

**Scanned / Digitised by**

**The Socialist Truth In Cyprus –London Bureaux**

**Web: <http://www.KibristaSosyalistGercek.net>**

**<http://www.kibristasosyalistgercek.net/intro.htm>**

**E-mail: [info@KibristaSosyalistGercek.net](mailto:info@KibristaSosyalistGercek.net)**



A well-researched work concerning the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus which throws an entirely new light on their respective racial structures. It contains a mass of anecdotal information and should be of great interest to anyone who wishes to know what exactly is a Cypriot. The central theme of the book concentrates on the diverse reasons why the two communities can no longer co-exist peacefully as a single nation within a unitary state.

The author, a former District Judge of Cyprus now permanently resident in London, has been a regular contributor to *The Mankind Quarterly*. His first book **Cocktails-at-Law** (a light-hearted but learned look at law and liquor) was widely acclaimed by the legal profession and has become a classic in its own right.

UK £1.00

Cover design by Malcolm Young

 **Prosperity Publications**

ISBN 0 905506 07 3

RAN HALL

THE RAPE OF CYPRUS

# THE RAPE OF CYPRUS

KIAMRAN  
HALIL



*Origine propria neminem posse  
voluntate sua exim manifestum est*  
(Cod. 10, 38, 4). (It is manifest that no  
one is able, of his own will, to get rid of  
his proper origin).

## *Author's Introduction*

The enchanting climate of Cyprus made Horace<sup>1</sup> call the island *Beatum Cyprum* (Blest Cyprus). Contemporary tourists and, with some nostalgia, former British colonial administrators think of it as the Isle of the Blest. Its glorious weather aside, how blest were, or are, or ever will be the islanders?

Cyprus has been raped regularly on several occasions during its chequered history. Its rape<sup>2</sup> in 1959 occurred on February 11<sup>3</sup> at Dolder Hotel in Zürich in the course of the talks between Greece and Turkey. This subsequently led to the conceived settlement that gave birth to the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, following the signing and initialling by Greece, Turkey, and Britain of the London and Zürich Agreements on February 19.<sup>4</sup> That the outcome has not been in the best interests of the island now admits of no doubt whatsoever.

The two chief aims of this slim volume is to *discuss* the genetic structure of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot<sup>5</sup> communities which for reasons of brevity will be referred to hereafter simply as 'Greeks' and 'Turks', respectively, and to *show* that it is quite out of the question for them to co-exist amicably as a single 'nation', or even as Greeks and Turks in a two-nation country. They more or less purported to do so, for the first time, from August 1960 to December 1963 with disastrous consequences entailing severe demographic dislocations and dispersals.

It is often true that the best predictor of future performance is past performance in similar circumstances.<sup>6</sup> Those who still believe that these two communities can co-exist peacefully as a single

nation within a unitary state are not unlike the few persons who claim that the earth is flat.

Let it be said at the outset that these two major communities which are ethnically, culturally, and linguistically two genetically-determined distinct races with manifold diversities and disparate interests have never lived *together*<sup>7</sup> as such but merely co-existed *side by side* although they did work together mainly in the public sector and to a very limited extent in the private sector. Mixed villages had their separate Greek and Turkish quarters. This sharp dichotomy and ethnic dualism was even more pronounced in the segregated settings of the main towns with negligible social intercourse between the communities.<sup>8</sup>

For a proper understanding of the background of the Cyprus saga and its complex considerations it is essential, *firstly*, to give a very broad outline of its early history down to 1571; *secondly*, to discuss at some length its occupation for 307 years by the Ottoman Turks which extended from 1571 to 1878; *thirdly*, to deal with certain limited aspects of the British colonial administration of 82 years from 1878 to 1960; and *fourthly* to offer an objective appraisal of its status as an independent state from 1960 onwards with a constructive discussion relating to the period beginning with the invasion by Turkey of northern Cyprus on 20 July 1974.

Ironically 3 months before the Turkish invasion the Greeks issued a new series of commemorative postage stamps entitled 'Europe 1974' intended to depict 'the Rape of Europe'<sup>19</sup>

The book is written in neutral vein at the risk of its objectivity at times offending some narrow-minded members of both factions who by nature or nurture entertain only one-dimensional views and, as such, are always prone to see just one side of the coin - a bizarre, if not bravado, behaviour of extreme ethno-

centricism and sense of selfdom for which unfortunately it is not possible to offer a suitable therapy.

In the interests of economy no index or bibliography has been compiled and all footnotes, whether textual extensions or references, have been grouped together at the end of the book. It is appreciated that this may cause a slight inconvenience to some readers for which the author offers his apologies. But no apology is made for a small but deliberate amount of repetition because it is felt that if the reader found a familiar cross-thread here and there, it might help him get his bearings.

## CHAPTER ONE

### *Broad Outline of Early History down to 1571*

As the Turks appeared on the Cyprus scene in 1571 following the Ottoman conquest in that year and bearing in mind the prime objectives of this book, it would be going far beyond its scope to embark upon a detailed analysis of the history of Cyprus before that date.<sup>1</sup>

However, it may be useful to trace the island's early history in broad outline if only to reveal the true origins of its Greek inhabitants. Furthermore, it would be interesting to explain how they had fared at the hands of their Venetian masters before the Ottoman Turks conquered the island and, so to speak, elevated them from the conditions of abject slavery<sup>2</sup> to the status of a form of second class citizens.

The earliest authentic record on the history of Cyprus relates to its conquest by Egypt in 1500 BC under Thothmes III. This was followed by Phoenician traders as colonisers. Phoenician domination was soon supplanted by Assyrian rule. For several centuries Phoenicians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Persians vied with one another for supremacy.

Around 400 BC however Greek settlers from Greece established a foothold. Shortly afterwards there occurred a bitter struggle for mastery of the island

among Greece, the Phoenicians, and the Persians. Eventually, the successes of Alexander the Great removed the Persians. When he died in 323 BC the island was allocated to one of his generals but Ptolemy regained possession for the Egyptians until the 1st century BC when it formed part of the Roman Empire.

In 395 AD on the partition of that Empire, Cyprus was assigned to the East Roman Emperor. It stayed Byzantine until the 12th century when its governor, Isaac Comnenus, declared himself Emperor of Cyprus. Richard I, however, passing by Cyprus on his way to the Crusades, defeated him and handed over the island to Guy de Lusignan.

The Lusignans, commonly referred to as the Franks, ruled Cyprus from 1192 to 1489, although Famagusta port was wrested from them by the Genoese. The Venetians overrun the Genoese and conquered the whole island. They ruled it for 82 years until the Ottoman conquest in 1571.

The people inhabiting the island when the Egyptians invaded and conquered it, and when the Phoenicians colonised it, were in all probability of Javanian or Ionian origin and repeated immigrations from Greece took place before the Christian era.<sup>3</sup> But never in its history had Cyprus had more than a transient liaison with Greece itself.<sup>4</sup> The present Greek-speaking population is of mixed blood and contains in its veins the blood of all nations which from time to time conquered and colonised Cyprus.<sup>5</sup>

The Greeks occupied Cyprus for a considerable period and mixed up with the Syrians of Phoenician or of Jewish extraction until at length becoming assimilated both in speech and manners, they formed but one people.<sup>6</sup> Presumably their early genetic make-up had earned them their ancient nickname of *Vous Kyprios*<sup>7</sup> (Greek for Cyprian ox),

equivalent of the German *Ochsenkopf*,<sup>8</sup> which was conferred on them in derision of their stolid obtuseness.

As for their 'survival' under the Venetian rule, it is interesting to appreciate that during the whole of that period the Greeks (barring a tiny minority) were divided mainly into two classes: the *parici* (those serving Venetian noblemen) and the *perpirarii* (who were just ordinary serfs). Both categories could buy their freedom for 50 ducats each.<sup>9</sup> In some cases their private masters would also grant them their emancipation free of charge.

According to a distinguished diarist<sup>10</sup> the Venetians had treated their subjects worse than slaves, using them to gratify their worst passions; and that when the Turks arrived the poor people were freed. In addition to being subjected to harsh taxation they were required to work two days per week building fortifications - a heavy burden described as *angaria*, a word which to this day the Greeks use (pronouncing it *ankarka*; in 'Queen's' Greek, *angariya*). The Turks, for that matter, when they wish to refer to some unwanted, unremunerative and burdensome chore, adopt the use of that word and pronounce it as *angarga*.

The Venetians had also left their mark in one other way: they had encouraged the Greeks to plant thousands of olive trees. They paid a zecchin for every tree that was planted!<sup>11</sup>

We have it on good authority that the island's population during the Venetian period was between 100,000 and 200,000.<sup>12</sup> Whether it had a population of 1 million must for ever remain open to doubt.<sup>13</sup> Although there is no evidence of the actual number of Venetians, having regard to the population estimates made by foreign consuls periodically during the Turkish occupation it would be safe to assume that the bulk of the Venetian populace was

either slaughtered by the Turks or fled in considerable numbers, yet leaving many remnants behind.

These elements comprised noblemen and others who managed to escape from their captors. This explains why several Greek families have either Venetian surnames or slight variations thereof. Considering that some families with such un-Greek names still do exist - after the passage of just over 450 years - the number of Venetians who fled from their Turkish captors and integrated into the local population must have been quite substantial indeed.

A sizeable concentration of people with Venetian sounding names is still to be found in Larnaca where in 1818 there were 40 families of Frankish or Venetian extraction.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that many Greeks with Venetian features exist in several parts of the island, enjoying these peculiar sounding names.<sup>15</sup> This is due to the fact that many members of the Latin aristocracy found it expedient to change their names and religion for fear of being tracked down and butchered by the Turks. They were gradually absorbed into the Greek peasantry.<sup>16</sup>

After the fall of Famagusta a number of poorer noblemen took refuge in the village of Athienou and thereafter turned to the calling of muleteers.<sup>17</sup> Athienou villagers claim Venetian descent!<sup>18</sup> This equally applied to the people of the village of Komatou Yialou in the Karpass peninsula which attracted Venetian settlers to its little bay.<sup>19</sup>

Of aristocrats who vanished without trace, writing in 1936 Rupert Gunnis<sup>20</sup> wondered with a touch of rhetoric as follows:

'... Where is Nores? d'Ibelin? Giblet? Gone in name perhaps, but not in blood; diluted and thin they may be, but they are there ... Some people if but knew it have bluer blood in their veins than

half the aristocracy of Europe and could boast, perhaps, quarterings that a Howard or a Sackville might envy ...

'The family of Nores was one of the best known in the crusading families established in the Near East, and it has been suggested that the English family of Norreys are of the same stock. The two last members of this family escaped from Nicosia after the siege of 1570 to the mountains, but it is unknown what their ultimate fate may have been'.

Of people who retained their Venetian family names in Larnaca, one in particular has always stood out. He was Mr Nicolas Dandolo, a tall distinguished-looking gentleman who rarely mingled with the crowds. He died sometime in the 1950s. It was said that he was the direct descendant of Nicolaus Dandolo, the Proveditore<sup>21</sup> who surrendered all parts of Cyprus to the Ottoman Turks, barring Nicosia and Famagusta which fell not before the Turks were made to pay a very high price in the loss of 80,000 men.

Other prominent personalities with Venetian names were or, as the case may be, are the families of Mattei,<sup>22</sup> Contarini,<sup>23</sup> and Baldassare, to name just a few. (Outside the main entrance gate of the Tekké, the Turkish shrine by the salt lake near Larnaca, lies a white marble slab with a beautifully cut inscription referring to Baldassare Trivizani who was the Venetian Lieutenant-Governor of Cyprus from 1489 to 1491).<sup>24</sup>

Persons rejoicing in the possession of such names are to this day held in high esteem by the Greeks who apparently bear no grudge against them for their ancestors' enslavement by the formers' forefathers. It should be stated, however, that Greeks now having such names or Greek-ified versions thereof do not consider themselves as being anything other than

Greeks (and as for their mother country, alas it's *Ellas*).

This is of course largely due to extensive intermixture so much so that elements of the Greek population with Venetian ancestral connection now have probably only 1/128 or 1/256 part Venetian blood in their veins - a forgotten factor! The thinning of the blood in that way is not at all surprising, considering that the Venetian epoch ended well over 400 years ago.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *Cyprus under the Turks (1571-1878)*

Until 1571, when the Ottoman Turks conquered Cyprus from the Venetians, there were no Turkish inhabitants on the island. The bulk of the indigenous population was composed of Greeks. Many had soon emigrated. These were mostly the surviving Venetians and Franks, many of whom as indicated earlier had changed their names and religion and were absorbed into the Greek population. But there were also what were known in the Near East as Latins of Syrian, Ionian, Genoese, French, and Maltese descent - as also Armenians and a substantial minority of Maronites.

Soon after the conquest, 20,000 demobilised Turkish soldiers were given parcels of land, called *fiefs*, and settled on these State lands granted to them by Sultan Selim II. These people formed the original core and nucleus of the present Turkish element in the Cypriot population.<sup>1</sup>

The fighting forces, many of whom possessed pre-Seljuk and pre-Ottoman origins,<sup>2</sup> were principally drawn from Anatolia and were full of renegades. They consisted also of janissaries (*yenicheris* in Turkish, meaning 'new troops') who were slave-élite soldiers of non-Moslem birth but brought up as Moslems.<sup>3</sup> The 20,000 colonists contained many Turks of this sort.<sup>4</sup>

These military settlers were supplemented from time to time by Turkish immigration from Anatolia

and Rumelia (European Turkey).<sup>5</sup> This was done in two ways. Firstly, the island, which had become a peripheral province of the Ottoman Empire, was used as a place of banishment<sup>6</sup> from the Turkish mainland for undesirables, such as criminals of the deepest dye and brigands of the Yürük (Anatolian nomads). Amongst those who were deported there were also high-ranking officers and celebrities who had incurred the Sultan's disfavour.

Secondly, the Sultan ordered the cadis (local justices or Koranic judges) of Konia, Larenda, Kayseri, Nigdé, Karamania, and Zülkadır to achieve the transfer of the inhabitants by shifting one out of ten households. In the main, they were peasants and of rough character.<sup>7</sup>

This series of migration was, at any rate at first, entirely made up of males. There was no in-movement of wives for men.<sup>8</sup> Afterwards, however, the administrator of the Land Register was commanded to bring over from Karamania 2,000 Turks with their families.<sup>9</sup> The genetic effect of such immigration cannot be underestimated.

Whereas immigration from the Turkish mainland stopped after the first decade of the occupation, deportation of undesirables did in fact continue. As late as 1864, which is only 14 years before the end of the Ottoman regime, we have it that '2,700 Circassians were deported to the island but only 550 were declared sound on landing, the others having perished during the voyage. Of these only 200 survived.'<sup>10</sup>

The bulk of the indigenous population which, as stated above consisted of Greeks who had not managed to leave (indeed, they preferred to remain behind having no option to do otherwise) were, after the Turkish occupation, called *rayahs*. All non-Moslem subjects of the Ottoman Empire were called *rayahs*! The term is defined by an eminent Turkish

historian as 'the tax paying subjects of the Ottoman Empire as distinct from the military class',<sup>11</sup> but the Arabic word *ri-aya* or *ra'iyah* means, appropriately in the present context, 'left behind', or literally 'flock'!

