Managing Heritage in the wake of War and Conflict in Cyprus by

Susan Balderstone

Adjunct Professor in Cultural Heritage,
Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia.
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Abstract

In the wake of a Greece-inspired coup against the Greek Cypriot President of Cyprus in 1974, the Turkish military occupied the northern third of the island and continues to do so. Ethnic communities are still separated: Greek Cypriots moved to the south and Turkish Cypriots to the north. This paper covers issues raised by the bi-communal conservation projects resulting from the European Union's Partnership for the Future Programme being implemented by the United Nations Development Programme. The projects require co-operation between mutually distrustful, fearful and disdainful communities for the sake of common objectives – social and economic wellbeing. Cyprus has apparently opted for conflict management rather than resolution, with both sides focused on achieving prosperity. Heritage conservation has become a tool for peaceful co-existence and mutual pride. Initially the projects involved places of shared heritage rather than places reinforcing the separate cultural identities of the communities. Loss of cultural identity is a concern of both communities. Ongoing operational issues derive from the illegality of the Turkish government in the north and the repercussions of this for international aid. The paper will contribute to the conference theme by exploring the professional challenges related to these issues and their possible resolution.

Biography

Susan Balderstone is an Australian conservation architect resident part time in Cyprus. She is an Adjunct Professor in Cultural Heritage at Deakin University, Melbourne and was formerly Assistant Director at Heritage Victoria in Melbourne. She has worked on Australian Aid funded conservation and research projects in China and Vietnam and archaeological projects in the Middle East. She has received a number of awards for conservation and is a Life Fellow of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects. Her work has been published in various journals and books including *Historic Environment* and *Asia's Old Dwellings: Tradition, Resilience, and Change,* 2003.

Thirty-three years after the Greece-inspired coup and subsequent Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, Famagusta's former Law Courts, burnt out during the fighting, are a stark reminder of events which bear ingoing consequences for the island today. About a kilometre further along the main road in which they stand, on the other side of a security fence, are several kilometers of the bombed out beachside precinct, comprising ruins of high rise apartments and hotels left to rot, but held by the occupying power, Turkey as a possible bargaining tool in any political solution to the Cyprus problem. Within the Venetian walls of the old city stand the medieval ruins of another, earlier invasion, when the Ottoman Turks finally overthrew the then outpost of the Venetian Republic in 1571. These have long received star billing as tourist attractions; only now is the same rating beginning to apply to the ruins of the last century. A pragmatic approach to heritage management in both the Turkish occupied north and the Cyprus government controlled south has been fuelled by funding from the United States Aid Agency (USAID) and more recently from the European Union (EU) through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). This has resulted in a focus on heritage conservation as a path to economic development via tourism, with many damaged buildings being conserved for new uses.

Background

Cyprus, located in the Eastern Mediterranean close to Syria, Turkey and Egypt is geographically described as part of the Levant, a strategic meeting place of East and West. As such, it has a long history of war, conflict and occupation by competing powers. Going back to the beginning of our common era, Cyprus was part of the Roman Empire. As in the rest of the eastern Roman world, previously subject to the Hellenistic governors Ptolemy and Seleucus who succeeded Alexander the Great, Greek was the lingua-franca of the island. Cyprus was famous for its cult of the Greek goddess Aphrodite, and was reputedly her birthplace. Christianisation of the island began with the visit of S. Barnabas and S. Paul in 45 CE. By the 4th Century, the bishops of Cyprus were strong and influential, achieving autonomous status within the early orthodox church in the 5th Century. Many large basilicas were built all over the island from the 4th to 6th Centuries, of a size not again achieved until recently.

The wealth of the church attracted Arab raids in the 7th and 8th Centuries and these together with numerous earthquakes destroyed many of the buildings of the previous centuries. The earliest mosque in Cyprus, Hala Sultan Tekke near Larnaca is associated with the first Arab attempt to occupy Cyprus in 648 CE. Control of Cyprus vacillated between a weakened Byzantium and the Arab caliphates. Drought and plague contributed to a general downturn in the island's economy and the population and the church retreated inland to the mountains. In the 9th century, Byzantine governorship was re-established and some prosperity recovered during the following two centuries (Coldstream 1981: 18). Through all this the Greek Orthodox Church survived and reasserted its presence. To this period date the earliest painted churches that are now included on the World Heritage List.

