

THE URBAN CARTOGRAPHY OF CYPRUS: BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

by

Merve Senem Arkan

Department of Cartography and Geoinformatics, Eötvös Loránd University

Ph.D. Dissertation

Submitted to the

**Cartography and Geoinformatics PhD Programme (László Zentai , Prof.)
PhD School of Earth Sciences (József Nemes-Nagy, Prof.)
Eötvös Loránd University**

Advisor:

Zsolt Győző Török, Assoc. Prof.

Department of Cartography and Geoinformatics, Eötvös Loránd University



**Budapest
2016**

ABSTRACT

Since the late 15th century, urban maps have illustrated with greater accuracy and reliability, detailed information about cities and towns. Such maps, in addition to offering the physical appearance of cities, have also given us an insight into the social and political contexts of the era. Cyprus, with its turbulent history, is no exception. The island has been occupied by various powers, in which time historical and cultural contexts of the main cities of the island have changed and left behind material traces.

However, maps do not always reflect the true image of a city similar to other historical sources they can be biased as well and so the researcher must tread with care. There are two purposes of this research therefore; the first is to observe the representation of six cities of Cyprus throughout a timeframe from the 16th to 20th centuries; the second is to examine how the maps portrayed the ever-changing context of these cities, and offer suggestions as to the possible motivations behind the depictions.

Even though urban maps have significant importance and had been produced in large numbers, there are relatively few studies on them and only a handful deal with Cypriot cartography. There is no comprehensive study of Cypriot city maps, and so, my MA thesis took the first step to fill this academic gap by starting with the urban maps of Famagusta. However, the study was limited to one city and lacked detailed research on the maps. In this dissertation, Famagusta will be detailed with additional maps and re-evaluated together with other cities. It will give us a complete look at the Cypriot cities. The aim of this dissertation is to take further steps towards the completion of the research on the urban maps of Cyprus.

The representations of these cities will highlight the history of the island and its reflection in the maps. They will also show the perspective of the cartographers towards the island and the expectations and needs of the audience from the cartographers and the cities. The dissertation will analyse the maps of the six cities to understand the image of the cities and will question what they represent and meant for the cartographer and the audience. With the analyses of these maps, the dissertation tries to understand the relation between the city and history; the image, the cartographer and the audience.

As the maps and history are interlinked with each other, as Cyprus changed, so too did the cartographic depictions of the city. In each period, various factors effected the changing representations of the cities which will be examined in this dissertation by analysing maps throughout history. This study concerns itself with the 16th-20th centuries and should contribute a deeper understanding to both historians of the time and place.

Keywords: Cypriot Cartography, city mapping, Cyprus, cartographic representation, Famagusta, Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, Kyrenia, Paphos.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Dr. Zsolt Győző Török for the continuous support of my Ph.D. study and related research, for his patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this dissertation. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my Ph.D study.

Besides my advisor, I would like to thank to Dr. László Zentai, the head of the department for his support and encouragement.

Last but not the least, I would like to express my gratitude to my family Engin and Tugba Arkan; especially my sister Tugce Arkan for their support, consideration and motivation. I am indebted to all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>ABSTRACT</u>	i
<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u>	ii
<u>LIST OF FIGURES</u>	vi
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	5
3 HISTORICAL CONTEXTS OF CARTOGRAPHY AND CYPRIOT CARTOGRPHY	
3.1 The Venetian Era Cartography.....	9
3.2 The Venetian Era Cypriot Cartography.....	10
3.3 The Ottoman Era Cartography.....	13
3.4 The Ottoman Era Cypriot Cartography.....	15
3.5 The British Era Cartography.....	15
3.6 The British Era Cypriot Cartography.....	16
4 FAMAGUSTA MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES	
4.1 The Venetian Era Famagusta Maps.....	18
4.1.1 History of Famagusta.....	18
4.1.1.1 The Siege of Famagusta, 1571.....	19
4.1.2 Portrayal of Venetian Famagusta.....	21
4.1.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	24
4.2 The Ottoman Era Famagusta Maps.....	36
4.2.1 History of Famagusta.....	36
4.2.2 Portrayal of Ottoman Famagusta.....	39
4.2.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	41
4.3 The British Era Famagusta Maps.....	48
4.3.1 History of Famagusta.....	48
4.3.2 Portrayal of British Famagusta.....	50
4.3.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	51
5 NICOSIA MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES	
5.1 The Venetian Era Nicosia Maps.....	56
5.1.1 History of Nicosia.....	56
5.1.1.1 The Siege of Nicosia, 1570.....	57
5.1.2 Portrayal of Venetian Nicosia.....	59

5.1.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	61
5.2 The Ottoman Era Nicosia Maps.....	67
5.2.1 History of Nicosia.....	67
5.2.2 Portrayal of Ottoman Nicosia.....	69
5.2.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	71
5.3 The British Era Nicosia Maps.....	74
5.3.1 History of Nicosia.....	74
5.3.2 Portrayal of British Nicosia.....	74
5.3.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	75
6 LARNACA MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES	
6.1 The Ottoman Era Larnaca Maps.....	79
6.1.1 History of Larnaca.....	79
6.1.2 Portrayal of Ottoman Larnaca.....	81
6.1.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	83
6.2 The British Era Larnaca Maps.....	90
6.2.1 History of Larnaca.....	90
6.2.2 Portrayal of British Larnaca.....	92
6.2.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	92
7 LIMASSOL MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES	
7.1 The Ottoman Era Limassol Maps.....	94
7.1.1 History of Limassol.....	94
7.1.2 Portrayal of Ottoman Limassol.....	96
7.1.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	97
7.2 The British Era Limassol Maps.....	99
7.2.1 History of Limassol.....	99
7.2.2 Portrayal of British Limassol.....	100
7.2.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	101
8 KYRENIA MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES	
8.1 Kyrenia Maps.....	102
8.1.1 History of Kyrenia.....	102
8.1.2 Portrayal of Kyrenia.....	103
8.1.3 Analysis of the Maps.....	105

9 PAPHOS MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

9.1 Paphos Maps.....107

 9.1.1 History of Paphos107

 9.1.2 Portrayal of Paphos.....109

 9.1.3 Analysis of the Maps.....109

10 REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CYPRIOT CITIES.....111

11 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE REPRESENTATIONS OF CYPRIOT CITIES.119

12 CONCLUSION.....124

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....128

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Matheo Pagano, “Isola de Cipro”, Venice, 1538.....	11
Figure 2: Sebastian Münster, “Famagusta”, Basel, 1578.....	11
Figure 3: Piri Reis, “Eschkjal Qybrys”, in <i>Kitab-ı Bahriye</i> , 1521.....	12
Figure 4: Ferrandus Bertelli, “Isola di Cipro”, in <i>Precedaitium clunibus Impone[n]tes Ambitus eius fertur.MMMCDXX. Romae.MDLXII</i> , 1562, Rome.....	13
Figure 5: Captain Horatio Herbert Kitchener, “A trigonometrical survey of the island of Cyprus”, London, 1885.....	17
Figure 6: The Walled City, Famagusta.....	23
Figure 7: Detail from Giovanni Francesco Camocio’s map; different types of Ottoman troops.....	26
Figure 8: Detail of Stephano Gibellino’s map, the city centre.....	29
Figure 9: Detail of Stephano Gibellino’s map, soldiers inside the city.....	29
Figure 10: Detail of Stephano Gibellino’s map, the Ottoman troops.....	30
Figure 11: Detail of Stephano Gibellino’s map, the burning ship.....	30
Figure 12: Detail of Stephano Gibellino’s map, label ‘F’.....	30
Figure 13: Detail from Charles Magius’ miniature, Partie de l’île de Chypre.....	34
Figure 14: Detail from Charles Magius’ miniature, Port et ville de Famagouste	34
Figure 15: Detail from Charles Magius’ miniature, Plan de l’île de Chypre et emblème de l’arbre brisé.	35
Figure 16: Detail from “The flaying of the Venetian commander Bragadino” in <i>Şehnâme-i Selīm ān</i>	36
Figure 17: Detail from Olfert Dapper’s map; city centre Olfert Dapper, “Famagusta”.....	44
Figure 18: Detail from Antonio Borg’s map; Varosha	46
Figure 19: Detail from Joseph Allezard’s map; Famagusta	47
Figure 20: Google Earth Famagusta, the walled city.....	53
Figure 21: Detail from Karl Baedeker’s map; S. Clara Church.....	54
Figure 22: Detail of Gibellino’s map, No: 5, St Dominic Monastery.....	55
Figure 23: Wall from St. Dominic Monastery excavation, possible apse of the church (photo by author)	55
Figure 24: Detail from Anonymous map; the last assault.....	62
Figure 25: Detail from Charles Magius’ map, Plan dela ville de Famagouste.....	66
Figure 26: Detail from Basil Grigorovitch Barsky’s drawing; St. Sophia Cathedral.....	73
Figure 27: Detail from Hendrik Michelot’s map; Larnaca and its coastline.....	87
Figure 28: Detail from Basil Grigorovitch Barsky’s drawing; the Consuls.....	90

Figure 29: Detail from Thomas Graves' map; profile view of Larnaca.....	93
Figure 30: Detail from Joseph Roux's map; Limassol.....	98
Figure 31: Detail from Thomas Graves' map; Famagusta.....	105
Figure 32: The fort of Paphos (photo by author).....	110

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In Cyprus I stumbled upon many more such echoes from forgotten moments of history with which to illuminate the present. Invaders like Haroun Al Rashid, Alexander, Couer de Lion: women like Catherine Cornora and Helena Palaeologus... the confluence of different destinies which touched and illumined the history of one small island in the eastern basin of the Levant, giving it significance and depth of focus. Different invasions weathered and eroded it, piling monument upon monument. The contentions of monarchs and empires have stained it with blood, have wearied and refreshed its landscape repeatedly with mosques and cathedrals and fortresses. (Durrell, 1973, p.20)

Cyprus is an island in the eastern Mediterranean Sea at the crossroads of Asia, Europe and Africa, and because of this has had a “turbulent history” (Wallis, 1992, p.7). Throughout its history, because of its good strategic location between the East and the West (Balderstone, 2007, p.2) this island has been occupied by various powers Egyptians, Hittites, Lusignans, Genoese, Venetians, Ottomans, British and many others, traces of which can be seen especially in the harbour cities. Cyprus was an important location on major and lucrative trade routes, and this which added significance to the harbours and their associated cities, which evolved through commercial means as well as cultural exchanges (Marangou, 2003, p.18).

The cities of Cyprus had significance for many people, with their commercial successes and position on the pilgrimage route to the Holy Land. The cities of Famagusta, Larnaca, Limassol, Kyrenia and Paphos are especially significant because of their ports. Lastly, the capital city Nicosia controls the island as the seat of Kings. It is my intention to use the six cities’ maps as a leitmotif, a constant, in approaching the history of the community of the island.

John R. Short wrote, “Maps are used to describe the world, to explain history, to guide action, and to justify events. Like language itself, maps are called upon to perform a variety of roles, and they embody a variety of messages” (Short, 2003, p.9). Maps can take many different forms painted, etched, engraved, sketched, carved on stones or lately through satellite imagery reconstructed on computers. They can appear for different reasons, too weather, geographical location, with an urban emphasis, with a rural emphasis to assist in administrative tasks, to be used in military ventures, or as decorative works of art. In any case, a significant feature of maps is that history can be followed through them, as Perkins wrote: “... mapping practices and products reflect different contexts, cultures, times and places” (Perkins, 2003, p.342). In this context, the maps of Cypriot cities throughout time should reflect the island’s history and its changing context. Of course, they can be imaginary as well as realistic, and so care ought to be taken in our interpretation of them.

Even though urban maps have significant importance and had been produced in large numbers, there are relatively few studies on them. One significant study is P. D. A. Harvey’s *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys* which presents a history of topographical maps (Harvey, 1980). James Elliott’s book *The City in Maps: Urban Mapping to 1900* (1987) gives the history of urban cartography, based on an exhibition at the British Library. *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography* (1998), edited by

David Bruisseret, compiles essays on the urban cartography in order to examine different points of view and their effects on the cities' representation. In addition, Naomi Miller focuses on Renaissance city maps in her book, *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance* (Miller, 2003). Richard Kagan draws a distinction between city as *civitas* and city as *urbs* in his studies of Hispanic urban representation in his book *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493- 1793* (Kagan, 2000). Two important articles should also be mentioned; the first is the "Origin and Development of the Ichnographic City Plan" by J. Pinto, which is a study of Renaissance town plans (Pinto, 1976); the other is "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500" by J. Schulz (Schulz, 1978). Few works explain general urban map making, fewer still focus on specific cities, and only a handful deal with Cypriot cartography. Stylianou's book *The History of the Cypriot Cartography* is the exception, being a collection of Cypriot maps published 36 years ago (Stylianou, 1980), while A. Marangou more recently focused on the developments of Cypriot harbours (Marangou, 2002; Marangou, 2003). However, there is no comprehensive study of Cypriot city maps, and so, my MA thesis took the first step to fill this academic gap by starting with the urban maps of Famagusta. However, the study was limited to one city and lacked detailed research on the maps. In this dissertation, Famagusta will be detailed with additional maps and re-evaluated together with other cities. It will give us a complete look at the Cypriot cities. The aim of this dissertation is to take further steps towards the completion of the research on the urban maps of Cyprus.

In doing this, I wish to adhere closely to Harvey's maxim that "In fact we have mostly passed over in silence how far the detail on picture-maps is realistic, how far conventionalized; this offers a vast field of investigation to the historians of art as well as of cartography" (Harvey, 1980, p.183). Balancing the power of the imagination with technical accuracy bearing in mind the conflicting demands of 'art and actuality', we end up asking some basic questions, such as how much of the representation of the Cypriot cities are reality? How many of the maps reflect the reality of the changing context or history of the cities? Are the cartographers able to capture the true nature and essence of the cities with their representations? I will examine the representations of the cities and their link with the history, text, cartographer and audience.

I also wish to keep the ideas of Lynch closely in mind during this thesis, he explains in *The Image of the City* that an environmental image must have three categories; identity (individuality identification of an object), structure (an image must have "spatial or pattern relation to observer and other objects"), and lastly meaning (for the observer the object must be meaningful "practical or emotional") (Lynch, 1960, p.8). He explains the "imageability" of a city: "It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment" (Lynch, 1960, p.9). In relation to maps, the development of the image is a two-way process between observer and observed, in order to strengthen the imaged symbolic devices used, such as a map to show how the world fits together (Lynch, 1960, p.11). An artistic image of a city can be defined with identity, structure and meaning. Maps, since they are for various purposes and various users, have a meaning for the spectator which is harder to define, meaning that the spectator 'as map maker' will subjectively view the city to extract the information he/she needs.

Two other categories to be considered are the identity and structure of a city. According to Mukaddes Faslı, the city's identity forms according to two further sub-categories: environmental and social identity (Faslı, 2003). Environmental identity, which is related to

the physical structure of the city, separates into two further divisions through natural (topographical features) and man-made (architectural features) environmental characteristics (Faslı, 2003, p.54). In terms of the social identity, this is established through economical, political and cultural features (Faslı, 2003, p.83). The image of the city on maps therefore includes the city's identity which is, as Lynch points out, the obviously most identifiable features. Besides the identity, the city's structure which is the formation of the living space, should also be examined on maps, as should the changing context. This thesis will interpret the representation of the image of the cities by analysing their structure, context and identity on the maps, and will observe to what extent the changing context of the cities can be 'read' on the maps.

An analysis of the Cypriot maps will form the primary part of the thesis. The important point is that this thesis will include original maps. These maps were copied by other map makers within the same century or the next which created similar representations of the cities. In cartography, map makers often copy previous maps, yet so many maps can be based on one sole source. Manners wrote:

... it is perhaps not surprising that these basic topographies continue to frame later versions of the map. But each map-maker inserts additional visual information, correcting the schema according to the maker's own ideas and purposes, and these in turn serve to frame the way in which the city is seen by later artists, mapmakers and travellers. (Manners, 1997, p.95)

The main analysis will eliminate maps copied from other maps that do not offer any innovation, change our examination of the representation of the city or give any new information about its context. The catalogue as the supplementary work to dissertation will include all urban maps of Cyprus, including the maps that excluded from the selection of the dissertation.

The collection of maps for the dissertation will include different forms such as; drawings, engravings, models, paintings, etc., that show cartographic features in order to expand our view on the matter. The time period will begin with the first appearance of urban maps, which was during the conquest of the Ottoman Empire in 1570. The dissertation will be separated according to the eras of different ruling powers the Venetian, Ottoman and British eras. The six cities of Cyprus which are district capitals will be included in the study. Five of them were port cities, Famagusta, Larnaca, Limassol, Kyrenia and Paphos, and the capital city Nicosia is also included, as the connection between all of the cities, in the middle of the island. The port cities were essential and commercial centres for the island so most of their urban maps are unsurprisingly more drawn compared to the rest.

The representations of these cities will highlight the history of the island and its reflection in the maps. They will also show the perspective of the cartographers towards the island and the expectations and needs of the audience from the cartographers and the cities. The dissertation will analyse the maps of the six cities to understand the image of the cities and will question what they represent and meant for the cartographer and the audience. With the analyses of these maps, the dissertation tries to understand the relation between the city and history; the image, the cartographer and the audience.

Most of the maps used in this thesis were made by European map makers, and so it must be assumed that they will reflect a European point of view of Cyprus. Miller stated, "mapping

had always been a selective cultural process that, as Denis Cosgrove has recently discussed, involves choices, reductions, omissions and distortions in order to obtain the representation of the three-dimensional globe of the earth on a two-dimensional surface” (Miller, 2003, p.6). The cartographers and their preferences in their representations will be an important part of the analysis. The maps’ media, styles, and techniques chosen by the cartographers will be vital for the purpose of the maps and their effectiveness in the representations of cities.