As explained earlier the Ottoman Turks had upgraded the Greeks to the status of second class citizens from the conditions of slavery under which they lived during the Venetian rule. Historians, therefore, agree that it was not surprising that the Greeks looked upon the Turks as their saviours despite the fact that the Turks had, in turn, introduced a yoke of oppression through the imposition of excessive taxation and certain rigid restrictions, such as the prohibition to own or purchase land, though this particular disability ceased on the abolition of the feudal system of land tenure at the beginning of the 17th century.

By contrast, the Greeks were granted complete religious liberties which were strictly forbidden to them during the Venetian administration that perpetuated the appalling conditions which their predecessors, the Lusignans, had governed the country.<sup>12</sup>

Yet throughout the Turkish period there were attempts at compelling the *rayahs* to embrace Islam.<sup>13</sup> But where such attempts were successful, in the majority of cases the converts looked forward to reverting to their old faith. The villagers of Lefkara, 25 miles to the south-west of the Turkish landing-point at Larnaca, did not resist these overtures. Lefkara was the first village to submit to the conquerors. Its Greek inhabitants offered the Turks every assistance. They acted as guides and provided valuable information on geographical locations and strategic points, in return for which they were treated well and allowed some privileges. Many had embraced Islam by abandoning Christendom and fleeing to the crusade of the Crescent of their own

volition in expectation of concessions. The population of the village was afterwards increased by Turkish settlers. Most likely interracial marriage, especially with those who had voluntarily changed their religion, had taken place but only to a very limited extent. The Ottoman Empire had grave defects; but, seeing the number of people who 'turned Turk', it could not have been such a monstrous tyranny as is sometimes supposed.<sup>14</sup>

Reliable authorities have indicated that Turks frequently married Greek women<sup>15</sup> but the frequency aspect is more likely to be an unwarranted exaggeration. Interracial unions, such as they may have been, account for the fact that the Turks of Lefkara had always found it considerably easier to express themselves in Greek than in Turkish which was supposed to be their mother tongue. A similar situation existed in the mixed village of Ayios Theodoros some 10 miles to the east of Lefkara.

The same is true of the all-Turkish village of Louroudjina, 12 miles to the south of Nicosia. This particular disability was also noticeable in many villages of the Karpass peninsula,<sup>16</sup> notably Ay Andronicos and Gallinoporni, to the north-east of Famagusta. Included in this category were the Turks who used to live in the Tylliria region to the north-west of Nicosia and several villages in the more remote Paphos district in the extreme west of the island.

Racial intermixture was probably in part responsible to explain the degenerate form of Turkish one used to hear in the areas referred to above. Possibly the true answer lies in the fact that the Turks were in the minority from the start and their numbers dwindled over the years while the Greek majority relatively gained in strength. It is impossible, however, to rely on the same premise in the case of some all-Turkish villages where the more elderly folk had

found it easier to converse in Greek<sup>17</sup> because they experienced great difficulty in attempting to speak in Turkish. Louroudjina was a striking example of this curious phenomenon. Some town-dwellers described these people as *mezzokertoos*, a local term which unlike the expressions *mestizo* and *mulatto*,<sup>18</sup> is not given in any language dictionary! In short, the term *mezzokertoos*, whatever its precise meaning, was understood to denote half-breeds.

It could perhaps be said of the inhabitants of these villages (except those living in Ay Andronicos and Gallinoporni in the Karpass peninsula)<sup>19</sup> that they are probably the descendants of a sect, long since extinct, known by the figurative expression *Lino-bambaki* - men of linen and cotton or, put differently, flax-cottons,<sup>20</sup> called so in derision; for, outwardly they professed to be Turkish Mohammedans, but in reality they were Christians.<sup>21</sup> They were in fact unwilling followers of Islam through forced conversion.<sup>22</sup> Members of this sect, similar to the Stavriotni of Lazistan,<sup>23</sup> numbered a mere 1,000 in 1878<sup>24</sup> and were largely to be found in Tylliria,<sup>25</sup> Louroudjina<sup>26</sup> and Liopetri.<sup>27</sup> Ironically, Liopetri is an all-Greek village, near Famagusta, and its inhabitants speak no Turkish at all! It is perhaps insufficiently realised, especially by Greek writers, that the Turks did not embrace Christianity in any significant numbers - only a tiny fraction from about the 1920s onwards and that only due to courtships!<sup>28</sup>

In the case of the Paphos district, local opinion maintained that the large number of persons with fair hair and blue eyes in the Turkish community are descendants of Frankish settlers, i.e., of West European, so-called, Frankish origin, who were converted to Mohammedanism after the Turkish conquest.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the inhabitants of Phallia village in the district were of gypsy origin (the tiny gypsy population of the island are a race apart; they are all

Turks, probably numbering no more than 300 souls). The faces of both men and women are of extreme swarthyness; the hair raven-black and the ears small. There is a slight resemblance to the inhabitants of Marathassa in the north-west who are believed to be descendants of Phoenician settlers but on the whole the likeness is rather to the gypsy type.<sup>30</sup>

With regard to the Karpass peninsula at the other extreme of the island, probably its comparative isolation from the rest of Cyprus has imparted to the peasantry of this region their peculiarly un-Cypriot look; white skins and frequent hair suggest that Western influence is present here.<sup>31</sup> Von Löher has pointed out that the peninsula was formerly colonised by a band of German crusaders.<sup>32</sup> And Hogarth observed that the Turks who inhabited the central villages of Ay Andronicos, Elisis, Korovia, and Gallinoporni presented few of the ordinary characteristics of the Turk. They spoke Greek and were almost ignorant of Turkish; he concluded that these Greek-speaking Turkish villages were sure traces of a forced conversion of the conquered.<sup>33</sup>

The subject of voluntary or compulsory conversion of the *rayahs* to Islam, followed by some intermixture, may account in certain areas for structural peculiarities like similarity of physique, physical features and characteristics and physiognomy of both races.<sup>34</sup> Included in this racial hybridisation is the outward physical trait of the sameness of mannerisms.

Although it is an incontestable fact that throughout the duration of the Turkish rule which, may it be remembered, lasted for just over 300 years the Greeks were accorded a wide measure of religious liberties, it should, at the same time, be stressed that the Turks treated them virtually as serfs.

Yet, paradoxically enough, the Turks administered a system of justice which took the following form: at

the *Daavi* Courts (later on called Districts Courts throughout the British administration by virtue of the Cyprus Courts of Justice Order 1882) sitting in 6 districts and presided over by a Turkish *cadi* there were four other members, two Turks and two Greeks. The Court of Appeal sat at Nicosia. A Turkish *cadi* was president, sitting with six members three of whom were Turks and three Greeks.

The law administered in all courts was the *Destour* (Turkish secular law) based on the Code Napoleon. The two communities had, however, their separate religious tribunals, *viz.*, the Turkish *Mahkemei Sheri-e* (substituted by the Turkish Family Courts after 1952) and the Greek-Orthodox ecclesiastical courts. It was mostly in the Turkish religious courts that the *cadis* dealt out a form of rough and ready justice, appropriately described as palm-tree justice<sup>35</sup> by western jurists. The reputation of the *cadis* was so notorious that people accepted without question that they could do whatever they liked irrespective of the true merits of a case.

Despite the participation of the Greeks in the judiciary, with the exception of Greek dignitaries, senior civil servants (numbering no more than a handful), and the dragomans<sup>36</sup> the rank and file of the Greek population was expected to pay homage to all the members of the Turkish community as the ruling class.

That this was so it is probably sufficient to have regard to the Turkish word *effendi* degenerately turned into *afentiko* by the Greeks, intended to acknowledge the Turks as their masters in addressing them. (The word *authentēs*<sup>37</sup> is the Greek origin of *effendi*, i.e., *afentiko*. This latter word in modern parlance may also be translated as '(my) squire').

Another example of subservience on record is to be found in an incident related by Turner as follows:

'March 20, 1815

... I set off with Ibrahim, one of Mr V's janissaries ... We passed a little after sunset the village of Aradippou ... When we were drawing near Larnaca we met four Greek peasants on donkeys (*sic*); as the first in passing us saluted us with "Good evening", Ibrahim struck him with the switch in his hand, returning his salute with "anasiny siqdim" (*sic*), the common Turkish expression of anger or contempt: immediately he and the other three alighted with great expedition: when I asked Ibrahim why he struck the man, he said it was because he had not alighted in passing me; I found on enquiry that every Rayah here is forced to alight when he meets a Turk of rank ...<sup>38</sup>

The expression *anasını siktim* carries a vulgar connotation. In the figurative sense, it denotes 'putting someone in his place' by way of punishment but this need not necessarily be physical. There is no reason to doubt that this classic incident has taken place when regard is had to a first-hand narrative<sup>39</sup> over 100 years later, in fact in 1933, by one Apshoulli Dayı - for such was the old man's nickname - a 92-year-old black Turk in Larnaca that 'during Turkish times Greek pedestrians at the sight of Turks coming from the opposite direction in the streets of the towns and villages had to kneel down until the Turks passed them'! There are several similar examples of such acts of suppressive subjugation.

This is not at all surprising when as late as 1768 (nearly two centuries after the Ottoman invasion) Mariti<sup>40</sup> recorded the presence of 20,000 janissaries following his visit to the island the year before and in 1818 Kinneir<sup>41</sup> wrote that in addition to the regular police force the military force amounted to 300 men and 4,000 janissaries - a remarkable reduction in 50 years - dispersed over different parts of the island.

Such were the prevailing conditions of oppression requiring the continuous acknowledgement by the Greeks of the Turks' superiority. It is therefore quite understandable that in the numerous volumes written on the subject of the Turkish regime in Cyprus it has not been possible to trace significant instances of social fraternisation between the two communities, due to the age-long polarity that kept them apart.

That said, occasional social intercourse must have existed especially in isolated villages or hamlets but nothing of the sort pertained to any marked degree in the larger mixed villages or the towns, except on a very insignificant scale between the male inhabitants of the upper echelons of their respective societies or in official circles.

On the other hand, outside the island it is a little known fact that members of the two communities referred to their compatriots throughout the centuries in the following derogatory terms: The Greeks described the Turks as *E* (pronounced as in the English alphabet) *shilli* (the dogs); *o skillos o Tourkos*;<sup>42</sup> *varvari* (barbarians); *bello Tourchi* (Turkish idiots). And the Turks, in turn, have always referred to the Greeks as *giavourlar* (infidels). They have even gone as far as to coin the proverb *domuzdan post, giavourdan dost olmaz* (not possible to make a rug from a pig or a friend of a Greek). In introducing a Turk to a Greek, the elderly Greeks would usually not say *ine Tourkos* (he is Turkish) but *ine Othomanos* (he is Ottoman), thinking that the former description is vulgar and that the latter is more polite and less insulting.

In addition to the references earlier on to *rayahs* and intermixture to a limited degree, it is equally vital to discuss the impact of slavery on the island in the form of black and negro serfs. The material on this topic is scattered, here and there, in the recorded

observations of diarist travellers and others. Barring fleeting references in various works, no book or article on Cyprus in any journal has yet treated this matter either seriously or even superficially - at any rate insofar as the first 100 years of the Ottoman occupation is concerned. Sir George Hill, however, simply records that in 1668 there were 1,000 black slaves (male and female) on the island.<sup>43</sup> If regard is to be had to the institution of serfdom on the Ottoman mainland itself, it could be reasonably inferred that some black slaves were transported along with the immigrants during the early years of the occupation. (History does not record the existence of black slaves on the island before the Turkish occupation!).

There is, however, abundant (albeit intermittent) informative material covering the remaining two centuries of the Ottoman regime that black slaves were in fact imported and employed locally. These were bought from visiting ships running a slave-market - a trade that was rampant in the Near East in those days.<sup>44</sup>

In this respect, the following eye-witness accounts are extremely instructive: according to Richard Pococke, a wealthy clergyman, who spent three years exploring the Middle East from 1737 to 1740,<sup>45</sup> slaves were frequently brought from Egypt and sold to the Turks.<sup>46</sup> The next piece of information on record reveals that in 1770 'Russian ships anchored off the coast and both Turks and Greeks purchased black slaves'.<sup>47</sup> Apparently the Greeks of some standing were allowed to have slaves; for, Pococke had noted<sup>48</sup> that on his visit in 1738 to Limassol he formed the impression that the Greeks were debarred from owning any slaves. In 1787 Dr Sibthorp called at the coastal town of Poli in the north-west and observed that a black slave was in the service of the headman of the town. He wrote in *Flora Graeca* of which he was editor: '... The Agha of Poli was absent when we

came back and a black slave supposing us to be hungry brought down a bundle of beanstalks and threw them down before us, saying *there* was something to eat...'.<sup>49</sup> In 1806 Don Domingo Badia y Leyblich, the famous Spanish diarist who travelled and wrote<sup>50</sup> under the name of Ali Bey el Abbassi, noticed a black eunuch<sup>51</sup> who was employed by Mr Francoudis, an eminent Greek at Limassol. Delaroire, another author, who was in Larnaca in 1832 reported to have seen at Tekké a male and two female slaves in the employ of the Sheikh.<sup>52</sup> In 1877 Franz von Löher<sup>53</sup> noted several instances of negroes' and negresses' presence. When he saw two negroes by the sea front in Larnaca tending 13 camels he was told that a negro will do a better day's work than 5 Cypriots.<sup>54</sup> Their introduction into the island, although forbidden by the government, was winked at and many were landed in the northern havens and were taken by night to the mountains. And just outside Nicosia von Löher saw a bearded old Turk keeping an eye on his 4 wives who were working in a field; one of them was a negress. At Episcopi (on the sinuous coast between Limassol and Paphos) he noticed 'several little groups of veiled women ... with dark brown eyes ...'. He was informed that the Turks, finding a scarcity of women, had imported them from Egypt. At Chryssoroyiatissa monastery he observed that the Father-Abbot had a negro servant; likewise he saw another negro at Troditissa monastery. Just off Mari village, 20 miles to the west of Larnaca, he saw a negro at a small inn and in Larnaca itself he perceived 'a half-naked negress' dancing at a café. And Mrs Scott-Henderson's informative perception in 1879 was recorded by her in the following terms: '... Some of them were the blackest people I ever met, so intensely black that I know of nothing to which to compare the colour of their skins ... These men generally were servants of the higher classes of Turks ...'.<sup>55</sup>

As mentioned earlier the number of negro slaves in 1845 was estimated to be between 2,000 and 5,000.<sup>56</sup> Families of higher rank had one or two, and those employed by Christian gentrified families retained the Moslem religion (in 1830 Mahmud II had ordered the liberation of all male and female slaves who had not embraced Islam). These slaves could obtain their freedom only under a certificate of emancipation granted by the local court.