In the late 12th Century as the Byzantine Empire began its final capitulation to Islam, the Crusaders found Cyprus' location convenient as a retreat from Saladin and subsequently established a Latin kingdom on the island under the Lusignans. The Orthodox Church was subjugated to the Latin Catholic Church, and a feudal system of government was imposed. Three centuries later, the Venetians' quest for supremacy in the Mediterranean in the face of a rapidly expanding Ottoman Empire led them to take over the island. They lasted 82 years, falling to the Ottoman Turks in 1571. Under the Turkish regime feudalism was abolished. The local population of 85,000 taxable persons, comprising Greeks, Armenians and Maronites was supplemented by 20,000 Turkish settlers, mostly soldiers (Dakin1981: 21). In the face of inefficient local administration together with drought, famine and epidemics the Sultan arranged direct access to the Porte for the Archbishop, who was eventually recognised as the *Ethnarch* or leader of the Greek Cypriot population in 1754. In the early 19th C, the Greek struggle for independence from Turkey 1818-21 had repercussions in Cyprus, resulting in the massacre of those who got involved including the Archbishop, some of his clergy and wealthy Cypriot traders and intelligentsia. The emergence in Greece of 'The Great Idea' envisaging the restoration of the Christian Orthodox Byzantine Empire and the liberation of all Greeks under Ottoman control was the foundation of later attempts in Cyprus to achieve enosis or union with Greece.

Egyptian aspirations in the wake of the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-9 led to British intervention to protect the Porte, in return for which the Sultan was to improve the administration of his subject peoples. Russia continued to threaten Ottoman possessions and after three centuries of Ottoman rule, Britain took over administration of the island in 1878 as part of the settlement of hostilities between Russia and Turkey. As a strategic base in the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus had its attractions, but the financial commitment made by Britain to the Sultan as part of the deal was crippling. Freed from the agreement as a result of WWI, Britain made Cyprus a Crown Colony in 1925. Campaigns by some of the population supported by the Greek Orthodox Church, to unite Cyprus with Greece were subsumed by the struggle for Cypriot independence, which was finally achieved in 1960. Britain retained sovereignty over its military bases, and the rights of the two major ethnic communities, Greek and Turkish were to be guaranteed by Britain, Greece and Turkey. The first president of the Cyprus Republic was Archbishop Makarios, prelate of Cyprus' Greek Orthodox Church.

The arrangement did not lead to a 'happy ever after' future. Ongoing troubles between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities finally led to the Military Junta then in control of Greece attempting a coup to remove Makarios in 1974. In response, Turkey invaded and occupied the northern third of the island. The ceasefire line or Green Line still divides the island, separating the two mountain ranges that run from east to west across the island and cutting the central plain between them along its length. The old walled capital, Nicosia is divided in half

from the Paphos Gate in the west to just north of the Famagusta Gate in the east, along the original line of the Pedieos River. Cyprus' other historic, walled city, Famagusta is included in the Turkish occupied area. Around 180,000 Greek Cypriot refugees from the north were resettled in the south, initially in specially created villages. 71,000 Turkish Cypriots from the south moved to the north and were mostly accommodated in vacated Greek Cypriot property. As well, in an echo of Ottoman practice, Turkey resettled 60,000 Turks from the mainland in the north (Drousiotis 2006: 263). With this separation of the ethnic communities, the country was and still is, effectively partitioned. UN forces patrol the Green Line, and the Turkish military continue to occupy the northern third of the island. In 1983 the Turkish administration in the north formalised itself as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), but as an occupying power is not recognised as such by any State except Turkey, nor by international organisations. The most recent attempt to solve the Cyprus division, the Annan Plan, was accepted by Turkish Cypriots but rejected by Greek Cypriots in the referendum of 2004.

But since 2003, when accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU was imminent, there has been an agreement between both sides to open crossing points to allow Cypriots from either side to visit their former homes and participate in each others' economies. Some trade is allowed across the Green Line, and there is cooperation between municipalities in relation to power and sewerage. It is widely agreed that the Cyprus government in the south achieved a super-human task in providing homes, employment and infrastructure with a stable and increasingly prosperous economy in the wake of 1974. The Turkish-inspired initiative of opening the Green Line crossing points is generally agreed to be aimed at enabling the relatively isolated and impoverished Turkish Cypriots to participate in this prosperity and eventually achieve social and economic parity with the south. The access has caused major emotional responses for many, with Greek Cypriots finding their former properties occupied by Turkish Cypriots and vice versa or in some cases that they have been sold on to foreign owners. There are some well-publicised law suits in progress involving these.

