

Colonial and National Tensions in Cypriot Archaeology: An Attempt at a Cosmopolitan Resolution

CHRISTOS NIKOLAOU
University of Cambridge
cn399@cam.ac.uk

'My homeland is split in two, which of the two parts must I give my love to?'

- Neşe Yaşın, Turkish Cypriot poetess-

'Forever asking, to which nation does the green grassland belong?'

-Pantelis Michanikos, Greek Cypriot poet-

Abstract

Trauma and ambivalence are common aspects of the post-colonial condition and themes in Cypriot poetry. Yaşın's (1998) poem acknowledges the present de facto political partition of Cyprus since the Greek coup and Turkish invasion of 1974, with Michanikos' (1975) poem providing a complementary question as to the lack of necessity of this partition with references to the intercommunal violence of 1963-1964. These questions are linked to both a shared, albeit segregated, trauma from political tragedies and upheaval and a shared nostalgia either for a nationalist past or a bicommunal garden of Eden, the main cleavages of the island's separation. The question of history and nostalgia in Cyprus, as well as its own identities have been entangled in the context of British colonialism as well as Greek and Turkish nationalism. This article investigates the relationship between archaeology, nationalism, and colonialism in Cyprus, producing segregated archaeological narratives and hidden bicommunal and minority experiences. It outlines a history of Cyprus, its nationalisms, and their effects on intercommunal imaginaries (Ioannou 2020). It will then discuss how ideology has shaped archaeological research in Cyprus (Karageorgis 1969). Lastly, the paper looks at how archaeology has moved towards a more nuanced discussion of ethnicity, the possibility of a common history, and reconciliation through the use of spatial, non-ethnic frameworks.

Introduction

In this article, I discuss the effects of colonialism and nationalism in the archaeological research of Cyprus in relation to its two largest communities, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. I make the case that historical divisions imposed by both colonialism and nationalism have formed separate archaeological narratives based on ideas of the nation and of its dominance in parts or all of Cyprus. To show these effects on research, heritage, and tourism, as well as public education in both communities, I draw on existing case studies. I then discuss how recent scholarship has used hybridity, post-colonial approaches, and alternate readings to bridge these selective national histories. I conclude by showing how these new frameworks can help to build a common history and a reconciliation mosaic comprising all Cypriot communities; one that is centred on a spatially, island-inclusive framework rather than around an ethnic core.

Nationalism and Cypriot history

Before analysing intersections between archaeology and nationalism, I first explore how nationalism spread in Cyprus. Nationalism uses archaeology to build a narrative of belonging, for example, churches converted into mosques in Northern Cyprus as an act of domination. This is a common effect of nationalism, but its reach varies in each case (Kohl 1998). For Masaroğulları (2011), nationalism in Cyprus unfolded in diametrically exclusionary ways. The author defines both Greek and Turkish nationalism as “Eastern Nationalisms” (Masaroğulları 2011: 30-33). Greek Cypriot nationalism was built through the hegemonic apparatus of the Greek Orthodox Church on the basis of an ancient Mycenaean past. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriot nationalism arose around a secular Kemalist ideology (Masaroğulları 2011: 31-45). Both these nationalisms evolved from previous religious identities instituted by the Ottoman ‘Millet’ system. Educational segregation combined with these ideologies to create separate notions of history, even in regions with mixed populations (Lytras and Psaltis 2011). In fact, Greek schools did not teach Turkish or Turkish history, and Turkish schools only taught Greek haphazardly and out of necessity (Masaroğulları 2011: 55-60). Distinct national movements (the National Organization of Cypriot Struggle [EOKA] for Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Resistance Organisation [TMT] for Turkish Cypriots) distinctly fought for their own national goals (Pollis

1996). The only alternative movement, that of the Communist party, was linked to bicomunalism and village life, but was side-lined by hegemonic nationalist narratives (Panayiotou 2006: 270-278).

Nationalist archaeologies glorify the national past by selective emphasis (Trigger 1984: 358-360). As Figure 1 shows, the two major Cypriot communities formed two different identities without a common conception of history, seeing the other community as foreign to its claimed space on the island. Therefore, the exclusionary narratives that set up these nationalisms excluded other minorities on the island too. For example, the Maronites, a small religious community of around 5000 people, had little opportunity to assert their own identity (Koumariou 2011; Varnava 2010). In the same way, Cypriot Roma have been given no cultural recognition (Demetriou and Trimikliniotis 2009). The other variable revolves around the cultural mixture that is ongoing in Cyprus. The competing sense of national identity that arose was imposed by nationalist middle classes on the rest of the population (Pollis 1996). Nationalism, instead, socialised people out of mixed environments with no space for a sense of 'Cypriotism' that could bridge the two (Pollis 1996: 78-79). For Bozkurt and Trimikliniotis (2014), nationalism also hid class dynamics and constructed separate identities which created false notions of homogeneity. Finally, for Ioannou (2020), this partition interplayed with post-invasion trauma to normalise amongst the Greek Cypriots, whilst for Moudouros (2019: 30-35), the Turkish-Cypriots have come under increasing contestation with Turkey due to the Islamic shift that occurred under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Colonialism, nationalism, and archaeology