In 1846 Abdul Mejid ordered the closure of the public slave-market but trade went on clandestinely. As late as 1872 a consular despatch by Consul Lang read: 'For some time past ... an increase has been observed in the trafficking of slaves ... by the importation of negresses from the Barbary coast ...'.<sup>57</sup> And there is strong evidence of many negro slaves at the village of Episcopi in 1860 to the effect that the Christians at Limassol, some 10 miles to the east, were living in daily fear of an attack from Episcopi 'which was inhabited by the worst description of Turks and negroes'.<sup>58</sup>

In 1879 Mr Dixon in addition to observing 'a dark brown lad ... about the size of a Zulu and the colour of walnut-juice'<sup>59</sup> near Athienou wrote that the beach of Larnaca, the court-yards of Nicosia, and the fields of Paphos and Kyrenia 'are spotted with these bits of black'. A year later, in 1880, Mrs Brassey noticed 'some Arab owners of bare-backed steeds which they were plying for hire' at Paphos. Presumably they were just dark-skinned Turks and not Arabs. And about the 'country women' of Cyprus she remarked that 'those living in the country are burnt brown as berries'.<sup>60</sup> Most probably some of these women were negresses.

In putting the finishing touches to the picture regarding black slaves the following extract from an erudite work<sup>61</sup> is rather amusing:

'... Asiatic are the Turks of the walled town of Famagusta ... African are the descendants of Nubian slaves of Turkish governors and distinguished exiles ... African are date-palms dotted over empty spaces'.

But it seems the Turkish governors would also have in their employ negro cadis, too! Cesnola wrote of a negro cadi<sup>62</sup> at Ktima whom he met in 1874 - presumably 'home grown', certainly not straight from the jungle!

There is no evidence of black or negro male slaves being known to commit matrimony with their female co-serfs. It must be accepted, however, that such a right must have existed since that particular privilege was legally recognised on the Turkish mainland.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, there is ample evidence that Turks were known to marry, if they so wished, slaves whom they could easily buy.<sup>64</sup> It will be demonstrated in a moment that marriages were, so to speak, either endogamous or exogamous and that in the latter event the identifiable Negro-Turkish<sup>65</sup> texture is distinctly discernible.

In view of the existence today of a limited number of black Turks (and very few black Greeks) sparsely scattered in some parts of the island and having particular regard to such villages as Episcopi and Mennoyia, some 20 miles to the west of Larnaca, in which a sizeable proportion of the people of both these two villages were black with distinct negro features, e.g., black-skinned, woolly-haired, flat-nosed and thick-lipped, one can safely conclude that the right to marry between their own ilk or otherwise must have been possessed by their ancestors, otherwise their kind would have been extinct long ago. It must also be remembered that under the polygamous system of marriage prevailing at the time a Turkish master could marry his slave and take

her into his harem. Alternatively, he could constitute her his concubine.

In fact, the Turks could take wives of three kinds: legitimate wives (whom they married); the type known as *kebin* (whom they hired); and slaves (whom, as already indicated, they bought).<sup>66</sup> Of course the monogamous institution of the Greeks did not permit them to indulge in such matrimonial excesses. However, extra-marital association with their female slaves must have taken place, which accounts for some Greeks portraying the characteristics of negro descent.<sup>67</sup>

The sickle cell trait phenomenon - an inherited characteristic - in several Greeks and Turks is some proof of negro ancestry; for, there is no evidence of the existence of this disease on the island in pre-Ottoman times. According to Professor Darlington the sickle cell trait runs up the west coast of Africa to Morocco and Algeria and is also present in Cyprus, among other countries. He points out that in most places, except in tropical Africa, the people who have it are not negroes but states that the negroes may have been the first to spread it.<sup>68</sup>

Some 50 years ago (though not today) pitch black persons escorting a white wife was not an uncommon sight. Nor was it unusual to see black Turkish women married to milk-white males. This accounts for the milk chocolate, as opposed to plain chocolate, colour of some present-day Turks in Cyprus. Such types are much less in evidence in the Greek camp despite the existence of a few black Greek males and virtually no black female Greeks. This type of Greeks are mostly seen within the vicinity of Limassol which is quite proximate to Episcopi!

The proportion of black Turkish females to black Turkish males has for the past 50 years been in the ratio of approximately 1:5. Since the overall number of black Turks is not considerable (probably only 700

out of a Turkish-Cypriot population of 120,000-strong) it may be assumed with some degree of justification that most of their forefathers' relations or comrades-in-servitude expired without issue - a strong factor which explains the decline and the continuing extinction of negritude.

With the advent of British rule in 1878, the importation of black slaves had definitely come to a complete halt. Apart from the isolated instances of conjugal unions between black and white Turks and the inbreeding of the existing negroes (which explains the presence of 700 or so of their kind) the infusion of negro blood into the Turkish population has long since ceased.

In general, the colour of the skin of the majority of the Turks, notably in urban areas, is brunette white; many are even milk white; and the hair form is, for the most part, straight or slightly wavy. Fair-haired and blue-eyed types in some parts of Paphos district were, as explained earlier, not uncommon; nor in the Karpass peninsula. The same is true of many Lefkara Turks (now settled in northern Cyprus) and Greeks.

But swarthy skinned or slightly dark or light brown Turks are in abundance. Generally speaking, it could be said that these types are the descendants of mulatto matings. Whatever the shade of their colour, in most of them the inherited negroid characteristics are present. It is a great pity that elements of the Turkish race in Cyprus have never been examined by physical anthropologists. (Studies of the skin colour genes which distinguish the Negro race indicate that the children which result from a mixture of the two races are intermediate in skin colour. Such offspring are described as mulattoes anthropologically. As is well-known to the science of heredity when two mulattoes marry, their children can show many degrees of skin colour from typical

negroid to the so-called white Caucasian race).<sup>69</sup>

It is important to point out that many Turkish peasants, and for that matter, several townfolk, have such twin-surnames as Kara Hussein, Kara Hassan, Kara Mehmed, Kara Osman, and so on. The epithet Kara, which means black in Turkish very rarely precedes any other names than the ones just mentioned. The same prefix also appears before (but is subsumed) some composite Greek names, like Karayiannis, Karageorghis, and Karapittas, to mention but a few common examples. Sir Edward Creasy recorded in 1878 that in the mainland of Turkey the epithet Kara is, when applied to a person, considered to imply the highest degree of male beauty<sup>70</sup> - a case of 'black is beautiful' even in *Ye Olden Days!* But certainly not holding true for the purposes of the present discussion.

Considerably more Greek names are preceded by Mavro (Greek for black) as in Mavropoulos, Mavrogordatos, Mavroyiannis, and especially Mavronicolos. Moreover, there are several Turks as well as Greeks who simply have Kara or, as the case may be, Mavro as a surname! (Compare the word Moor which comes from the Greek word *mavro*; in ancient history it was used to describe the natives of Mauritania and later came to be applied generally to the people of North-west Africa of mixed Berber and Arab origin).<sup>71</sup>

Usually the holders of these names, particularly in the case of the Turks, bear peculiarities of negro descent, e.g., body build, facial features, hair form everted lips, and so on. Such traits are less easily visible in the case of individuals who are white-skinned. Nevertheless, populations are recognised according to some particular component which is of interest.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, as respects many upper middle aged Turkish women (some of whom consider themselves carbon copies of Aphrodite) it is no exag-

geration to remark that the size of their protruding buttocks closely resembles, but does not surpass, the degree or dimension of steatopygia of the female Hottentot's posterior (the famous Hottentot Venus).<sup>73</sup>

Of the physical attributes of the Greeks the following brief extracts from various sources dating back to a century ago are by no means inapt to describe most present-day Greeks:

'Ethnologically, they are of the old stock of the island, not Hellenic, perhaps, but rather proto-Hellenic. I would if I dared use so dangerous a term, say Pelasgic. No one looks at them with archaeological eyes, nor through tinted glasses of the most picturesque of modern travellers, but sees before him frequently the type of the old sculptures: the round head, the large black eyes set a little obliquely in the plain face, the marked projecting nose, large and slightly hooked, the full lips, and the curling black hair with the strong, thick-set, short frame - characteristics making a vigorous race in which the Aryan mostly approaches the Shemite ...'<sup>74</sup>

'... one ought not to confuse the Cypriotes with the true Hellenes for in many characteristics the two people are essentially different, almost, indeed, forming a distinct race'.<sup>75</sup>

'Although the modern descendants of the ancient Greeks present striking differences in character from their famous progenitors ... there can be no mistaking the ancestry of those Cypriots who are of Greek origin'.<sup>76</sup>

'... they are of Aryan root, and yet not Greek. The fact is evident in both speech and type ... they are of Pelasgic origin ...'.<sup>77</sup>

'Ethnologically, their claim to Greek nationality is open to question, but are undoubtedly Greek in language, custom, character, and tradition ...'.<sup>78</sup>

As for their language aspect, the following passage is extremely revealing:

'... But Cypriot Greek is a kind of patois, softened by the Venetian influence, made thick by the Turkish; containing its own turns of phrase, and some words of great antiquity, and with its rusticity overlaid by a tendency to use formal expressions which in Greece would sound affected and ridiculous'.<sup>79</sup>

The slight intermixture between the two populations was certainly not the prime cause for the so-called harmonious co-existence of these people during the Turkish epoch, nor did it bring about any change in the respective ratios of the inhabitants: from the 17th century to the 19th century it was a steady  $\frac{2}{3}$  Greeks and  $\frac{1}{3}$  Turks.

The yoke of oppression served to completely subjugate the Greek masses, so that it was a case of 'grinning and bearing' it on the part of the Greeks. There is no doubt that clandestinely they aired their grievance against excessive taxation<sup>80</sup> levied by successive Turkish governors, forcing them to conceal the true yield of their crops, including Zivania and Commandaria!

Only when the high rate of taxation compelled the Turkish inhabitants to voice their discontent would the Greeks 'surface' and join the ranks of the Turkish lobby to protest in unison against the unconscionable levies imposed by the Turkish governor who pocketed the lion's share before making his 'returns' to the Porte. It is therefore not at all surprising that after nearly 250 years of Turkish rule Turner, in 1815, should describe the diet of the islanders (including their living conditions) in the following pitiful terms:

'Their food is of coarse wheatbread and herbs with, at rare intervals, an occasional home-fed chicken ... The mud floors contract such immoderate quantities of vermin that it would be utterly impossible for the inhabitants to sleep if their skins had not by long practice become as tough as that of a horse ...'.<sup>81</sup>

There are no statistics on the number of home-fed chickens on the island in 1879 but the number of goats in that year has been put at 250,000<sup>82</sup> - more than any other country in the world per population.

Joint protestations against the taxation aspect apart, the separatist element implicit in the respective life-styles of the two communities persisted with mathematical regularity. The Turkish populace, at times, had to fight (and lose) their own battles with their administrators. In 1680 a rebellion under one Agha Mehmedoghlu was quickly put down. But a more serious uprising by the Turks came in the shape of Halil Agha's abortive attempt in 1765 to overthrow the Sultan's regime. After a prolonged rebellion lasting 7 years, Halil fell into a trap by accepting an invitation from the visiting emissaries of the Sultan to parley and negotiate with him. He was accused of sedition and was strangled on the spot.<sup>83</sup>

The only occasion when the Greeks openly stood up against the Turks was during the 1821 War of Independence waged by Greece against the Ottomans. That was a very unfortunate move by the Cyprus Greeks because the Cyprus Turkish administration meted out violent reprisals against them - Kutchuk Mehmed, the rapacious governor, hanging numerous Greek clergymen of all ranks and about 200 prominent civilians.<sup>84</sup> In the words of a modern British writer 'silencing the Greek Cypriot leadership was achieved; but so was the total alienation of the population from Turkish rule'.<sup>85</sup>

The executions constituted such an historical landmark that the Greeks have neither forgotten nor forgiven the Turks ever since. For instance, as recently as 1974 Mr Spyridakis, a distinguished Greek writer, brought out a book in which, among other things, he stated that 'the memory of those days remains vivid to this day in the minds of the Hellenic people of Cyprus'.<sup>86</sup> There would have been greater justification for such a statement had the learned writer's book been published after (or soon after) the Turkish invasion. But it came out a few months before that event!

Kutchuk Mehmed's liquidation of the clergy had assumed proverbial proportions in that after the Ottoman regime had ended the Greeks delighted in asserting periodically *Enen djeros tou Koutchouk Mehmed* (it is not the era of Kutchuk Mehmed) in order to underline that the British were masters of the island and not the Turks, implying that the reign of tyranny was over; and that conditions were different.

It could safely be said that the Hellenic Idea of *Enosis* movement started in Cyprus in 1821 and persisted ever since. Thus the Greeks cherished a silent political animosity against their Turkish rulers and pined for the day when Cyprus would be united with Mother Greece - a syndrome to which we shall come later and illustrate how that 'enotist' dream, despite the enormity of their 'enosings', never materialised leaving many flabbergasted and some more flabbered than gasted!

## CHAPTER THREE

### *Cyprus under British Rule (1878-1960)*

#### PART I

##### INTRODUCTION AND VARIOUS TOPICS OF RELEVANT INTEREST

The period of 82 years covered by the British colonial rule falls more proximately within the compass of contemporary times. It is proposed to confine the coverage of Part I of the present Chapter to matters that are more germane to the main objectives of the book without resorting, as so many writers of books on Cyprus have been in the habit of doing, to lengthy repetitions of historical data which, in any case, the interested reader can easily look up elsewhere.

After an initial introduction, the lay-out of Part I will consist of various topics of relevant interest (in no special order) preceded by an appropriate shoulder heading. Part II will be briefly concerned with the rapacious struggle of the Greeks in the pursuit of *Enosis*, a failed goal but one which has succeeded - in the longer term - to bring about the rupture that has bisected the island into two distinct zones since 1974. A kind of rape *par excellence!*

#### *Introduction*

As is well-known, Turkey had originally leased the island to Britain to protect the Ottoman Empire against Russian encroachment at an annual tribute

of £92,000 which was quite an enormous sum in those non-inflationary days. Major-General Sir Garnet (later Field-Marshal Lord) Wolseley landed at Larnaca in June 1878 with the first British troops to take over the administration of the island and instal himself as its first British Lord High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, vested with all the powers conferred on colonial governors.

