaric community. Actually, it also undermines the unifying of the communities as well as the peace process between two antagonistic communities of the island.

IV.II. Shadows and Faces (2010)

With the exception of the movies such as *Akamas (2006)* and *Shadows and Faces (2010)*; and the documentaries; for instance, *Attilas 74: The Rape of Cyprus (1975)* and *Parallel Trips (2004)*; there is no well-qualified a period movie or documentary in the Cypriot cinema associated with the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974.

The Turkish Cypriot director of the movie, Dervis Zaim's *Shadows and Faces (2010)*, is a period movie which focuses on the beginning of the inter-communal violence years between the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots in 1963, Cyprus. The film narrates in the period three years after the foundation of Cyprus Republic in 1960; and the first sparks which led to inter-communal violence are illustrated. At the beginning of the movie, an information related to the history of Cyprus until 1963 is given such as British colonization on the island and the foundation of resistance organizations as EOKA and TMT from two ethnic communities and the wish of the constitutional changes of the Greek Cypriots met by the rejection of the Turkish Cypriots in 1963 and the displacement operations from well-organized Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Cypriots; then the film begins from that moment as a displacement scene of the Turkish Cypriots from their village by the Greek Cypriot forces.

In the film, the older Greek and Turkish Cypriots are described more rationally than the younger generation in the island; and these old Cypriots try to play a critical role in the different communities of the village, however the attacks of the Greek Cypriot armed forces also reflects to the screen; indeed, the older Greek Cypriots who live in the village do not approve the actions of these forces. The relationship between two ethnic groups in the village look regular such as playing cards scenes in the neighborhood coffee houses and helping and fooling around each other. The Turkish Cypriots buy bread from the Greek Cypriot shops and they offer food each other; on the other hand, the resistance organizations in both parts are secretly working. Even though the director objectively deals with the issues in the movie; the Greek Cypriot forces are presented as an unacceptable even by their own citizens and they hold up and chase the Turkish Cypriots, and they are defined as the first ones who began the violence in the village. The supporters of the two resistance organizations write to the wall of village *EOKA*, National Organization of Cypriot Fighter or *Taksim*, the partition of the island, and they try to be ready for any bad situation they may experience by practicing with the

rifles. At the end, the inter-communal violence begins and two ethnic communities attack each other and of course this violence mostly affects the innocent Cypriot civilians who live in the village such as rational older members of the different communities of the village.

In the movie, two communities in the village are sequentially alienated, turned against and killed each other at the end; however both communities are not represented as only victims of the events such as the official narratives of the states. In this perspective, this film doesn't try to strive one side is bad and the other one is good and because of these features, this movie is really worth to watch as many interlocutors accepted.

“There are not many movies which focus on the 1960s in Cyprus in the Turkish, Greek or Turkish Cypriot cinema; the only movie in the Turkish Cinema which explains that period of time in 1960s is film, *Sezercik Kucuk Mucahit* (1974), however it wouldn't pass over to show the Greek Cypriots as rats; that is why Zaim's *Shadows and Faces* (2010) is very essential at this point with the objective approach” (Sen, 2010). Actually, it is really hard to find the movies which have the objective approach related to inter-communal violence years in Cyprus; for example, *Attilas 74: The Rape of Cyprus* (1975), deals with the inter-communal violence years by one-sided Greek Cypriot approach, likewise *Sezercik Kucuk Mucahit* (1974) only focuses on the cruelty of the Greek Cypriots. However, thanks to movies such as *Akamas* (2006) and *Shadows and Faces* (2010), and documentary as *Parallel Trips* (2004), these one-sided movies in the Cypriot cinema is decreasing as I have examined.

According to Dervis Zaim, “*Shadows and Faces* (2010) establishes a mirror for the Turkish Cypriots to see themselves and looking into mirror is the first step of changing; when one human looks into a mirror, s/he could be a mirror for someone else at the next step” (Ipek, 2011). I consider that it is one of the crucial points of the memory, because this mirror could help the Greek and Turkish Cypriots to feel empathy for the other side. In this way, it is also possible for the prosthetic memory to accomplish its purpose of creating empathy in the major ethnic communities of the divided island.

“Another important point for this movie is that acting of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot actors and actresses in the same movie; Dervis Zaim in a reportage described that as revolution because he indicated that ten years ago, finding the Greek Cypriot actors to take role in a movie in the North was so utopic, many Greek Cypriots don't pass to the North; even though they could, because they accept as an insult to see the seal of the TRNC in their passports; according to them, the TRNC is under invasion since 1974 and in this circumstances, it is

really a revolution to see the Greek and Turkish Cypriots at the same movie” (Sen, 2010). In fact, this movie is firstly gathering up the Turkish and Greek Cypriot actors and actresses, before causing to become the communities of the divided island closer to each other; that is why, I believe that *Shadows and Faces (2010)* is going to become more important for the ethnic communities of the island in a while.