These nationalist narratives intersected with British colonial archaeology to set the foundations of Cypriot archaeology. Given (1998: 10) describes British antiquarian perceptions of Cyprus as going through an Orientalist, a Philhellenic and a Colonial phase. In its original phase, British antiquarianism focused on Phoenician finds. Then, as Philhellenism became more prevalent, there was a gradual marginalisation of the Phoenician element (Cannavo 2015: 169-170). In the 1930s, the colonial phase emerged as a counter to Greek nationalism (Given 1998: 14) and regarded Hellenism as foreign (Said 1978). Gjerstad of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated sites in Amathus, discovering pre-Hellen-

ic finds and ashlar tombs in graves (Given 1998: 14-18). Thus, the Eteo-Cypriot narrative was forged, deliberately denying any Hellenic presence on the island.

Post-colonial processes influenced the archaeology conducted by Cypriots after 1960, which was initially dominated by Greek Cypriots, and eventually carried out in separate contexts after 1974 which sought to erase the Other as part of the national project. Archaeology carried out by local Cypriots was a Greek Cypriot affair, with Turkish Cypriots only appearing later as professionals. The Greek Cypriots were faced with what they saw as a de-legitimation of their existence. Informed by Greek nationalism and archaeology, many archaeologists set their own Hellenisation narrative (Leriu 2009). This pattern can be seen as semi-colonial in its own right, and pure Hellenic narratives in Cyprus have played the role of erasing the local Greek Cypriot as well as the multi-ethnic cultural practices of the past. This paradigm has two implications. One is the erasure of local elements of the Greek Cypriot community's historical development (Panayiotou et al. 2022). The other acts as a function of 'internal colonialism', serving to minimise the presence of Turkish Cypriots, foreign influences, and other minorities from the island's history in public discourse.

Vassos Karageorgis has been a central figure in establishing the validity of Greek presence in Cyprus and also producing a conservative setup of the history of Hellenic presence through interpretation of material culture. His main research was based in Salamis, an important political and economic hub during Classical times (Karageorgis 1969). His study on the necropolis of the city focused on the Hellenic aspects of burials, mostly to establish a chronology for the arrival of the Greeks in Cyprus. Karageorgis is not deliberately manipulating evidence in any way. In fact, he routinely discusses ashlar masonry and Egyptian furniture in the tombs that he excavates (Karageorgis 1969: 66-70). Rather, the focus is on finding parallels between the tombs and Mycenaean burials in mainland Greece (Karageorgis, 1969: 27-28). When discussing pyres near graves, Karageorgis (1969: 118-122) directly links them to the Greek ritual of panspermia for the dead, and then to modern Greek Orthodox kollyva offerings at memorials. Karageorgis' approach is not an exclusively nationalist one, as his excavations in Kition show this interest. However, the Hellenocentrism of Karageorgis' chronology has been the mainstream interpretation within Cyprus and his Hellenisation narrative has been instrumental in the Greek national narrative.

Recent investigations of Mycenaean goods have, in reality, revealed them to be less prevalent than this narrative suggests (Steel 2004), with elite appropriation being dominant (Steel 1998).

While Turkish Cypriots do not have much access to archaeological research, some have tried to push back against Greek Cypriot narratives. Sabri (2019) has contested some of Karageorgis' later interpretations about Salamis. Karageorgis identified a large site within the city as being a Hellenistic gymnasium. Sabri (2019: 184), instead, identifies parts of a Roman bath and she points out its heterogeneity, which appears Oriental in design. Her interpretation reveals the response of Turkish Cypriots to Greek Cypriot nationalist approaches in archaeology, one which is motivated by a collective sense of insecurity. This response, purely Kemalist in context, erases other forgotten minorities on the island, such as Circassians (Hatay 2015: 80). The segregation of schooling and history created multiple communities as McManamon (1991) explains. In Cyprus' case, each community focuses on the past that it wants to highlight by way of a specific, nationalistic, predetermined viewpoint. The end result is contested archaeological research that further divides the two communities.