One of the major factors in the prosperity of the south has been Tourism. Long a Mecca for Europeans seeking the sun, Cyprus' most favoured destination before 1974 were the white, sandy beaches stretching to the east along the coast from Famagusta. Largely developed by Greek Cypriots with the then fashionable highrise hotels, this area known as Varosha, part of the area occupied by Turkey, was fenced off in the aftermath of partition and held as a possible bargaining factor in negotiations for a settlement. Deprived of this area, Greek Cypriots confined to the south, where the sand is mostly grey or the beaches stony, nevertheless developed hotels and resorts around man-made coves and small fishing shelters. Initially concrete high-rise along the lines of Varosha, and somewhat chaotic and unplanned in the aftermath of 1974, development became more rational, low rise and more in tune with the landscape as planning laws began to be applied.

Issues of Identity

The Christianisation of the populace that took place gradually from the first century CE is the real key to Cyprus' identity. As Lawrence Durrell observed – Cyprus is Byzantine rather than Hellenic (Durrell 1959: 121). The Greek Orthodox Church survived through the centuries and plays a major role in the life and culture of Greek Cypriots, who continue to celebrate religious festivals and saints' days throughout the year. The Greek Cypriot identity is expressed physically in its churches and monasteries, and culturally through the Greek language and the Greek Orthodox Church. The domestic building traditions and farming practices of the Ottoman period were common to both Greek and Turkish Cypriots (Schriwer 2002: 211-214; Given 2000: 214-221). It was not until the British period and the movement to unite Cyprus with Greece in the 1920s and '30s that an overt architectural distinction emerged, through the use of a neoclassical/Greek revival style for schools and public buildings.

Publication of a profusely illustrated book in Greek *A View of the Land- From the Soul* by Greek Cypriots Anna Marangou and Michaelis Georghiades, sponsored by the Cultural Foundation of the Kykko Monastery has highlighted the issue of the importance of religion to the Greek Cypriot identity (Efthyvoulos 2006: 28-29). The authors had travelled all over the north, visiting the places they knew before 1974 and photographing the abandoned and now ruined churches and monasteries. They described their emotional feelings and reactions on entering the north for the first time after the crossings were opened. They were fearful that the opening of the crossings wouldn't last and that they must make the most of the opportunity but greatly relieved when they were welcomed by Turkish Cypriots. They felt the stirring up of deep emotional wounds as they realised what they had lost. Beautiful, haunting photographs portrayed derelict churches and monasteries in graphic detail. Greek Cypriots have been distressed to find their village churches open and desecrated, robbed of icons and used for hay storage or animal shelters.

Turkish Cypriots have been subject to the secular influence of Turkey following the separation of state and religion with the rise of Ataturk after WWI. The emergence of Islamicists in Turkey seeking the restoration of the Caliphate seems yet to have much impact on them. They have found their abandoned villages and mosques in the south with security fences no longer maintained and their buildings used by local farmers. The Mosque of the Standard-bearer located on the Constanza bastion in the government controlled half of walled Nicosia, commemorating the soldier who led the Ottoman assault on the Venetian city – has been frequently vandalized in spite of being fenced off by the municipal authority. But there has not been the same anguished outcry from the Turkish Cypriots over their mosques as there has been from the Greek Cypriots over their churches.

There was a relatively mild response from the Director of the Turkish Cypriot Department of Religious Affairs, Ahmet Yonluer to the stated intention of Greek Cypriot Archbishop Chrysostomos II to unilaterally clean and restore Christian sites in the north. Yonluer said that the preservation of places of worship in Cyprus should embrace all the religious sites on the island, regardless of their location, origin or faith (*Cyprus Observer* 2007: 6). Turkish Cypriots seem mostly concerned about the loss of their Cypriot cultural identity under continued occupation by the Turkish Army; lacking the resources to record family histories, traditional handcrafts, costumes, folk songs and dances.

Heritage Protection and Tourism

The current Antiquities Law as applied in the government controlled south of Cyprus goes back to that enacted by the British in 1935, which was primarily intended to control archaeological excavations and protect ancient monuments of the Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, Medieval and Venetian periods. It is administered by the Department of Antiquities set up in the same year. But the more significant law in relation to urban and rural heritage is the Town & Country Planning Law of 1972, which enables protection of buildings, groups of buildings or areas of special historical, architectural, social and other interest or character through designation in Local Plans. An increasing awareness of the importance of buildings of the more recent period, together with government funding in the south has resulted in the protection of traditional "folk" architecture and mansions deriving from the Ottoman period, as well as some of the European-style buildings of the British period (Egoumenidou c.1998:102-119). Tourism has been encouraged to the hinterland villages and mountains in the south through government grants for agritourism involving the repair and adaptation of traditional houses as holiday cottages and small inns, as well as for the conservation of historic churches, water mills, wine presses, olive presses and other features of interest.