Harley also reiterated this point, saying that “the basic rule of historical method is that documents can only be interpreted in their context” (Harley, 2001, p.37). The maps will be interpreted within their own historical context. Therefore we will consider written texts, especially travel texts, as Cyprus was visited by many travellers. These travel texts give vital information about the context of the cities, namely their history, structure, administration, economy, and many other details. In brief, the authors wrote what they witnessed of life in these cities or what they knew about their pasts. In addition, Cosgrove explains that

Geographical description, which performs the task of interrogating, synthesizing and representing the diversity of environments, places and peoples, has traditionally sought to present its audience with rich and compelling images. The map is one powerful way of achieving these goals ... But the map is by no means only medium through ... Written narrative and description hold as significant a place as cartographic representation in the history of geographical practice (Cosgrove, 2012, p.6)

These travel texts can also be used to follow the history of the cities and will be helpful in comparing the representation of the cities and their context in maps. How much of the text is actually represented in these maps?

This thesis will be separated into distinct sections, each covering one era of Cypriot history. Each section will include the history and description of the cities in comparison to their representation, and will perhaps also allow us to see the changing context of the each city in that era. The last part of the each section will tighten the aperture to allow an analysis of the selected maps of each city. An additional section will address the wider cartography of the period to understand the relationship of the world’s cartography with the narrower focus of Cypriot cartography.

Certainly there are several limitations for this type of research. The first is the lack of information about the maps, map makers and patronage: who were they for? When were they made? By whom? Where? And not least, why? Another limitation is that most of the maps were made by European map makers, resulting in a one-sided evaluation in the absence of a map of Cypriot cities made by an Asian cartographer. With these considerations in mind, we may proceed.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Maps are visual sources of history. They are related to history and reflect it. Similarly to other sources, therefore, maps can be biased: they do not always reflect reality or the true image of a city. L. Barrow draws attention to the fact that maps can be used to manipulate the past when he writes, “Maps present history and contain history; they explain what has happened and they show difference and similarities across time. Maps and history are interlinked” (Barrow, 2003, p.1). J.B. Harley also explains ‘maps as historical source’ emphasizing that “Maps are a graphic language to be decoded. They are a construction of reality, images laden with intentions and consequences that can be studied in the societies of their time” (Harley, 2001, p.36). Manners emphasizes that maps are more than just a representation of a place and he clarifies this in “Constructing the image of a city: the representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti’s *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*” where he declares, “Maps are vehicles for encoding and conveying a wide range of concepts, ideas, conditions, processes, or events in the human world” (Manners, 1997, p.96). In short, a map is not merely an image. It is a coded image relating to time, place, politics, culture, history, etc. Maps are able to portray a city’s geographical features, social and cultural structure and its historical background. Miller drives the point home, saying:

Our study of comparative pictorial documentation and literary sources not only enables us to visualize the physical aspects of the city but also to enhance our understanding of its historical and cultural components. At the same time, we may achieve a deeper awareness of the imminent revolution in cartographic studies. (Miller, 1998, p.49)

Additionally, Harley states that, “Maps become a source to reveal the philosophical, political, or religious outlook of a period, or what is sometimes called the spirit of the age” (Harley, 2001, p.46). Edney quotes Skelton saying “the content of maps has undergone continuous change through time” and it is “this changing context that gives maps significance as documents for social, economic, and political history” (Edney, 2005, p.713). The urban maps capture the socio-political and cultural contexts of the cities, giving detailed information about the city itself, its physical appearance and its context throughout the history.

The science of cartography had its main developments during the late 15th century after the maps of Ptolemy were found and copied, then improved upon (Short, 2003, p.103). Various kinds, and large numbers, of maps and atlases were produced, and due to technological improvements and new discoveries, the symbolic maps of the medieval period were gradually replaced with accurate, reliable and detailed ones (Bagrow, 1985, p.105). Harvey states that “...by the late fifteenth century this form of plan showing towns by little more than pictures of their walls and their most notable buildings, had become quite out of keeping with trends towards realism in contemporary Italian art” (Harvey, 1980, p.75). During the 16th century the production of detailed urban maps, and especially realistic bird’s-eye views increased (Harvey, 1980, p.83), after which creating lifelike representations of cities became a priority (Manners, 1997, p.94). The reliability and accuracy continued to increase in later centuries.

On the other hand, maps do not always depict absolute reality, leading Wright to comment that “over-all picture that a map presents, but this does not mean that the map in its every

particularly presents the gospel truth” (Wright, 1942, p.531). He quotes from Hans Speier’s work *Magic Geography*:

They (maps) can be drawn to symbolize changes, or as blueprints of the future. They may make certain traits and properties of the world they depict more intelligible – or may distort or deny them. Instead of unknown relationships of facts they may reveal policies or illustrate doctrines. They may give information, but they may also plead. Maps can be symbols of conquest or tokens of revenge, instruments for airing grievances or expressions of pride. (Wright, 1942, p.530)

For different purposes the truth can be manipulated on maps so they do not always reflect reality, or can even change it. The cities of Cyprus are certainly a powerful case in point of this phenomenon. Even though maps and history are intimately related, maps do not, and cannot illustrate every change in the cultural and historical life of a city. Harley emphasizes that to interpret the maps as historical documents, various contexts should be studied: the cartographer’s context, other maps’ context and the context of society itself (Harley, 2001). The first factor is the cartographer. The choice of map maker probably has the strongest effect on maps and representations of cities, as they choose what to include, how much to depict and what to omit. Wright emphasizes that in his article that “Map makers are human,” saying that they do not always depict reality, for example when maps are used for propaganda. In addition, map makers can add imaginary elements to hide “inadequate or even adequate source materials,” or add personal bias, which lead to less reliable maps (Wright, 1942).

Harley emphasizes that “The significance of maps – and much of their meaning in the past – derives from the fact that people make them to tell other people about the places or space they have experienced” (Harley, 1987, p.2)¹. Manners states that “...the maps show the city as known, as experienced, as remembered, as imagined by different artists and copies” (Manners, 1997, p.77). However, in some cases of Cypriot maps, the map maker did not present the cities. In those cases, maps that were created earlier and especially other observers’ gaze towards and writings about the cities become an important source for both cartographers and us to link the map and the text.

Another point is the meaning of the city for the cartographer and how it reflects on the representation. Kagan explores the difference between the *urbs* (physical unit) and *civitas* (human association) (Kagan, 2000, p.9), which creates two different images of the city: communicentric and chorographic views. Chorographic views of a city give its description as ‘an architectural entity’ (Kagan, 2000, p.15). Kagan states that “‘chorographic’ view, the city as seen by individuals who attempted to offer, in so far as the technical capacities of the era allowed, a complete and comprehensible visual record of particular place” (Kagan, 1998, p.76). The communicentric view focuses on the community, as he emphasizes that:

They [communicentric views] tended rather in the direction of metaphor, seeking to define, via the image of *urbs*, the meaning of *civitas*: the idea of the city as a community with a special, distinctive character along with the memories and traditions that served to distinguish that community from another. (Kagan, 2000, p.16)

¹ J. B. Harley, The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography, in History of Cartography Vol.1, pp. 1-42.

Kagan emphasizes the difference between the representation of cities just being a descriptive image or giving the true essence of the city (Kagan, 1998; 2000). To understand the image of Cypriot cities, the difference between the representation and the meaning of the city for the cartographer should be considered.

Maps can have both objective and subjective elements (Wright, 1942, p.527). Besides the choices of map maker, the cartographer's context also creates links with the patronage and the purpose of the map. Map makers portray the map and illustrate reality according to the wishes of the patron. Harley emphasizes that "the patron is now a larger public or perhaps a special interest group, such as the consumers of highway maps, who look over the cartographer's shoulder to influence what is being mapped" (Harley, 2001, p.41). In some cases, cartographers became 'puppets' controlled by others (Harley, 2001, p.40).

Additionally, the *raison d'être* of the map influences its overall appearance, as different purposes require different information, and these can often be unclear (Harley, 2001, p.39). A map can be published for several kinds of user (Harley, 2001, p.39), or several purposes at once. Accordingly a map can be quite far away from detached objective reality or can, on the other hand, create a mirror image of it. Harvey explains that the development of topographical maps often hid imaginary elements, and so he emphasizes that

...imaginary or conventionalized pictures appear on these maps as well as real views. The pictures of towns, castles, forests and mountains might bear little relation to their actual appearance or none at all; they merely marked the presence of a particular type of settlement or landscape. (Harvey, 1980, p.65)

In addition to the common representation of a city's physical image therefore, elaborate and covert symbolic meanings affects the image as well. Manners points out that "As Cosgrove and Daniels have observed, 'every culture weaves its world out of image and symbol,' and maps are an integral element in this process" (Manners, 1997, p.97). He emphasizes the representation of a city was always related to its symbolic meaning even after the developments in detailed map making. He wrote that

...as a result of cartographic developments during this period (15th century), the city's features could be located and portrayed with greater accuracy than ever, yet as actually constructed the maps continued to be imbued both deliberately and unconsciously with symbolic meaning. (Manners, 1997, p.73)

Religion is another crucial factor in the representation of cities and the common image. Religion must be considered when perusing the representation of cities, as it determines a city's identity. This is an important factor especially in the Mediterranean region where Christianity and Islam so often clashed, and especially in any study of Cyprus. The destinies of Cypriot cities', like that of Jerusalem, were implicitly tied up with religion and conflict, and what is left to us are the 'Euro-centric' views of map makers who could not be impartial or immune to prevailing attitudes (Harley, 2001, p.101).

Silences are also a phenomena that have to be observed, and understood, in maps. There are various factors that can cause silences: lack of information, technical limitations, errors, geographical ignorance, etc. (Harley, 2001, p.85). Harley also focuses on political silences in his article "Silences and Secrecy" (Harley, 2001) in which he separates silences that were deliberate from those which were unintentional (Harley, 2001, pp.84-107). He emphasizes

that in some cases it is hard to understand which kind of silence is on the map (Harley, 2001, pp.105-6).

There are many other factors that can have an effect on map making, such as technological developments or limitations, lack of information, mapping foreign or unknown cultures, or mapping an enemy territory. This thesis will analyse the changing representation of Cypriot cities and their changing context, and try to determine the factors behind these changes.

Chapter 3

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS OF CARTOGRAPHY AND CYPRIOT CARTOGRAPHY

3.1 The Venetian Era Cartography

Map making became ‘a craft that required the mastery’ of many disciplines like mathematics, and philosophy after the Medieval period (Miller, 2003, p.6). The study of cartography improved specifically after 1453 when scholars brought Greek manuscripts from Constantinople to Italy (Bagrow, 1985, pp.34-5), where they were translated into Latin. During the 15th century, Ptolemy’s maps were also translated and copied. In addition, important new developments occurred responding to the great age of discoveries, and in response to the invention of a moveable type of printing by Gutenberg (Bagrow, 1985, p.89). This invention of the printing press increased the demand for, and popularity of, maps which were becoming more accurate and more accessible via woodcut, and copper plate techniques (Bagrow, 1985, p.89; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.12). During the 16th century new developments in cosmography, for example in the works of Peter Apian and Gemma Frisius made map measurements and calculations much more accurate too (Short, 2003, pp.106-7). Surveying and map making were on converging courses which caused further advances in the accuracy of the maps. During the 16th century there was a rise in the number of maps produced and these were varied forms of atlases, isolarios (books of islands), portolan charts (guides to navigation between harbours along a coast or in sea crossings) (Bagrow, 1985, p.62), regional maps, and urban maps. They were used widely now for military, administrative or decorative purposes (Barber & Harber, 2010, p.16).

Venice, perhaps because of its maritime tradition, was one of the most important cartography centres during the 16th century. Bagrow wrote “In the previous century (15th century) Venice had already become a clearinghouse for the latest geographical information; and the development of cartography was further promoted by the accomplishment of her craftsmen in the arts of wood and copper-engraving” (Bagrow, 1985, p.133). Rome was also an important map making centre (Tooley, 1978, p.20), and so, from these two cities emerged Battista Agnese’s sea atlases, Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti’s isolarios, and other cartographers like, Giacomo Gastaldi, Antonio Lafreri, Donato and Ferando Bertelli and Giovanni Francesco Camocio.

Another important kind of cartography was urban. During the 15th century most city maps were based primarily on imagination. The map makers showed a few buildings inside the walls, but the remaining details were imaginary. At the end of the 15th century, city maps had started to improve and detailed examples were produced (Harvey, 1980, p.75), such as Jacopo de’ Barbari’s map of Venice. In the 16th century detailed, close to reality, plans of cities were produced (Harvey, 1980, p.83), to the point that Manners emphasized that “By the sixteenth century, the claim ‘to mirror reality’ had become fundamental to the topographic view (Manners, 1997, pp.94-5).

Prints and woodcuts of cities were invariably described as being true and lifelike and the perspective plan had emerged as the dominant form of topographic representation (Manners, 1997, pp.94-5). In addition, surveying improved in this century so besides artists as map

makers, surveyors produced urban maps as well (Harvey, 1980, p.83). Cities were mapped in three different ways; “prospect” view (from the side), “plan” or “aerial” view (from directly above) and “bird’s eye view” (obliquely from above) (Short, 2003, p.120; Woodward, 2007, p.1532). Bird’s eye view maps were the most common ones to show a city (Bruisseret, 1998, p.xi). One important work in this period was *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cities of the World) by Braun and Hogenberg in Cologne, Germany, in 1572. This work included important city maps (Short, 2003, p.133), one of which was Famagusta.

The purpose of these city plans could be various such as military (in order to show military architecture), or administrative (to show lands of a landlord). During this period, the use of maps for administration and warfare raised their value, and bird’s eye view maps became common in military operations (Harvey, 1980, p.169). Battles and sieges were also depicted in reports of such events to reach a large audience. Conflict between the Occident and the Ottoman Empire were particularly popular (Woodward, 2007, p.1244). The development in map making, and the history of Cyprus, coincided perfectly at this point to leave us a vitally important cartographic legacy of key events in the island’s history.

3.2 The Venetian Era Cypriot Cartography

During the Lusignan period, and because Cyprus was at the crossroads of trade routes, the island was illustrated in many maps. In addition, Venice and Genoa were both important centres for trade and cartography, and so the island was represented on their maps as an important trade centre (Navari, 2003, p.23). One of the earliest known depictions of Cyprus was Sonetti’s isolario of 1480. During the 16th century, other isolarios that illustrated the island were produced too (Navari, 2003, p.24). In addition, the island appeared in portolan charts, near the beginning of the 14th century. Vesconte’s map showed an improvement in the island’s depiction but after this, progress was slow until end of the 15th century. During this time other cartographers depicted the island as well, notably Benincasa’s map in 1460’s (Navari, 2003, p.23).

During the Venetian period on the island, Venice dominated Cypriot cartography as an important cartography centre (Navari, 2003, pp.25-6). Matheo Pagano’s (Fig. 1) was a significant map of island from 1538 which also showed the names of places (Navari, 2003, p.25), as was Leonida Attar’s in 1542 (Romanelli & Grivaud, 2006, p.14). Then because of the siege of 1571, large numbers of maps were drawn as far away as Germany and these are now vital historical sources (Marangou, 2002, p.87).



Figure 1: Matheo Pagano, “Isola de Cipro”, Venice, 1538.

Because of the Turkish threat, the Venetians started to work on the fortifications of Nicosia and Famagusta and so they prepared plans of both cities. In retrospect, the town plans of Nicosia and Famagusta were also published in order to illustrate the siege between the Venetians and Ottomans (Navari, 2003, p.26; Marangou, 2002, p.124). In the 16th century, because of the power of the Ottomans and their threat to Europeans, a war between the West and East was noteworthy. An important event such as the war in Cyprus turned many eyes to the island which caused an increase in map production. Camocio’s and Braun and Hogenberg’s maps were perhaps the most significant ones and they were copied by many other cartographers. One example is Münster’s map from 1578 which was based on Braun and Hogenberg map (Stylianou, 1980, p.26; Navari, 2003, p.94), and published in Münster’s *Cosmographia* (Cat No: 10). It did not depict the siege but there was a description of the siege in the *Cosmographia* as well (Navari, 2003, p.94, Fig. 2). Another example was Pinargenti’s map which was based on Camocio’s map (Cat No: 11)(Navari, 2003, p.47).