A delegation headed by Bishop Kyprianou of Kitium went to greet him.<sup>1</sup> The very first thing that Sir Garnet was plaintively told concerned the 'enotist sentiments'<sup>2</sup> of the Greeks to unite with Greece. The Bishop 'enosed' in the pious hope that this should be borne in mind by the tactful British race. Sir Garnet was famous for his predilection for acidulated comments but according to Field-Marshal Lord Carver,<sup>3</sup> writing 100 years afterwards in 1978 'history does not record<sup>4</sup> Sir Garnet's reply' to the pieties and preconceptions of the patriotic prelate. According to Mr Spyridakis writing earlier in 1974, 'the British Government was not in the least disposed to satisfy this request!'<sup>5</sup>

Soon after settling down to reorganise the government and set up a legislative and an executive council based on a liberal constitution Sir Garnet, in like manner as the Ottoman Turks who had planted palm trees in areas which they had occupied,<sup>6</sup> proceeded to go through the motions of arranging the importation of eucalyptus globulus seeds from Tasmania and eventually planted 10,000 trees in and around Larnaca and Nicosia.<sup>7</sup>

Sir Garnet found a deeply divided indigenous population. He did not do anything to disturb their separate life-styles. An unbiased writer, 100 years later, summed up the pre-1963 schism with deep perception as follows:

'Separate trends are deeply rooted in the social

structure of Cyprus. The demarcation lines in the village are distinct, with the Turkish quarter close to but separated from the Greek sector ...

'Greeks and Turks seldom mix socially ... The process of voluntary segregation is most obvious in the mixed villages, where the two communities living in proximity lead separate existences. The physical division is informal but conspicuous. Church and mosque occupy prominent sites in each sector; each community patronises its own institutions, coffee shops and clubs ...'<sup>8</sup>

#### *Topics of relevant interest*

##### *Poverty of the inhabitants*

It cannot be denied that the general populace, both Greeks and Turks, had not amassed fortunes during the inefficient administration of the island by the Turks. Admittedly, there were some big landowners and wealthy farmers but that was just about all. The rest of the population, with the exception of those in the civil service and the police force, fed themselves the best they could on the staple food of the island: bread and olives. In the words of von Löher 'without the olive tree sorry indeed would be the fare of the Cypriots.'<sup>9</sup> Consul Lang had informed him that a family of six could be maintained in perfect health on 40 pounds of flour and 3 pounds of olives per week.<sup>10</sup>

Soon after the turn of the century the Greeks advanced economically so that by the time British rule had ended they could boast of several millionaires. The Turks, too, had not done badly but their economic progress, such as it was, certainly never constituted a threat to the Greek economy.

##### *Population*

In 1818 Kinneir pointed out that 'in estimating the

population of a town it is impossible to pretend to accuracy as the Turks keep no registers of the inhabitants in their cities'.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, consular authorities before and after 1818 did on the whole make informed estimates. They had imparted their findings to travellers, diarists, and the like. At all material times they put it that the Greeks comprised  $\frac{2}{3}$  rds of the island's population, the other  $\frac{1}{3}$  rd being largely composed of Turks.

Whatever the indefensible disparities may have been in the past, a census taken in 1881 revealed that the population was then 186,173 consisting of 160,541 Greeks and 46,449 Turks. The next census in 1911 showed a remarkable jump: 273,000 of whom 57,000 were Turks; in 1931, 385,000 (282,000 Greeks; 64,000 Turks); in 1946, 450,000 (364,000 Greeks; 86,000 Turks). The figure as at 1960, the first year of Cypriot independence, was 557,615<sup>12</sup> comprising 80% Greeks, 18% Turks, 3,600 Armenians, 2,700 Maronites, and 2,800 Latins (descendants mostly of Italian traders), the rest being described as 'British, Gypsies, and Not Stated'.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Greeks with Turkish or Turkish-sounding names, surnames, or nicknames*

There are hundreds of Greeks with Turkish or Turkish-sounding names, surnames, or nicknames. There is not a single Turk, however, possessing a Greek surname, though there are many villagers, elderly in particular, blessed with Greek nicknames such as Bondigo (mouse), Lao (hare) and some with nicknames that are neither Greek nor Turkish, like Shufta, Halofta, or Baouro. In many cases these nicknames are used as 'proper' surnames in official Land Registry books, title-deeds, and village tax registers.

It is quite possible that in the case of Greeks with Turkish surnames their forefathers were probably Turks. Alternatively, their ancestors must have been

given some of these names as nicknames, presumably whilst in the employ of Turkish landowners. And these nicknames must have in turn assumed the status of surnames proper over the generations.

Whatever the true explanation for this strange phenomenon, it is perhaps instructive to appreciate that private individuals bearing such names have never held high office in government. Possibly they were discriminated against by their own peers due to their suspected Turkish ancestry but there is no proof in support of such theory.

There is every reason to believe that these surnames were much more numerous in the past and that with the passage of time the progeny of the previous holders felt handicapped, even possibly embarrassed, and so abandoned or changed them, taking proper Greek names. In several cases the Turkish surname was simply dropped, the offspring making do with the father's Christian name as a surname.

Attempts at 'Greek-ification' have failed to remove the Turkish 'roots' implicit in these names, as in Zambakides, Tabakides, etc. In any event, the present holders of these names are by no means Turks in any sense nor, may it be noted, Turcophiles (are there any nowadays?). Very few have been known to have confided or admitted a past Turkish connection in the genetic or social sense - by virtue of information handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, for there is no literature in print on this touchy topic.

Nor is it true to say that such persons are Turkish-looking in physical appearance in any distinct way. The fact remains, however, that the mere possession of Turkish or Turkish-sounding surnames or nicknames is probably a strong genetic pointer though this special factor is certainly rebuttable.

A small collection of these surnames or nicknames is to be found in the Appendix at the very end of the book.

### *Education*

In 1879 there were only 76 Greek and 64 Turkish elementary schools in the whole of the island.<sup>14</sup> The rate of literacy was only about 7%. Perhaps one of the greatest blessings of the British rule was to tremendously increase the number of elementary schools and in due course make attendance by children compulsory, though this was not rigorously enforced. These schools were wholly state-financed. The school-children attended them from the age of six until they were twelve. The separatist element was strictly preserved in that Greeks did not attend Turkish schools and vice versa. As with most secondary schools established later on, all the elementary schools came under the control of the Education Office, headed by a British Director of Education.

Within 20 to 30 years after 1878 the gigantic strides made in the field of education are really highly commendable. In addition, several secondary schools, private (but subsidised a little) or state-owned, began to flourish. The English School at Nicosia was founded in 1900 and the American Academy at Larnaca was established in 1911. These two schools were the only institutions on the island attended by the children of all communities.

Up to the outbreak of World War II the Turks sent their sons to Turkey while the Greeks sent them to Britain or Greece. After the end of the war both communities sent their sons and daughters mainly to Britain. Hence there mushroomed too many lawyers and doctors.

At their elementary schooling, children of both communities were unfortunately taught, so to speak,

to hate each other. The accent in both sets of schools was placed on national history, that is Greek and Turkish history respectively. The Director of Education apparently could do nothing about it.

Happily, this sort of curriculum did not obtain at the English School and the American Academy where the main goal was the teaching of English.

### *The Courts*

In 1879 the High Court<sup>15</sup> was set up under an ordinance of that year. The Courts of Justice Order of 1882 established the Supreme Court. This comprised a British Chief Justice, a British puisne judge, and a Turk and a Greek of that rank. The *Daavi* Courts were renamed District Courts. Very wisely no jury system was introduced. The British appreciated that the Cypriots are not a homogenous race!

Throughout British rule the British judges had unfortunately set a very bad example whilst serving on the Bench by usually exhibiting a kind of short temper (mostly irate Irish Chief Justices!) Yet they showed supreme qualities one of which was their even-handedness. According to Lord Devlin -

It is this even-handedness which is the chief characteristic of the British judiciary ... You cannot visit the countries of the Commonwealth without realising that. Those who brought the gift to those countries were second-best, for naturally the best stayed at home; their social contribution ... was nil'.<sup>16</sup>

This social schism along with the irateness factor was copied by most Turkish and Greek judges. Isolated exceptions apart, they never fraternised with each other socially and some turned their courts into indoor jungles. Nor indeed would a Greek or Turkish judge strike up any friendships with any

members of the Bar, other than with elements belonging to their own ilk to whom they extended civilities both inside and outside their courts!

After 5 November 1915 when Cyprus was annexed by Britain and became a crown colony, the ball was set rolling for the 'law of the land' to become in due course of time substantially similar to that of the law of England. The English common law precedents, rules and principles and some statutes were supposed to apply with full force and effect. Local legislation in the form of statutory enactments emanating from the deliberations of the Legislative Council followed a very close pattern to British Acts of Parliament, but needless to say the quality of the drafting was usually poor.

Despite this new look Magistrates' and District Courts continued to administer for some considerable time a kind of palm-tree justice. The only courts that had assumed the semblance of an English court of law were the Assize Courts and the Supreme Court, due wholly to their being presided over by British puisne judges.

The island's courts attained a somewhat more improved image after 1933 when it was made obligatory for practising advocates to be called to the Bar in England after that date, though those already in harness remained unaffected and indeed appointments to the Bench had to be drawn from their ranks until the new crop of barristers became sufficiently mature.

With very few exceptions, the calibre of the judges and lawyers - even after 1933 - continued to be mediocre, to say the least. This state of affairs perpetuated the administration of a type of rough and ready justice.

Matters were not greatly helped when most judges were being appointed on the recommendation of indigenous judges and senior officials not on true

merit but because of favouritism and family connections, not excluding other irrelevant reasons. The British judges had no option but to rubber stamp the recommended appointments.

In fact, the courts had the misfortune of being adorned by some very bad judges lacking in professional ethos. They were impatient, conceited, devoid of controlled empathic understanding, continually interrupted the proceedings, knew very little law, bullied advocates, litigants and their witnesses (but never the police!), and openly flouted the law by granting favours to powerful people and influential friends (including friends of friends!) - in flagrant violation of their judicial oath. (One such judge was known to have adjourned a complex civil action on no fewer than 32 occasions simply because he was determined not to try it. The parties were to settle the case out of court in sheer exasperation. By then the legal costs by far exceeded the subject-matter!).

This situation could have been checked to a great extent had the rate of appeals to the Supreme Court been more proportionate to the number of cases tried at first instance. It is really surprising that there were so very few appeals, probably due to higher costs beyond the means of the ordinary peasant. Little wonder that the local law reports emerged in rather slim volumes annually, if not more irregularly.

Yet there were spasmodic instances when a small batch of appeals would reach the Supreme Court mostly from the decisions of particular judges, mainly due to private feuds between judge and advocate - the latter, especially if wealthy, taking up the cudgels on behalf of their clients and championing a 'common cause'. In the early 50s, for example, there was a record number of 13 appeals against the judgments of an incompetent Turkish judge, both in civil and criminal cases, in a single year. What was more surprising was the fact that, to

the humiliation of the judge, all the appeals were successful. But, alas, his mass reversals had failed to 'reform' the learned judge. He died some 10 years later, but not before committing a multitude of miscarriages of justice.

Turkish and Greek judges alike, with some exceptions, nearly always seemed to be resentful of, and appeared to be biased against, advocates who did not belong to their own community. Their respective reaction was that of pretending not to comprehend the advocates' submissions. (Once a Greek judge, having properly acquitted the client of a young Turkish advocate of a minor criminal charge could not contain himself at an official party that very evening but to rudely remark *eghelases mou simmera* (You cheated me today). The advocate meekly asked 'does lack of evidence amount to cheating on my part?')

As for the display of their profound knowledge of English, the occasional British visitor to their courts was truly bewildered to hear such literal translations (from a Greek judge) as 'the accused keeps a house of commons' (meaning a 'brothel') or uncouth statements like 'I know what this is for; I have lived in France' upon the production as exhibit of a jar of vaseline in an indecency case. (The Turkish advocate defending a shepherd on that particular charge had submitted that the possession by his client of the article in question was in line with the custom of shepherds to apply the substance to the paws of their goats to soothe injuries caused in hopping over thorny hedges.) The very same judge had also displayed his command of the English language by admonishing a Turkish lawyer with this remarkable remark: 'You are a very good civil but a bad criminal' (The lawyer, who specialised in civil law, was putting forward a poor defence in a minor criminal case!).

A notorious Turkish judge, famous for his bombastic outbursts and for being unfit to try a cat, at the end of a case bellowed at a young Greek advocate (a brand new barrister), son of a wealthy lady, 'go and tell your mother that you have not learned the law'. And a very esteemed Greek judge, once a mayor, was asked<sup>17</sup> at the bridge table at his club by a politician to do what he could the following day when hearing a charge of theft of bed linen from an hotel against his Godson.

After convicting the accused the judge asked for his previous convictions (if any). He was informed that two years previously the accused was jailed for two months for stealing bed linen from the same hotel. Thereupon, before passing the sentence of the court, the judge said that the kind of sentence he was about to impose would be such that the accused would remember it for two years and unashamedly proceeded to bind him over in the sum of £100 for two years to be of good behaviour! The Turkish prosecuting inspector looked askance.

Of the better judges, Greek or Turk, there are those amongst them who were filled with a sense of false modesty. They were sometimes inclined to bend the law a little if only to show to the other side how fair-minded they were (or so they thought!). But even *they* did not hesitate from pulling the necessary punches to get their sons-in-law, or whatever, appointed to the Bench, or elsewhere, to the detriment of more suitable people.

In all fairness to these judges, however, whatever their individual faults or shortcomings they were immune from the vice of accepting bribes or presents.

#### *Court cases*

It is an undeniable characteristic of the Cypriot to be unduly litigious despite the absence of a legal aid system. And also break the criminal law. The latter

proclivity is more evident in, and indeed mostly confined to, rural districts as opposed to urban areas. Very few villagers are able to boast that they have not been to a civil or criminal court. For present purposes traffic offences have been left out of account.

Although the parties in civil litigation and in criminal prosecutions (private or police sponsored) were in pre-1963 times usually between members of the same community, a vast number of court cases involved people belonging to different communities. Such high volume of litigation was very disproportionate to the number of cases between litigants belonging to the same community.

Significantly, this striking phenomenon probably exemplifies the fact that members of Greek and Turkish communities, particularly in rural areas, were unhesitant in resorting to civil litigation with, or committing criminal offences against, each other.

#### *The Civil Service and the Police*

This was the only field where close co-operation between civil servants belonging to both communities (including Armenians and Maronites) existed. It could not have been otherwise because every department at headquarters was headed by a British administrator who saw to it that strict discipline was maintained.

The co-operation in question was of course limited to the discharge of official duties and, with rare exceptions, did not attain the form of some social intercourse outside office hours.

#### *Social intercourse*

The traditionally famous hospitable nature of the Cypriot showed itself more between the members of their own communities. To put the matter in perspective, mutual social visits to each other's homes was on the very low side indeed. Perhaps this

was largely due to the fact that Turks don't eat pork, or any food cooked in pork fat, and there was always the suspicion of Greeks making them partake. Some Greeks delighted at that particular chicanerous achievement. Whenever they succeeded to feed an unsuspecting Turk with that delicacy, they freely boasted about it.