Many scenes in the movie are so familiar to me, because of the information I had taken from the interlocutors during the fieldwork in Famagusta and Nicosia and surely, I also had opportunity to talk to the younger Turkish Cypriots who watched the film, *Shadows and Faces (2010)* in the Eastern Mediterranean University in Famagusta. The interlocutors indicated that they generally considered the movie as objective and one of them, Duygu (21) expressed her feelings:

I should confess that while I was watching the film, I feel I have lived the events my grandfather explained to me; I am happy to see this movie.

Duygu is a 21 year old female Turkish Cypriot interlocutor who is studying advertising in the Eastern Mediterranean University; I had opportunity to meet her in the cafeteria of the university. At the beginning of the interview, she was very secretive; however then she shared many things about the feelings related to the movie, *Shadows and Faces (2010)*.

Duygu (21) also added:

People who want to learn the truths about Cyprus should watch this movie because they can be confronted to the history of Cyprus through this film. Even though many family members of mine had hard times in 1960s; actually I believe in peace and I don't have any prejudice against the Greek Cypriots because these people are coming from same place and culture such as food, behaviors and reactions.

The Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) also indicated his point of view about this movie:

As I have indicated before, this war between the communities was began because of the Greek Cypriots and this film proves my claims and also this movie reminds me in which conditions we have found against to the *gavur*, non-Muslim.

Then, I asked him what he thinks about the actions of the Turkish Cypriots in the movie; he replied:

For a person who lived those difficult years; it is hard to watch this kind of movies because it leads us to remember the pain we had, however these are important to announce our voice to the world. And as I mentioned before, this war happened because of the reactions of the Turkish Cypriots against to the attacks of the Greek Cypriot Forces as it is described in the movie.

Another male Turkish interlocutor, Mehmet (25) puts forward one quote from the movie:

“These events pass; but at least we could look at each other’s faces later”. However, they couldn’t look at each other’s faces again and it was a really sad situation for the both communities of the island.

Mehmet (25) also added:

I think the movie was pure, nice and realistic; it is really interesting to see small issues lead to the unsolved problems for 50 years. I have spent for four years in the TRNC and I could realize it better through this movie because I have been in these locations which are shown in the movie many times and I am happy somehow to be part of this history because of my presence in the island. Through the movie, I have vitalized better the happenings which happened in 1960s.

Mehmet is a 25 year old male Turkish who is studying at the Eastern Mediterranean University; he is studying business administration and I have met him in the library of the university. He was very talkative during the conversation and it was really nice chance to talk to him about the movie.

One of the Turkish Cypriot actors who has a leading role in the film, Osman Alkas stated about the movie in the reportage:

As an eight year old child who had lived the events in 1963 in the island, I believe this movie should be watched by the Turkish Cypriots and especially, it is crucial for the younger generation as well as the older ones to remember those days. Actually, while they are watching the movie, they should get closer to the line of the movie as seeing the events objectively by moving away from nationalism and heroism. Of course, except of the Turkish Cypriots, the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish should also watch this movie to let it makes a peace bridge for each other (Ipek, 2011).

Indeed, the Turkish Cypriot actor pointed out the role of the movie as approaching the issues related to the events in 1963 objectively without the national feelings, moreover; in this way, the movie could reach its purpose by establishing a peace bridge for the ethnic communities of the island. I think his point is so suitable for the major ethnic communities of the island.

Zaim’s *Shadows and Faces* (2010) is not a *Schindler’s List* (1993) or *The Pianist* (2002) which are examples Landsberg (2001; Pp: 63, 2009; Pp: 225) used for explaining prosthetic memory; however it is still important to talk about the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community as well as the Museum of Barbarism. Surely, when more Turkish Cypriots watch the film, the effect of this film on their memories would also increase.

Especially, for the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriots, who did not live the inter-communal violence years will never know what it felt like to persist such as intense tortures,

difficulties, attacks and violence. Actually, this movie establishes a relationship for them to attach to the inter-communal fight years and displacement experiences.