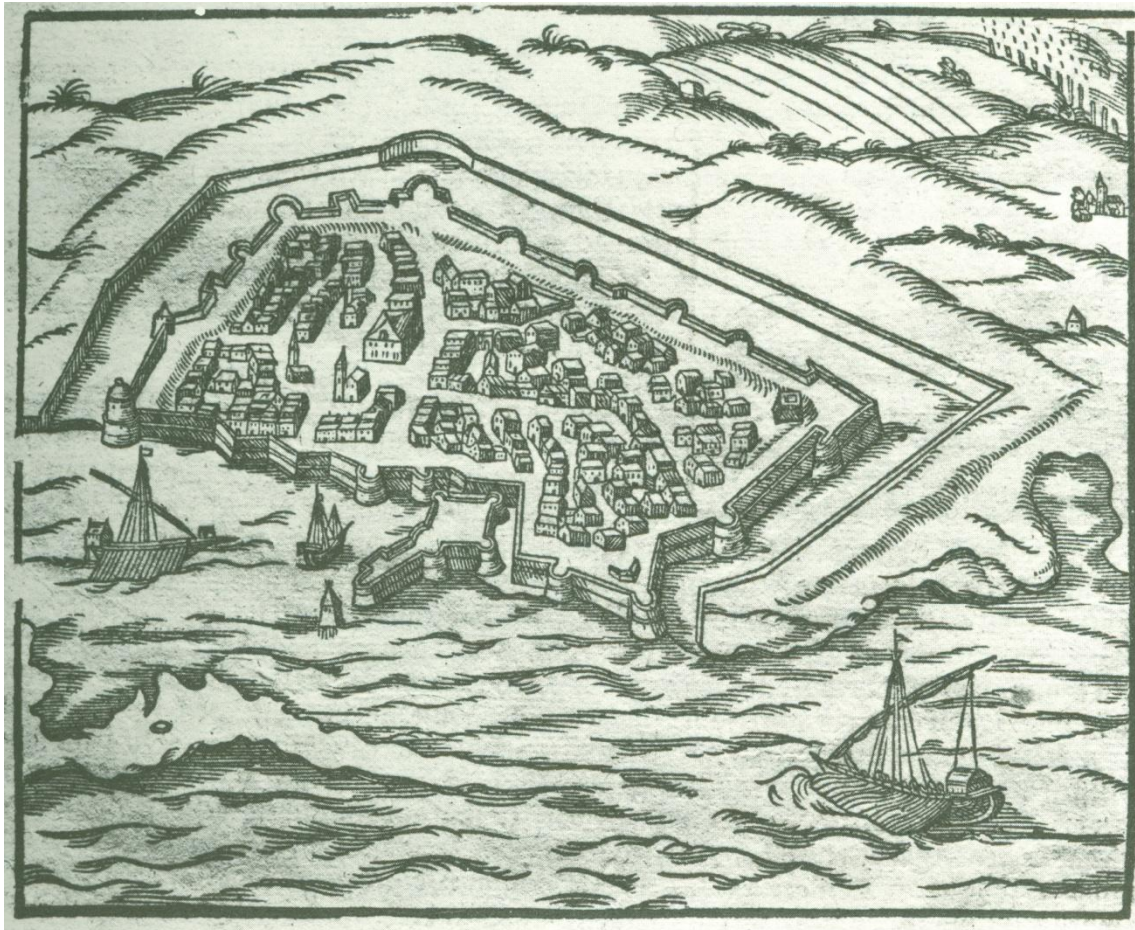


Figure 2: Sebastian Münster, “Famagusta”, Basel, 1578.

Before the appearance of the urban maps, we can see depictions of cities on isalarios. From the Ottoman Empire, Piri Reis was the only one who illustrated the island. Piri Reis was a navigator, and a cartographer, captain under the Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent’s navy (Yılmaz, 2012, p.1-4). Other than his two world maps, he also created an isolario *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. The first edition was published in 1521 and the second one in 1526 after improvements (Loupis, 1999, p.37). The book included maps of all coasts of Mediterranean and Aegean Sea with information relating geographical features, and descriptions of the places (Yılmaz, 2012, p.3). The information about the coasts includes anchorage location, ports, depths, landscape, climate, economy, religion, water, etc. (Yılmaz, 2012, p.8).

Piri Reis also created map of Cyprus in this work, under the name “Eschkjal Qybrys” (form of Cyprus) (Fig. 3). He gives information about the island such as anchorage locations, depths of bays, landscape, castles and villages, etc. (Yılmaz, 2012, p.8). Famagusta and Nicosia were illustrated as the two major cities on the island. Famagusta was illustrated with a walled city and in the middle a bell tower; St. Nicholas Cathedral and its port. Nicosia lays in the middle of the island and was represented with a fortification. Inside he added several buildings and towers. Other port cities were represented with few buildings at coastline to show best locations to anchorage.



Figure 3: Piri Reis, “Eschkjal Qybrys”, in *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, 1521

However, after Piri Reis there is no other detailed work of cartography like *Kitab-ı Bahriye* by Eastern cartographers. As Soucek explains “The sultan and the rest of the Ottoman governing elite failed to grasp the value of Piri Reis’s work, and this neglect had adverse consequences not only for him: the opportunity to create an Ottoman-Turkish school of cartography and cosmography vanished with him. The sultan had Ibrahim Pasha executed in 1536; and although the *Kitabı Bahriye* continued to be copied for almost two centuries, it was a pursuit frozen in time” (Soucek, 2013, p.141).

The most famous map of Cyprus is probably the Bertelli’s map (Fig. 4), showing the island with representations of its two important cities; Nicosia and Famagusta. The map was appeared 11 years before the conquest, in 1560 with signature of B. F. Two years later in 1562, a map signed by Bertelli was published in Rome (Navari, 2003, p.50; Stylianou, 1980, p. 28). The map shows the two cities surrounded by walls. They are not realistic images of the cities but give the idea about them, especially for Famagusta as its shape is close the shape of the fortification; almost rectangular. The map maker also added the Venetian lion as the representation of the Venetian rule on the island. Nicosia’s representation is more far away than today’s look, as the city’s fortification was changed during the Venetian period due to the constructions of walls against the Ottoman assaults. The city was depicted with the Frankish fortification (Navari, 2003, p.50). Instead of the city, Larnaca, St. Lazarus Church was illustrated on the map and close to it, Salines with the salt lake. Limassol and Kyrenia (Cerines) was represented with a few buildings and Paphos with a small fortified city.



Figure 4: Ferrandus Bertelli, “Isola di Cipro”, in *Precedaitium clunibus Impone[n]tes Ambitus eius fertur.MMMCDXX. Romae.MDLXII*, 1562, Rome.

3.3 The Ottoman Era Cartography

At the some point during the second half of the 16th century, and into the 17th century, the centre of cartography moved from Italy to the Netherlands and in particular Antwerp, Duisburg and Amsterdam. Tooley wrote that “For accuracy according to the knowledge of their time, magnificence of presentation and richness of decoration, the Dutch maps of this period have never been surpassed” (Tooley, 1978, p.29). Two important cartographers in particular shaped the 17th century’s scientific approach to the discipline Abraham Ortelius was a cartographer from Antwerp (Short, 2003, p.122) and his great work was the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* also called “Atlas of the whole world” published in 1570 (Tooley, 2003, p.29; Bagrow, 1985, p.186). His work was published several times, in 1595 and in 1603, and in 1724, at first, in Latin and then in various other languages. Short wrote about importance of this atlas that “*The Theatrum* marked a revolutionary change in cartography. Perspective rather than narrative dominates. It is the first true embodiment of the geographical gaze and the chorographical eye” (Short, 2003, pp.124-5). Ortelius’ atlas became an inspiration for other 17th century cartographers.

The second significant cartographer of the period was Gerardus Mercator who invented a new technique known as “Mercator’s projection” where by “the world was represented as a square, with the polar regions flattened out to the same extent as the equator” (Short, 2003, p.127). Cyprus was part of this project (Short, 2003, p.124). At the end of the 16th century Mercator’s atlas was published and around 1604 the plates were sold to Jodocus Hondius, who published copies of the atlas throughout the 17th century (Short, 2003, p.129).

Another important cartographer of the 17th century was Willem Blaeu who was a mathematician, astronomer and instrument maker. He published a series of atlases in Amsterdam at the beginning of the 17th century, after which he became official cartographer

to the East India Company. After Blaeu died his son, Joan continued the business and he published a 600 map *Atlas Major*. Short praised his work saying that “It marked the high point of the 17th century Dutch cartography, and is the largest atlas ever produced” (Short, 2003, pp.130-1).

After the dominance of the Netherlands in the 17th century, Britain, and especially France, took important steps in cartography principally for military and naval reasons (Short, 2003, p.176). The map of the entire country of France was published, by César François from the Cassini family, which was the “finest work of its kind up to that time” (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.10). The surveys and maps that were made in France were inspirational for other countries as well (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.125).

The accuracy of maps became more reliable because of new developments and improvements in the science of cartography (Short, 2003, pp.148-9; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, pp.143-4), such as the development of the chronometer by Harrison (which helped to increase of the accuracy with better calculations of longitude). Each nation placed great importance on mapping their own territories, and so national surveys started and organizations formed for this purpose; for example in Britain the Ordnance Survey Office (1791), later the Hydrographic Office, (Short, 2003, p.176; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.10) and in France the Institut Géographique National (“map”, 2011, para. 25).

British cartography was improving too as new discoveries were made by important British cartographers and astronomers, such as Edmund Halley (who discovered the comet which was named after him in 1705) (Short, 2003, p.148). By the end of the 18th century, that British cartography had become the leader in this field may be due to its premier maritime status, the expansion of the East India Company, and the new discoveries by James Cook in the Pacific. His maps were significant as they “clarified the true outline of the world’s lands and seas for the first time” (Steffoff, 1995, p.63). The invention of the chronometer and also colonization and expansion of the empire were also crucial (Short, 2003, p.139; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, pp.143-4). As a consequence of these developments even local mapping was in development as well.

About the urban mapping, Short wrote “the European enlightenment city was carefully planned by the rich and powerful as a symbol of their nation’s strength and sophistication” (Short, 2003, p.150). Maps of these cities were also growing and becoming more detailed, such as the bird’s eye view maps of Paris made by Louis Bretez (Short, 2003, p.150). Another example is the map of Rome by Giambattista Nolli which portrayed the city’s public and private buildings, streets, open spaces and even some of the buildings’ inner plans. Additionally, another kind of mapping was growing in sophistication: nautical charts. Nautical charts are based on hydrographic surveys that point out the information necessary for maritime navigation, such as depth (shown by numbers on the chart).

3.4 The Ottoman Era Cypriot Cartography

If in the 16th century Cypriot cartography was in its golden age, by the 17th century it was a thing of the past. Marangou emphasized this, saying “Thus during the 17th and 18th centuries Cyprus practically disappeared off the maps and the interest of cartographers turned more towards Greece and the cartography of Aegean islands” (Marangou, 2003, p.138).

Old maps such as Ortelius' of 1573 were copied by many other cartographers, such as Hondius in 1606 and Blaeu in 1635. Miniature maps were also published which are also mainly based on the Ortelius map of Cyprus (Navari, 2003, p.27). Many maritime charts were produced, illustrating the ports, harbours, rivers, etc. for navigation and commercial factors (Steffoff, 1995, p.202). French cartographer was Joseph Roux who published harbour charts in his two works the *Carte de la Mer Méditerranée* (Map of the Mediterranean Sea) and the *Recueil* (Collection) also included Cyprus' harbour charts and these were first published in 1764 in Marseilles (Navari, 2003, pp.264-6).

Coronelli was a Venetian cartographer and the official cosmographer of the Venetian Republic. Stylianou wrote that "...but the decline of the art of cartography in the country of its renaissance was coming to an end. For there appeared at this time in Venice the great Vincenzo Maria Coronelli who brought about a second geographical and cartographical renaissance in his native city" (Stylianou, 1980, p.103). In addition, because of rise of Larnaca harbour instead of Famagusta, maps and plans of Larnaca and later Limassol appeared in this era (Stylianou, 1980, p.96).

Other maps came from travel texts whereby travellers wrote about their experiences and observations, and accompanied their descriptions with maps of places that they had visited. R. Pococke who travelled to Cyprus in 1738 (Stylianou, 1980, pp.136-7), and another Englishman, Alexander Drummond who stayed in Cyprus in 1745 to 1750, are good examples (Stylianou, 1980, p.137-8). Even though these maps were inspired by the older works of cartographers like Coronelli, Blaeu, Ortelius, and others, they also had additional information like place names or detailed descriptions of the island.

3.5 The British Era Cartography

In this era, the dominance of French cartography had ended, and British cartography became dominant probably because of its naval power (Steffoff, 1995, p.127). Mapping became easier and cheaper because of new technologies such as mechanical printing, and cheap paper, and so maps reached a large audience (Short, 2003, p.162). New inventions had been introduced to cartography, such as lithography, which was invented by Aloys Senefelder in 1798, and decreased costs which allowed the rise of map reproduction (Short, 2003, p.181). The use of lithography was also easier because the map maker could draw directly on the material they used so it was faster than the copper plate process (Tooley, 1978, p.xiv; Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.13). Before lithography, steel engraving had been used instead of copper, as it was a durable material for reuse, and permitted the map maker to draw finer, detailed lines ("Information- printing methods", para. 13) By the middle of the 19th century modern and scientific maps were being produced, and the oceans of the world were completely surveyed (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.38). Internationally, the overall scale of 25 inches to one mile was accepted for a survey (Bannister & Moreland, 1989, p.49). The individual input of map makers decreased (Marangou, 2003, p.154), as decorative aspects started to disappear. Because of the scientific level and increasing accuracy of maps, a certain level of standardization was also inevitable (Steffoff, 1995, p.64). In short, map decorations were no longer a priority (Edney, 2005, p.715).

Additionally, different kinds of maps were produced, such as climate maps, diseases, population, social difference and others (Miller, 2000, p.15). Also maps were used for propaganda. One example Short mentioned was "during the struggle for global dominance

between Britain and Germany in the late 19th century many German maps showed British imperial designs for dominance; the British Empire was often depicted as a set of dangerous tentacles strangling the globe” (Short, 2003, p.206).

During the second half of the 19th century, in particular many detailed city maps were created (Short, 2003, p.181). Although bird’s eye view maps were not popular in Europe anymore, they were still widely used in America and Canada (Short, 2003, p.181). One important development was the emergence of the “Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge” which was founded in 1826 in England. One of the missions of the Society was to publish maps of up to 200 urban sites (Short, 2003, p.180). The maps of the Society were “elegant and simple”, public buildings were easily identified and some had a bird’s eye view. During the period of rapid industrial growth, maps became evidence for the rate and direction of growth (Short, 2003, p.181).

3.6 The British Era Cypriot Cartography

Under rule of the British administration Cypriot cartography moved in to the hands of British cartographers. New surveys were made, and new and more accurate maps of the island were produced (Stylianou, 1980, p.151). In 1849, Captain Thomas Graves of the Royal Navy made the first scientific hydrographical survey of the island (Marangou, 2002, p.142). The rising strategic importance of the island also meant that French and Austrian cartographers became interested in Cyprus (Navari, 2003, p.28), especially Napoleon III who had an interest in the island as a “base for control over Asia Minor, Syria, Turkey and Egypt” (Stylianou, 1980, p.151). Gaudry and Damour produced a map of the island in 1854 and Henry Kiepert produced another in 1877 in Berlin (Stylianou, 1980, pp.152-3). Similarly to the previous centuries, maps were produced by travellers in this century as well. One prominent example is Louis de Mas Latrie who visited Cyprus in 1845, and depicted the island on many maps (Stylianou, 1980, p.152). Mas Latrie worked on the history and archaeology of Cyprus specifically, and created a three volume *History of Cyprus*, (between 1852 and 1861) and in 1862, volume one appeared with a *Carte de l’Ile de Chypre* (Map of the island of Cyprus) (Navari, 2003, p.296). In addition, administrative reports to the British Empire showed the historical and geographical situation of the island in this period (Stylianou, 1980, pp.154-5). There was no updated map of the island so new surveys started especially because of taxation. After that, in addition to the survey by Captain Graves, in 1879 new surveys were begun by Lieutenant Horatio Herbert Kitchener, who carried out a trigonometrical survey of the island, and this was published by Edward Stanford in 1885 (Navari, 2003, pp.28-9; Stylianou, 1980, p.156, Fig. 5). Sir Garnet Wolseley, the first High Commissioner of Cyprus, did not want such detailed maps because they cost a lot and took a long time, but when he was replaced by Sir Robert Biddulph, Kitchener was able to complete the map of Cyprus (Stylianou, 1980, p.156; Luscombe, para. 5).

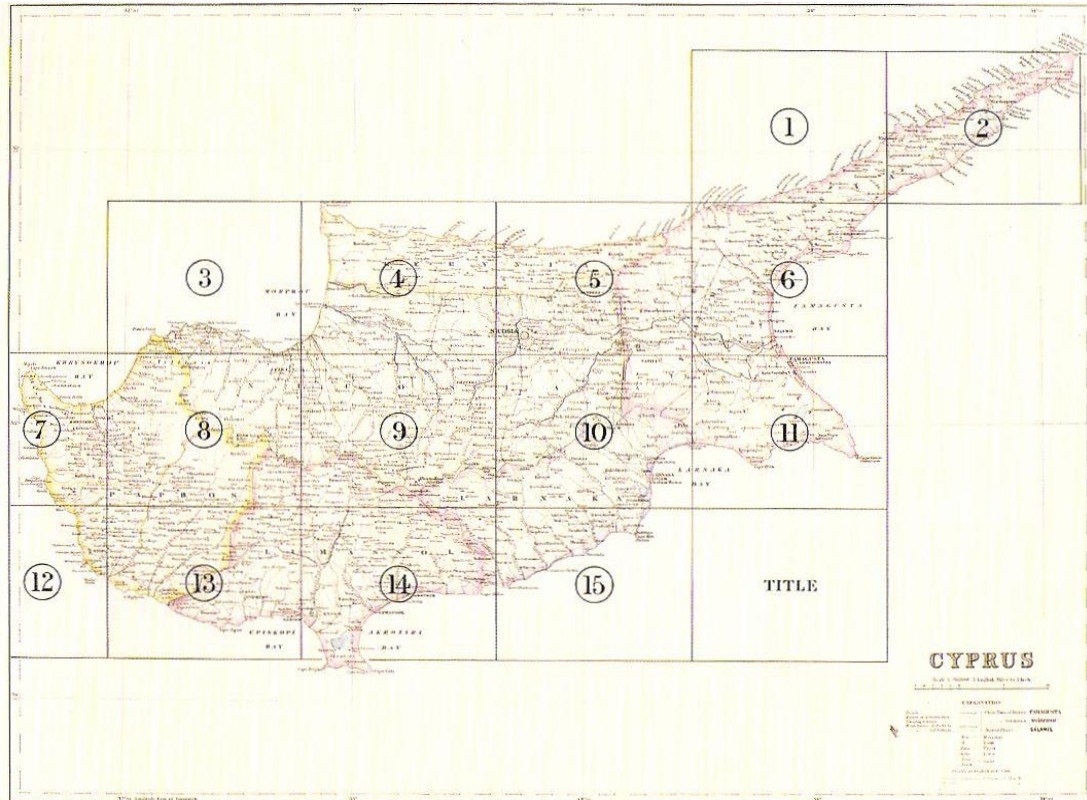


Figure 5: Captain Horatio Herbert Kitchener, “A trigonometrical survey of the island of Cyprus”, London, 1885

In addition to new surveys and because of the new constructions for the improvement of the condition of the island, maps as reports were produced such as that of A. L. Mansell and J. Millard in 1878-9 (Marangou, 2002, p.167). Much later, aerial photography was used in order to remap the island (in 1957) but this stopped in 1960 with the establishment of the independent Republic of Cyprus.