In the north, the Turkish administration was not in a position to develop tourism due to its illegality and consequent lack of recognition as a state. Flights carrying tourists from Britain or other parts of Europe to north Cyprus must land in Turkey on route, and these tourists cannot then legally enter the south. Up until 2003 the north was considered something of a backwater, despite the fact that most of the major monuments of Cyprus' colourful past are located north of the Green Line. Then with Cyprus' accession to the EU imminent, and Turkey's hope to soon follow, investors moved in. Since the opening of the Green Line crossings, holiday units and resorts have appeared around Kyrenia and Famagusta. A new four-lane highway connects Nicosia to Kyrenia, and Nicosia to Famagusta. More and more tourists are being brought into the north via Larnaca airport in the south, without spending time or money in the south. A recent report in the *Cyprus Mail* (Christou 2007: 8) notes that tourism to the south has declined, while arrivals to the north rose by 30% in the first four months of this year.

Recognition of the potential of tourism—generated economic activity to achieve parity between the two communities was demonstrated early on by the instigation of a Master Plan for the divided walled city of the capital, Nicosia. This was identified as necessary to the revitalization of the greater city on each side and it was hoped would contribute to an eventual settlement. Initiated in 1979 by the then Mayors of the respective halves of the divided city, Lellos Demetriades (representing the Greek Cypriot community) and Mustafa Akinci (representing the Turkish Cypriot community), it focused on bringing the two sides together for a common purpose. Studies of infrastructure and services needs were carried out together with analysis and assessment of the historic and culturally significant places and precincts. Rehabilitation projects were identified for certain areas, which included consideration of urban design and traffic issues, together with the conservation and reuse of particular monuments as well as housing precincts.

Implementation of the Master Plan began in 1989 with funding for bi-communal projects initially via the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and later from USAID and UNDP through the UN Office of Project Services. A guide book to the almost 100 projects carried out to date provides an impressive record. It relates to a walking tour map covering both sides of the divided city, with the sites clearly identified. Since Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004, funding from the EU has been made available to both sides through the Partnership for the Future Programme via UNDP, not only for bi-communal projects within Nicosia but also in Famagusta and rural and mountain areas. Prior to 2004, funds for conservation projects were provided by either the Cyprus government in the south, or the Turkish government in the occupied north. The illegality of the occupying administration in the north meant that it had no legitimate access to international aid, but in the immediate aftermath of 1974 some funds were provided for emergency works (such as to the foundations of the former S. Sophia Cathedral, now the Selimiye Mosque) by the UN.

Professional Challenges

The key challenge for heritage professionals on both sides is recognition of not only all periods of an individual site or area, but also the social and spiritual values attached to places by different communities in the face of ongoing failure to achieve an overall settlement. The high degree of professionalism in heritage management and conservation on both sides since 1974 has been documented by Anthony Hyland for the north (Hyland 1999: 66-72) and for the south by Euphrosyne Egoumenidou (Egoumenidou c.1998: 98-133). However the lack of serious concern in the north for the key heritage places closest to the Greek Cypriot heart – the churches and monasteries - continues to be a major issue. After 1974, responsibility for the care of most of these fell to Evkaf, the Kibris Vakiflar Foundation set up under the Ottomans to manage religious property. Those considered to be of greater historic and architectural value are managed by the Department of Antiquities and Museums.

The Cyprus Weekly (Stylianou 2006: 6) reported a declaration adopted by the EU parliament in July 2006 condemning the pillaging of Christian churches and monasteries in the occupied north and calling for their protection and restoration "to their original Greek Orthodox status". The report states that more than 200 churches, chapels and monasteries in the occupied north have been desecrated, converted into mosques, or used as military depots, hospitals, stables and nightclubs, and have had their religious artefacts, including more than 15,000 icons illegally removed to unknown locations.