Another reason for the absence of socialisation is to be found in the fact that unless these two factions lived in small mixed villages the Turkish women, unlike their menfolk, were not conversant with the Greek language and very few Greeks, men and women, spoke any Turkish. And in the old days no Turkish woman would be seen unveiled by a man, let alone talk to a Greek!

#### *Restaurants*

Generally speaking, restaurants were only frequented by members of a community to which the proprietor belonged. In any case, going to restaurants was never a part of the Cypriot's life. They are usually resorted to as a matter of necessity, e.g., single male persons living in towns away from their villages; villagers visiting towns, etc. And the standard of restaurants attended by these classes was very poor indeed, though clean and catering for a particular staple taste.

The position is somewhat different with the middle classes. Some would take the family out in the evenings to a restaurant or an hotel restaurant. Even then the respective members of the two major communities would only go to restaurants owned by their own peers. The exceptions were very few and far between. Ironically, these comprised a handful of progressive Turks going to Greek establishments but not vice versa! The odd Greek would, however, perhaps once a year visit the Turkish quarter of a town to eat *hummus*.

### *Trade unions*<sup>18</sup>

The Turkish workers had no trade unions of their own until the 50s. The Greek working classes established their trade unions in serious manner in 1942 with the formation of a powerful organisation called AKEL. At all times Turks and Greeks never belonged to the same trade union. There was no such a joint trade union. Nor did any of them belong to each other's trade unions. And they certainly did not indulge in common strike or joint industrial action. The same severance obtained in relation to their respective island-wide farmers' associations. The age-old polarity between the two communities in many other respects was self-evident here, too.

### *The October 1931 uprisings (Ta Ochtovriana)*

On 14 October 1931 the Greeks rebelled against the government. The burning down of Government House in Nicosia (along with Lord Wolseley's old tinder barracks) and the British Commissioner's residence in Limassol were by far the worst incidents. The cause was the cry for *Enosis* sparked off by inflammatory speeches from priests and politicians.

For obvious reasons the Turks remained loyal to the government; so did the Greek civil servants and Greek members of the Police Force. The Riot Act was read; gun-boats in the shape of *HMS London*, *HMS Shropshire*, and a mini 'task force' of three destroyers were sent out to Limassol, Larnaca, and Famagusta; the Legislative Council was abolished; curfews were imposed; and several arrests were made.

The rebellion was put down by the end of the month and complete order was restored by January 1932. The casualties were minimal: 6 rioters killed, 30 wounded as against one British marine killed and 38 Greek policemen injured. And the Bishop of Kitium together with a handful of politicians were deported. On being put aboard the *Shropshire* the Bishop

discarded his papal robes and asked for a stiff whisky and soda.<sup>19</sup>

The story of the rebellion occupies only a few pages in a large volume written by Sir Ronald Storrs, the island's governor at the time.<sup>20</sup> Like the memory of Kutchuk Mehmed,<sup>21</sup> the October uprisings (*ta ochtovriana*), as a major landmark in the rape of Cyprus, have never been forgotten by the Greeks.

It should be noted that the Turks were not at all happy at the occurrence of the October uprisings. Their domestic life was in fact disrupted by the curfews and the general commotion. If the Greeks had attacked the Turks most probably the first inter-communal clash between the two communities would have taken place as long ago as 1931.

### *Clubs and coffee-shops*

Social clubs and football clubs of both communities did not need to provide in their rules to exclude members of the opposite community. Turks and Greeks just joined their own clubs and sat at their own coffee-shops. In the whole of the island's football history only three Turkish players joined a Greek club; one of these players soon changed his religion. But no Greek ever joined any Turkish Sports or Social club. There never was a national football team composed of Greeks and Turks playing foreign clubs at home or abroad. The scenario was no different in the athletics field. However, the two communities' football teams did play against each other in league games in warlike atmosphere. Some Greek and Turkish spectators refused to talk to each other for several days after each meeting; and those who did, argued for days on end. Until the time when a couple of Turks appeared on the scene as very respectable referees that function was the exclusive monopoly of Greek referees who were invariably biased against the Turkish team, as a matter of national duty!

### *Commercial partnerships*

Here, too, the partners of Greek and Turkish firms comprised members of their own community only. Partners aside, the staffing of firms followed the same pattern. This extended to Greek-owned and Turkish-owned banks, too.

### *Abattoirs and butchers*

The two communities have always kept these separate. And at market places Greek and Turkish butchers occupied their own booths. Lest it should be assumed that the reason for this division was because of the pork element, the same separation persisted in the case of all other trades and vocations where that element was of no relevance!

### *Mixed marriages*

An extremely rare occurrence.<sup>22</sup> Hardly 50 or so such unions in the whole of the island in the past 50 years. Turks marrying Greek women preponderated; for, Turkish women marrying Greeks was almost unheard of - there were probably only half a dozen such marriages, the women embracing Christianity in all cases. They were disowned and ostracised by their kith and kin in particular and their community in general.

### *Celebration of national and religious holidays*

The island itself had no national holidays, only religious holidays. However, the only national holidays celebrated by the Turks and the Greeks, separately, are those of Turkey and Greece, respectively. This takes the form of meetings and parades at which the flags of Turkey and Greece and bunting provide colourful background. Politicians and school-masters deliver fiery orations. It must be said that the list of national holidays celebrated separately has grown since the establishment of

EOKA in 1955 and the TMT (Turkish Resistance Organisation) in 1958.

### *Muhtars, Azas, and Rural Constables*

Muhtars are headmen in villages. Towns, too, have muhtars but they are by no means regarded as headmen even though they perform similar functions to those carried out by their colleagues in rural districts: issuing certificates of possession of unregistered land to those wishing to establish prescriptive rights, being one example out of many.

It is noteworthy that in all mixed villages there were two muhtars: one Greek and one Turkish. This has for centuries been the case and it is idle to contend that the 'post' was invented by the British to implement a policy of 'divide and rule'.

The post is unsalaried but muhtars are entitled to charge certain fees for issuing a variety of certificates or for organising compulsory auction sales of immovable property under a court order with a view to satisfying the claims of judgment creditors. Muhtars are normally the wealthiest of the village. They are assisted in their task by Azas (members of the village council). Azas, too, had to be drawn from the two communities in mixed villages.

Similarly, in each mixed village there were two Rural Constables (field-watchmen): one Greek and one Turk. Their main duty is to report or prevent animal trespass to private lands. They get a small salary and usually come from the poorer classes of the village. They always wear a huge arm badge and carry a staff as their only weapon. The Greeks call them *tourkopoullous*, a term with no Turkish connection whatsoever but deriving from the Venetian *turcoples*!

### *Two mayors in each town*

In the late 1950s the Turks withdrew their

participation in the administration of the municipal councils in every town. The mayors in every town were Greeks with the exception of Lefka, the all-Turkish township, which had a Turkish mayor. Thus, the Turks set up separate municipalities in every town, electing their own mayors and councillors. This separation continued on a de facto basis for a couple of years until it was accorded de jure status under the 1960 Constitution. Consequently, there were two mayors and two cadres of councillors in each town until 1974 - one Greek, one Turkish.

In 1978 the pre-1974 situation threw up what may probably be aptly termed a farcical socio-legal conundrum before the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in England.<sup>23</sup>

One Niyazi Mehmed, described in the judgment of the Court as being 'of Turkish Cypriot origin', although born in Cyprus but who had lived in England for many years, made a will in February 1967. He died two months later. Under the terms of his will he left the sum of £15,000 to be held by his two trustees to pay 'to the mayor of Famagusta to be used for the purposes of the construction of a working men's hostel'.

Apart from the testator's next-of-kin, both the Greek and the Turkish mayors of Famagusta were made parties to the proceedings. The Greek mayor, Mr Pouyouros,<sup>24</sup> was legally represented but the Turkish mayor, Mr Ismael, was not. He is recorded in the judgment of the Court to be 'benevolently standing by'.

The short question for decision was whether the testamentary gift created a valid charitable trust or whether the gift failed for uncertainty and passed to the next-of-kin. The Court had no difficulty in concluding that the testator's will created a valid charitable trust but declined<sup>25</sup> to decide which of the

two mayors should get the money, ruling that that question was not before it for decision. With respect, it is submitted that that particular question *was* before the Court for determination. However, since the Court in its wisdom thought that it was not, it is somewhat surprising that an amendment to the originating summons was not suggested by the Court itself. Such a helpful hint from the Bench would have averted a dilemma<sup>26</sup> and served to assist the Court to give full effect to the testator's true intention.

On the other hand, the problem of identity could have been put beyond speculation if the will had expressly specified the *Turkish* mayor to be the beneficiary. In all probability, the testator must have failed to instruct his solicitors that Famagusta had two mayors; presumably he thought this was unnecessary being under the delusion that it was as plain as a pikestaff that he had in mind the Turkish mayor.

It is suggested that if the case had occurred before the era of two mayors in Famagusta the Court might not have by-passed this issue. It would almost certainly have held that the (one and only) mayor of Famagusta was entitled to receive the money!

Although the dual system of municipalities had proved beneficial to the Turks, unfortunately it did give rise to an ambiguity in the case under discussion as respects the proper identity of the mayor. As the Court had ruled that 'the question was not before it for decision', it had become impossible to ascertain the identity of the intended mayor by oral evidence. Such evidence might have taken the form of post-testamentary statements by the testator and disclosed that he had in fact intended the Turkish mayor to take under his will, for it is unthinkable for a Turkish testator not to have had the Turkish mayor in mind.

*Conclusion to be drawn from the above topics*

From the foregoing information on the various topics, it is easy to see the deep divide that has run through practically every walk of life between the two communities who had never intermixed but lived peacefully side by side in close proximity in their own separate neighbourhoods. They lived fraternally but without fraternising with each other to any significant degree.

In fact, it is no understatement to suggest that deep down they resented one another. As long ago as 1879 it had justly been observed by a celebrated British resident lady that 'the Greeks dislike the Turks'.<sup>27</sup> Mutual resentment had always been noticed by consular envoys of several foreign countries. It also assumed the proportions of hatred for each other, though not entirely openly.

How could these culturally and ethnically distinct people govern themselves in unison after the departure of the British?<sup>28</sup> It is not that they have not matured sufficiently to qualify for self-government separately. Their socially different structures and constitutional experience of the recent past has proved that they cannot govern themselves jointly under 'one roof'.

A distinguished foreign observer summed up the position in the concluding paragraph of the very last page of his book as follows:<sup>29</sup>

'... The close intermingling on an egalitarian basis of very different peoples in the same environment merely deepens their enmity and makes clash more violent when the opportunity occurs. Potassium chlorate and sugar are both excellent things in their way, but if you mingle them freely in a confined space there will always be the danger of a conflagration'.

All the more so, one may add, when people are anxious to avenge the loss of some relation. The Cypriots have long memories of historical enmities and feuds, let alone war scars!

## PART II

### EOKA AND THE INTERCOMMUNAL TROUBLES

On 1 April 1955 EOKA launched its callous campaign against the island's colonial rule with the sole aim of achieving Enosis. The regular police force, comprising Greeks and Turks, was expected to track down the terrorists and bring them to justice before the ordinary courts; and later on, the Special Courts presided over by British judges.

While EOKA's chief targets were British servicemen and civilians, whom they usually shot in the back, they also eliminated Greek policemen who showed the slightest zeal to apprehend EOKA culprits. EOKA also did not hesitate to murder members of the Greek community whom they believed to be traitors to their cause.

It was not, however, EOKA's policy to kill any Turkish policemen or civilians. Presumably they were keen to avoid retaliation by the Turks. All the same the inevitable had to happen: at last in 1958 a Turkish sergeant, in pursuit of two young terrorists, was shot dead in Paphos. The news of the first Turkish casualty almost immediately brought about a major clash between the two communities in Larnaca. In the result the Larnaca Turks stabbed to death two Greeks and wounded a number of others. Thus, for the first time in their history of peaceful co-existence - at any rate since the end of the Ottoman regime in 1878 - the two communities came into open physical conflict.

Other clashes all over the island soon followed. They were sporadic in nature, lasting 6 months and bore no comparison to the intermittent, but bitter, battles that raged later on from 1963 to 1968, the year of the commencement of the inter-communal talks in search of a peaceful solution.

The 1958 mini-conflict had occurred during the dying days, as it were, of the colonial period. A year earlier that administration transformed itself into a military regime under Field-Marshal (later Lord) Harding as Governor and Commander-in-Chief with something like 30,000 British troops stationed on the island.

Despite this formidable force, the British administration probably committed one of its worst errors in combating terrorism by endeavouring to find some kind of a local antidote to EOKA. It was hoped to ease the pressure on the much-harassed British soldiers who were trying, without much success, to fight the hidden enemy. A new body of approximately 2,000-strong amateur policemen was established under the name of Auxiliary Police Force which, unlike the regular police force, was composed wholly of Turks.

The bulk of the recruits were ex-shepherds, taxi-drivers, criminals with several previous convictions, and a host of trigger-happy hooligans after adventure with pay. The creation of this undisciplined militia contributed to the aggravation of the continuing communal strife. And the formation, a little later, of the Turkish underground movement VOLKAN (Turkish for volcano), afterwards called TMT (Turkish Resistance Organisation), did not help matters either.

Neither the Auxiliary Police Force nor the TMT contributed in any way to annihilate EOKA; in fact they were far less successful than the British servicemen. The TMT, however, proved slightly more

effective in the ideological sense: it advocated *Taksim* (Partition) as an answer to EOKA's clamour for *Enosis*. The theory of partition was soon to become firmly rooted in the hearts of all the Turks, chiefly due to such resounding slogans as 'Either Partition or Death' coined by the Turkish National Students' Union on the Turkish mainland and hysterically heralded at all Turkish meetings held by the Turks in their sectors in Cyprus.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Cyprus as an independent state from 1960 onwards*<sup>1</sup>

On 16 August 1960 Cyprus ceased to be a crown colony. It became an independent state with a constitution<sup>2</sup> 'manufactured' in accordance with the dictates of the Zürich and London Agreements of 1959.<sup>3</sup> The end-product was bi-communal in character. It contained a strong separatist philosophy which was wielded throughout most of its Articles.<sup>4</sup>

Greece, Turkey, and Britain had given it their collective blessings; they had also provided the services of experts in constitutional law to assist in its drafting. Unfortunately in common with the constitution-making mechanics applied in the case of other British possessions before their attainment of independence, there was no recourse to advice of independent experts.<sup>5</sup>

Subject to certain obscure conditions,<sup>6</sup> not publicised at all in the vernacular press, on the establishment of the new Republic the indigenous population lost their status of UK citizenship overnight. Their new passports carried the words 'Citizen of the Republic of Cyprus'. The people laboured under the misapprehension that their new status was that of 'Cyprus subject' or 'Cypriot citizen' *simpliciter* whereas in point of law they remained, like all other Commonwealth citizens, British subjects (though not UK citizens) and did not even

know it! The label 'British subject' which did not appear on their passports was to become virtually meaningless after 1962.<sup>7</sup>

The ideal of *Enosis* and the notion of partition were both rendered taboo.<sup>8</sup> Yet, ironically perhaps, a kind of 'enosis' or 'partition' was in fact agreed to in that two Sovereign Base Areas<sup>9</sup> were carved up out of the map of Cyprus, covering an area of 99 square miles. This territory still forms 'part of Britain'. (In 1961 an Order in Council provided for appeals to go to the Privy Council from the Senior Judge's Court in these bases).<sup>10</sup>

All terrorists were granted an amnesty. They surfaced from their hide-outs as heroes. Grivas was given safe conduct to Greece. Old Government buildings housed new high ranking officials. Junior bank clerks, young lawyers, dubious politicians, ex-terrorists and the like, were included in the array of ministerial appointments or elected along with their better qualified compatriots Members of the House of Representatives or Members of the Communal Chambers. And many elements of the civil service suddenly filled up senior administrative and diplomatic posts; a few on true merit, others for different reasons.