Chapter 4

FAMAGUSTA MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

4.1 The Venetian Era Famagusta Maps

4.1.1 History of Famagusta

Having one of the most important harbours in Cyprus, Famagusta is a port city located on the eastern coast of the island. The city has its roots in an ancient, powerful and rich city called Salamis which once stood 7km north of Famagusta and served as the capital city around 550 B.C. However, the city was destroyed into ruins by giant waves and was rebuilt by Emperor Constantia at the beginning of the 4th century after suffering several earthquakes. After being rebuilt, there were still constant attacks as part of the Arab invasions, which eventually destroyed the city completely in 648 A.D. (Gunnis, 1947, pp.419-20). As a result of this destruction, a new settlement, Arsinoe (Amochostos) which was populated with refugees from Salamis, was built on the site where today's Famagusta stands. The Latin name of the city is Famagusta, which was only preferred in later eras. Similarly, its Arabic name of it is *Al-Maghoussa*, which is close to today's Turkish name *Mağusa* (Uluca & Akın, 2008, p.52). Famagusta became the island's main port and a significant city in its history.

When Acre fell in 1291, the island's and the city's importance increased quickly (Enlart, 1987, p.210), and during the 14th century, Famagusta experienced its glory days. Located on important trade routes, Famagusta in particular was a significant port city with an administration and economy based on commerce (Uluca & Akın, 2008, p.72). The Muslim conquests of the Levantine coastline and with it the movement of refugees from the Frankish states of the Levant to Famagusta, also assisted its rise (Jacoby, 1989). In addition, Edbury points out that the arrival of refugees from Christian ports, particularly from Acre, and comprising from different nationalities especially Genoese, Venetian or Pisans, caused the rise of commercial activities in Famagusta harbour (Edbury, 1999, p.337). Famagusta became one of the wealthiest cities in the region during the 14th century under the Lusignans rule and when St. Nicholas Cathedral was built as the coronation place for the Kings of Jerusalem (Gunnis, 1947, p.18; Enlart, 1987, p.224). The population and wealth of the city increased so much so that a traveller who visited Cyprus between 1336 and 1341 Von Suchen, wrote, "It is the richest of all cities, and her citizens are the richest of men. But I dare not speak of their precious stones and golden tissues and other riches, for it were a thing unheard of and incredible" (Cobham, 1908, pp.19-20). However, the city's religious, economic and political importance did not continue.

The city was occupied by the Genoese in 1373, (Gunnis, 1947, p.18), who tried to maintain Famagusta as the main harbour of the island, but despite their efforts, its economic decline began (Marangou, 2002, p.100; Marangou, 2003, p.187). The Genoese invasion of the city caused great damage to its wealth, trade relations and more importantly its inhabitants. Additionally, plague affected the city, causing large numbers of deaths (Cobham, 1908, p.22)². In 1394, Martoni wrote about his impression of Famagusta that "a great part, almost a

² Martoni's account; pp.22-28

third, is uninhabited, and the houses are destroyed, and this has been done since the date of the Genoese lordship” (Cobham, 1908, p.22). In 1464, the Lusignan dynasty regained control but their period ended in 1489 with the abdication of Catherine Cornaro, and the secession of the island to Venice (Hill, 1952, pp.765-7; Gunnis, 1947, pp.18-9).

Because of its location, the Venetians were always interested in Cyprus, and during their period they used the island as a military base. The city and harbour did not regain their former glory. With the upcoming threat from the Ottoman Empire, the government focused on the reconstruction of the fortification of Nicosia and Famagusta. The conquest of the island was started in 1570 and Famagusta was the last city between the Ottomans’ victory and the Venetians. The city would fall a year later.

4.1.1.1 The Siege of Famagusta, 1571

During the 16th century, Famagusta was under the rule of the Venetians in which time they started to work to improve the condition of the city (Langdale, 2010); they worked on the defence of the city and constructed the fortification (Jeffery, 1918, p.105). Langdale wrote “When the Venetians gained control of Cyprus in 1489 they undertook a program of modernization which would stamp the civic center, port, and fortifications with the emblems of Venetian dominion” (Langdale, 2010, p.156). As the renovations were underway travellers who visited emphasized its walls and its strength in their writings. For example Jacques Le Saige wrote in 1518 that, “We were greatly astonished to see so strong a city” (Cobham, 1908, p.56) and Elias of Pesaro described the city in 1563 saying that “It is a fortified town, girt with a double wall, commanded by a fine large and solid castle” (Cobham, 1908, p.73). However, following the catastrophic Genoese period when both the wealth and the population of the city went into serious decline, the condition of the city was hard to revive. Also, the city suffered from two earthquakes in 1546 and 1568 (Enlart, 1987, p.212). Even though the glory of the city had decreased substantially, Sultan Selim II started the conquest of the island in 1570, returning the attention to Famagusta the war between the Venetians and the Ottoman Empire began.

The siege was undoubtedly the most important event of the century in Famagusta and so texts and maps were created which described and depicted it in depth. The conquest of the island for example; was described by, amongst others, Paolo Paruta who wrote about what happened during the siege of Famagusta (Cobham, 1908, pp.97-119) and Fra Angelo Calepio, Superior of the Dominican Convent in Nicosia, who witnessed the conquest of the island and wrote about his experiences giving details about the siege (Cobham, 1908, pp.122-62). In addition to texts, maps were also important sources of information for this significant event and so images of the besieged city were common throughout the latter years of the 16th century.

The Ottoman navy appeared in front of the Limassol castle on June 2, 1570. By October, they had already taken almost all of Cyprus’ cities including Nicosia after which their attention turned to Famagusta. In front of the city the Ottoman troops, as Paruta described “spread out their whole force along the shore on the other side, where it stretches for three miles from the city to the sea” (Cobham, 1908, p.109). The Turkish historian Arif Dede pointed out that the Ottoman commanders admire the strong fortification of the city and they knew the city wouldn’t fall easily (Fedai, 1997, p.133).

Preparations began for the siege that would be needed to break through the city's strong defences. The Ottoman troops mainly attacked to the tower of Arsenal and the Ravelin (Land Gate) therefore, guns were placed on the south west side of the wall. Calepio wrote:

The works attacked lay between the Limisso gate and the Arsenal, and five distinct cannonades were made, one against the great tower of the Arsenal, upon which they fired with the five guns in the fort on the rock: a second against the curtain of the Arsenal, from a fort mounting eleven guns: a third against the great tower of the Antruci and the two cavaliers above it, from a fort also mounting eleven guns: a fourth against the great tower of S. Nappa upon which they directed the four basilisks. The Limisso gate, which had a high cavalier above, and a ravelin outside, was battered from the counterworks with thirty-three cannon the general of the host, Mustafa, being himself present. (Cobham, 1908, p.151)

For days the fire between the sides continued (Mariti, 1971, p.179). Next the Ottomans started to dig the earth so their soldiers could walk without being seen, and with the surplus soil create platforms from where they could shoot (Cobham, 1908, p.110)³. Undermining in several places began next, especially near the Arsenal (Cobham, 1908, p.112)⁴, and also the Ravelin (Mariti, 1971, p.180). Beside the battle raging on land, at sea the Ottoman ships surrounded the city and others carried supplies and soldiers while some Christian vessels observed from a safe distance. Fra Angelo Calepio, in his book *Chorografia* in 1573 wrote about his experience as a prisoner, sold to a captain, and taken to Constantinople. During his second imprisonment he collected information on the siege of Famagusta and recorded carefully the narrative of an officer Count Nestore Martinengo and that of Jacques de Lusignan (a monk, descendant of Jacques I the King of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia). In this text, he wrote that

On the 27th our galleys captured a Turkish palandra with the pay of the camp; and on the 29th the same galleys took a Turkish vessel full of ammunition and victuals. At the beginning of April, Ali Pasha came with perhaps eighty galleys, and brought over what the enemy still required. He sailed again, leaving thirty which kept crossing over with men, ammunition, stores, and every other necessary. Nor have I reckoned a large number of caramussalini, lighters and palandre⁵ which were ever going and coming to and from the neighbouring ports, making rapid voyages through fear of the Christian fleet. (Cobham, 1908, p.150)

In addition, one significant event was the explosion of an Ottoman galleon. Calepio wrote

On October 3, while certain barrels of powder were being carried on board the great galleon of Mehmed Pasha they exploded, and in the twinkling of an eye destroyed the vessel, setting fire also to a galliot and a caramussalli, and sending an indescribable scare through the fleet. In a moment we saw so many noble youths and maidens hoist into the air, a spectacle of incomparable sadness... To my great wonder I heard it said that a noble Cypriot lady set fire to the powder: but it is true that this galleon contained a large number of very handsome youths and lovely women, set aside as an offering to the Sultan, to Mehmed Pasha, and Murad the Sultan's son. (Cobham, 1908, pp.144-5)

³ Paolo Paruta's account, pp. 96-119.

⁴ Paolo Paruta's account, pp. 96-119.

⁵ Different types of ships which were used by the Ottoman navy.

The attacks were relentless. During the constant canon shots to the city walls, within one day two thousand canons were fired to the city (Fedai, 1997, p.137). During the first assault on June 21 the Turks fired the mines under the tower of Arsenal and climbed up through the ruins. At the end of the third attack the Ravelin was abandoned to the hands of Turks (Mariti, 1971, pp.182-3), while the fourth attack on the gate failed and led to the burning of large amounts of *teglia* (which is kind of wood that creates a bad smell while it burns, to disturb the soldiers inside (Mariti, 1971, p.185; Cobham, 1908, p.115 '*teglia* named as *tezza*' in Paruta's account). Inside the city there remained only 500 Italian soldiers, without enough food or water. In addition their gunpowder was decreasing too, so soldiers were only allowed to shoot according to strict orders. On July 20 mines placed by Turks were fired again which caused great damage and finally destroyed the rest of the tower of Arsenal, after which two further attacks took place.

On the sixth assault, they attacked from everywhere; galleys bombarded from sea, and so eventually inside the city with not enough powder to continue, on August 1st, a truce was made whereby Bragadino offered the key of the city, and asked the victors not to harm the surviving citizens. Bragadino, some noble men and captains, with 50 soldiers, went to Mustafa's tent to negotiate the terms of the truce, however Mustafa killed the soldiers and companions except Astorre Baglio who was a general and a noble man. (Cobham, 1908, p.196) Bragadino's ears and nose were cut off, and two days later when Mustafa entered the city, Bragadino was taken to the square where he was flayed and his skin was stuffed with straw (Mariti, 1971, pp.188-9). First it was carried around the city and after hanged on a mast of a galley (Cobham, 1908, p.196)⁶. And with this bloody episode the Venetian era ended.

Later in the same year a Christian Holy Alliance Navy was formed, made up principally of Venetian ships and those of Spain, the Papacy, Malta, and Savoy, to confront the Ottoman navy in a sea battle called Lepanto. Though the Venetian troops won and destroyed the Ottoman navy (İnalçık, 2009, p.45), the Christian navy could not regain Cyprus.

4.1.2 Portrayal of Venetian Famagusta

Being a port city surrounded by stone fortifications roughly rectangular in shape, a moat for defence around it, to the east of which there is its harbour, the city is an architectural beauty as described poetically by Enlart "The graceful outlines of its towers, either silhouetted against the sea or reflected in it as they rise from behind the still intact circuit of the walls, give the impression of a completely European city, still flourishing..." (Enlart, 1987, p.212).

The city walls and the harbour play an important role in the city's formation and identity. The walls which surround the entire city and separate it from the outside world were built during the medieval period (Jeffery, 1918, p.101). The walls were reconstructed during the Venetian period and for this, Michele Sanmicheli, Giovanni Girolamo, and Luigi Brugnoli were hired (Marangou, 2003, p.119). Since it was able to hold up against the Ottoman troops for a year, the fortification can be considered a great example for the Venetian military architecture.

The citadel which is one of the most important and therefore prominent architectural structures on the map, lies on the northeast side. Similarly to the city walls, it was built in the medieval period for defence (Jeffery, 1918, p.105), but later additions were made, such as the

⁶ Joannes Cotovicus' account, pp.86- 201.

Martinengo Bastion which was designed by Sanmicheli during the Venetian period (Jeffery, 1918, p.106). Gunnis describes the bastion thus: “It is a superb monument of military art, and commanded an area over a mile square and was almost impregnable. The Turks in 1570 seem to have made no attempt to assault it” (Gunnis, 1947, p.102). The other bastions are the Camposanto, Andruzzi and San Napa Bastions on the south wall; the Ravelin, Diocare, Pulcazara, Moratto, and San Luca Bastions on the west wall, with the Martinengo Bastion on the corner; and the Diamantino and Del Mezzo Bastions on the north wall.

Sea ports are linked with long distance trade (Kostof, 2004, p.41) which becomes fundamental to their economies in the city. Accordingly, the structure of the city is formed according to the harbour. For example, the arsenal, warehouses, and other buildings are located near the harbour (Kostof, 2004, p.41), which effect the city structure. Famagusta's natural harbour, which determined the city's formation, economy, status, culture, society etc., is the city's second significant feature. It offered protection to the ships (with its inner basin which could be closed using a chain from its outer basin), and so Enlart writes, “the city has long been prosperous because it has an excellent harbour, in fact the only real harbour in Cyprus” (Enlart, 1987, p.210). The two towers protected the entrance one of which was the citadel (the main defence structure of the port), and the chain ran between them (Enlart, 1987, p.213). Not much changed between the 14th and 19th centuries since no improvements were made to the harbour (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.71).

There are two gates in the city, the Sea Gate (Porta del Mare) and the Land Gate (Porta di Limisso), the former constructed during the Venetian period (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.68) and the main thoroughfare through Famagusta runs between the gates, along which was located its historic market (Jeffery, 1918, pp.102-3, Fig.6). Two important buildings are located in the piazza: the palace, and St. Nicholas Cathedral. The majority of the famous historical buildings were built during the Lusignan period in the Gothic style. St. Nicholas Cathedral is the most important one of these places: it is the largest medieval building in Famagusta and has stylistic similarities to Reims Cathedral in France. The cathedral was built during the medieval period, probably between 1298 and 1312 and it served as the coronation place of the titular kings of Jerusalem and as a burial place for several royals: King James II and his infant son James III (Jeffery, 1918, pp.116-8; Enlart, 1987, pp.222-4). The Gothic architecture is preserved and shown well in the façade with its decorative doorways and windows. The cathedral was transformed into a mosque and renamed the Ay. Sophia Mosque after the Ottoman conquest (Walsh, 2004a, p.28), and later, in 1954, it was given the name Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque. There were many other Christian edifices of many denominations, such as SS. Peter and Paul, St. George of Greeks (Orthodox Cathedral of Famagusta) and St. George of the Latins and many others besides the main cathedral (Gunnis, 1947, p.88-104). Some are in ruins, some are still standing and all allow us a glimpse of the changing socio-political and economic context of the city.



Figure 6: The Walled City of Famagusta

The Royal Palace and Bishop's Palace were also significant buildings in the city. The exact date of construction of the Royal Palace or Palazzo del Proveditore is unknown, but the major part of it was rebuilt by the Venetians, but only scant remains have survived to the present day (Enlart, 1987, pp.463-8; Jeffery, 1918, pp.158-9). Running along the north side of the Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace is another ruined medieval structure in Famagusta. Two Venetian columns stand in between the Cathedral and Palace, which were also identification features of the city and rich in symbolic content. They were moved from Salamis to the main square of Famagusta according to Venetian custom (Jeffery, 1918, pp.125-6) and would almost certainly have been topped by the lion of St. Mark. Also during this period several excavations such as that in Paphos in 1564 and in other places yielded a sarcophagus which was named by Venetians as the tomb of Venus (this Roman style sarcophagus was a potent symbol of the period; the Renaissance, the rebirth of Neo-Platonism, and humanism) (Enlart, 1987, pp.462-3). Today, the sarcophagus' location is not known but Enlart speculates that it may be in the Tekke in the parvis of the Cathedral (Enlart, 1987, pp.462-3).

As Langdale emphasizes, what makes a lasting impression iconographically is the city walls. He writes "The walls literally define the city in the prints. The myth of Famagusta was the myth of its walls" (Langdale, 2010, p.179), rivalled only by the harbour in importance and romantic imagination. A good centre for trade, and for pilgrims travelling to and from Jerusalem, the harbour became a sanctuary and during the siege in 1571 between the Venetians and the Ottomans, the city walls played an almost legendary role. Hence, the harbour and the walls are remarkable and often emphasized in most maps as the central core of the city's structure, context and identity. Even though other factors such as important buildings, the city formation, and open areas were suggested by Faslı to strengthen the city's

identity, it is these two features which became the most memorable key points in the historical maps of the city (Fashl, 2003).

4.1.3 Analysis of the Maps

Anonymous, “Fortezza di Famagosta” (Famagusta Fortress), ca.1571 (Cat No:1) and, Anonymous, “Maina in Morea”, 1548-58, Wooden models, Museo Storico Navale, Venice (Cat No: 2):

The maker of this model is not known for sure, yet it is, nevertheless a well modelled plan of the fortification of the city expect for the missing citadel (Stylianou, 1980, p.32; Marangou, 2002, p.115; 119). Of such models Buisseret writes, “There is no better way to gain an instant acquaintance with the main outlines of an unfamiliar town...this immediacy of information has long been appreciated by military commanders” (Buisseret, 1998, p.xii). He continues “one way or another, the model, for all its material problems is absolutely the best way to convey the most spatial information about a city to an uninformed viewer in the shortest possible time” (Buisseret, 1998, p.xii).