Trauma and heritage

The bicomunal violence of 1963-1964, as well as the Greek coup and Turkish invasion of 1974, have caused further disruptions and segregations that have affected archaeological research. According to Navarro-Yashin (2012), the divided space caused by the conflict is, in a sense, frozen in time. She describes it as a "haunting"-- a lingering afterlife of unresolved conflict with ongoing emotional impacts which continue to influence politics in Northern Cyprus (Navarro-Yashin 2012: 14-18). This haunting mostly revolves around the post-invasion political regime's unresolved contradictions, but one can also see such contradictions in archaeological research. A similar effect has been witnessed by Bryant (2010) in her discussion of identity formation in the village of Lapithos in Northern Cyprus (both pre- and post-invasion). According to Bryant, Greek Cypriots try to hold on to the past by constructing an idyllic version of the village. For them, local folk dances in festivals are an attempt to hold on to this (Bryant 2010: 51-52). For Turkish Cypriots, changing the names of streets and tearing down monuments of the Greek Cypriot independence struggle is an assertion of

their own ownership over the village. These feelings of nosto-*philia* for Greek Cypriots and nosto-*phobia* for Turkish Cypriots (MacDonald 2013: 91-98) have influenced research since the *de facto* partition of the island.

Prior to the invasion, there was little visibility or interest in the presence of Turkish Cypriots' and other ethnic minorities on the island (Scott 2002: 105-110). Since the invasion, Turkish Cypriots have tried to assert their own identity via archaeology— as, for example, in the maritime archaeology industry which has arisen in cooperation with the private sector (Harpster 2008). These responses to the Greek Cypriot monopolisation of the past have extended to Classical phases of the island, as Sabri's (2019) reaction to Karageorgis' work in Salamis shows. When Sabri states that the Salamis gymnasium is a mixture of east and west, she is trying to break the Greek monopoly of the past. Northern Cyprus also continues to have a looting problem (Langdale 2012), which is mostly due to lack of resources and a lack of interest. The Turkish Cypriot national insecurity can be compared to that of the Franco-Ontarians (Lacassagne 2012), whose presence in an Anglophone Canadian province requires guaranteed funding and an internal infrastructure for the preservation of their identity. However, many Islamic or Ottoman sites have begun to be restored thanks to the work of the Bicommunal Committee of Cultural Heritage, allowing some agency for a bicommunal approach and to the Turkish Cypriots in particular. In yet another parallel to Franco-Ontarians, the economic dominance of Turkey monopolises the Turkishness of Northern Cyprus, just as the Quebecois do for Francophones (Lacassagne 2012: 182-185). The result is a haunting of archaeological research by derelict sites causing unresolved bicommunal enmity and trauma.

Archaeology and education

Of equal importance is the reception of archaeology and the management of heritage on both sides by the general public. The haunting and trauma caused by colonial narratives and conflict have contributed to nationalist narratives of the past and continue to impact perceptions of the Other to this day. These hauntings are expressed in sites of looting in Northern Cyprus as well as in memorials to incomplete nationalist projects and sites of trauma. The state has used archaeology to justify a community's presence on the island in public perceptions and to justify political goals by presenting archaeology in purely Hellenic terms (Mi-

chael 2005). The Greek Cypriot education system is centralised and state-run under strict directives (Michael 2005: 39-41) that make use of archaeology to reinforce the island's pure Hellenism. In textbooks, the Hellenisation narrative is presented without critique. Special emphasis is given to Mycenaean kraters, which are juxtaposed alongside prior Neolithic finds to show Hellenic characteristics (Karageorgis 2005: 39-41). With this Hellenisation chronology firmly established, the island's Hellenism is constantly perpetuated. For example, discussions of resistance to Persia centre around King Euagoras of Salamis, who had a Philhellenic policy. His reign is depicted as a golden age which further Hellenised the population despite already being Hellenic (Michael 2005: 48-52).

Salamis itself is often presented to children as a constant reminder of Northern Cyprus' Hellenism. Even in tourism, Cyprus is presented as a Greek island, with museums constantly depicting Greek heritage and even some hotels taking a distinctly Greco-Roman look (Michael 2005: 130-131) (fig. 2). Symbols like the Salamis theatre convey and induce extreme emotion and link people to identities (Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996). Most importantly, the Others (the Turkish Cypriots and other ethnic minorities) are almost absent from historical narratives— even when Cyprus' recent history is discussed. Instead, their own archaeological presence (via mosques or madrassas) is ignored and the period of Turkish rule in Cyprus (1571-1878) is depicted as a dark age (Papadakis 2008: 118-120).