A Constitutional Court came into existence. Its three judges, a Greek, a Turk, and a German from West Germany (all enjoying High Court judge status) were draped in caps and gowns of a very curious sartorial sort. The ordinary courts were given a new look: judges' and advocates' wigs were discarded, but barristerial robes and neck-bands were retained. Every District Court was, for the first time, divided into three distinct divisions: Greek, Turkish, and mixed courts.

The mixed courts savoured of cocktails with two base ingredients. They were convened to try cases where the parties were members of different com-

munities. The quorum was made up of two District Judges, one from each community. The presiding judge belonged to the plaintiff's community in civil actions and in criminal prosecutions to that of the accused's. Effectively, the two judges alternated as presiding judges several times during the course of the morning's list!

If the two judges disagreed, the decision of the court was to be against the party upon whom the burden of proof lay.<sup>11</sup> There were no statutory provisions to guide the Bench in the event of disagreement as to the nature or extent of the sentence to be passed in criminal cases. Nor was there anything in the Rules of Court to be guided by if the two judges failed to agree over the amounts for which judgment was to be entered in civil suits. It never emerged in public how these judicial dilemmas were averted.

There was a right of appeal from all these courts to the High Court of Justice. This appellate tribunal was an exotic mixture with four dominant components composed of one Turk, two Greeks and an Irishman (later a Canadian) as President.

Another fundamental fault of the Constitution was to establish administrative and executive systems based on numerical proportions. It introduced a ratio of 7:3 (Greeks and Turks respectively) in the civil service right across the board; the same applied to ministerial and other political offices. The two communities were thus plunged into factionist secessions of watertight compartments inside the governmental machine.

The Turks were allotted 3 ministries out of a quota of 10, plus a deputyship to the Greek minister of finance, first filled up by a retired Turkish civil servant who was by some 30 years older than his young chief! This ratio was fairly easy to implement when it came to appoint government ministers and

office messengers but, in the absence of an express provision in the Constitution, extremely difficult to apply in situations where there was no room at the top for more than one office holder of a specific type.

Despite these glittering attractions, the honeymoon period was over after a couple of years. It transpired that the Constitution proved in several respects to be unworkable in practice. Contrary to misplaced expectations, it was becoming increasingly evident that it was hardly a panacea to all the local problems. Like all new constitutions and novel legal frameworks it required some amendments. Unfortunately the majesty of the Constitutional Court failed to produce an effective body of case-law, especially in matters that constituted bones of communal contention. Eventually, its German president was driven to exasperation. He resigned, broken-hearted. Soon afterwards he died in his own country, presumably from other causes.

Instead of a rational approach being deployed whereby ways and means could have been explored to remedy deficiencies (in the main these were concerned with finance questions and foreign affairs matters over which the Turks held veto powers), the Greeks mounted a formidable campaign pressing for unilateral amendments to the Constitution. They demanded the acceptance of 13 proposals. The Turks rejected them *in toto* and made equally untenable counter-proposals. In view of the relatively short time that had elapsed since the foundation of the Republic, prominent Greeks now remorsefully concede that these drastic changes were prematurely conceived and, in particular, insisted upon.

Alongside these proposals the late Archbishop Makarios (who, it is true, was pressurised<sup>12</sup> by Greece into placing his signature to the Zürich and London Agreements of 1959 and to accept a Constitution

based thereon) persisted in preaching the defunct concept of *Enosis* at monasteries and churches. These unsavoury sermons and 'enosings' encouraged the Greeks to revive dormant animosities. On the other hand, every fiery speech the prelate made from the pulpit, designed to resurrect *Enosis* (by then a piece of linguistic litter), provoked the Turks to voice their strong protests from the sanctuary of their minarets by calling for *double Enosis*, namely, partition.

Finally, on 20 December 1963 the Greeks gave vent to their pent-up feelings of aggression.<sup>13</sup> They shot dead two Turks in Nicosia over a trivial incident. The immediate impact of this incident sounded like an erupting volcano. The whole island was enmeshed in what had soon turned out to be a prolonged factional struggle. In the event, many lives were lost on both sides in the course of this costly escalation. The two communities no longer participated jointly in the government of the country.

After the first few days of the outbreak of the new hostilities it was impossible to keep track of the number of casualties. This large scale conflict was markedly unlike the serious disturbances of 1958 when the score sheet registered 55 Greeks and 54 Turks killed or missing.

In spite of a United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) with a mandate not to shoot unless shot at, fierce fighting went on in between countless cease-fires until 1968. It should be noted, however, that this force (which is still stationed there though confined to southern Cyprus ever since the Turkish invasion) has done a wonderful job against tremendous odds. But it is an admitted fact that it has not been as effective as one might have wished.

In the meantime, the Turkish community in all parts of the island had formed their own adminis-

trative institutions in their sectors under a central administration functioning in the Turkish quarter of Nicosia. The Turkish leadership maintained that the Cyprus government was unconstitutional.<sup>14</sup> Not to be outdone, the Greeks asserted that the Turkish institutions were contrary to the spirit of the Constitution.

When in 1968 the Turks founded a 'Transitional Administration' these accusations and counter-accusations gained greater momentum. The Turks contended that it was no more than a reorganisation of the prevailing administrative arrangements in their areas. The then Foreign Minister of Turkey, in answer to Greek unfavourable reaction, had to explain that the setting up of this administrative structure was 'wholly within the framework of the Constitution'.<sup>15</sup>

Soon afterwards there followed the 1968 inter-communal talks between two interlocutors - Clerides and Denktash. These lawyer-politicians parleyed for six years in search of a peaceful solution.<sup>16</sup> Having exhausted every possible alternative deploying rational reflection and intuitive insight they failed to come up with any mutually acceptable solution to put an end to the deadlock. Perhaps the only good thing that these otherwise unfruitful negotiations had served to achieve was to ease tension somewhat and halt further physical frictions. Nevertheless, the odd shepherd or some 'traitor', from either faction, was occasionally reported shot dead. This state of affairs continued until the dramatic invasion of northern Cyprus by Turkish troops on 20 July 1974.

The invasion took place about five days after Sampson, one of the most notorious EOKA-men, had been sworn in President following the armed coup engineered by the Greek military jumped-up junta of Athens on 15 July 1974. Makarios fled into exile and sought refuge in Britain for several months. But

Sampson's reign lasted six days only. Clerides took over until Makarios's return but not before Sampson and his henchmen had slaughtered hundreds of their own countrymen.

The invasion was bound to come when it is remembered that at the height of the 1963 troubles Sampson, behaving like a tin-pot tyrant, had vowed to exterminate all the Turkish inhabitants of the island. He proudly displayed his photograph in his own newspaper, MAHI, holding a Turkish flag upside down. Thus, the invasion came as no surprise, even to the Greeks themselves. It actually served to prevent civil war among the Greek community. Relying on the tripartite Treaty of Guarantee to justify military intervention, Turkey declared that her aim was to safeguard the security of the island's Turks. Around 5,000 Greeks were killed or listed missing. The losses sustained by the island's Turks were relatively on a much smaller scale.

This military operation split the island into two geographical regions in the rough ratio of 60:40. The bisection of the country in this manner has given rise to two autonomous administrations in a place torn with grief and dissension. It brought in its wake mass population upheavals. The Greeks and Turks lived in all parts of the island, but with more Turks in the north than in the south and 200,000 Greeks living in the north fled to the safety of the south and 35,000 Turks from the south soon settled in the north.<sup>17</sup>

With the emigration of all the Turks to the north from the unoccupied south, there has also occurred an influx of immigrants to the north from mainland Turkey. It is said that the number of these immigrants is around 15,000. In 1976 the Greeks estimated this in-flow at 44,000!<sup>18</sup>

The oft-heard *cri de coeur* for repatriation of the Greek refugees to their homes and lands in the north is wholly misconceived. And no Turk would desire to

return to his properties in the south, either. Indeed, on 13 February 1975 the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus enacted a constitution on the pattern of an independent state with a legislature,<sup>19</sup> an executive and a judiciary. Thereafter its Constituent Assembly passed laws relating to property of foreign nationals, giving power to requisition property. The Greeks, too, have legislated in similar terms.

It is contended that because the Turks are now concentrated in one cohesive geographical zone enjoying their own institutions under the overall management of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus a bizonal (as favoured by the Turks), rather than a multiregional federation (as desired by the Greeks) would seem to be the ideal solution to the Cyprus crisis. In the author's considered opinion, however, any solution of the Cyprus problem short of partition is just no longer viable. In any case, there already exists de facto partition which dates back to 1963.

The Greeks are by no means agreeable to such a dichotomous settlement. But, equally, were the Greeks not, at one time, implacably opposed to any solution which ruled out *Enosis* despite the bi-racial character of the country?<sup>20</sup> In the interests of a permanent peaceful settlement, a further shift of ground would appear to be necessary, otherwise the present impasse is likely to last indefinitely.<sup>21</sup>

The quest for a new Constitution, on which to rest a bizonal or multiregional set-up, is nothing but a wild goose chase. As with the previous abortive talks of 1968 that lasted for 7 years, countless meetings between other interlocutors during the aftermath of the Turkish invasion have similarly proved to be futile.

As has amply been demonstrated earlier, the Greeks and Turks can no longer co-exist peaceably within the framework of a single unitary state. Quite

apart from the indisputable fact that Greeks and Turks have long memories of events relating to atrocities perpetrated between them, recent publications<sup>22</sup> indelibly document mini-massacres, murders, rapes, etc., by both sides to serve as permanent reminders of the horrendous incidents of the past. The mere fact that those incidents have unfortunately taken place sufficiently indicates that the two races are doomed to remain irreconcilable and with no hope whatsoever of them ever living (as before) *side by side*, let alone *together*! In the words of a sage, 'you can't put a severed head back in place'; another thinker, drawing on falling leaves rather than decapitated heads, but equally effectively, opined that 'no one, not even God, can put back a leaf once it has fallen'.

If there was a sort of limited harmony between the two communities, it was chiefly due to the majority of the Turks being able to linguistically communicate with the Greeks. The young Turks of today up to the age of 30 (for they would not have grasped the Greek language before the age of 10) totally lack the linguistic means of communication with the Greeks. English, it is true, can be resorted to. But how many Turkish or Greek farmers or labourers speak English?

The position has now been reached that both Greeks and Turks, up to the age of 30, have never come into contact with one another and most likely regard one another as 'the enemy' and themselves as 'Tomorrow's Warriors' yearning for utopia with rock-like resolution. To bring members of this age group to live together or side by side is like trying to create a two-nation unit under one nationhood.

Could, for instance (and analogically), half a million British and French people, not speaking each other's language, have been put together on an island (like Cyprus) 20 years or so after the Battle of

Waterloo and be seriously expected to get on with each other? Stronger parallels are left to the reader's imagination ...

It is therefore submitted that (a) partition on a de jure basis would seem to be the only sensible solution, leaving about 30% of the terrain in the north of Cyprus to the Turks; and (b) the question of compensation<sup>23</sup> to all the Greeks and Turks who have abandoned their homes and properties should be resolved by special tribunals endowed with speedy procedural rules functioning under the aegis of the United Nations.

## NOTES

### AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

- 1 *O Quae Beatam Diva Tenes Cyprum*: Horace, Car. III, XXV.
- 2 Politically, that is; not architecturally by mis-planned demolition of buildings as to which, by way of example, see Amery and Cruickshand, *The Rape of Britain*, 1975, *passim*.
- 3 See N. Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, 1978, pp.340-1.
- 4 *Ibid.* at p.345.
- 5 See also Kiamran Halil, 'The Structure of the Turkish-Cypriot Race', *The Mankind Quarterly*, (1974), Vol. XV, No.2, pp.124-134 - the very last article to be published on this subject in any anthropological journal in the world before the Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus; Lola Halil, *I Remember Cyprus*, 1977, p.40.
- 6 A. R. Jensen, *Straight Talk About Mental Tests*, 1981, p.2.
- 7 '... Cypriotes, whether Turk or Greek, prefer to dwell apart, each man on his own patch of ground': see D. H. Dixon, *British Cyprus*, 1879, p.104.
- 8 'This lack of harmony has existed for 400 years, although the Greek-Cypriots maintain it started only 4 years ago' *per* Dr Paris: see P. Paris, *The Impartial Knife*, 1961, p.215.
- 9 *Cyprus Today*, Vol. XII, January-April 1974, p.64. It is interesting to observe that in this particular issue *Cyprus Today* made no mention whatsoever

about the Turks on the island, barring a reference to a Turkish student. Yet, in its subsequent issue, which came out soon after the invasion, it showed a remarkable change of heart by harping on the contention that the two communities had always lived harmoniously together!