Langdale writes that, “Even the later museum model, correctly labelled *Fortezza di Famagosta, Isola di Cipro*, has numerous inaccuracies, compromising even more our trust in the verisimilitude of the earlier model, though it does correctly show the distinctive addition of the Martinengo” (Langdale, 2010, p.168). In addition, Jeffery writes,

The Martinengo Bastion is shown, but there are many divergences from the actual work, which may be either intentional or the result of ignorance on the part of the maker of the model. The ancient Citadel is not shown on this plan, and on the west side of the city is represented a remarkable gateway which never had any existence. (Jeffery, 1918, pp.115-6)

Even though there are no symbols or decorations about the current administration, the condition of the city, or the cultural context, the model gives a unique three dimensional image of Famagusta.

There is another significant wooden model of Famagusta which was mislabelled as “Maina in Morea” (Marine Morea) in Museo Storico Navale, Venice, from 1548-58 which it is assumed made by Sanmicheli because the model is missing the Martinengo bastion. Giovanni Girolamo Sanmicheli who was an architect, was sent to Cyprus for the construction of fortifications of Nicosia and Famagusta before a possible attack from the Ottoman Empire. He designed the Martinengo bastion which became a well known work of his in Cyprus (Stylianou, 1980, p.32).

On this model, at the inner city, we can see the main road from the Sea Gate to the main square where it was surrounded with the Palace and the Cathedral. The buildings have inner gardens, according to the plans of the Palace and two Venetian structures (today named Venetian house and the Chimney house) which had inner gardens, unfortunately, today these buildings were mostly destroyed. The buildings at the inner city covered vast area, as it was indicated 10.000 people were living in the walled city. The buildings lined up and created the main streets, which was provided by comparison with later maps and centuries, since many structures were destroyed by today.

Giovanni Francesco Camocio, "Famagusta", in *Isole famose porti, fortezze ... In Venetia alla libreria del segno di S. Maco*, Museo Correr, Venice, ca. 1571(Cat No:3):

Camocio produced many isolarios and Cyprus was a major part of his work. Besides being a map maker he was also a publisher. His maps normally illustrates wars and so, during this period, the conflict between the Venetians and the Ottomans was dominant (Stylianou, 1980, p.36). The map was a representation of the siege of Famagusta. Inside of the city walls, though private and public houses were depicted, three public buildings stand out: the palace, and two churches. The two main streets can be seen; street from sea gate to the main square and other one from the main square to the south side of the city as similar to the depiction of Sanmicheli's models.

The significant points of identification on the map are the citadel, the Palace and the piazza. The city walls, the bastions and the citadel, are well illustrated as the important identification features of the city. On the city walls, he also depicts details like the canons. In addition, the harbour is given in detail as well. In the inner harbour, he depicts four ships along with ships surrounding the city outside of the harbour. The distinction between Ottoman and Venetians ships was made by putting symbols on them to determine each side; the Ottoman ships have a crescent because it is the emblem of the Ottoman Empire ("crescent", 2011, para. 1) and the Venetian ships have lion which is the symbol of St. Mark, patron saint of Venice and also the city's emblem. Langdale acknowledges its wider meaning and significance when he concludes

The lion of St. Mark, the empire's primary signifier, was not merely a symbol of Venice. It assured the travellers the protection of the saint even at the furthest fringes beyond the Venetian lagoon, thus legitimizing the expansion of Venice's economic and military reach under the saint's emblem. (Langdale, 2010, p.165)

On the land, outside the walls, there are the Ottoman troops, in the background Ottoman tents, and in the foreground troops some on horses, some walking, and some are depicted with canons, advancing on the doomed city. He also labelled the different types of troops, for example; "Janiceri" for Janissary or "Stradioti" and "Caualeria" for horsemen (there were two different types of horseman in the Ottoman army) (Fig.7). Rather than giving detailed information about the city, he focused on the siege and the enemy and so focused on details of the Ottoman army. The Ottoman soldiers can be identifiable with their appearance, such as, Ottoman style head garments. Other than the group of the Christian soldiers outside the city, the Venetians soldiers are only depicted beside the canons inside the city, unfortunately they are not recognizable. The Venetian identity of the city is not pointed out on the map.

In addition, the mapmaker did not depict the actual line of fire to show us where the Ottoman troops were actually attacking neither did he offer any information concerning the Venetian troop deployments for the defence. In the texts about the siege we learn that the troops were attacking the Ravelin and the tower of the Arsenal and according to the strategy of the attack, the Ottoman troops were digging ditches or undermining the wall, all of which is not depicted on the map. Camocio preferred to illustrate the siege without showing any action between the sides. Not just on land but also from the sea side he showed the city surrounded by the fleet but no attack or defence. The only ongoing event is the burning ship at the corner of the map which was mentioned several times in the texts as a massive explosion caused by a captive Cypriot woman. We must conclude therefore that Camocio created a frozen picture of the siege, even a symbolic one.

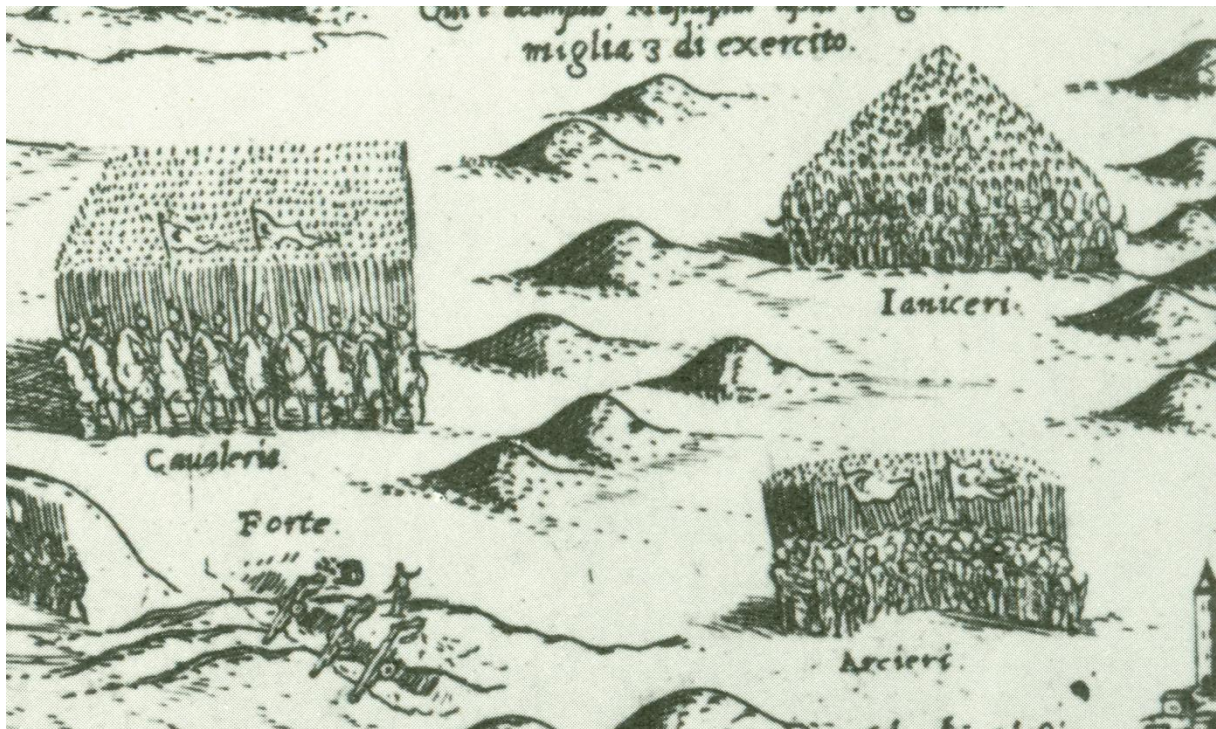


Figure 7: Detail from Giovanni Francesco Camocio's map; different types of Ottoman troops

Balthasar Iencihen "Famagosta...BI", Germany, 1571, M. Michaelidas Collection, Nicosia (Cat No: 4):

Similar to Camocio's map, this map focuses on the siege, functioning as a report on the war between Venice and the Ottomans since the map was produced in the same year as the siege. The representation of the city is based on Camocio's map, though certainly there are additions made by Balthasar Iencihen. He added more houses inside the walls to accompany the standard three buildings (the palace and two churches), and in addition to the public and private houses, the citadel, city walls and bastions were depicted in detail. Except for the citadel, there is no text to help us identify the other buildings. Because the siege is the subject, outside of the city is illustrated as well. For example, Balthasar illustrated the Ottoman troops and he emphasized the camp (Stylianou, 1980, p.57), one particular tent of which is marked as Mustafa Pasha's tent. In the foreground there are troops who were moving toward the city, some firing, some on the horses.

Additionally, Balthasar adds movement to the map, like an artist might have done in a painting of a similar event, by including smoke coming from the canons, both on the city walls and from the Ottoman batteries. There are also houses on fire outside of the city. He represents the fight on the land as well as on sea, by describing the Ottoman ships which surrounded the city, and landed troops (just as the texts had described). Additionally, one significant Ottoman ship is depicted burning along the coast. Young boys and girls had been captured as slaves to be sent to Constantinople however one of them, rather than become a slave set fire to the powder in the ship and brought about its violent end (Cobham, 1908, pp.144-5)⁷. This tragic tale is also depicted in Camocio's map. Of value also is the fact that the map maker adds the line of fire between the both sides of the wall, south and west, even if

⁷ Fra Angelo Calepio's account, pp.122-162.

the texts about the siege, derives from witnesses, emphasizes that mostly the attacks are towards the southern wall. In addition, he depicts the reality that troops form platforms for batteries even if the texts emphasised the fact that they dug ditches as the soldiers would not be seen behind them. The Ottoman soldiers are given in detail with their oriental cloths especially their head garments. However similar to Camocio's map, the map does not emphasis on the Venetian soldiers or have specific apparence or symbol on them. He makes no reference in the depiction to the tunnelling and mining operations. Even though the inside of the city clearly resembles Camocio's map, the representation the siege is different and perhaps more reliable with the addition of more information on the part of the map-maker.

Stephano Gibellino, "Al motto Mag. Sig. ...Negrobon... ritratto della celebre citta di Famagosta", Brescia, 1571, Bibliothèque Nationale, Departement des Imprimés, Paris (Cat No: 5):

There is one map from this period that sets itself apart from others with its detailed representation of both the siege and the city. The map was made by Stephano Gibellino in 1571, dedicated to Captain Negrobon, which was published in Brescia (Stylianou, 1980, p.54). The map is in a booklet under the name *Relatione di tutto il successo di Famagusta doue s'intende minutissimamente tutte le scaramuccie, batterie, mine assaltri dati ad esse Fortezza Et ancora i name de i Capitani numero delle genti morte, cosi de Christiani, come de Turchi et medesimamente di quelli, che sono restate pregioni. In Venetia con licentia de'signiri superiori MDLXXII* which was written by Captain Nestor Martinengo. The booklet explains the siege of Famagusta which was published in 1572. On the right hand corner at the top, there is the dedication to the Captain "To his Excellency the Honourable Captain Negrobon, My Esteemed Master" and continues

A gravure has fallen into my hands with the recent attacks of the Turks on the famous town of Famagusta. And as I have to publish this document, I wished your respectable name to be associated with it. I therefore pray you, to accept this present, not so much for its worth, but rather as a token of my loyalty and respect for you

and signed as "Your Affectionate Servant Stephano Gibellino". Marangou stated that "Gibellino's map of the fall of Famagusta is undoubtedly the most reliable one" (Marangou, 2002, p.117), and I agree that it is the most detailed of 16th century maps which gave information about the city's formation, and its identity. The map has a reference table which gives names of buildings, bastions, and gates of the city. Inside the walls is illustrated in detail, showing not only important public buildings, but private buildings. Different designs of the buildings give information about them and the city. For example, both the palaces (the Bishop's palace and the Royal palace) were depicted larger than other buildings, and St. Nicholas Cathedral can be identified by its oval shape and its two towers (Fig. 8). Other churches were illustrated in different designs and their names were given on the reference table as well. Enlart mentioned the Gibellino map in his book on Gothic and Renaissance Cyprus because of its detailed information about the buildings and especially the churches in the northern part because they are the Latin churches (Enlart, 1987, p.213). And yet even if the map is detailed, it is not exactly accurate, for example Gibellino drew SS. Peter and Paul church in the wrong position in order to show both the church and the palace (Enlart, 1987, p.246). In addition he depicted the two Venetian columns, and tomb of Venus between them, in front of the Cathedral, even if that is not where they are located today. Langdale addresses this point saying,

It is possible that the columns were moved at a later date from directly in front of the cathedral to where they are today, just off to the side of the piazza and set against the west wall of an Ottoman madrasa, which itself integrated earlier gothic architectural remains. But it is also possible that the columns were in this current location all along, and Ghibellino's print a bit inaccurate. A column base, just beside the present location of the columns, may indicate an earlier, but very approximate, position. (Langdale, 2010, p.170)

On the map, the siege is illustrated in detail as well. Outside the city, the Ottoman troops and the ships are depicted, showing the line of fire between the city and the troops. However the map may have had a few inaccuracies that do not fit with the accounts of the siege. The texts described the attacks and explosions both to the Ravelin and the tower of Arsenal, but on the map, the troops are attacking not just the south wall but the Martinengo bastion as well (Langdale, 2010, p.169). In addition, the tents are located throughout a much larger area than was written in the texts, which had suggested that they were "along the shore on the other side, where it stretches for three miles from the city to the sea" (Cobham, 1908, p.109)⁸. Importantly the map also gives information that complements the texts, such as the fire line and smoke of the batteries especially on the Ravelin and Arsenal where the main attacks were concentrated. In addition, he illustrates the lines that the Ottoman soldiers, the earth defences, and other graphic explanations at points labelled A, B, D, E. Here we have an explanation of where the Ottoman troops attacked from; from point A they bombarded the port and the town, or from point E to the right side of the Limassol Tower, also mentions about the death of the Chief Engineer of Pasha who died in a mine explosion. There are explanations on the map as well such as; at right corner of the castle, it mentions that the Ottomans tried to build a catapult but the Venetian artillery prevented it. At the points G and H, the map maker gives the names of the locations. Especially point H was a significant point where it shows the harbour's entrance and its chain.

Additionally, bombardment from the Ottoman ships to the city is illustrated by a galley attacking the Arsenal, as is the fact that the soldiers in the city fired back. The map combines, perhaps compresses, various important moments in time of the siege such as, the burning ship which is also depicted in Balthasar and Camocio's maps, attacks by the troops and ships, and also other activities such as men carrying supplies. Gibellino also gave detailed information about the burning ship in the corner (labelled 'F') (Fig. 11, 12):

The ship of Moustafa Pasha, armed like a galleon with many heavy guns, had on board many young boys and noble ladies from Nicosia. The ship caught fire and the conflagration spread to the powder magazine. There was a terrific explosion and the ship, together with two other vessels in the harbour sank. The whole town of Famagusta shook with the explosion.

He even illustrates the soldiers carrying woods or cut down tree and try to built the catapult and the Venetian soldiers fire at them from the bastion (Fig. 9). Furthermore the difference is given by the Ottoman soldier's appearance; especially with their head gears. The cartographer gives information about the Ottoman camps too; tents of the Ottomans were in various shapes and designs in oriental imagery (Fig.10). Also we see soldiers; cooking, gathering in the camps or practicing with each other behind the defences, other soldiers and horsemen are in

⁸ Paolo Paruta's account, pp. 96-119.

different formation in front of the camp. All these details give information about the Ottoman army and visualize the situation of the siege.

One suspects that Gibellino's map was created in collaboration with eye-witness accounts of the city and also the siege as it gives accurate information on the city's structure, its public buildings, squares, streets, and its formation. The map illustrates more than simply the important features of a city; but also its military architecture, civic and religious buildings, and even elements of its identity, context, and structure.



Figure 8: Detail of Gibellino's map, the city centre

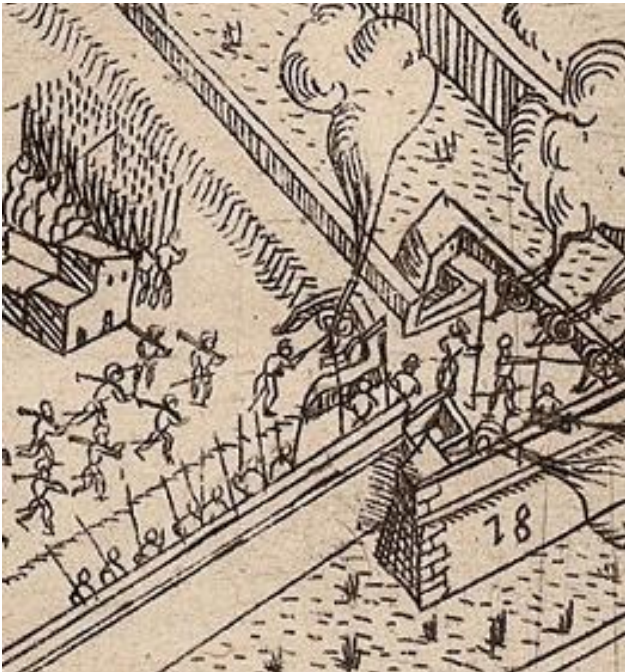


Figure 9: Detail of Gibellino's map, soldiers inside the city



Figure 10: Detail of Gibellino's map, the Ottoman troops



F Naue di Mustafa Bassa armata ad uso di galeone, et con molta artiglieria, doue erano molti putti et gentildone di Nicosia, nella naue s'attaco il fuoco il fuoco alla mortification della poluere donde essa cō un Caramusoln et una galera andorno in pezzi et al fondo, Il tuono fu si grande, che fece tremare tutta Famagosta.