“The movie was watched together by the Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the Green Line which is known as neutral territory and at the end of the movie; some old Greek Cypriots indicated that by standing up with watery eyes as the events which are described in the film were really happened like that and everything in the movie is based on the truths” (Güven, 2011). I believe that these kinds of activities both communities of the island get together are hopeful for improving the relations of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

Surely, Landsberg (2001; Pp:63, 2009; Pp: 225) gives examples from the movies which are concentrating on the Holocaust; indeed it is impossible to compare it with any violent attack; however it is still essential for the prosthetic memory of the Turkish Cypriots, although these stories are not as strong as the movies which are handling with the Holocaust. Moreover, according to Landsberg (2009, Pp: 225), after a while, we begin to empathy to the people which are described in the movie such as *The Pianist* (2002). In point of fact, it is also doable for *Shadows and Faces* (2010) as well as one of the interlocutors, Mehmet (25) declared:

At the end of the movie, I was waiting the young Turkish Cypriot guy who killed many innocent people, was going to apologize for the Greek Cypriots he killed but he didn't; besides he is represented as inhuman.

While I was watching the movie, I remember the statements of the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59):

We also killed the Greek Cypriots; if we didn't kill them, they would have killed us, it was a war we couldn't have escaped and I could do again to save my citizens if one day it is necessary.

The statement of the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59) is so patriotic; when I asked the reason of nationalist feelings of the community of the Turkish Cypriots; he replied:

It was the result of a natural process; and nothing else would have been efficient except being nationalist and fighting against them, but as I said many times, they started this war not us.

Besides, I noticed that mutual fear is felt by two ethnic communities in the film and in these chaotic conditions; it is so clear they were going to fight each other one day, and I remember this fear from the statement of Mustafa (44):

We were even feeling fear when we went out to play in the garden; indeed it is impossible for being friends with them as long as we are grieving for our children and they have rancor. God Save us from seeing the war again in the island.

Another interlocutor, Ergun (59) indicated his feelings about the movies which tell the particular period of the history of Cyprus:

I believe that these kinds of movies should increase, because there are not many artworks which describe the period of inter-communal violence years; however the cinema could change this process. Otherwise, the stories of the Turkish Cypriots are going to be explained only inside the community.

As we can see, *Shadows and Faces* (2010) as a period movie which is an important sample to investigate the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community; on the other hand, this movie is crucial to get the Greek and Turkish Cypriots for playing in the same movie; indeed it is a kind of revolution as Dervis Zaim stated in the reportage (Sen, 2010) and I hope it would be served as a model for the relations of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots. As many interlocutors declared in this part of the research, especially the younger generation from the Turkish and the Turkish Cypriots have more temperate approach to the issues in the island; furthermore, this movie leads to feel empathy for the other side as Landsberg (2009; Pp: 222) highlighted; instead of seeing one side as murders and the other one is innocent people.

Conclusion

The research question I have investigated in this thesis was how the inter-communal violence years is remembered and how these historic events in their collective memories are maintained with the shadow of prosthetic memory in the age of mass culture by the Turkish Cypriots through particular places in Famagusta and Nicosia and the movie, *Shadows and Faces* (2010); and for these, I have applied the concepts of *milieux de mémoire*, *lieux de mémoire* and prosthetic memory. The reason why I have chosen this topic was the matters associated with memory such as the traumatic events and displacements the Turkish Cypriots experienced and remembered because of the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974 in the island. Actually, the relationship between history and memory is problematic for the Turkish Cypriot case; because many times it is hard to differentiate what is memory and what is history in the Turkish Cypriot community. Besides, related to memory; place is also controversial, because of the rigidity of division of real environments of memory and sites of memory for the Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, the prosthetic memory related to the inter-communal fight years in the island affects the Turkish Cypriots, the Turkish and the foreigners who have not lived experiences about the occurrences which happened between 1963 and 1974, and it is also possible for them to confuse about what is really happened and what is mass-mediated. Related to this problem, the function of the prosthetic memory in the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots was also examined through this research.

In this perspective, the memories of the Turkish Cypriots related to the inter-communal violence years were examined through *milieux de mémoire* as the real environments of memory and *lieux de mémoire* as the sites of memory such as monuments, museums, cemeteries, memorials and martyrdoms for responding to the research question of this study; besides, the modern forms of the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots were investigated through prosthetic memory as memories which aren't coming from lived experiences of people. Indeed; the relationship between memory and history through the points of Assmann (2006a, 2006b, 2008) , and places of memory through *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* as Nora (1989; 1996; 1997; 1998) generated were examined in the shadow of prosthetic memory (Landsberg, 1995; 1996; 2009) in the Turkish Cypriot community due to two months fieldwork in Nicosia and Famagusta.