## CHAPTER ONE

- 1 The reader is recommended to consult, for that particular purpose, W. E. Strand, *Voices of Stone*, 1974; Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Vols. I-III, 1952; and for a compact summary, I. Robertson, *Cyprus* (Blue Guide Series), 1981, pp.16-26.
- 2 'The Greek-Cypriot ... has been a slave for centuries': see Paris, op. cit., p.216.
- 3 Capt. (afterwards Sir Charles) C. W. J. Orr, *Cyprus under British Rule*, 1918, re-issued 1972, p.162.
- 4 Paris, op. cit., p.213.
- 5 Orr, op. cit., p.162.
- 6 Franz von Löher, *Cyprus* (English translation by A. Bateson Joyner), 1878, p.98.
- 7 von Löher, op. cit., p.100.
- 8 R. (afterwards Sir Ronald) Storrs, *Orientalisms*, 1939, p.488.
- 9 Sir George Hill, Vol. III, p.779.
- 10 S. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, 1674, p.123 (cited also at footnote 3 of p.798 of Sir George Hill, Vol. III).
- 11 Ibid., at p.195.
- 12 Sir George Hill, Vol. III, p.787 where it is also stated that the population during the Frankish period was half a million.
- 13 F. H. Fisher, *Cyprus: Our New Colony*, 1878, p.33, contradicting entry in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., 1877, Vol.6, p.748.
- 14 Capt. J. M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, 1818, p.184; and in 1845 Dr Ross stated that there were 500 'Christians of the Latin rite' in Larnaca:

- see Ludwig Ross, *A Journey into Cyprus* (transl. C. D. Cobham), 1910, p.10.
- 15 'A surname is a genetic marker': see K. F. Dyer, *The Biology of Racial Integration*, 1974, p.15.
  - 16 R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 1956 reprint of the 1936 ed., pp.32-3.
  - 17 Ibid., at p.185; Ludwig Ross, *Reisen Nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern*, Halle, 1852, p.23.
  - 18 von Löher, op. cit., p.11. 'Our muleteers are an odd mixture ... Most of them are tall ... Many have fine heads ... Some are fair with yellow locks and sea-blue eyes ...': see Dixon, op. cit., p.24.
  - 19 D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 1889, p.68.
  - 20 Gunnis, op. cit., pp.33, 42.
  - 21 von Löher, op. cit., p.39.
  - 22 Ibid., at p.129; R. (afterwards Sir) Hamilton Lang, *Cyprus*, 1878, p.248.
  - 23 Gunnis, op. cit., p.30: Lieutenant and Bishop Contarini.
  - 24 Ibid., at p.120; spelt 'Balthasar Trevisan' in Sir George Hill, Vol. III, p.864.

## CHAPTER TWO

- 1 See C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 1908, p.344; Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. IV, (1571-1948), 1952, pp.20, 27; F. G. Maier, *Cyprus*, 1968, p.117; Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, 1969, p.22; W. Forwood, *Cyprus Invitation*, 1971, p.32; Professors Clarke and Fisher (Eds.), *Populations of the Middle East and North Africa*, 1972, pp.171-2.
- 2 Langer and Blake, 'The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and its Historical Background', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 37, p.468.
- 3 J. A. B. Palmer, 'The Origins of the Janissaries', *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, Vol. 35, 1952-3, pp.448-481; see, in particular, Kiamran Halil, 'The Janissaries - A Form of State Slavery in Ottoman Turkey', *The Mankind Quarterly*, (1975), Vol. XVI, No.2, pp.117-122 where all the authorities on this subject have been grouped together for the first time and discussed.
- 4 Sir George Hill, op. cit., p.27; Forwood, op. cit., p.33.
- 5 Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus*, (revised ed.), 1965, p.79; C. Henderson, *Cyprus, the Country and its People*, 1968, p.41.
- 6 '... When the British arrived in 1878 they found many prisoners within the walls of Famagusta, most of them having been deported from Turkey': see B. Troy, *Rendezvous in Cyprus*, 1970, p.59.
- 7 Sir George Hill, op. cit., pp.18-9.
- 8 I. W. Taueber, 'Cyprus: the demography of a

- strategic island', *Population Index*, Vol. 21, 1955, p.7.
- 9 Sir George Hill, op. cit., pp.18-9; see also P. Arnold, *Cyprus Challenge*, 1956, p.12.
  - 10 Sir George Hill, op. cit., p.261.
  - 11 Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, 1973, p.69.
  - 12 Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, op. cit., p.14.
  - 13 Cobham, op. cit., p.182; Capt. A. R. Savile, *Cyprus*, War Office (Quartermaster-General's Department) publication, 1878, p.130.
  - 14 See *The Economist*, 20 February 1982, p.98.
  - 15 See, in particular, W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, 1820, 3 vols., at p.582 of Vol.2; Savile, op. cit., p.127; R. Stuart Poole, Article in *Contemporary Review* (August 1878); R. (afterwards Sir) Hamilton Lang, Article in *MacMillan Magazine* (September 1878); and Dixon, op. cit., p.291.
  - 16 Hogarth, op. cit., pp.38, 54, and 59; von Löher, op. cit., p.59.
  - 17 Savile, op. cit., p.129; Hogarth, op. cit., p.54.
  - 18 For the precise implications implicit in the term 'mulatto', see Kiamran Halil, 'Mules and Mulattoes', *The Mankind Quarterly*, (1977), Vol. XVIII, No.2, pp.129-136, an expanded version by the same author under the same title of a paper first published in *The Anthropological Journal of Canada*, (1976), Vol. 14, No.3, pp.10-13.
  - 19 Hogarth, op. cit., p.38.
  - 20 H. C. Lukach, *The Fringe of the East*, 1913, p.68; Dixon, op. cit., p.29 ('... a kind of sect corresponding in some part with the Russian sect of non-payers of rent. They form a troublesome but comic element in Cypriote towns ...').
  - 21 von Löher, op. cit., p.295; Ross, *A Journey into Cyprus*, op. cit., p.106.
  - 22 Poole, op. cit., (August 1878); General Louis di

- Palma Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples*, 1877, p.185; Gunnis, op. cit., p.327; Turner, op. cit., (Vol. 2), p.582.
- 23 Lukach, op. cit., p.68.
  - 24 Poole, op. cit., (August 1878); Mr Lake, however, put their number at 12,000: see J. J. Lake, *Ceded Cyprus*, 1878, p.28.
  - 25 Lukach, op. cit., p.68.
  - 26 Gunnis, op. cit., p.330.
  - 27 Poole, op. cit., (August 1878).
  - 28 Members of the Turkish community, in referring to the defectors from the fold, derisively quoted the proverb *40 sene Kiani olmaz Yanni!* (Having been called *Kiani* (a Turkish name) for 40 years he can't now become *Yanni* (a Greek name)!
  - 29 Dr A. Melamid, 'The Geographical Distribution of Communities in Cyprus', *Geographical Review*, 46, 355 (1956), p.367, footnote 2.
  - 30 Hogarth, op. cit., p.38.
  - 31 *Ibid.*, at p.54.
  - 32 von Löher, op. cit., p.59; see also W. Stubbs, *Lectures in Medieval History*, Vol. III, 1886, p.189 ('Can these Carpassiotes be the descendants of the *Veneziani bianchi* who sprang from the soldiers of Vital Michael who settled in Cyprus after the first crusade and were still a distinct race in the 13th century?').
  - 33 Hogarth, op. cit., p.59.
  - 34 Michael and Hanka Lee, *Cyprus*, 1973, p.21.
  - 35 'The *cadi* under the palm-tree is - or at any rate as a character in English law is to be deemed to be - one who has to do the best he can in the circumstances having no rules of law to guide him': *Metropolitan Properties vs Purdy* (1940) 1 All England Reports per Lord Goddard at p.191.
  - 36 Greek high official who commanded complete fluency in Turkish acting as government interpreter. They were known to frequently betray the

- interests of the members of their own community. Small wonder therefore that Greeks, even to this day, when endeavouring to make a point in their own defence in the course of an argument stop other people whom they distrust from purportedly supporting their viewpoint by simply asserting *Egho then thelo dragomanon* (I don't require a spokesman).
- 37 Lukach, op. cit., p.253.
- 38 Turner, op. cit., (Vol. 2), p.50; the incident is also related in Cobham, op. cit., pp.429-431.
- 39 Personal communication.
- 40 G. Mariti, *Viaggi per l'isola Cipro*, 1769, (transl. C. D. Cobham, 1971 unchanged reprint of the 1909 ed.), p.185.
- 41 Kinneir, op. cit., p.185.
- 42 Turner, op. cit., (Vol. 2), p.533; see also Paris, op. cit., p.216; P. Loizos, *The Heart Grown Bitter*, 1981, p.58; and A. F. Gench, *From My 1974 Diary*, 1978, p.71.
- 43 Sir George Hill, op. cit., p.58.
- 44 Ibid., at p.254; Ross, *A Journey into Cyprus*, op. cit., p.10 ('In 1845, 5,000 negro slaves were brought over from Egypt and employed by the Turks on their farms').
- 45 R. Pococke, *A Description of the East*, (in 2 vols.), 1743 and 1745.
- 46 Cobham, op. cit., p.269.
- 47 Sir George Hill, op. cit., p.93; Ross, *A Journey into Cyprus*, op. cit., p.65 ('... it is not only the Turks who own many black slaves, but the authorities are apt to wink at the keeping of such by Franks and even well-to-do Greeks').
- 48 See note 45 above.
- 49 See note 46 above.
- 50 Travels of Ali Bey (*Viajes de Ali Bey el Abbassi per Africa y Assia durant los anys 1803-7*, 3 tom., Barcelona, 1889).

- 51 Cobham, op. cit., p.391.
- 52 Ibid., at p.395; see J. A. Hammerton (Ed.), *Peoples of All Nations*, Vol. II, 1922, p.1003, depicting a photograph taken in the vicinity of the Tekké in 1915 the caption to which reads: '... five young Turks, whose gradation of skin colour well exemplifies the mixture of black and white strains ... dating back when African slaves were imported into the island'.
- 53 von Löher, op. cit., pp. 10, 49, 132, 182-3, 220, and 226. ('... the Greeks living in the open country and on the coast are descended from a mixed race of Italians, Syrians, and Negroes' at p.84).
- 54 It seems this was as true in 1877 as in 1562: see Report of B. Sagredo, M. L., (1562) H. III, p.542 ('Peasants, both men and women, were slow and lazy and 4 of them do less work than one of ours from Lombardy').
- 55 E. Scott-Henderson, *Our Home in Cyprus*, 1880, p.19.
- 56 Sir George Hill, op. cit., p.254.
- 57 Ibid.; Mr Lang himself had 'a worthy old Arab groom' previous to whom his farm steward was a Nubian: see Lang, op. cit., pp.304, 359.
- 58 Ibid., at p.229.
- 59 Dixon, op. cit., pp.20, 22.
- 60 A. Brassey, *Sunshine and Storm in the East*, 1880, p.297; Mrs Brassey's deep perception substantially accords with von Löher's shrewd look-see when he remarked '... the inhabitants of the coast and plains are short, stout and look as though heat and perspiration had baked the dust and dirt into their skins ...': see von Löher, op. cit., p.84.
- 61 Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus*, op. cit., p.126.
- 62 Cesnola, op. cit., p.222. This must have been the same *cadi* called Ali Effendi mentioned in Dixon's *British Cyprus*, op. cit., at pp.3-5 who in

- 1881 was jailed for 3 years for bribery and corruption: see *Colonial Reports*, 1880-7, p.11.
- 63 E. M. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, 1963, pp.303-312.
- 64 Mariti, op. cit., pp.46, 48.
- 65 Compare, Dr P. P. Broca, *On the Phenomenon of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, Publication of the Anthropological Society of London, 1864, p.35; C. B. Day, 'A Study of Some Negro-White Families in the United States', *Harvard African Studies*, Vol. 10, Part 2 (1932), pp.1-126; C. Stern, 'Model Estimates of White and Near-White Segregants in the American Negro', *American Journal of Human Genetics*, Vol. 5, No.1, (1953), pp.1-20; also Kiamran Halil, 'Anthroposcopycal Evaluation of Negro-White Cross-breeds', *The Mankind Quarterly*, (1976), Vol. XVII, No.1, pp.56-62.
- 66 Mariti, op. cit., p.46.
- 67 von Löher, op. cit., p.10.
- 68 C. D. Darlington, *Genetics and Man*, 1964, p.275.
- 69 See A. W. Winchester, *Hereditiy and Your Life*, 1960, pp.103-4; A. Scheinfeld, *Hereditiy in Humans*, 1972, pp.57-8; Kiamran Halil, 'Mules and Mulattoes', op. cit., pp.131, 134.
- 70 Sir Edward Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, 1878, p.8.
- 71 See A. Sillery, *Africa: A Social Geography*, 2nd ed., 1972 p.169.
- 72 C. A. Harrison and A. J. Boyce (Eds.), *The Structure of Human Populations*, 1972, p.3.
- 73 Kiamran Halil, 'The Structure of the Turkish-Cypriot Race', op. cit., p.134, footnote 37; and see further, J. R. Baker, *Race*, 1974, p.315 for amusing comments on the bushwoman (the famous 'Hottentot Venus').
- 74 Poole, Article on Cyprus, *Contemporary Review*, (September 1878), p.146; see also Dixon, op. cit., p.27.
- 75 Scott-Henderson, op. cit., p.300.
- 76 Fisher, op. cit., p.40.
- 77 Dixon, op. cit., p.25.
- 78 Hammerton, op. cit., p.1003.
- 79 P. Tremayne, *Below the Tide*, 1958, pp.12-3; in 1868 Consul Lang discovered a bilingual inscription on a stone 'in Cypriote and Phoenician'. From this Mr George Smith traced the key to the 'Cypriote language' in 1872: see Poole, op. cit., (August 1878) and H. C. Gordon, *Love's Island*, 1925, p.7. In 1814 Mr Bramsen wrote: '... The language of the country is Romaic... The parent tongue is scarcely understood: see J. Bramsen, *Travels in Egypt, Syria, and Cyprus*, Vol. I, 1820, p.307.
- 80 For a full account, see H. D. Purcell, *Cyprus*, 1969, pp.175-9.
- 81 Turner, op. cit., (Vol. 2), p.578; and in 1879 the menu seems to have been substantially the same ('... the country people seldom eat butcher's meat, but subsist upon olives, oil, bread, cheese, and vegetables': see Sir Samuel Baker, *Cyprus: As I Saw it in 1879*, 1879, p.46); see also, Loizos, op. cit., p.23 ('... So too with meat-eating: old men were always eager to tell me how, when they had been young ... [they] ate it twice a year ...').
- 82 Orr, op. cit., p.138; Cf. The Falkland Islands (population 1,800; number of sheep 663,300): see *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1982, p.775.
- 83 von Löher, op. cit., p.66 *et seq.*: G. Home, *Cyprus Then and Now*, 1960, p.93.
- 84 See, however, Sir George Hill, Vol. III, p.779 where it is alleged that Kutchuk Mehmed took this action in order to forestall any risings - presumably without just cause! See also, S. Mayes, *Cyprus and Makarios*, 1960, p.10 and M. A. Attalides, *Cyprus*, 1979, p.25.

- 85 P. Watkins, *See Cyprus*, 1981 (revised ed. of 1972 print), p.17.  
86 C. Spyridakis, *A Brief History of Cyprus*, 1974, p.163.