The intersection of geography and history is the source of much political action between the two communities. The Turkish Cypriot reception in education has also been driven by national insecurity and trauma. In this process, Turkish Cypriot textbooks have tried to delegitimize the Greek element and show the legitimacy of the Turkish element (Kızılyürek 2005). For example, Cyprus' geographical proximity to Turkey is emphasised and the authors take special note of the fact that Greece as an abstract polity never directly ruled Cyprus (Kızılyürek 2005: 390-391). The authors take the opposite extreme of Greek Cypriot books, making the case that pure Hellenism never took hold in Cyprus, and that its population only learned Greek in Byzantine times (Kızılyürek 2005: 392-393). The conversion of many sites to mosques is also noted, and the Greeks themselves are depicted as oppressors throughout the twentieth century (Papadakis 2008: 124-127) (fig. 3). Turkish Cypriot textbooks have gone through some changes in recent years with a rather ambivalent recognition of some Greek Cypriot suffer-

ing being acknowledged in recent editions (Papadakis 2008: 139-141). In terms of archaeology, important finds such as the ship of Kyrenia have been objects of contestation (Constantinou et al. 2012). The ship dates to the Bronze Age and is claimed by Greek Cypriots as part of their long-term presence. Turkish Cypriots have tried to counter this by mentioning its construction with Lebanese wood and its use in trade with Asia Minor. The separation of archaeological imaginaries presents itself in one object, even though it can be a point of convergence for the communities via the contextualisation of both views into a synthesis of the artefact's provenance.

In Museums, such as Canbulat in Famagusta, the curators tried to build a narrative that justifies the Turkishness of Cyprus (Scott 2002). For example, there is little to no contextual analysis of exhibits, save for justifying the Turkishness of the city. Two maps on the museum show both the siege of 1571 and of 1974, marking the repetition and inevitability of Turkish presence (Scott 2002: 270-272). Turkish Cypriot historical memory is more prone to acknowledging the local elements and mixtures that took place in Cyprus, due to their need to respond to both Greek Cypriot and Turkish dominance over the space in which they lived throughout time (Langdale 2012).

Inclusive developments

Positive developments in both heritage and archaeological research have indicated ways of moving forward. These approaches have reconceived Cyprus on spatial and non-ethnic terms, and what is required is to put this in a diachronic context of the *longue durée*. On the Greek Cypriot side, archaeologists have begun to study ethnicity in Cyprus with nuance. For example, studies of Late Cypriot IIA pottery from throughout the island have questioned the unilineal nature of the Hellenisation narrative (Kling 1989: 164-166). Kling discusses the possibilities of hybridity as an alternative for Hellenic traits which merely subsume local traits. The cultural conservatism that Karageorgis has described in material culture has been recast by Vernet (2015), who studied the cult of Apollo in Cyprus. According to Vernet, the cult of Apollo absorbed a local fertility deity, with the latter's aristocratic worshippers continuing their patronage (Vernet 2015: 185-187). This approach provides a common space for multiple ethnicities. In a sense, it shows a diachronic trajectory of cultural co-existence and en-

gagement in the service of religious worship. This study carefully examines the intricacies of hybridity that underlay the increasing presence of Greek-speakers on the island.

Trelat (2015) has focused on Nicosia, the capital, and its increasing importance during mediaeval times. The article specifically looks at the use of civic festivals linked to royalty in the Lusignan period (Trelat 2015: 149-151) (fig. 4). These festivals allude to a legitimization strategy which links the royal family with the original kingdom of Jerusalem. The royal festivals and the urban space, in a sense, forge a civic identity with ethnicity or religion being secondary. Bi-communal religious sites such as Kirkklar Tekke, a Naqshbandi shrine which is also an Orthodox martyr shrine, and Ayios Andreas, which are visited by both communities (Constantinou 2005), have also received scholarly interest. This momentum is perhaps best exemplified by the work of historians on mediaeval Cyprus, traditionally a less controversial period due to the presence of third groups on the island. Many churches such as Stavrovouni were cross-pilgrimage sites, functioning as shared spaces (Mersch 2014: 467). This was in spite of the occasional measures taken by Catholic clergy for Catholic supremacy and provided iconographic results in hybrid Italo-Byzantine art, but also common dedications by both Latin and Greek Christians (Mersch 2014: 473). Again, we see the pattern of a common third space which allows for hybrid entanglements as well as the coexistence of multiplicities. This scholarship comes on top of a recognition of the multi-ethnic nature of mediaeval Cyprus which gives more presence to Maronites, Melkites and other groups (Coureas 2001). This appears to be a diachronic phenomenon in Cypriot history, as its frontier status necessitates multiculturalism and provides a fertile ground for inclusive, cosmopolitan, hybrid identities.