As a result my study; the remembrances of the Turkish Cypriots related to those years are still preserving its importance in their collective memory, because many of them lost their homes and family members during the inter-communal fight years. For the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots, the struggle of TMT with EOKA during the inter-communal fight years between 1963 and 1974, the first President of Republic of Cyprus Archbishop Makarios, the Greek Cypriot Colonel Georgios Grivas, the Happy Peace invasion in 1974 and the Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and the events such as the Bloody Christmas in 1963, Martyrizing of Pilot Cengiz Topel in 1964 and the Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda Massacres in 1974 are so crucial because these events and characters have completely changed the relations of two ethnic communities of the island.

This thesis is distinguished into four chapters. In the first chapter, theoretical aspects of this research are reviewed. I have examined the relationship between history, memory and place through the points of Assmann (2008), Nora (1989) and Landsberg (1995; 1996). Firstly, I have investigated the three stages of history and memory by Assmann's approach. Indeed, these three stages are summarized to realize the relationship between memory and history for the Turkish Cypriot Community. Then, Nora's (1989; Pp: 7) terms, *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* are conceptualized and related to these terms, France is given as an example through realms of memory to comprehend these concepts. Thus, Landsberg's (1995; 1996) term prosthetic memory is considered to analyze the modern forms of the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots in the age mass culture. In these three approaches of three intellectuals, there are some similar points; for instance, the first one is Assmann's (2008; Pp: 58) second stage as polarization between memory and history, indeed this is similar with Nora's (1989; Pp: 7) point that memory and history are opposing each other. Besides, Assmann's (2006b; Pp: 211) one point related to the memory is closer to the Landsberg's (1996, Pp:175) point of prosthetic memory; actually according to Assmann (2006b; Pp:211), because of the decline of generation of witnesses to the traumas such as the Holocaust whose experiential memory is now being replaced by translating it in externalized and mediated forms; such as in the case of prosthetic memory that the new generations of the communities who don't have lively memories about the traumatic events would have mediated memories through movies and experiential museums. Besides, Assmann (2006a, Pp: 262) and Landsberg (2009; Pp: 225) examined the traumatic events of the Holocaust through different approaches.

In the second chapter of this thesis, I focused on the first stage in which history and memory is grounded in a quadrangular relationship between memory, history, identity, and power Assmann (2008; Pp: 57) constituted. In this perspective, the historical cornerstones such as the Bloody Christmas 1963 and the Cyprus Peace Operation in 1974 in the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974 are summarized by benefiting from the historical chronology in the Museum of National Struggle of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Thus, the fieldwork in the Museum of National Struggle was described at the end of this chapter.

In the Museum of National Struggle, it was really hard to examine a museum which is located in the military region; however in this part I mostly focused on the objects which are exhibited in the museum, indeed the photos were chosen which illustrate the attacks of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish side of the island is tried to be showed the right and oppressed one through the objects in the museum. The statements of the officer of the museum and the other interlocutors were really interesting; actually, this museum shows how the Turkish Cypriots are supposed to remember their past as a history from the official side of the Turkish Cypriots. The museum is also important for claiming that the island belongs to the Turkish Cypriots due to the history of Cyprus by initiating from the Ottoman Conquest in the Museum of National Struggle. Even though I didn't see the other National Struggle Museum on the other side of the island which belongs to the Greek Cypriots; I could imagine that thanks to Papadakis (1994; Pp:409); indeed, the other one shows its own history, according to its political position as an opposite end to the Museum of National Struggle. It is also very common to see the rise of patriotic feelings of the people who visit the National Struggle Museum. I also collected some complaints from the interlocutors who think the objects of the museum are not valid for the modern museology. However, many of them still think these museums are necessary for the younger Turkish Cypriots to learn their culture. Actually, this chapter is establishing the history part of the Turkish Cypriots and it illustrates how their history is represented in the Museum of National Struggle. In addition, because of the reason of dealing with the history in this part; these historical cornerstones were evaluated by the first stage of the relationships between memory and history Assmann (2008; Pp: 57) highlighted.

In the third chapter, the places of memory in Famagusta and the memories of the Turkish Cypriot community in the era between 1963 and 1974 as *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* were investigated. Famagusta was the first destination I have examined between *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire*. In this perspective; the data was gathered from the

interlocutors about the walls of Famagusta, Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque and Saint George church of the Greeks. The walls of Famagusta are also closely related to inter-communal violence years in the island, because the Turkish Cypriots protected themselves in it from the attacks of the Greek Cypriot forces in 1974.