Figure 11 & 12: Detail of Gibellino's map, the burning ship and label 'F'

Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, “Calaris”/ “Malta”/ “Rhodus”/ “Famagusta”, Cologne, 1572, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem & the Jewish National & University Library (Cat No: 6):

Georg Braun was a German churchman and cartographer, and editor of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. He was born and died in Cologne and worked as canon at the city’s great Cathedral (Steffoff, 1995, pp.60-1). Frans Hogenberg, painter and engraver, founded a publishing house in Cologne in 1570, besides maps, he also illustrated historical events in Europe during the 16th century (“Frans Hogenberg”, 2011, para. 1-3).

Hogenberg and Braun created an atlas of cities called the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* which included mostly European city maps but also those in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Peru and Mexico which the maps were engraved on copper (Steffoff, 1995, p.61). As part of the project, there is a plan of Famagusta as well (Stylianou, 1980, p.67), which has similar features to Balthasar’s map (Stylianou, 1980, p.68) yet does not show the siege, even though it is published one year after the event (Navari, 2003, p.82). The inner part is dominated by private houses, similar to Balthasar’s map, while the same three public buildings were depicted differently (the palace and two churches) to distinguish them from other buildings and to show their importance. Additionally, the palace’s features are given in detail; larger than other buildings with two storeys, the roof is painted in blue so the building stood out in the map. On the map there is no written name of the buildings or of any other structure, nor is there any reference to the new Ottoman administration that illustrated inside of the city. Again, the city walls, the citadel and the bastions are well depicted, as is the harbour in which there are five ships and outside of the harbour two others. In the eighteen line text beside the map information is given the political situation of the city, the conquest and the siege of 1571 (Stylianou, 1980, p.68; Navari, 2003, p.82), and at the top of the map is a written account of Famagusta’s strong defence and the Turks domination.

Giacomo Franco, “Famagosta”, in *Raccolta da disegni di tutte le Citta et Fortezza...*, Venice, 1597 (Cat No: 7):

This map is another example of an illustration of the siege, though it was produced in 1597 and is indeed a naïve depiction (Navari, 2003, p.123). Inside the city there are few architectural structures, though the walls and the citadel are clear as is the Venetian flag flying to show the Venetian rule of the city. Inside the walls he depicted soldiers running around and outside the walls the Ottoman troops are illustrated beside the Ottoman tents, canon and other paraphernalia of war. The map also has many inaccuracies, not least in the representation of the siege itself which does not follow complementary texts of the time. In these it is clear that Ottoman troops attacked the south wall, but on the map the troops are located and moving towards the west wall of the city. The map maker also depicts structures inside the city however, the buildings are not recognizable from their physical appearance, except for the two Venetian columns which are also depicted in Gibellino’s map. The map clearly focuses on the siege and the soldiers, not on the accurate physical reality of the city and its buildings.

Marius Kartaro, “Il Vero Ritrato Della Citta Di Famagosta...Nel Lisola Di Cipro Dove Oggi Si Ritrova... Astorre Baglione... Assediati Dal Turcho Il Anna M. D. LXXI”, 1571, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Imprimés, Paris (Cat No:8):

Another detailed map of the siege of Famagusta was made by the Roman cartographer Marius Kartaro. On the map, he gave information about both the siege and the city. The map is

similar to Gibellino's siege map, yet it fails to depict the inner city in as much as it was done in Gibellino's map.

The fortification of the city; the citadel and its bastions are well depicted and accurate. On the other hand, the inner city is not represented in detail, however the numbers indicate every important structure, and these are explained in the reference table. The reference table is at the bottom which is separated into two parts; numbers and letters.

There are a few buildings in the inner city without proper formation. The depiction of the buildings is not specific so we cannot tell what the buildings look like or which buildings they are without the reference table. From the map, we cannot see city's streets or squares or the appearances of public buildings, unlike in Gibellino's map. A few of the important public buildings are depicted such as St. Nicholas Cathedral, St. Peter and Paul Church and the Palace. However, the locations of these buildings are wrong. For example, St. Nicholas Cathedral is depicted on a smaller scale than other buildings in the city and it stands in an empty space where it should be the centrepiece of the city, as a symbol, and should determine the main square of the city. Still, the rest of the city is depicted with private buildings without giving an indication or specific layout. Apart from these buildings, the map maker gives the names of the bastions, gates and citadel. In addition, he shows the "cavaliere" to some of the bastions. He named them in the reference table and depicts them beside certain bastions.

The second section of the reference table includes labels from A to K which explains what is happening at these locations, spread all over the map. The written information on these labels is similar to Gibellino's map and only the labels are different. The burning ship is depicted as in many other siege maps of Famagusta. Its story is explained at the Label C.

Regarding the siege, the map maker shows the firing line between the two opponent sides, beside their soldiers, defence system and canons. The soldiers and camps are depicted, however in less detail than they are in Gibellino's map. The daily life of soldiers is not depicted on the camp side, yet the map maker added two people impaled near the camp. The Ottoman army is symbolized by the crescent on flags and on top of the tents. Also some troops' names are given as "Cauleria". Representing the Venetian soldiers inside the city, there are also troops in rectangular formation and soldiers running with their weapons.

The similarity between the two maps, Kartaro's and Gibellino's, could be because they were both based on the same prototype or as Gibellino mentions on his map, the reason is that he came across a manuscript which potentially could be Kartaro's map. Without a doubt, there is a link between these two maps as they are both able to give the names of the essential structures of the city as well as managing to depict the battle between two sides by giving information about what happened during the siege with written explanations and depictions.

Anonymous, "Cipro - Famagosta Pianta della fortezza e del porto di Famagosta", 1557?, Museo Correr, Venice (Cat No: 12):

This map of Famagusta focuses on the military architecture of the city. It depicts the fortification of the city, its walls, bastions and citadel in great detail. Unfortunately, the date and cartographer of the map are not certain. One interesting detail about the map is that it shows both the old bastions and the new additions by the Venetians, such as the Martinengo Bastion. The map depicts the plan of citadel and cavaliers as well as the details of the bastions. We see the harbour partially with three ships in the inner harbour. The outside of the

city is covered with green areas and the sea with blue. However, the inner city is left white without depicting any features. There is a compass and measuring scale instead with the name of the city.

Charles Magius, “Partie de l’île de Chypre”, “Port et ville de Famagouste”, “Port de Famagouste”, “Plan de l’île de Chypre et emblème de l’arbre brisé”, in *Description historique...1571*, Paris, 1761, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris (Cat No: 14-15):

Charles Magius (Carlo Maggi) was a Venetian citizen and traveller who travelled the Near East countries under Ottoman control between 1568 and 1573. He was captured by the Ottomans during the conquest of Cyprus and managed to escape from them in 1572 after the Battle of Lepanto. After his return to Venice, he compiled his book, the so-called *Codex Magius* in 1578. The codex includes miniatures according to Charles’ voyages in the Mediterranean, some done by Paul Veronese (D’Israeli, 1823, para.2). These colourful pictures capture various moments in the conquest and include images of two important cities that played significant roles in the conquest. The images are reproduced from the book *Le voyage de Charles Magius, 1568-1573* which was published by Anthèse in 1992.

Three of the miniatures include Famagusta’s city plan. The first shows the city and its harbour. In the picture, the outer shape of the city is accurate; the bastions, especially the Martinengo Bastion and the citadel are depicted very well (Fig. 13). The inner and outer harbours are depicted with several ships and smaller boats. For the interior of the city, he illustrates a basic plan of the city. Even though each building cannot be identifiable, the placement and separation of the blocks of buildings are fairly accurate. The picture does not indicate any ruler power or enemy appearance, and no symbols for the Venetians or Ottomans.

The second picture focuses on the enmity and battle between the Venetians and Ottomans. The image is one of ten miniatures in the section “Liberat” (Fig. 14). The image shows part of the island with Famagusta surrounded by the Ottoman troops and ships. The details of the city are not clear, apart from its walls and harbour. The outer shape is depicted in rectangular shape, only showing a few bastions without the citadel. The inside of the city is illustrated without giving an accurate plan. The only building that can be recognized is St. Nicholas Cathedral which covers the majority of the inner city. Other buildings and towers are also depicted however they are rather symbolic. This miniature catches the dramatic situation that the city was in by focusing on the enemy ships and the army rather than the city.

The last picture, a one-page image, illustrates plans of both Nicosia and Famagusta. Similarly to the first picture, the city’s walls, bastions, citadel and harbour are illustrated very well (Fig. 15). There is a flag over the citadel to show the ruling power: the Venetians. The land gate’s location is given with a bridge. For the inside of the city, it gives a basic plan but without details of buildings, only indicating the squares and main streets. The important part of the painting is the tree in the middle with a broken trunk and a new branch growing in the middle: under it is written “From this fallen trunk springs a branch full of vigour” which dedicates it to his captivity and freedom.

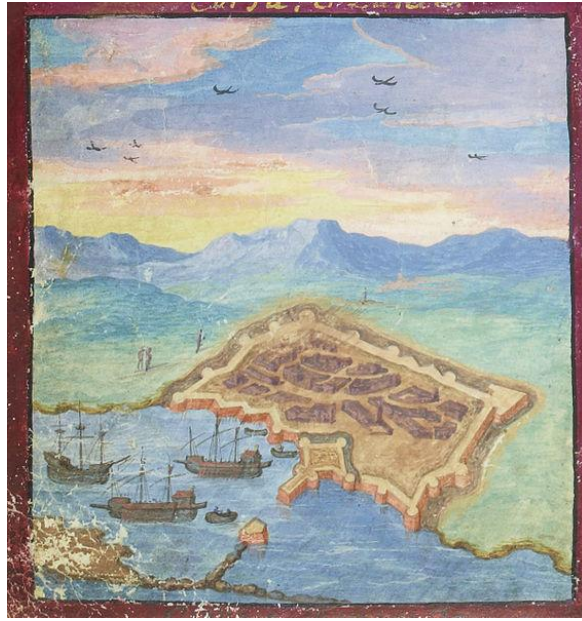


Figure 13: Detail from Charles Magius' miniature, Partie de l'île de Chypre.

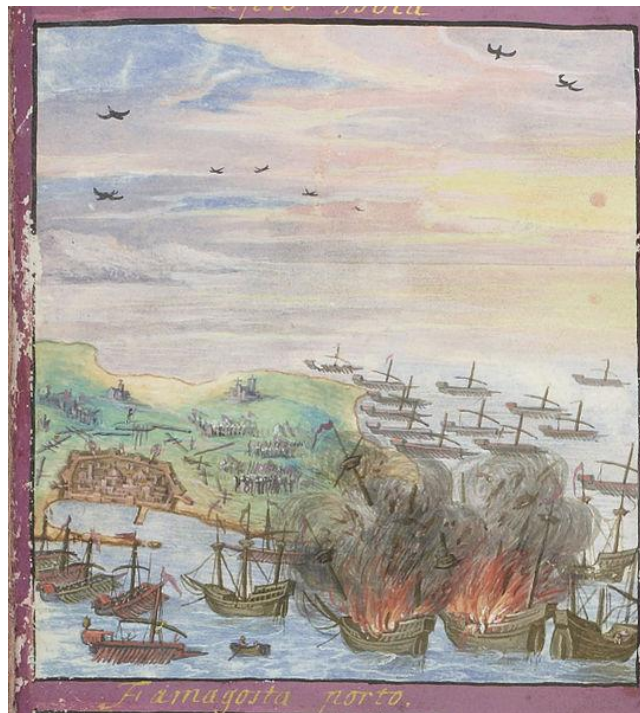


Figure 14: Detail from Charles Magius' miniature, Port et ville de Famagouste.



Figure 15: Detail from Charles Magius' miniature, Plan de l'île de Chypre et emblème de l'arbre brisé

Şehnâme-i Selīm ān, “The siege of Famagusta castle in Cyprus”; “Lala Mustafa Pasha’s execution of Venetian commanders”; “The flaying of the Venetian commander Bragadino”, Istanbul, ca. 1581, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Cat No: 16-17-18):

The book *Şehnâme-i Selīm* details the events and achievements of Sultan Selim II (1524-1574). The book was compiled by Seyyid Lokman, who was the official historian (şehnāmeçi) from 1569 until 1595. The book was published in 1581. There are three pictures from the Şehname of Sultan Selim that are about the siege of Famagusta in 1571, of which two partially represent the city. Renda states that,

By the mid-16th century a tradition of topographical painting was initiated in the Ottoman ateliers influenced by the cartographers’ work. Miniature artists now depicted in the historical manuscripts those towns besieged or visited by the Ottoman army or navy with accurate topographical details very much like the town views in atlases. (Renda, 2007, p.4)

The first shows the burning city surrounded by the Ottoman army. In the foreground, we see the Ottoman pashas and behind them one big tent, which is the tent of Lala Mustafa Pasha. The Ottoman camp and canons are places all around the city and the city is depicted in flames. The representation of Famagusta shows the walled city partially from the south-west side. The picture illustrates the moat that surrounded the city and the citadel as a tower separated from the city. In the inner city there are few buildings and towers, however they are not identifiable. The largest building is a church; it can be St. Nicholas, however the depiction is simple and symbolic.

The second shows the execution of the Venetian nobles after Bragadino’s surrender. In this image, we see Lala Mustafa Pasha in his tent and the Ottoman soldiers killing the enemy. As it is after the Ottomans have won, there are cracks in the city walls. The city’s representation is similar to the previous one with the addition of flags and more symbolic buildings inside the city.

The last one shows the flaying of Bragadino inside the city (Fig. 16). Bragadino is depicted in the middle of the city with the Ottoman pashas and soldiers surrounding him. Similarly to the others, the representation of the city is simple, depicting towers in different colours and the citadel with a flag on top of it.



Figure 16: Detail from “The flaying of the Venetian commander Bragadino” in *Şehnāme-i Selīm ān*.

4.2 The Ottoman Era Famagusta Maps

4.2.1 History of Famagusta

The Ottoman Empire conquered the island in 1571, after which significant changes occurred concerning the island’s administration, culture, and religion. Nicosia was appointed as the administrative centre, and Famagusta became one of the seven ‘kaza’ (districts). Famagusta was ruled under the Beyberbeyi until 1670 (Hakeri, 1993, p.257), and later the Grand Vizier was appointed as the administrator of the city. Despite the situation of the city and its people improving (Newman, 1953, p.177), it was far from an easy rule, and several rebellions occurred (Hakeri, 1993, pp.258-66).

The major change, however, was that of religion. Cyprus had been a Christian island (although it had various ethnic groups) before the conquest (Luke, 1969, p.13) and afterwards, it was transformed into a Muslim country. Symbolically, this transformation was epitomized in Famagusta with the conversion of St. Nicholas Cathedral into a mosque. Many other public buildings’ functions were altered, too. Lithgow wrote about the people during his visit to Cyprus between 1609 and 1621:

It was under their [Venetians] jurisdiction 120 years and more, till that the Turks, who ever oppose themselves against Christians ... Unspeakable is the calamitie of that poor afflicted Christian people under the terror of these infidels, who would, if they had armes or assistance of any Christian Potentate, easily subvert and abolish the Turks, without any disturbance; yea, and would render the whole Signiory thereof to such a noble actor. (Cobham, 1908, p.204)

Lithgow mentioned people's distress in the city. However, the Christian powers did not make any serious attempt to reclaim Cyprus, except in 1607, when Charles Emmanuel of Savoy claimed his right to the crown of Cyprus because of a marriage between the House of Lusignan (Queen Charlotte) and Louis of Savoy in 1459. Charles Emmanuel conducted negotiations in secret with the Cypriot Archbishop, who supported his claim (Luke, 1969, pp.17-8). However, when the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand I, started the expedition, the fleet failed as it went into the wrong bay, and the resultant attack was easily repulsed (Hill, 1952, pp.48-9).

The Christian population was forced out of the city, to the south “where there were plenty of orchards and gardens and (where they) founded the new Famagusta: Varosha” (Marangou, 2002, p.127). As such, travellers could only mention and describe as much as they could see from the outside, since permission was not granted for Christians to enter the city, and Stochove wrote of this in 1643:

At daylight we arrived at the suburbs of Famagousta, where we went to look for a Greek, to whom we had letters of introduction, that he might assist us in entering the city. He dissuaded us altogether, saying that it was almost impossible to go in without meeting some unpleasantness, for the Pasha who commanded there was an unreasonable brutal creature, and above all Turks a sworn enemy to the Christians. No man could take another into the city without his privity and consent under pain of death. (Cobham, 1908, p.217)

Forty years later, Cornelis Van Bruyn wrote from his voyage that,

In the afternoon I went with two Greeks to see the outside of Famagusta, but as I got too near the Turks shouted to me from the walls to retire. I had to obey, and turning down to the seashore sat down on a little eminence to sketch the city as carefully as possible... The Turks guard the city so jealously that no stranger is allowed to set foot in it, except perhaps when his Consul comes to salute the Pasha, who visits it occasionally with his galleys. Even the Greek inhabitants of the island dare not approach the ramparts, or if caught they run the risk of being forced to become Musalmans. (Cobham, 1908, p.236)

The city, which had already lost its economic primacy under Venetian rule, continued to face misfortune during the Ottoman period, as in the 17th century, northern Europeans became dominant in the Far East and Levant trade routes (Bulut, 2002, p.201). Therefore the Ottoman Empire offered privileges to the European states. They encouraged the newly rising western nations to trade in the Ottoman territories by granting them some privileges (‘capitulations’). It was quite natural that the Ottoman rulers pursued economic and political aims by granting capitulations to these western nations. Consequently, the new commercial powers of Europe - the Dutch, English, and French increased their trading activities in the Levant during the 17th century (Bulut, 2002, pp.198-9).