In terms of heritage, some of the biggest obstacles lie in building a common cultural milieu. Some projects, such as the Nicosia master plan, did receive public support (Kassinis 2015: 155). Other bicommunal projects have focused on recent history (Percopo 2011: 136-138), however, the segregation of archaeological narratives persists. Such pitfalls are similar to UNESCO's move to be more technocratic instead of trying to build a common heritage of humankind (Meskell 2018: 65-68). In fact, Cyprus does have common histories that can build a sense of common heritage. For example, the Linobambakoi, a community

of Latin Christians who converted to Islam and kept some rites are well-known, though for Greek Cypriots they are considered Crypto-Christians (Constantinou 2007: 252-254). Whereas Turkish Cypriot textbooks in schools have changed to provide a sense of hybrid history and Cypriotness (Vural and Ozuyanik 2008: 142-143), Greek Cypriot textbooks have maintained a nationalist discourse that erases the other's presence in the community (Hajisoteriou 2011: 75-76). Cypriot historians have come to terms with the trauma of colonialism and nationalism in the twentieth century by looking at Cypriotism as a spatially defined, non-ethnic form of modernity (Panayiotou et al. 2022). These overviews focus on the twentieth century, with Cypriot-centred thinkers in both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. These approaches are based on the idea of identity configuration, such as the Rum identity for Christians, and focus on more pragmatic, less ethno-centric political conduct (also seen in Varnava 2009). They represent Cyprus as a geographically defined space as opposed to one with an ethnic delineation which seeks to dominate the island. Such works not only help to understand the creation of alternative modernities, they also can be helpful in seeing how geographic delineation in the frontier space of Cyprus has functioned historically.

Wylie (1996: 270-274) has discussed how even in a context of plural interpretation, evidential constraints can provide a common ground and bridge divisions which remain unresolved, such as the shipwreck of Kyreneia (fig. 5), through epistemological coherence. In Cyprus, this is often difficult due to the blind spots caused by nationalist ideologies. Thus, there is a constant need for challenging and cross-checking. In Cyprus' case, where the segregation of archaeological narratives came via eastern nationalisms, acknowledging blind spots in memory and the multiplicity of perspectives is essential. The presence of mixed communities, common in Ottoman times (Dietzel and Markides 2009: 72-73), as well as the multi-ethnic Cypriot history, has been the focus of increasing interest in recent times. For example, local dialects (Steele 2013) and the popular multi-ethnic revolts of the Ottoman period, which focus more on common material interests than identity (Konnari and Schabe 2005).

Increasing visibility serves as a bridge between multiple, selective histories through examples where communities cooperated. Instances include the multi-communal revolts of the nineteenth century, or cases of fluidity through

which the traditions of one group can be used by another, such as the Hasanpou-lia bandits (fig. 6). This has been in conjunction with a shift of focus towards the Cypriot aspects of communal identities. Bridges between the multiple communities have taken place archaeologically, through participation in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Committees on Missing Persons' (Hadjigeorgiou 2022), whose work focuses on finding missing persons from the 1958-1974 period, and Cultural Heritage (Reid 2021), which is focused on the restoration of monuments throughout the island. These restorations seek to re-centre other ethnic groups in the historical consciousness of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Both of these programs offer ways in which historical traumas can find some sort of closure.

The issue that remains is the incorporation into public discourse and this requires an alternative Cypriot-centric model of history. The spatial concept proposed by Panayiotou et al. (2022), as well as the use of hybridity and third spaces, can be combined to provide a *longue durée* conceptual model; where Cyprus is a frontier and fluid space much like the seasonal changes of the Cypriot landscape described in Michanikos' (1982) poem. This historical approach can help conceptualise archaeology in Cyprus as a third space for common/pluriform identity by placing artefacts and buildings from the past as hybrid spaces on a common landscape. This also means addressing the trauma associated with events such as the intercommunal violence of 1963 and the Coup and invasion of 1974 and juxtaposing these traumas as mirrors of each other as Kızılyürek and Chrysanthou (1993) have done. This in turn reveals a commonality in suffering that allows for shared pain, alongside the contextualisation of nationalism as a driver rather than the Otherised group—breaking the conceptual divisions examined in Yaşın's (1998) poem. The common, diachronic grounding in archaeological research that Wylie's approach brings, along with the multivocality of Cypriot historical analogies, can provide the ability to address the affective aspects of archaeology in Cyprus and help unify archaeological narratives, that, in conjunction with Cypriot-centric and inclusive ideas, increase prevalence in the public sphere.