Greek Cypriots see the neglect and desecration of the history and monuments of their Church as a deliberate strike against their Greek identity, a further reason for rejecting reunification. However, the neglect also applies to Christian sites other than Greek Orthodox, such as the Armenian monastery of Sourp Magar (Leonidou 2007: 6). It is possible that the neglect and misuse of Christian places is as much to do with Turkish secularism as with anti-Greek or anti-Christian sentiment. The lack of regard in the north for the spiritual values of such places is similar to the way in which religious places under communist regimes such as China have been used for factories and warehouses (Alexander 1994). In the north it also applies to some extent to mosques. For example in the Turkish occupied northern half of the walled city of Nicosia, the former 14th Century S. Catherine church which was converted into the Haydar Pasha Mosque by the Ottomans became redundant as a mosque last century. It was conserved and converted to an art gallery by the Turkish authority's Department of Antiquities and Museums after 1975 by its own team of 15-16 specialised tradesmen. Panels of softboard have been fixed around the walls to the height of a string course below the window sills to enable the hanging of artworks, and picture lighting suspended from a rod spanning the single hall/nave. The mihrab (wall niche facing Mecca) and mimbar (pulpit) from the mosque period have been retained as physical pointers to past Islamic use, but all other evidence has gone. The Latin catholic origins of the church are not interpreted, although evident in its Gothic architecture.

The Greek Cypriots are careful to publicise their conservation of mosques and other Islamic religious sites. At a ceremony celebrating the restoration of the Ali Dede Mausoleum in Limassol just days before the EU parliament adopted the declaration described above, the Department of Antiquities officer was quoted as saying that the policy of the Antiquities Department is to "restore every mosque or Muslim monument in the free part of the island" (Leonidou 2006). This event and statement can be seen as politically well-timed and possibly suspect in that respect. However, the Hala Sultan Tekke, recognised by the Greek Cypriots as an extremely significant religious place for Muslims worldwide, and the most important religious place in Cyprus for Turkish Cypriots (Michaelides et al 2005: 24) is certainly presented with sensitivity to the needs of Muslim pilgrims.

Five churches in the north have been conserved by the Turkish authority's Department of Antiquities and Museums and converted into museums. While a

conscientious and professional approach has been applied to these projects, there is a lack of empathy for the spiritual value the places hold for Greek Cypriots. For instance at the place sacred to the memory of the Apostle Barnabas, the 18th C monastery church which now commemorates the site of his tomb has been carefully conserved as an icon museum, with archaeological finds displayed in the former monks rooms around the courtyard. As a tourist site it is well done. But for Greek Cypriot pilgrims there is no sense of the venerability of the place. The relationship of the site to the history of the foundation of the Church of Cyprus, is explained by means of a small leaflet (TRNC undated). S. Barnabas visited his home city Salamis with S. Paul in 45 CE, returning later with S. Mark only to be martyred by the Jews of Salamis and is regarded as the founder of the Church of Cyprus. The discovery nearby of S. Barnabas' tomb in 478 by Archbishop Anthemios convinced the emperor Zeno to award the Church of Cyprus autonomous status as an Apostolic foundation. The emperor financed the construction of a monastery and basilica near the discovery site. The remaining eastern section of Zeno's 5th C basilica projects beyond the apse of the existing church and contains the tomb intended for the relics of S. Barnabas. But this is neither interpreted nor accessible to pilgrims or other visitors, and is overgrown with destructive vegetation.

Nearby at Salamis, the archaeological remains of the basilica of S. Epiphanios lie abandoned, overgrown and un-interpreted, barely discernible amongst the giant fennel and other vegetation. Epiphanios, archbishop of Cyprus from 368 until his death in 403, was a dominating figure in the history of the Early Church in the East. The patriarchal seat was established at Salamis (Constantia) after an earthquake devastated Paphos in 365, and Epiphanios' tomb was located in his great church. Epiphanios was a key participant in the great theological debate of the fourth century (Englezakis 1995: 39). He was recognised along with Athanasius of Alexandria and Paulinus of Antioch as a father of orthodoxy who refused to compromise his essential understanding of Christianity by bending to any influences from Graeco-Roman antiquity. His writings are valued for the information they provide on the religious history of the fourth century, both through his own observations and from the documents transcribed by him that are no longer extant (Saltet 1999). The later Campanopetra basilica was built nearby to accommodate the influx of pilgrims who came to Salamis after Epiphanios' death to venerate him as a Saint. It is also overwhelmed with weeds and thistles, to the extent that the marble and opus sectile paving is being lifted and stonework dislodged.

Salamis is a well-known archaeological site with a history extending back to the 11th century BC. It was extensively excavated in the 1950s and '60s up to the Turkish invasion of 1974 and was already considered of major significance to the national heritage and an established tourist site. The remains as viewed today are primarily the Roman period ruins near the entrance to the site, which comprise a theatre, baths and amphitheatre. More excavation is being undertaken in this area by the University of Ankara in conjunction with the East

Mediterranean University at Famagusta. The two church sites are located a considerable distance from the entrance and are difficult for visitors to find. They are perhaps symbolically the most important church sites in Cyprus after S. Barnabas.