The second example was Canbulat Pasha which established as a *lieu de mémoire* for the Turkish Cypriots; because of places in which his name was given in Famagusta. One of these places, the Canbulat museum was founded where the tomb of Canbulat Pasha is located. Actually, Canbulat Pasha is a national hero for the people who live in Famagusta; if they live in a Christian community; it would be easy to say that Canbulat is the saint of this city. Because of his extraordinary success in the conquest of Famagusta by the Ottomans in 1571; he turned into a holy warrior in the eye of the ethnic community there. There are many myths about him and most famous one which was explaining he fought with his head under his arm three days and three nights against the Venetians. However, the most important point is that the ethnic people believed that Ottomans got victory that day against the Venetians thanks to Canbulat Pasha. I have surprised when I had seen his name many places in the city such as school, stadium, restaurant and streets; then I have realized he is very essential for the Turkish Cypriots and it is possible to say that Canbulat Pasha is really part of the identity of the Turkish Cypriots. In this perspective, the fieldwork also took place in the Canbulat Museum and valuable expressions from the interlocutors I have noticed about Canbulat Pasha. For many Turkish Cypriots, this museum shows that Cyprus belongs to the Turkish Cypriots; because according to them, their presence on the island which began in 1571 is being proved by the Canbulat Museum. In addition, the name of Canbulat was also used during the inter-communal violence years such as the Canbulat Radio.

The last example was Varosha which currently looks like a ghost city as a result of inter-communal fight years in the island. At this point, I focus on lively memories of the interlocutors about Varosha and what they remember about it and beyond that what they feel when they see Varosha every day. The walls in Famagusta and the abandoned shops, apartments, hotels, restaurants etc. in Varosha constitute *milieux de mémoire* for the ethnic community who live in Famagusta as real environments of memory.

When I come to my findings about the places as *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* in Famagusta; the interlocutors I have interviewed such as Mustafa (44), Sayer (55) and Hasan (34) had lively memories what happened in the island, whenever I talked to them, they

immediately began to talk about their memories related to the places such as Varosha and the Canbulat museum. There are many places in Famagusta which constituted as the real environments of memory such as Varosha and the sites of memory; for instance, martyrdoms, monuments, tombs are the places as *lieux de mémoire*; however there are also places for the ethnic community to pray, wish something from god, such as the Canbulat tomb.

According to my field notes in Famagusta about the places, memory and history; they have many memories about the places such as childhood memories. Many times I have met with the patriotic approach from them, when they talk about the memories about the places. Indeed, it is so widespread to hear their rightfulness about the Cyprus problem and the curses against the Greek Cypriots. The most interesting part of investigating the places for me was Varosha; this abandoned ghost city was the real environment of memory as *milieux de mémoire* and this type of memory is represented in landscapes and familiar social settings. Varosha was also a part of the memories of the Turkish Cypriot community related to the inter-communal violence years in the island; indeed the Turkish Cypriots declared that these fight years began because of the mistakes of the Greek Cypriots, on the other hand there are also some Turkish Cypriots who think the current situation in Varosha is also their mistake, because of the loots were established by the Turkish Cypriots and Turkish soldiers in 1974; on the other hand, the interlocutors always talked about the happy memories about Varosha; how it was looking beautiful and different before. The interlocutors also shared what they felt and remembered when they go to Varosha before the Cyprus Peace operation in 1974. I usually have found myself, while I was listening to the silence in Varosha when I sat on the Palm Beach near the border of it; then I did wake up with the whistle of the Turkish military officer who yelled as no photo, no camera. In the region, which is located in Varosha now, there are Turkish military forces, the UN officers and a dormitory for female students; on the other hand, the Icon Museum was the only place tourists can enter Varosha. Actually, Varosha is one the worst results of the inter-communal violence in Varosha.

The second part of this chapter is based on the memories of the Turkish Cypriots in the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974; in this perspective I have explained chronically the memories of the Turkish Cypriots about the civil conflicts in the island. While I was examining the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots who have been living in Famagusta and Nicosia; I have focused on most traumatic events they did consider such as the Bloody Christmas, Martyrizing of Pilot Cengiz Topel, the Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda Massacres. Besides, I have kept on studying at the relationship between memory, history and

place through the terms *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire*, Nora (1989; Pp: 7) generated. I prefer the interlocutors who had lively memories about these events as *milieux de mémoire*; that is why, the interlocutors were mostly from middle and old age such as Ismet (69) and the Turkish Cypriot Mujahideen (59). While I was listening to their stories, I also tried to ask some details about how they think about the Greek Cypriots in general and how their relations were changed in the inter-communal violence years. I believe that those years had destroyed many happy memories with the Greek Cypriots and most of the time, they didn't need to distinguish good and bad Greek Cypriots and they blamed them as a whole Greek Cypriot community, in addition they frequently didn't miss the chance to call them rats or suckers. Because of the pain they had felt; their relations turned into an unsolvable problem, and most of them believed they can't live together again; furthermore the pessimism in the Turkish Cypriot community related to relations with the Greek Cypriots is really high. Even though many of them voted "Yes" in the reunification referendum in 2004, in the current days they stated that they lost their belief to the reunification and because of the events two communities had lived since 1960s; they believe they should separately live in the island.