### CHAPTER THREE

- 1 Spyridakis, op. cit., p.167.
- 2 Purcell, op. cit., p.204.
- 3 Field-Marshal Lord Carver, *Harding of Pether-ton*, 1978, p.197.
- 4 In referring to this auspicious incident even the industry of Mr Foley failed to trace Sir Garnet's reply; Mr Foley simply lamented that 'it was the first of a myriad of such protestations that would fall on unheeding British ears!': see C. Foley *et al*, *The Struggle for Cyprus*, 1975, p.2.
- 5 See note 1 above; H. I. Salih, *The Impact of Diverse Nationalism of a State*, 1978, p.5.
- 6 von Löher, op. cit., p.196.
- 7 Orr, op. cit., p.137.
- 8 Crawshaw, op. cit., p.21; at 'mid-term' of British rule (c. 1915) the position was as it had been for centuries past: see Hammerton, op. cit., pp.1003-5 ('... the two races are for historic reasons bitterly antagonistic ... Turks and Greeks, in rural districts, live apart from one another ... In the towns they live in separate quarters ...'). At p.1003 the caption under the photograph of a Turkish farmer reads: '... benevolent old gentleman. But there is a cruel side to his nature, and he hates his Greek neighbour on the opposite page!'
- 9 von Löher, op. cit., p.200.
- 10 *Ibid.*, at p.223.
- 11 Kinneir, op. cit., p.100.
- 12 Robertson, op. cit., pp.32-3.
- 13 *Ibid.* The size of the Maronite community, an intelligent, law-abiding and hardworking race, in 1960 remained practically the same as it was

in 1878; von Löher put it then at 2,800: see von Löher, op. cit., p.295.

- 14 Orr, op. cit., p.121.
- 15 Ibid., at p.116.
- 16 See Lord Devlin, *The Judge*, 1979, p.9.
- 17 On how the judges in England gained their freedom to be impartial, see Shetreet, *Judges on Trial*, 1976, pp.2-15.
- 18 For an elaborate account on this topic, see Arnold, op. cit., pp.56-61.
- 19 Storrs, op. cit., p.598.
- 20 Ibid., at p.596 *et seq.*
- 21 See note 84 of Chapter 2.
- 22 Arnold, op. cit., p.12.
- 23 See *In re Niyazi's Will Trusts*, (1978) 1 Chancery Law Reports, p.904.
- 24 Mr Pouyouros (like Mr Glafkos Clerides), who is now Permanent Representative of (Southern) Cyprus to the United Nations in Geneva, was a friend and contemporary of the author at Gray's Inn when they were reading for the Bar in the late 1940s.
- 25 *In re Niyazi's Will Trusts*, *supra*, at p.912.
- 26 The author is most grateful to Messrs Gastors, solicitors, for their courtesy in supplying the information that 'the matter was never finally determined and remains quiescent in the High Court'. It is quite conceivable that the deceased testator is likely to turn in his grave if he knew that the litigation over his bequest lies dormant in moribundity!
- 27 Scott-Henderson, op. cit., p.89.
- 28 The Greeks' bell chimes of *Exo! Exo!* with which exhortation Lady Foot (afterwards Lady Caradon) was harassed near the Tree of Idleness (S. Foot, *Emergency Exit*, 1960, p.189) did the Greeks no good in the end!
- 29 Purcell, op. cit., p.402.

## CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 'For the first time in 27 centuries Cyprus has become an independent country' *per* Mr Alastos: see D. Alastos, *Cyprus Guerilla*, 1960, p.204.
- 2 The terms of which are contained in the *Cyprus Constitution*, London ed., 1960.
- 3 For a comprehensive survey of the discussions on these agreements, see S. G. Xidis, *Cyprus: The Reluctant Republic*, 1973, *passim* and D. S. Bit-sios, *Cyprus: The Vulnerable Republic*, 1975, *passim*; see also Crawshaw, op. cit., pp.340-1.
- 4 Small wonder that the new state had never acquired a National Anthem of its own - only a little used flag! In retrospect Dr Vanezis writes '... The exclusive allegiance of all Cypriots should be to the Cypriot flag, and a National Anthem ...': see P. N. Vanezis, *Cyprus: The Unfinished Agony*, 1977, p.3.
- 5 See generally S. A. de Smith's note 'Anthropologists and Constitutionmongers, 1977, *Public Law* (incorporating the *British Journal of Administrative Law*), pp.106-7.
- 6 Set out in the British Nationality (Cyprus) Order 1960 (S.I. 1960 No. 2215) and the British Nationality Regulations 1961 (S.I. 1961 No. 202).
- 7 Under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 and the Immigration Act 1971; see also the British Nationality Act 1981.
- 8 *Cyprus Constitution*, p.86, Art. II of the Draft Treaty of Guarantee.
- 9 Akrotiri in the south-west and Dhekelia in the south-east.

- 10 The Sovereign Bases of Akrotiri and Dhekelia (Appeals to Privy Council) Order in Council (S.I. 1961 No.59).
- 11 See section 27(2) of the Courts of Justice Law 1960 (Law 14 of 1960), enacted by the House of Representatives on 17 December 1960. This principle could have, but oddly enough has not, produced any legal niceties.
- 12 C. Foley, *Legacy of Strife: Cyprus from Rebellion to Civil War*, 1964, p.150; Vanezis, op. cit., p.8.
- 13 For a grim description of atrocities, see O. Öksüzoghlou, *Persecution of Islam in Cyprus*, 1981, *passim*.
- 14 In connection with the replacement of Turkish ministers by Greeks, on 24 May 1966 The Commonwealth Relations Secretary in a written Parliamentary answer stated that the British government had drawn the Cyprus government's attention 'to this breach of the Constitution': see 729 *House of Commons Debates* 55.
- 15 For a full report on this important development, see *Survey of the British and Commonwealth Affairs*, Vol. 2, pp.107-111; and for a succinct résumé, see (1968) *Public Law* pp.177-8.
- 16 On this point, see P. G. Polyviou, *Cyprus - In Search of a Constitution: Constitutional Negotiations and Proposals (1960-1975)*, 1976, *passim*.
- 17 See Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Cyprus (Session 1975-6), paragraph 8, p.VI.
- 18 Republic of Cyprus, Public Information Office, *Colonization of Cyprus: Facts and Figures*, May 1976.
- 19 '... I would unhesitatingly hold that the courts of this country can ... recognise the laws ... of a body [i.e., the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus] in effective control of a territory, even though it has not been recognised de jure or de

facto by Her Majesty's government' per Lord Denning in *Hesperides Hotels Ltd and Another vs Aegean Turkish Holidays Ltd and Another* (1977) 3 Weekly Law Reports pp.656, 663.

- 20 'The Greek-Cypriots have overlooked this in their singleminded pursuit of "enosis and only enosis"': see Vanezis, op. cit., p.2.
- 21 '... the Greek-speaking majority ... point out that independence in 1960 was a second-best solution for the Greeks, who had been fighting for *enosis* ... and they suggest that the Greeks have never really been reconciled to it': see E. Mortimer, 'Smouldering Grievance Which Mars a Paradise', *The Times*, 5 May 1982, p.14.
- 22 See, in particular, European Commission on Human Rights Report, *Cyprus versus Turkey*, 1976; The Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Committee, *Human Rights in Cyprus*, 1979; and V. D. Volkan, *Cyprus: War and Adaption*, 1979.
- 23 '... provision will no doubt be made for the properties to be restored to their former owners or compensation paid' per Lord Denning at p.665 of the case cited at note 19 above. And one might add, exchange of properties with (where appropriate) compensation. See also 'Cyprus (A Special Report): The Refugees', *The Guardian*, 5 April 1982, in particular the following passage by N. Crawshaw: '... Compensation is freely discussed on the Turkish side, but is taboo on the Greek because it cuts across the political line that all the refugees must have the right to return to their homes. Nevertheless there are indications that away from the pressure of their leaders many refugees would opt to stay in the South given the means of starting a new life and ending the present intolerable uncertainty. And few, if any, would want to return to the areas left under Turkish control ...'.

APPENDIX  
PART I\*

*(Turkish equivalent and/or meaning of surnames  
or nicknames given in brackets)*

Arabadjis	(Arabadji, cart-driver)
Ashikalis	(Ashikali)
Ashiki	(Ashik)
Aza(s)	(Aza, member of village council)
Bagdades, Pagdatis	(Baghdadi)
Barouti, Paroutis	(Barut, gun-powder)
Boyadjis, Poyiatzis	(Boyadji, painter)
Boyatzoglou	(Boyadjioglou, son of painter)
Cartallis	(Kartal, eagle)
Feleki(s)	(Felek, fate)
Hallouma(s), Challouma	(Hallouma)
Hassanpoullis	(Hassanboulli)
Kadeglou	(Kadioglou, son of cadi)
Kadis	(Kadi, cadi)
Kafa(s)	(Kafa, literally 'blockhead')
Kaimis	(substitute, from <i>kaim</i> )
Kalafatis	(Kalafat, caulking)
Kameris	(Kamer, the moon)

Kantartzoghlo	(Kantardjioghlo, son of weight-master)
Kapatai(s)	(Kabadayi, bully)
Kaplanis	(Kaplan, tiger)
Karakashi	(dark-browed, from <i>Karakashli</i> )
Karamani(s)	(Karamani, Caramanian)
Karamanos	(Karamano)
Karkas	(Karka, crow)
Kattimeris	(from the pastry-sweet <i>katmer</i> )
Kattirdjis	(Katirdji, muleteer)
Kavazis	(Kavaz, aide)
Kayas	(Kaya, rock)
Kazantzis	(Kazandji)
Kemanetis	(Kemanedji, violin player)
Kenes, Kennes	(weevil, from <i>kene</i> )
Kepertis	(to crush, from <i>gebertmek</i> )
Kerimis	(Kerim, gracious)
Kiattipis	(Kiatip, clerk)
Kiayias	(Kiahya, warden or caretaker)
Kirmizis	(red, from <i>kirmizi</i> )
Kodjiamanis	(Kodjaman, big or huge)
Kostekoglou	(Kostekoghlo, son of guard)
Kotziabashis**	(Hodjabashi)
Koumantaris	(Kumandar, commander)
Kouroushis	(piastre, from <i>kurush</i> )
Koushiappis	(Kushappi)
Koutsioukkis	(Kutchuk)
Malietis	(Maliyedji, tax collector)
Meitanis	(open space, from <i>meydan</i> )
Meraclis, Meraklis	(curious, from <i>merakli</i> )
Missirlis	(Misirli, Egyptian)
Mustieris	(client, from <i>mushteri</i> )
Naziris	(Nazir, controller)
Ousta	(Ousta, master)

Palazides	(gosling, from <i>palaz</i> )
Papazoglou	(son of priest, Papadopoulos in reverse really)
Parapoulouzis	(possibly from <i>Tarabuluz</i> )
Paraliki	(pertaining to money)
Partaki(s)	(Bardak, pitcher)
Pashias	(Pasha)
Peizate	(Beyzade)
Pekri(s)	(Pekri, alcoholic)
Peleties	(municipality, from <i>Belediye</i> )
Petevis	(Bedevi, nomad)
Pirintzis	(first, from <i>birindji</i> )
Postatzis	(Postadji, postman)
Pourgouris, Bourgourides	(Burgur)
Sakalli	(bearded, from <i>sakalli</i> )
Samanides	(possibly from <i>saman</i> )
Sheftali(s)	(peach, from <i>sheftali</i> )
Seimeni(s)	(Seymen, officer)
Seferis	(Sefer)
Sheittanis	(devil or crafty, from <i>sheytan</i> )
Siamtanis, Shiamtanis	(Shamdan, candlestick)
Siapanis	(Shaban)
Sismani(s)	(fat or stodgy, from <i>shisman</i> )
Shiekkeri(s)	(sugar, from <i>sheker</i> )
Shukris	(Shukru)
Soupashis	(Subashi, water foreman)
Sourkounis	(exile, from <i>sürgün</i> )
Sourmelis	(Surmeli, tinged eyes)
Tanteles	(probably substitute for Damdelen)
Taoushanis	(Taoushan, hare)
Tapakis, Tapakoudes	(Tabak, plate or dish)
Tattaris	(Tatar, Tartar)

Tattis	(impaired in speech, from <i>tat</i> )
Tekkis	(single or odd, from <i>tek</i> )
Tellalis	(Dellal, auctioneer)
Toufexis	(Tufekdji, gunsmith)
Tourapi	(Turabi)
Tousounis	(Tosun)
Tsakkitzi	(knife-dealer, from <i>chakidji</i> )
Tserkezos	(Cherkez, Circassian)
Tsielepis	(Chelebi, affable)
Tsiopanis	(Choban, shepherd)
Tsirakki	(Chirak, apprentice)
Tsolakki(s)	(Cholak, one-armed or cripple)
Tziambazis	(Djambaz, acrobat, horse dealer or middleman)
Tziamalis	(Djemali)
Tziaouris	(infidel, from <i>giavour</i> )
Veresies	('on credit', from <i>veresiye</i> )
Yemenitzi(s)	(Yemenidji, kerchief seller)
Yiapanis	(Yaban, wild)
Yiavashis	(Yavash, slow)
Yiorgandjis	(Yorgandji, quilt-maker)
Zaimis	(Zaim)
Zabitis	(Zabit, officer)
Zambakides	(Zambak, lily)
Zertallis	(apricot, from <i>zerdali</i> )
Zeipekkis	(Zeybek)
Zymboulakis	(Zümbül, a kind of flower)
Zembylas	(rush-bag, from <i>zembil</i> )
Zorpas	(Zorba, ruffian or oppressor)

\* Source: Telephone Directory 1980 (Cyprus Telecommunications Authority. A more fertile source to examine would be the Land and Birth Registers!

\*\* Obviously a mis-spelling of Khodjabashi or Hodjabashi which meant 'prelate' or 'representative' of the rayahs: see S. Mayes, *Cyprus and Makarios*, 1960, p.5.

Some other names:

Atteslis (fiery, from *atesh*), Arnautis (Albanian, from *Arnaut*), Beyiazis (Beyaz, white), Djouvas (from *djouva*), Dourmouhis (Durmush), Kafadaris (Kafadar), Kaimakamis (Kaymakam, Commissioner), Kaourmas (Kavourma), Karabouloukis (Karabülük), Kattirdjiyianni (Yianni, the muleteer), Kelis (bald, from *kel*), Pouyouros, (derived from *buyur* (welcome), Salvarlis (wearer of baggy trousers, from *shalvar*), Sourgounides (exile, from *sürgün*), Souverdjis (derived from *su* (water)), Tsakkiros (Chakir), Zarifis (Zarif, elegance), Zournas (Zurna, from flute).

A HILARIOUS LOOK  
AT LAW AND LIQUOR  
**COCKTAILS-AT-LAW**

**KIAMRAN HALIL**

(Foreword by Judge Gerald Sparrow)

'A small tour de force ... Bertie Wooster  
would have lapped this book up'

Prof. Cronin, Modern Law Review.

'Highly amusing legal tales ... Recommended  
as happy, incidental reading for lawyers'

Greville Janner, Law Society's Gazette.

'Amiable little book ... Pleasant Christmas  
present'

Scots Law Times.

'Very original. I was very entertained by it'  
Alec Waugh.

'A remarkable mixture of erudition and wit'  
John Doxat.