Conclusion

In this article, I argued that archaeological research in Cyprus has been segregated through selective histories by investigating changes in scholarship over

time. I discussed various case studies in archaeological research, heritage, and public education which promote ethnocentrism amongst the island's two largest communities. These discussions have been nuanced in recent decades by focusing on hybridity as well as multi-communal co-existence as new fields of study. They have evolved in parallel alongside Cypriot political developments, with the rise of nationalisms as well as the later response by alternate modernities and the intractability of partition in Cyprus. The paper concludes that the use of a spatial, rather than ethnic, conception of history could enable a better appreciation of Cyprus. Such approaches are essential for reconciliation initiatives on the island, as well as understanding the fluidity and complexity of Cypriot history and identity.

Acknowledgements

My thanks must go to the anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments, as well as the editors for their help and resourcefulness. The origins of this article lie in coursework at UCL under Dr Stephen Shennan, and many thanks also must go to him. I would also like to dedicate this first publication to my family; my parents and sister Petros, Tita and Sofia for their support, my grandparents Takis, Eleni, Feidias, and Sofia, for inspiring me with stories of the past, and to the loving memory of my great-grandmother Fytou, who is perhaps the most Cypriot person I have ever known.

REFERENCES

- Bernbeck, R. and Pollock, S. 1996. Ayodhya, archaeology & identity. *Current Anthropology* 37 (Supp.): 138–42.
- Bozkurt, U. and Trimikliniotis, N. 2014. Incorporating a Class Analysis within the National Question: Rethinking Ethnicity, Class, and Nationalism in Cyprus. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 20(2): 244–265.
- Bryant, R. 2010. *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cannavo, A. 2015. Towards a history of the histories of Cyprus. In Hadjikyriakos, I. and Trentin, M.G. (eds). *Cypriot Cultural Details: Proceedings of the 10th Annual Meeting of Young Researchers in Cypriot Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Constantinou, C. M. 2007. Aporias of identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the 'Cyprus Problem'. *Cooperation and Conflict* 42(3): 247–270.
- Constantinou, C.M., Demetriou, O. and Hatay, M. 2012. Conflicts and Uses of Cultural Heritage in Cyprus. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 14(2): 177–198.
- Constantinou, C.M. 2019. Transgressing the Nation: In Defence of Cypriot Peasantry and Rustic Politics. *Cyprus Review* 31(1): 73–98.
- Coureas, N. 2015. How Frankish was the Frankish ruling Class of Cyprus? Ethnicity And Identity. *Annual Proceedings of the Cypriot Centre of Scientific Research XXXVIII*: 61–78.
- Demetriou, C. and Trimikliniotis, N. 2009. The Cypriot Roma and the Failure of Education: Anti-Discrimination and Multiculturalism as a Post-accession Challenge. In Coureas, N. and Varnava, A. (eds). *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal-Exclusion*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Dietzel, I., and Makrides, V. N. 2009. Ethno-Religious Coexistence and Plurality in Cyprus under British Rule (1878—1960). *Social Compass* 56(1): 69–83
- Given, M. 1998. Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11(1): 3–29.
- Hadjigeorgiou, N. 2022. Truth and Closure in Cyprus: An Assessment of the Committee on Missing Persons. *Israel Law Review* 55(1): 3–24.
- Hajisoteriou, C. 2011. From nation-building to Europeanisation: The influence of history on Greek-Cypriot education. *The Cyprus Review* 23(1): 65–79.