Within the walled city of Nicosia many of the heritage places common to both communities - Ottoman and British - have been conserved as part of the Nicosia Master Plan. Grand, Ottoman period mansions of very similar form and layout have been conserved on both sides of the Green Line. In the north is the former home of Dervish Pasha, publisher of the first Turkish newspaper in Cyprus. In the south is the former home of Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios, Greek dragoman or interpreter to the Porte. This project won a Europa Nostra award in 1988. There is some sensitivity amongst Turkish professionals in the north that the Dervish Pasha mansion, which was the first to be tackled by the Turkish authority and is displayed as an ethnographic museum using life-size costumed figures, is not up to date in terms of current trends in museum display. However the display clearly picks up Turkish Cypriot concern for the loss of their Cypriot traditions and customs. More recent projects such as the Eaved House, now used as an art gallery and for associated events and the Buyuk Khan, the traditional Great Inn constructed in 1572 by the first Ottoman Governor, reflect current philosophies with regard to retaining the evidence of all periods. The Eaved House also takes the opportunity to present some of the family and social history of past owners. The Buyuk Khan now accommodates musical and dance performances in the central courtyard while housing antique shops, a café, and art and craft workshops in the surrounding rooms. The period of British use as a prison is demonstrated by retention of two prison cells. The professionals in the north, because of the Turkish administrations' illegal status as an occupying power, are not eligible for international awards.

In the south projects involving other Ottoman period places include the Omeriye Baths, which received a Europa Nostra award last year (2006) and is still used as public baths, the Axiothea Mansion, now the University of Cyprus Cultural Centre and the Tahtakale Mosque (conserved as "representative of religious Islamic architecture" (UNDP 2006: 69), but not used. Buildings of the British period have also been conserved on both sides, to equivalent standards, including the former Nicosia Power Station (now the Municipal Modern Art Centre) in the south, and the former Post Office in the north.

Conclusion

A planning and environment consultant in Nicosia concluded that:

"One of the biggest achievements of the Nicosia Master Plan was the development of excellent communication and joint decision meetings by the planners of the two communities." (Caramondani, 2006)

Apparently, there has been no similar opportunity for the professionals in the two Departments of Antiquities to work together, exchange ideas and build mutual respect. The Greek Cypriot side strives to assert its superiority in heritage conservation through winning awards and have already achieved ten or more Europa Nostra awards (*Europa Nostra* 2004:1, 23). There is disdain on their part for the efforts of their would-be colleagues on the Turkish side. The latter however, take justifiable pride in what has been achieved in spite of their relative professional isolation, and are somewhat scornful of Greek Cypriot opinion.

With up to 42,500 Turkish troops said to be stationed in the north (Mavroyiannis 2007), there is ongoing fear and distrust of the administration in the north by Greek Cypriots. This situation is not necessarily comfortable for Turkish Cypriots either. A complication for heritage professionals in the north is that Turkish officers own businesses occupying Greek Cypriot property or have appropriated property which incorporates listed buildings or antiquities. Similar complications arise in the south.

Something like a UN sponsored Cyprus Heritage Strategy, which would require bi-communal co-operation between the heritage authorities, religious organisations and municipalities of both sides would seem to be the next step in building on the successes of the Nicosia Master Plan. This does not so far appear to be part of the programme for technical committees set up in the wake of the UN sponsored July 8, 2006 Gambari agreement (UN Security Council, 2006). This agreement proposed bi-communal discussions on issues affecting the day-to-day life of the people in the wake of the failure of the Annan Plan.

The conclusion that is relevant to heritage management in the wake of war and conflict in other places is that heritage conservation can be a useful tool for engendering peaceful co-existence and mutual pride, especially where focused on common objectives of social and economic well-being. However, it must be done by committed representatives of all parties to the conflict working together, in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust. UN agencies can provide a suitable climate, but leadership must come from the communities, and it must include understanding and recognition of the social and spiritual values of each side.

Proposed Illustrations for *Historic Environment*

- 1. Former Law Courts and District Office in Famagusta, burned out during the battle of 1974.
- 2. Empty tomb of S. Epiphanios, Salamis.
- 3. House of Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios, south Nicosia.
- 4. Buyuk Khan, north Nicosia.

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