Commercial relations with the Venetian merchants who traded between Europe and the Middle East continued even after the war. British merchants also tried to get involved in the trade routes to the Middle East, and in doing so formed the “Turkey Company” in 1581. The “Venice Company” was formed only two years later, in Britain. In 1592, the two companies united under the name “Levant Company” and established a permanent agency in Larnaca which continued until 1825. However, during the later years of the 17th century, and the 18th century, commercial activities in Cyprus were dominated by merchants from the French Levant Company (Luke, 1969, p.89). Under Ottoman rule there were no restrictions on foreign ships coming into any harbour of the island (Gazioglu, 2000, p.190). Although Cyprus was on the trade routes, Famagusta was not, having been replaced by Larnaca. Because of the absence of the Christian population from the city, and the Ottomans’ preference for Larnaca as the main harbour, Famagusta was effectively abandoned (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.66). On the other hand, Larnaca became the new trade centre and seat of all foreign Consuls, for both military and commercial ships from various countries (Stylianou, 1980, p.96). Kinneir wrote in 1814, “This port could once admit vessels of a considerable draft of water; but since the conquest of the Turks, sand and rubbish have been suffered to accumulate in such a degree,

that none but small vessels can now enter it with safety” (Cobham, 1908, p.412). Cyprus was still in use as an important import and export centre. In other words, although Cyprus was still active in trade and commercial relations, this was no longer carried out through the port of Famagusta. Pococke wrote in 1783:

Cyprus on account of its situation, and the cheapness of all sorts of provisions in the island, is the place where almost all ships touch on their voyages in these parts; and by this way a correspondence is carried on between all the places in the Levant and Christendom. So that furnishing ships with provisions is one of the principal branches of the trade of this island, and they sometimes export corn to Christendom, though it is contrary to their laws. They send their cottons to Holland, England, Venice and Leghorn, and wood to Italy and France. They have a root of an herb called in Arabic Fuah, in Greek Lizare, and in Latin Rubia Tinctorum, which they send to Scanderoon, and by Aleppo to Diarbeck and Persia, with which they dye red, but it serves only for cottons, for which it is also used here. (Cobham, 1908, pp.268-9)

In his account from 1745, Drummond described the trade on the island: “All the other merchandizes go to different parts of Europe; Britain, France, Holland and Venice; what goes to other places is inconsiderable” (Cobham, 1908, p.281). A professor of Oriental Languages of the University of Leyden, Dr. J. W. Heyman, visited the island at the beginning of the 18th century, and wrote about Famagusta’s port and its demise, saying, “The greatest naval resort to it is of French tartans putting in here to refit” (Cobham, 1908, p.249). Mariti emphasized that in the 1760s, around 600 commercial ships from various countries were coming to Cyprus but clearly not using Famagusta (Mariti, 1971, p.125). Larnaca was now the most important location in the Levant partly due to the Ottoman privileges that were given to foreign merchants who operated there. In addition, towards the end of the century, the attention of Europeans returned to the eastern Mediterranean, and as the Ottoman Empire declined, in order to protect the trade interests and prevent the British Empire access to India, France prepared an expedition to Egypt and Syria in 1798. The expedition continued until 1801, when Napoleon had to withdraw.

As a harbour city, Famagusta’s economy and status had been based on its maritime activity. However, because of lack of interest and usage of the port, its condition was getting worse. Through negligence, the Pedieos River was filling the harbour and large ships were not able to use it. The abandoned port of Famagusta affected the condition of the city and its population.

After the siege in 1571, since the population of the city was decreased, in 1573-74, the Ottoman Empire sent people and soldiers from Turkey to increase population of the city. However this turned the city into a military base and it was also used as a prison. From all over the Ottoman Empire, people were banished to Famagusta (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.343). Within time, this caused the inhabitants to leave their land, and lower the population of the city even further. Besides these problems, the city faced various disasters including drought, plague and famine: the plague between 1589 and 1640 was particularly devastating. Villamont explains the plague in 1589, “at Famagusta, where the plague had long been raging, and its inhabitants and those of the country round were nearly all dead” (Cobham, 1908, p.175). Again in 1757-58 famine and drought caused many people to leave and in 1760 this was followed by the plague which caused approximately a third of the population to die (Newman, 1953, p.179; Hakeri, 1993, p.261).

Famagusta slowly fell into a ruin with only a few citizens left inside, so much so that Richard Pococke wrote in 1783, “The present buildings do not take up above half the space within the walls, and a great part even of those are not inhabited” (Cobham, 1908, p.255). Interestingly, non-Muslim travellers were now permitted to enter on foot, and so were able to see the inside of the city, and not just the walls and fortifications. Pococke goes on to give a detailed description of the city and pointed out its poor economy,

The city of Famagusta is about two miles in circumference, and well fortified by the Venetians... There is a gate from the city to the port, which is well sheltered by several rocks, and the entrance to it, which is at the north east corner, is defended by a chain drawn across to the castle....There is very little trade at the place, which is the reason why all provisions are cheap here, the price of a fat sheep being only half a crown. (Cobham, 1908, p.255)

4.2.2 Portrayal of Ottoman Famagusta

During the siege, the Ottomans used 10,000 cannons in order to pass the city’s defences, which damaged the city severely. The Ottoman administration’s first work was to restore these damaged structures. The fortifications were the most damaged especially the south side which was the priority for the Ottomans. The churches on the south side of the city were damaged as well however their renovation was slow and not elaborate. The siege was one reason for the slow demolishing of the city; the decreasing population also damaged the city. Houses were left empty and churches were not in use. Many structures were neglected. As Walsh points out, “From 1571 Christians were not permitted entrance to Famagusta and so for the next 300 years the architecture, like the city in general, embarked on the dormant though destructive process of neglect and decay” (Walsh, 2004b, p.3). The process of decay in Famagusta continued until the end of the Turkish occupation in 1878. After the initial reconstructions after the siege, the Ottoman administration did not construct any new buildings. The restoration of the fortification was completed and other structures were not a priority (Gunnis, 1947, p.88). Even churches that has been converted into mosques were not in use because of the low population.

The population was excessively gathered around the Palace area (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.179). With the low activity of the port, the road between the Land Gate to the Palace area became the main road. On the other hand, the roads from the Palace area to the north wall (towards the Martinengo Bastion) were abandoned and eventually disappeared.

When the Ottoman Empire took over the city, the first alteration was conversion of St. Nicholas Cathedral into a mosque. During the beginning of the Ottoman period four buildings were converted into mosques, however, due to the decreasing population, apart from the Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque, most of the religious buildings were not used and were left to decay.

During the process of converting the whole city, new constructions were started: in the main square, the Cafer Paşa fountain and bath, which was located beside the Palace, and the Medrese (school) beside the Cathedral were constructed. Inside the walled city, three baths, Keltikli, Cafer Pasha and Kızıl baths were built as well. The empty area at the north-east side of the city which was called the “palio” area was used for a javelin practice area during the Ottoman period. In this area, many buildings were demolished and used for agricultural purposes (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.184). In addition, a new land gate was opened during this

period standing very close to the Ravelin Gate, which was later called the Lefkoşa or Akkule Gate (meaning White Tower, because the Venetians hung a white flag from it in 1571 to surrender) (Uluca & Akın, 2008, p.99-100).

It seems clear that the city was a ruin and almost empty, brought about by war, natural disasters, ill-health and economic decline. Frederic Hasselquist was another traveller who visited the island around the 1750's, he writes,

Famagusta ought to be seen, less for itself than because it was formerly the strongest place in the island, and much talked of in history... The fort has not been repaired since the Turks took it from the Venetians, and is falling into ruin.... The galley harbour has been wholly destroyed.... The town is in far worse condition than the fort; all the houses built by the Venetians are utterly demolished or deserted. There are but three hundred inhabitants, chiefly Turks, who occupy the miserable remains of the famous city of Famagusta. (Cobham, 1908, p.307)

Pococke writes in detail about the inside of the city and about the misfortunes that had happened there

The ancient piazza seems to have been very beautiful; the house of the Governor with a portico before it, is on one side, and the western front of the church of Saint Sophia on the other; it is a most beautiful Gothic building, now converted into a mosque, but about three years ago two thirds of it was thrown down by an earthquake, together with the greatest part of the city. (Cobham, 1908, p.255)

Drummond also visited the city in 1745 and writes about the damage caused by earthquakes, specifically to St. Nicholas Cathedral (Ay. Sophia and later Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque)

In the year 1735, the town was greatly damaged by an earthquake: the Cathedral church of Sancta Sophia, which had been converted into a mosque, fell in and buried in its ruins above two hundred Turks who were at worship when the shock happened. (Cobham, 1908, p.274)

Veizin who was His Britannic Majesty's Consul for Aleppo and Cyprus for 16 years wrote that:

Famagusta was once the key of Cyprus, and is very well built. The outer walls are still in good condition; all the inner works are in ruins, as well as the greater part of the city. The harbour is small and shallow... The air of the city is very unhealthy, owing to the quantity of standing water in the neighbourhood: these pools used to be from time to time dried up. Outside the city are more houses, which make up a village, with good gardens, bearing lemons, pomegranates and other delicate fruits. (Cobham, 1908, p.369)

The houses and gardens outside of the city walls that Veizin mentions in his writings was the Varosha which was also depicted on the maps. Varosha was formed by the Christians who left the city after the conquest when the Ottoman government forbade the Christian community to stay in the walled city.

4.2.3 Analysis of the Maps

Marcello Alessandri, “Cipro – Famagosta”, 1620, Museo Correr, Venice (Cat No: 20):

This map was made by Marcello Alessandri in 1620, in a book that was dedicated to Girolamo Corner and his four sons, Giorgio (Zorzi), Federico, Andrea and Francesco. The book includes illustrations of various Italian and European cities and fortresses in which he demonstrates his experience about fortification architecture and gives suggestions to improve their defenses (Molteni & Moretti, 2006, p.3). The map of Famagusta is a coloured map that shows the fortification, the citadel, the port of the city and its surroundings. There is a reference table from A to E which is labelled on the map as well: A is located on the fortification indicating the cavaliers, and D shows the locations of the Ottoman forces during the conquest of the city in 1571. The cartographer also labelled the inner port and chain under the label E. The “mare” is included on the map, but other than the written information the map does not show any other locations, places or buildings. The map gives information about the siege of Famagusta without depicting the Ottoman army or the inner city. In this feature it is different from other siege maps. It only indicates the locations of defences. As the most important feature of a city during a siege, Famagusta’s fortifications are depicted with accuracy.

Louis Des Hayes, “Famagouste”, in *Voiage de Levant fait par le Commandement Du Roy en l’année 1621 par le Sr. D.C.Paris* Adrian Taupinart, Paris, 1624, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris (Cat No: 21):

Louis Des Hayes was sent by Louis XIII of France to the Levant as an ambassador. A map was produced in his account *Voiage de Levant fait par le Commandement Du Roy en l’année 1621 par Le Sr. D. C. Paris* and was published in 1624. Under the pseudonym ‘Sr. D. C.’ Des Hayes described his journey to the Levant via places such as Vienna, Bulgaria, and also Cyprus (Navari, 2003, p.160). In particular he wrote about Ottoman Famagusta and left us a plan of Famagusta which was made by copper engraving. In it we observe a planned extension of the walls which had been depicted only in Gibellino’s map (Navari, 2003, p.160) via a dotted line on the west side of the wall. The name of the city is written inside a decorative swag towards the top of the map and beside the scale. The centre is marked ‘place’, the inner port ‘Le Port’, and the outer part ‘Port pour les grand Vaisseaux’ (the outer basin was for larger vessels). To the south, outside the walls, he depicts Varosha, while the city walls and the moat defined the natural outline of the city. The walls’ depiction is accurate, especially in relation to the Ravelin and Martinengo bastion. He does not illustrate any ship in the inner port because it was now filled with sand and large ships could not enter (Walsh, 2008, p.4). Lastly, the cartographer labelled the “Chasteau” which is the citadel, but there is no other identification on the map. Other than these two structures (the citadel and ‘place’), there is no indication of other buildings, nor was there information about the inside of the walls. The structure of the city is missing, as is any reference to the political or cultural aspects. In short, through a lack of symbols or illustrations we have no information about the city’s contemporary situation, its context.

Johann L. Gottfried, “Famagusta”, in *Archontologia Cosmica*, Frankfurt, 1649 (Cat No: 24):

The map, copper engraved, appeared in Johann Ludwig Gottfried’s three volumes *Archontologia Cosmica* published by Matthaeus Marien the Elder in 1649 in Frankfurt (Navari, 2003, p.174). The name, Famagusta, was written at the top of the map, the

Mediterranean Sea is given (“Mare Mediterraneum”) and the port is identified as “porto”. This is another plan of the city which focuses on the city walls, the citadel and the harbour. Stylianou believed that the map was based on new measurements, and that it presented a new version of the plan of the walled city. However, there are also mistakes on the map: the north should be at the bottom left corner, and the citadel and the tower are completely detached (Stylianou, 1980, p.96). There is no information about Famagusta’s interior or its current context or the cultural changes or any indication of the new rule in the city.

Anonymous, French, “Famagouste en Cypre”, 1650, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris (Cat No: 25):

Another plan of Famagusta was created by an unknown French cartographer, and depicts the city’s walls, the bastions and the citadel. Similar to other maps, there is no information or architectural detail pertaining to the inner city. The only written information is the city’s name fact that the port “Darsene pour 10 ou 12 Galeres”. The function of the map is to give information about the harbour, probably for French vessels. We learn nothing of the changes brought about by the Ottomans to the urban interior. The lack of detail about the interior can be due to the fact that Christians were not allowed into the city, as Stochove and Van Bruyn emphasized in their accounts (Cobham, 1908, p.217; 236). Some mistakes are made on the map such as the depiction of north and the extension of the citadel which is connected by the chain crossways, is depicted wrongly (Stylianou, 1980, p.96).

Gravier d’Ortiers, “Plan de Famagouste en Chypre”, 1685, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris (Cat. No: 27):

This is also a plan of the city, which contained mistakes. Few public buildings are shown on the map two towers are drawn too close to each other, and the citadel is absent (Stylianou, 1980, p.96). In the corner a church is illustrated, but other than this building there is no further detail about the city. Where the church is depicted, is the actual place where the Ravelin is and the church is depicted in Latin cross shape which no churches in Famagusta are, therefore the depiction of this church can be symbolic and probably referred to St. Nicholas Cathedral (the main church of the city). So we must assume that the map maker did not know the buildings inside the city walls, but wanted to emphasize its Christian heritage. On the inner port it says “Port pour les barques” which again gives information about its current condition. Because the port is filled with sand, only small vessels were able to get into the inner port, and the map maker similar to the other mapmakers of the century, emphasizes the capacity of the port. Other than this, there is no information about the city.

Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, “Famagusta”, in *Il Mediterraneo Descritto*, Venice, 1688, British Library, London (Cat No: 28):

Vincenzo Maria Coronelli was a globe maker and Cosmographer of the Venetian Republic (Stylianou, 1980, pp.103-4). He published various works relating to Cyprus and Famagusta (Stylianou, 1980, p.107), one of which was published in *Il Mediterraneo Descritto* in 1688, in *Isole*, and *Citta e Fortezze* in 1689, and in the second volume of the *Isolario dell’Atlante Veneto* in 1696 (Navari, 2003, p.222) The map shows the bastion of Martinengo, which was made in 1562 with great accuracy (Navari, 2003, p.222), and is almost certainly based on the wooden plan of 1571 in *Museo Storico Navale* of Venice, or Dapper’s map. Coronelli again focuses on the walls, the bastions and the harbour, but gives no indication of the inner city. In addition, he shows Varosha too, depicts as gardens outside of the city. On the map only the

name of the city and port is given, and like other maps of the period, offers no information or detail on the city's structure, its changing context, or the Ottoman occupation.

Olfert Dapper, "Famagusta", in *Naukeurige Beschryving...*, Amsterdam, 1688 (Cat No: 30):

Olfert Dapper was born in Amsterdam in 1635 and died in 1689, without ever having left the city. He created maps from large numbers of traveller's accounts, and his work *Description of Africa* is especially well known. In his book, beside geographical information he also included information on economy, politics, medicine, social life and customs. Because he used other people's accounts, the visual information "should be viewed with caution" ("Olfert Dapper", para. 1-7). This copper engraving map of Famagusta is from his book *Naukeurige Beschryving der Eilanden in de Archipel der Middelantsche Zee* (Navari, 2003, pp.214-7) was perhaps the most interesting map of the century. It is bird's eye view of the city, which shows the inside of the walls in detail (Navari, 2003, p.216), though the depiction of citadel is inaccurate (Stylianou, 1980, p.101). The outline plan of the city is similar to Coronelli's but in addition he depicts the inner city, with public and private buildings, and it is this which sets apart. Concerning the inside of the city, though he depicts the buildings, gardens, and roads, there is no indication of names of specific buildings. The map is probably based on a wooden model of the city from the 16th century in Venice (Navari, 2003, p.216), so the fortification is almost accurately depicted but dated. The fortification should be more in rectangular shape than a square. The map also shows a road system and blocks of buildings but none of the many churches (Stylianou, 1980, p.102). Though the map presents the details of the inside of the city, the information is coming from a previous model, and so we may conclude that the map has not been updated. During the 17th century, the city was in ruins: Sandys wrote in 1610 that "This greatly ruined city is yet the strongest in the Island..." (Cobham, 1908, p.206). This current situation was depicted by ruined buildings; however the absence of the main buildings creates unreliable image of the city (Fig.17). Again the walls and the harbour are depicted similar to other maps, as were the ships (galleys and galleons) in the inner and outer port such as large Dutch ship in the outer basin. In this century it was clear that trade relations with foreign countries was still continuing, even if the main harbour had become Larnaca. In addition, Varosha is represented as being fertile with gardens, similar to the Coronelli map, which gives updated information about the outside of the city.