In this part; first of all I talked about the events and situation at the beginning of 1950s related to the period of British rule in the island, how they lived together and how the Greek Cypriots were behaving to them and I also asked what they thought about EOKA, Archbishop Makarios, Turkey and the Turkish Resistance organization, *TMT* in this process. I have experienced through my interviews huge hate against the Greek Cypriots and enormous Turkish love in the Turkish Cypriots who have been living in Famagusta and Nicosia. It is possible to notice the Turkish love through the photos of Ataturk who was founder of the Turkish Republic and Bulent Ecevit, who was a former prime minister of Turkey and decided to the Cyprus Peace Operation in 1974, in the houses of the Turkish Cypriots. Besides, many Turkish Cypriots had necklaces and wristlets which had the symbol of the Turkish flag on them. Even though I have tried to get some many different approaches about the Turkish and Greek Cypriot people, these few points of view are really less than the opinions of the Turkish Cypriots who like Turkey and the Turkish Military and hate the Greek Cypriots. Furthermore, when I have shared these different reactions about the Turkish military, I have met massive reactions by the Turkish Cypriots who are fan of Turkey and its military.

The memories of the Turkish Cypriots as *milieux de mémoire* in this chapter were very essential those they had experienced through the events between 1963 and 1974; besides the

museums and martyrdoms such as the Museum of Barbarism, the Temporary Museum of Genocide, small Museum in the Santalaris primary school, Martyrdom of Pilot Cengiz Topel and Martyrdom in Maratha village as *lieux de mémoire* were important to investigate the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots related to place, memory and history. Many times, these places also constitute *milieux de mémoire*, because many people have lively memories about these places as I have experienced through the interviews I had made. I believe that the Turkish Cypriots are full of the *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* and it is really difficult to distinguish these kinds of memories for the Turkish Cypriots; however it is clear that they have been imposed by the *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire*; and the other type of memory, prosthetic memory would be possible for the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish who didn't individually experience the traumatic events in the island.

The martyrdom of Cengiz Topel and the street and squares with the name of Cengiz Topel are also in the category of sites of memory, *lieux de mémoire*, Nora (1989; Pp: 7) generated. Indeed, the Museum of Barbarism is establishing the prosthetic memory for the people who haven't really experienced the traumatic events in the island. Of course; it shouldn't be forgotten, since the Turkish Cypriots have lively memories about happenings in the island, the Museum of Barbarism could also be category of *milieux de mémoire* as a real environment of memory.

In TRNC, memory and history are embedded; that is why, it is hard to distinguish them; however, the prosthetic memory especially is suitable for the younger population of the Turkish Cypriot Community who don't have personal experience about the happenings in the island between 1963 and 1974. Prosthetic memory actually gives chance to have memory, although it is a mediated memory associated with the inter-communal fight years in Cyprus. Besides, with the terms of Nora (1989; Pp: 7), the martyrdom for the people who died in these massacres and the museum in the primary school in Aloda constituted the *lieux de mémoire* as sites of memory; however the places of mass graves were opened also establishes *milieux de mémoire* for the residents in these villages who survived from these massacres. As many places in the TRNC; the Turkish Cypriots who are living in these villages are full of the *milieux* and *lieux de mémoire*.

For the interlocutors, it is impossible to come back to the days they lived together. On the other hand; they have indicated that they had shared many things with the Greek Cypriots

such as going their wedding ceremonies; having coffee and play cards together. Moreover, as I have heard from the interlocutors; they talked about the fear they had felt those days, when they did go out and it led them to be introverted. As I noticed, they did remember those days like it happened yesterday and it shows how strong and alive their memories are; indeed this also illustrates how they are filled with the *milieux de mémoire*.

In the fourth chapter; I have examined the concept of the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot Community through the Museum of Barbarism and the film, *Shadows and Faces* (2010). Thanks to prosthetic memory, Landsberg (1996; Pp: 175) generated, the photos, paintings, and properties could be part of individual memory of the people who don't have any experience about the historical events such as the Holocaust with the examples of Landsberg (2001; Pp: 63) and inter-communal violence years in Cyprus through my research.