- Harpster, M. 2008. The 2008 Maritime Heritage Assessment Survey along the Karpaz Peninsula, Cyprus. *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 39(2): 295–309.
- Hatay, M. 2015. ‘Reluctant’ Muslims? Turkish Cypriots, Islam, and Sufism. *Cyprus Review* 27(2): 43–63.
- Karageorgis V. 1962. Notes on Some Mycenaean Survivals in Cyprus During the First Millenium B.C. *Kadmos* 1(1), 71–78.
- Karageorgis, V. 1969. *Salamis in Cyprus: Classical, Hellenistic and Roman*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Kassinis, E. 2015. Patrimony for Peace: Supporting Cultural Heritage Projects to Build Bridges in Cyprus. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology & Heritage Studies* 3(2): 153–156.
- Kizilyurek, N. and Chrysanthou, P. 1993. *Our Wall*. Nicosia: Chrysanthou Productions.
- Kizilyurek, N. 1999. National memory and Turkish-Cypriot textbooks. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/Umgang mit Konflikten/Dealing with Conflicts* 21(4): 387–395.
- Kling, B. 1989. Local Cypriot Features in the Ceramics of Late Cypriot IIIA. In Peltenberg, J. (ed). *Early Society in Cyprus*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Knapp, B., and Antoniadou, S. 1998. Archaeology, politics and the cultural heritage of Cyprus. In Meskell, L. (ed). *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, politics and heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*. London: Routledge.
- Kohl, P.L. 1998. Nationalism and archaeology: on the constructions of nations and the reconstructions of the remote past. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27: 223–46.
- Koumarianou, M. 2011. “Nahni wa xfendik”1 (We and the Others): Negotiation of multiple identities in the Maronite Community of Cyprus. *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta* 59(2): 61–76.
- Lacassange, A. 2012. Cultural policy and agency in a cultural minority context: Artistic creation and cultural management in Northern Ontario. In Pacquette, J. (ed). *Cultural Policy, Work and Identity: The Creation, Renewal and Negotiation of Professional Subjectivities*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.
- Langdale, A. 2012. *In a Contested Realm: An Illustrated Guide to the Archaeology and Historical Architecture of Northern Cyprus*. Glasgow: The Grimsay Press.
- Leriu, N. 2009. Constructing an Archaeological Narrative: The Hellenization Of Cyprus. In Müller-Celka, S. and David, J.-C. (eds). *Patrimoines culturels en Méditerranée orientale: recherche scientifique et enjeux identitaires*. Lyon: 1er atelier.

- Luisa, P. 2011. Silent lines and the ebb of memory: narratives of Our Wall in the island of Cyprus. *Social Semiotics* 21(1): 125–141.
- Lytras, E., and Psaltis, C. 2011. *Formerly Mixed-Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future*. Nicosia: AHDR H4C.
- Macdonald, S. 2013. *Memorylands. Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*. London: Routledge.
- Masallogullari, N, 2011. *Nationalism in Cyprus: The Effects of Institutionalization on Nationalist Mobilizations and Political Conflicts as Reflected in Turkish Cypriot Nationalism and Greek Cypriot Nationalism*. MA Thesis, Marshall University.
- McManamon, F. 1991. The many publics for archaeology. *American Antiquity* 56:121–30.
- Mersch, M. .2014. Churches as ‘Shared Spaces’ in the Eastern Mediterranean (14th to 15th Centuries). In Christ, G., Buckhardt, S., Morche, F.J. and Zaugg, R. (eds). *Union in Separation: Trading Diasporas in the Eastern Mediterranean (1200-1700)*. Roma: Viella, 461–484.
- Meskell, L. (2018). *A Future in Ruins: UNESCO, World Heritage, and the Dream of Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Michael, A.S. 2005. *Making Histories: Nationalism, Colonialism and the Uses of the Past on Cyprus*. PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow.
- Michanikos, P. 1975. *Ode to a Dead Turkish Child*. Nicosia: Poems.
- Moudouros, N. 2019. The AKP’s “pious youth in Cyprus” Project and the Turkish Cypriot “deviations.” *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 8(1): 25–47.
- Navaro-Yashin, Y. 2013. *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Panayiotou, A. 2006. Lenin in the coffee-shop: the communist alternative and forms of non-western modernity. *Postcolonial Studies* 9(3): 267–280.
- Panayiotou, A. et al. 2022. *Anthology of Works for Cypriotism, Cypriotness and Cypro-centrism*. Nicosia: Ideodromio.
- Papadakis, Y. 2008. Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the “History of Cyprus”. *History and Memory* 20(2): 128–148.
- Pollis, A. 1996. The social construction of ethnicity and nationality: The case of Cyprus. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 2(1): 67–90.
- Reid, A. 2021. Heritage, Reconciliation and Cross-Border Cooperation in Cyprus. *Anthropological*

Journal of European Cultures 3(1): 144.

Sabri, R. 2019. Greek nationalism, architectural narratives, and a gymnasium that wasn't. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25(2): 178–197.

Said, E.W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Scott, J. 2002a. Mapping the past: Turkish Cypriot narratives of time and place in the Canbulat museum, Northern Cyprus. *History and Anthropology* 13(3): 217–230.

Scott, J. 2002b. World Heritage as a Model for Citizenship: the case of Cyprus. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8(2): 99–115.

Steel, L. 2004. A Goodly Feast. . . A Cup of Mellow Wine: Feasting in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 73(2): 281–300.