In the Museum of Barbarism, I have interviewed with the Turkish Cypriots as well as visitors who are coming from Turkey. I also examined the visitors' book and the comments of the people who visited the museum. Surely, I also talked about the museum to the other interlocutors; then I shared my findings in this part through their statements. The Museum of Barbarism is like a genocide museum; indeed it is stated as at the entrance of the museum and the people who visit this museum would have the memories that they don't have any experience about them through seeing the real bullet holes, the bathroom women and children were killed; indeed, this museum also constitutes a *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* for the Turkish Cypriots, because there are many Turkish Cypriots who have lively memories about this place as well as the younger Turkish Cypriots who consider it as a monument. In this perspective, the Museum of Barbarism establishes an intersection point for *milieux de mémoire*, *lieux de mémoire* and prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community.

Many visitors stated that they feel they live those moments when they visit the Museum of Barbarism; besides it is so ordinary to realize the increase in their patriotic feelings when they come there. The picture of the family of Dr. Nihat İlhan in the bathroom of the house is a symbol as the attacks of the Greek Cypriots for the Turkish Cypriots; in fact, it is so frequent to see that in the martyrdoms, cemeteries and on the street as a relief in Nicosia and Famagusta. Actually, it is impossible for any Turkish Cypriot not to know the family of Dr. Nihat İlhan in the TRNC. The Museum of Barbarism is a great place to re-experience the past in a sumptuous form similar to Landsberg's (2004; Pp: 148) example for the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C.

For the second part of this chapter; I have assessed the period film which concentrates on the beginning of the inter-communal violence years in the island in 1963, *Shadows and Faces* (2010) which could lead to the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community. Through the points I have found from the film, I have asked some questions to the interlocutors. As Landsberg (2009; Pp: 222) indicated that it is easy to be part of a memory of somebody else's by buying a ticket in the cinema; besides it is easier to be part of the memories which are not your own through the films such as *Schindler's List* (1993) and *the Pianist* (2002). While I am researching the movies which tell stories from the inter-communal violence years; I have noticed there are not many movies associated with this subject in the Cypriot cinema; actually it was really difficult to find the movie of Dervis Zaim, however I have still succeed to get information from the interlocutors in a short period of time. As I perceived, the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriots who watched the movie, they moderately approach to the issues in the island and they didn't have prejudices in contrast to some older Greek Cypriots and they are more receptive to the reflections of themselves in the movie. Indeed, the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriots is more open to the reunification of the two antagonistic communities of the island. I believe that the film, *Shadows and Faces* (2010) is a really suitable example to examine the prosthetic memory in Turkish Cypriot Community as a movie related to the traumatic events which occurred in the island between 1963 and 1974. Furthermore, this movie leads to more empathy to the other community, in contrast to the Museum of Barbarism as I have considered through the statements of the visitors who come to.

My thesis analyzes the real environments of memory and sites of memory in the Turkish Cypriot community through the places such as Famagusta and Varosha; I assume that the Turkish Cypriots are full of the *milieux de mémoire* as I have examined their lively memories which are belonged to the places they live which are connected to the inter-communal violence years between 1963 and 1974; however, *lieux de mémoire* is also important for the Turkish Cypriots; because there are many sites of memory as museums, monuments and martyrdoms in TRNC. As I noticed through my fieldwork in TRNC, many Turkish Cypriots still have memories of the recent events as *milieux de mémoire* and they evaluate the history of Cyprus through their memories. Furthermore, the memories of the Turkish Cypriots as *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* are still essential for their relations with the Greek Cypriots.

According to Nora (1989; Pp: 7), *lieux de mémoire* is established when *milieux de mémoire* disappears; however in the Turkish Cypriot case, they both maintain their existence and many times the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots finds position for itself between the real environments of memory and sites of memory. Indeed; the Turkish Cypriots are full of *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* at the same time as I revealed through this research. *Lieux de mémoire* would come forward in the future, when *milieux de mémoire* disappears as nobody has lively memories about the inter-communal fight years in the Turkish Cypriot community. As stated by Nora (1989; Pp: 12); “without museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, monuments, sanctuaries and fraternal orders; indeed without *lieux de mémoire*, moments of history torn away from the movement of history”. This situation is also valid for the Turkish Cypriots; however *milieux de mémoire* is still very strong in this community and it is going to take time to pass from *milieux de mémoire* to *lieux de mémoire* similar to the case of France, Nora (1996; 1997; 1998) pointed out through the series of realms of memory as *Conflicts and Divisions; Traditions and Symbols*.

In this perspective, history and memory are allying, in contrast to Nora’s (1996; Pp: 1-25) approach as they are opposing each other for the Turkish Cypriots. As we can see, the memories I collected from the interlocutors related to the inter-communal violence years are so similar with the historical cornerstones in the Museum of National Struggle. In addition, there are symbolic events which are collectively experienced, interpreted and remembered as Assmann (2008; Pp: 62) pointed out and in this perspective; the Bloody Christmas 1963 and Maratha, Santalaris and Aloda Massacres in the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots play important role.

For the Turkish Cypriots, history and memory are going to same direction as partner not rival; indeed, in this way, it gets closer to the third stage between history and memory, Assmann (2008; Pp: 57) emphasized as the interaction between memory and history; in contrast to the second stage in which memory and history are opposing each other.

In the Turkish Cypriot community, history and memory should be considered as complementary modes of reconstructing and relating to the past as Assmann (2006a; Pp: 261) pointed out through the Holocaust (Assmann, 2006a; Pp: 262). Indeed, the Turkish Cypriots also live in the shadow of inter-communal violence years that in many ways keeps on its presence because of the continuous impact of those years between 1963 and 1974; as

Assmann (2006a; Pp: 261) gave the Holocaust for the experience of living in the shadow of a historical event. For example, the Turkish Cypriots still fear from the Greek Cypriots and they have indicated that any time during the interviews and they stated that at least they felt secured now; actually the memories which are based on the inter-communal years still shape their view to the Greek Cypriots. The hatred they feel against to the Greek Cypriots is maintaining, because of the inter-communal fight years. Even though it is not forbidden to pass the south part of the island anymore, they behave wary for any situation they are going to face and of course they don't feel safe when they go to Limassol or Larnaca in the Republic of Cyprus as the interlocutors indicated through their expressions.

On the other hand, with the term of Landsberg (1996; Pp: 175), prosthetic memory offers an inventive way to investigate the modern forms of the collective memory of the Turkish Cypriots in the age of mass culture. Indeed, the prosthetic memory as a tool of mass culture follows *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire* as a shadow in the Turkish Cypriot community. During the fieldwork related to examine the prosthetic memory, I have noticed two different functions of it as rising of hatred and leading to empathy in this community. In the Museum of Barbarism, the visitors are having memories which aren't their own by visiting this museum; indeed these memories they had, are leading to the rising of hatred against the Greek Cypriots because of the representation of particular objects and photos related to the Bloody Christmas 1963, in accordance my fieldwork notes I have written through this research.

Landsberg (2009; Pp: 222) pointed out that the importance of empathy in this process as well as the people could experience this empathy for 'others' through prosthetic memory they get by watching a movie or visiting an experimental museum; however it is hard to say for the Turkish and younger Turkish Cypriots who have come to this museum feel empathy for the Greek Cypriots because of their patriotic expressions and comments I have collected. Besides, the other interlocutor also explained their hatred when I tried to learn their approach related to this museum. Many visitors also indicated that the divided communities of the island shouldn't be reunified, after they had memories through their visit to the Museum of Barbarism. Indeed, it is clear to see that this museum leads people who don't have lively memories about the events which happened between 1963 and 1974 to have memories which are also against to the negotiation process as well as peaceful coexistence of the communities of the island in the future through rising of hatred opposing to the Greek Cypriots.

The other function of the prosthetic memory in the Turkish Cypriot community I have realized is empathy as Landsberg (2009; Pp: 222) declared. The prosthetic memory for *Shadows and Faces* (2010), as well as *Schindler's list* (1993) and *Pianist* (2002); derives from a person's mass-mediated experience of a traumatic event of the past as Landsberg (2004; Pp: 19) pointed out. Indeed, this movie is constituted the prosthetic memory for their viewers who don't have any lively memory and as I noticed from the comments of the interlocutors, it also leads to feel empathy about the other community of the island. Even for the Turkish Cypriots who remember those violence years very well, this movie establishes a mirror with the more objective approach than the other previous movies related to the inter-communal fight years in the island, which show one side as innocent and the other side as murders. One of the interlocutors, Duygu (21) also revealed that how she is open to the reunify with the Greek Cypriots by forgetting the past. In contrast to the Museum of Barbarism, I could say that the prosthetic memory which is coming from this movie supports the negotiation process in the island through leading to empathy for the other, due to the information I have collected from the interlocutors.

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