Steel, L. 1998. The Social Impact of Mycenaean Imported Pottery in Cyprus. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 93: 285–296.

Steele, P. 2013. *Linguistic History of Ancient Cyprus: The Non-Greek Languages, and their Relations with Greek, c.1600-300 BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge Classical Studies.

Trelat, P. 2015. Urbanization and urban identity in Nicosia (13th-16th centuries). In Hadjikyriakos, I. and Trentin, M.G. (eds). *Cypriot Cultural Details: Proceedings of the 10th Annual Meeting of Young Researchers in Cypriot Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Trigger, B. 1984. Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist. *Man* 19: 355–70.

Vernet, Y. 2015. Some remarks on the beginning of the cult of Apollo in Cyprus. In Hadjikyriakos, I. and Trentin, M.G. (eds). *Cypriot Cultural Details: Proceedings of the 10th Annual Meeting of Young Researchers in Cypriot Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Vural, Y. and Evrim Özuyanık, E. 2008. Redefining Identity in the Turkish-Cypriot School History Textbooks: A Step Towards a United Federal Cyprus. *South European Society and Politics* 13(2): 133–154.

Wylie, A. 1995. Alternative histories. Epistemic disunity and political integrity. In Schmidt, A. and Patterson, T. (eds). *Making Alternative Histories. The practice of archaeology and history in non-western settings*. Santa Fe: School of American Research, 255–72.

Wylie, A. 2000. Questions of evidence, legitimacy and the (dis)utility of science. *American Antiquity* 65: 227–37.

Wylie, A. 2008. The integrity of narratives: deliberative practice, pluralism and multivocality. In Habu, J., Fawcett C. and Matsunaga, J. (eds). *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: beyond nation-*

alist, colonialist, imperialist archaeologies. London: Springer, 201-12.

Yasin, N. 1998. *My Homeland*. Nicosia: Poems.

Era	Identities	
The Ottoman Empire	Muslims	Christians
The British Empire	Turkish	Greek
	Cypriotism (failed)	Cypriotism (failed)
Republic of Cyprus	Cypriotism	Cypriotism
After Partition	Turkish Cypriots	Greek Cypriots

Fig. 1. A table showing changes in self-identification over time. Note the segregation from the British period onwards. The dominant nationalist or localist identities would set the tone for archaeological research (reproduced with permission of Masaroğulları [2011: 153]).



Fig. 2. The Roman Hotel, in Paphos. This hotel appeals to Paphos' fame as a city with many Roman mosaics. The tourist narrative over-compensates national insecurities by over-emphasizing Hellenism (https://static11.com-hotel.com/uploads/hotel/319893/photo/roman-boutique-hotel_159862895233.jpg).

	Beginning	Self (Moral center)	Major enemy (Other)	Plot	End
Greek Cypriot narrative	Arrival of Greeks (14th century BC) <i>Hellenization of Cyprus</i>	Greeks (of Cyprus)	Turks	A struggle of survival by Cypriot Hellenism against foreign conquerors	1974 Tragic (“Barbaric Turkish Invasion”)
Turkish Cypriot narrative	Arrival of Turks (1571 AD) <i>Turkification of Cyprus</i>	Turks (of Cyprus)	Rums (Greek Cypriots)	A struggle of survival by the Turks of Cyprus against Greek Cypriot aggression	1974 Happy (“Happy Peace Operation”)

Fig. 3. A table showing education narratives in Cyprus. Both sides make use of mutually exclusive parts of the ship's role in Cypriot archaeology. Epistemological coherence can be found here (reproduced with permission of Papadakis [2008: 123]).



Fig. 4. Arablars or Stavros tou Messinou, in Faneromeni. This is a small mosque which was previously a church. Being on the Greek-Cypriot administered part of the island, it has not been emphasized as a piece of heritage (https://religiana.com/sites/default/files/styles/hero_image/public/images/2021-03/piqsels.com-id-sxwnf.jpg?itok=ri8mNI-F).



Fig. 5. A reconstruction of the Kyrenia ship. Nationalist narratives have focused on non of archaeology, but segregate both affective and historical narratives (reproduced with permission of Constantinou [2012: 134]).

**Hasanpoulia, Hasanpoulia, flying like birds,
Dressed in different clothes everyday,
Greek today and Turkish tomorrow.
(Anonymous Cypriot poem)**

Fig. 6. A poem describing Hasanpoulia, legendary bandits in 19th Century Cyprus. the bandits were either Maronites or Linobambakoi, and show the fluidity of pre-modern Cypriot life (reproduced with permission of Constantinou [2007: 247]).