The map is different from the previous maps in this century, however it still does not depict the Ottoman rule or cultural structure of the city. There are no flags or symbols. The only emphasis to the different cultures in the island in this period is the depiction of the Varosha where the Christian population settled after they left the city.

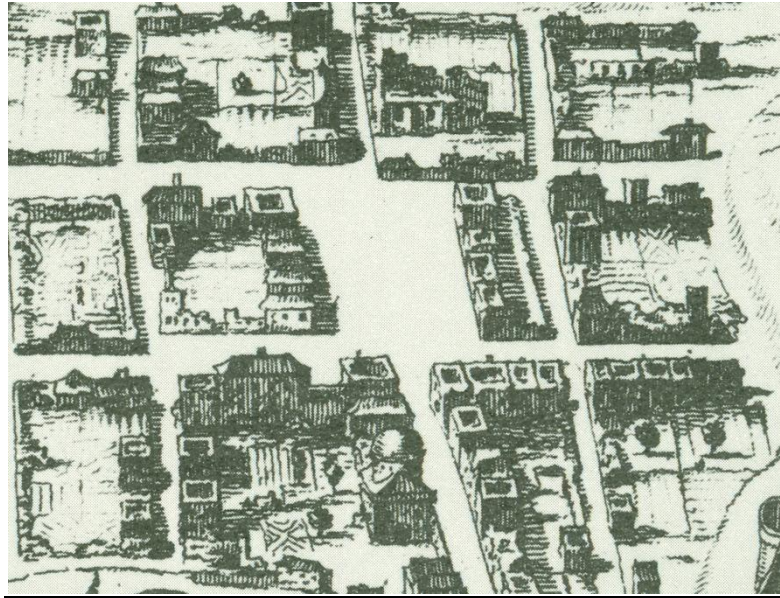


Figure 17: Detail from Olfert Dapper's map; city centre

Jacop Enderlin, "Famagusta", in *Trinum Marinum* Augsburg, 1693 (Cat No: 31):

The map was published in 1693 in the *Trinum Marinum* by Enderlin (Augsburg). His works were inspired principally by the Austro, Venetian and Turkish wars 1684-1689 (Navari, 2003, p.230). This unique of Famagusta offers a three dimensional view of the city; the harbour is depicted accurately, even if the buildings inside the walls were depicted as standard buildings of any medieval walled town (Navari, 2003, p.230). The Enderlin map is different from other maps of Cyprus of this century as it shows the city from a different, fictional point of view, surrounded by mountains which were not there. There seems to be a detailed description of the buildings but this image came from a standard image of a medieval town rather than a specific knowledge of Famagusta itself. The ruined city as it was mentioned in the texts is not depicted. Inside the city there are towers, that might be minarets to represent the Islamic city and in the harbour he illustrates ships with the symbol of the crescent, which is the emblem of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, one large Dutch ship on foreground which emphasize foreign ships still visiting Famagusta, is depicted but on others, there is no identification marks. Within the city there is one significant domed building in the middle which has similar structure to St. George of the Greeks, however, it is not certain that the map maker represents this building, also during the bombardment in 1571, the church was heavily damaged which is not shown, and so the representation of the city becomes symbolic.

Cornelius de Bruyn, "Famagusta" in *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia*, Delft, 1698 (Cat No: 32):

Cornelius de Bruyn was a Flemish traveller and artist who started his journey in 1674 from Hague and travelled to the East until 1693. His second voyage was in between 1701 and 1708 where he reached to the East Indies. During his voyages he created drawings of places he visited. During his first voyage, he visited Cyprus in 1683 as well and created a profile view of Famagusta and published it in *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia*. In 1714, French and English editions of his travel accounts were also published (Cobham, 1908, p.236). In his accounts, he wrote his observations on many cities of the island and he also described the natives, clothes, culture, architecture, etc. (Cobham, 1908, pp.236-44).

In his drawing of Famagusta, he depicted the city from outside the walls since he was not able to enter the city. He wrote,

In the afternoon I went with two Greeks to see the outside of Famagusta, but as I got too near the Turks shouted to me from the walls to retire. I had to obey, and turning down to the seashore sat down on a little eminence to sketch the city as carefully as possible. (Cobham, 1908, pp.236)

St. Nicholas Cathedral is dominant in the middle of the image as the biggest construction within the city. The design of the cathedral can be seen on the drawing with the addition of a minaret after its conversion into a mosque. Next to it, the Church of St. George of the Greeks can be seen with its dome and buttresses. His observation about these two buildings was, “The mosque called S. Sophia seems very fine: it must indeed be as grand as its reputation. The pointed tower which crowns the building is highly ornamental. On the left of it is another mosque whose dome makes it very conspicuous. One can see the holes left by the cannon balls: half the church was destroyed in the siege” (Cobham, 1908, pp.236).

A few lower private structures, minarets and palm trees form the inner city. The fortification of the city creates the main identification of Famagusta. As it is a profile image, the structure and layout of the city cannot be seen from the image. The city was depicted in the background and in the foreground he added the harbour, natives and a Dutch ship.

Edmond Halley, “The Bay of Famagusta”, London, 1728, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collection (Cat No: 33):

Halley’s work is a composite maritime chart containing ten copper engravings of coastal and harbour locations and was published in London in 1728 (Navari, 2003, p.244). The map gives information on the harbour’s depths and about the coast line for navigation. On the map, there was not much about the city itself, with only the wall, the tower, and the harbour depicted. Similar to other works of this century, the illustration is symbolic rather than a realistic image of Famagusta. Its importance rests in the harbour, and on the map the depths are given but any information about the city is absent.

Hendrik Michelot and Arnold Langerak, “Cipre”, “Ernica”, “Famagusta”, in *De Waare Wegwyzer De Waare wegwyzer voor de stuurlieden en lootzen in de middelensche zee... door Hendrik Michelot...Leyden, 1745, Nederlandsch Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam (Cat No: 35):*

This map was published in Leyden in 1745, and its priority was clearly the bay of Ernica, (Larnaca). Not unimportantly however it also showed the bay of Famagusta, the bay of S. Napa and St. George (Stylianou, 1980, p.109). A similar version of this map was also produced by Roux in 1764 (Navari, 2003, pp.266-7) and included Famagusta, which is represented by a small architectural group comprised of four buildings one of which is tall and had a cross on top. The walls of the harbour are represented with no further details of the city. Similar to the other maps of this century it is used as a maritime chart, where information on depths of the water is the primary concern. The map maker only depicts architectural structure to symbolically represent the city, though the tall building is probably St. Nicholas Cathedral. The representation of it is symbolic rather than real and that is why the drawing of Famagusta is similar to that of Ernica as well. There is no detailed information about the buildings, any identification or names. That said, even though the buildings are symbolic,

they still provide some information about the current political and cultural context by using religious symbols (the cross and the crescent are indeed potent symbols) rather than focusing only on Larnaca as a new trade centre, and give information for navigation.

Antonio Borg, “Piano Del Porto Di Famagousta”, in his *Piani di tutte l’Isole dal Mar Adriatico sin tutto Levante...*, 1770, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem & the Jewish National & University Library (Cat No: 36):

This map was produced by Antonio Borg in 1770 in his book *Piani di tutte l’Isole dal Mar Adriatico sin tutto Levante, cioe del Arcipelago incluse l’isole Candia, Rodi e Cipri, Colli loro rispettivi Porti, Bassifonti, e secche nuovamente corretti, e dilucidati da Antonio Borg Compagno di Piloto sulla Capitana della S. R. G.* Aside from the map of the island, he also depicted the ports of Larnaca and Famagusta (Stylianou, 1980, pp.148-9). In his map, he illustrated the city walls and buildings inside it, emphasizing St. Nicholas Cathedral in particular, though calling it S. Sophia. With these features, the map is distinct from others as they do not give any information about the architectural elements of the city. Although he wrote the name of the most important building in the city, the depiction of the buildings themselves are not realistic, but carried symbols like the crescent to indicate the Ottoman Empire and Islam. In general, he creates an imaginary city rather than an accurate image of Famagusta. He also added that Varosha was a “villagio” where Christian people who left the city now resided (Fig.18). Again, as a maritime chart, the map gives accurate information on the depths of the harbour and the coast, while simultaneously it provides some information on the religious and historical context of the city.

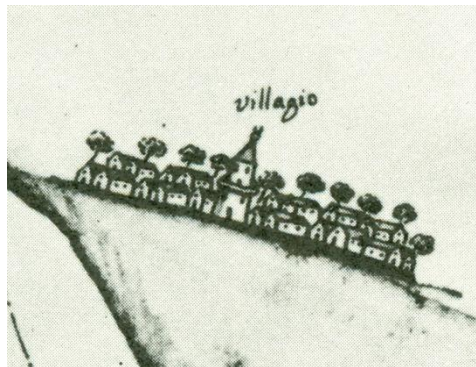


Figure 18: Detail from Antonio Borg’s map; Varosha

Joseph Allezard, “Port de Famagousta” (Port of Famagusta) in *Nouveau Recueil des plans des principaux de la Mediterranee*, Marseille, 1800, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, Paris (Cat No: 37):

The map was produced by Joseph Allezard in Marseille in 1800 and is a three dimensional representation of the town with its fortification (Stylianou, 1980, p.147). The map had many features in common with other maritime charts of the century, as well as some differences as well. Because the map was created during the Napoleon expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean, the interest in Famagusta might also have peaked. Naturally, numbers for the depth of the harbour and the coast are given, but so too is a representation of the city depicting the architectural structures; the walls, and the buildings in the inner city. Therefore the map gives some information about the identity of the city in which four minarets tower above the walls, beside buildings with domes, on top of which are crescents (Fig.19). At the entrance of the harbour there are two towers. The features however are vague and one expects

it to be the product of the imagination more than anything else. The representation is similar to a standard walled city, in which structures remain symbolic. The map does not give the city structure but only emphasized the Islamic and Ottoman rule of the city by using symbols.

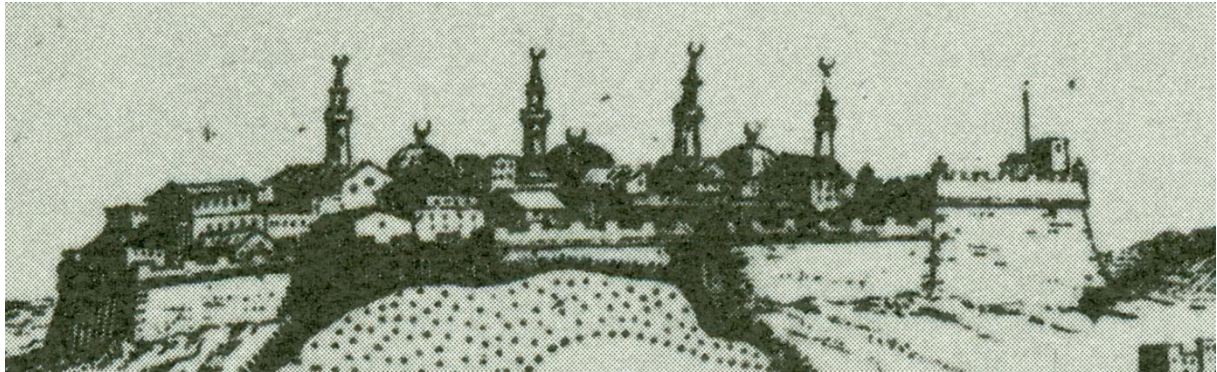


Figure 19: Detail from Joseph Allezard's map; Famagusta

Basil Grigorovitch Barsky, "Famagusta", in *Travels of Basil Grigorovitch Barsky in the Holy Places of the East from 1723 to 1747*, N. Barsoukov (ed.), 4vol., 1885-7, St. Petersburg, 1727, Akademija Nauk, Kiev (Cat No: 38):

Basil Grigorovitch Barsky of Kiev was a Russian monk who travelled to Cyprus in the 18th century. He was a traveller, author and artist. He visited the island twice; first in 1727, he stayed for three months and his second visit was for almost two years between 1734 and 1736. He was also a teacher who taught Latin in Nicosia, where he stayed during his second visit. However, in 1735 when the schools were closed down because of the plague, he had to leave the city and ended up travelling around various monasteries of the island. During his travels he wrote about these monasteries, places, and people and in general about the island. He also made various drawings of churches and towns; such as Famagusta and Nicosia.

In the picture, he depicts the walled city; the fortification, harbour and inner city are shown with the Cathedral at the centre. The Cathedral is detailed and over-sized compared to other structures. Its Gothic architecture can be seen with details of its buttresses, two towers and oval shape with the addition of the minaret which was added after the Ottomans converted it into a mosque. Across from the Cathedral is another building that has a different structure from the others, which is probably the Palace with its high walls. The rest of the city is filled with private and domed buildings and mosques. In the background, the Land Gate is depicted and at the front we see the small harbour and the Sea Gate beside it. Even though he illustrates the inner and outer harbours and the chain that separates them, the depiction of the harbour is basic, more symbolic than a realistic. It seems busy with ships in the inner and outer harbour. According to the position of the harbour, the Cathedral and Palace are in the position. However, this point of view is the best way to show the square and magnificence of the Cathedral. Although it is not an accurate representation or a map of the city, it is able to give information about the city and the century. It illustrates the Ottoman rule and changes that happened in the city and also emphasizes the significant features of the city.

4.3 The British Era Famagusta Maps

4.3.1 History of Famagusta

The Ottoman Empire, which was at war with the Russian Empire, requested help from the British Empire. In return for their assistance, they rented Cyprus to the British in 1878 but since they fought on opposite sides during the First World War, the British Empire claimed the island as theirs in 1914, and made it a full colony in 1925 (Hill, 1952, p.414). The island was militarily and commercially important for the British Empire, due to the Eastern Question, the decline in power and the changing domain of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the importance of shipping lines to India (Hill, 1952, p.270).

During the Ottoman period, rules concerning entrance to the city of Famagusta had changed yet again, with the rule of British Empire, so that non-Muslims could enter freely. William Turner wrote during his travel in 1815 that:

Three years ago the Turks would allow no Christian to enter it but on foot, but they have lately abated this insolence, though I was assured that I should have found a difficulty in riding in if I had not had a janizary with me. (Cobham, 1908, p.434)

What they saw was a city in a poor condition and the harbour filled with sand, and no longer able to accommodate ships. John Macdonald Kinneir wrote in 1814:

This port could once admit vessels of a considerable draft of water; but since the conquest of the Turks, sand and rubbish have been suffered to accumulate in such a degree, that none but small vessels can now enter it with safety. (Cobham, 1908, p.412)

The glorious days were remembered or imagined by travellers like Turner who wrote in 1815,

Famagosto was the strongest place the Venetians had in Cyprus, and was the residence of most of the nobles. Its importance is well attested by its amazing strength. It then contained from 15,000 to 20,000 houses, and the extra ordinarily disproportionate number of 365 churches. (Cobham, 1908, p.434)

In this context, Cyprus, especially Famagusta port, had significance. Sir Samuel White Baker, who visited Cyprus in 1879 wrote about this importance:

There can be no doubt that Cyprus or Crete was requisite to England as the missing link in the chain of our communications with Egypt. As a strategical point, Cyprus must be represented by Famagousta ... without Famagousta, the island would be worthless as a naval station; with it, as a first-class harbour and arsenal, we should dominate the eastern portion of the Mediterranean, entirely command the approach to Egypt, and keep open our communications with the Suez Canal and the consequent route to India. In the event of the Euphrates valley line of railway becoming an accomplished fact, Cyprus will occupy the most commanding position ... The more minutely that we scrutinise the question of a Cyprian occupation, the more prominent becomes the importance of Famagousta; with it, Cyprus is the key of a great position; without it, the affair is a dead-lock. (Baker, 1879, pp.107-8)

Sir Charles Orr, who was posted as Chief Secretary to Cyprus in 1911, wrote about condition of Cyprus when the British came to the island,

In the light of these facts it can be hardly be a matter of surprise that the island in 1878 was found to be without roads, its harbours silted up, the peasants apathetic, agriculture languishing, trade and commerce undeveloped, and a general state of paralysis prevailing. (Orr, 1972, p.66)

The British administration reports recorded that the harbour was silted up with sand and rocks so it could only be used for small ships. In addition, the lack of a lighthouse also raised concern (Marangou, 2002, p.132). It was reported in 1863 that the port was redeemable; it could be a safe place for ships once it was reconstructed. The report says, “If Cyprus ever comes into the hands of a big European power, it is beyond any shadow of a doubt that Famagusta will acquire once more its great eminence. Its great power and its protected harbour will surely be exploited appropriately” (Marangou, 2002, p132-3).

Famagusta's administration, culture, religion, changed radically and immediately even though the island was under British rule only for a relatively short period of time. When the British Empire took over the island, one priority was the development of the harbour, despite its poor condition (Marangou, 2002, p.142). They invested greatly in the port, and in the preservation of the historic monuments. Walsh emphasizes that:

The British were interested not in preserving Famagusta as some sort of outdoor museum per se, but in revitalising the urban landscape as a working, strategically important and culturally significant possession in the Eastern Mediterranean. And yet, despite the acquisition of Alexandria en route to Suez (post 1882), the off-putting but unmistakable rise of Greek nationalism, the demise of the original Russian threat to Turkey and the overall fact that Cyprus was not yet a colony, Britain decided to invest in Famagusta. (Walsh, 2010, p.251)

In order to develop the island and advance the living conditions, policies for improvement started early in various areas, such as administration, education, transportation, communication and the development of cities and villages (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.59). Roads, and bridges were constructed, harbours were renovated and new agricultural methods were introduced (Newman, 1953, p.204). In addition, they dried the swamp around the city in order to control and diminish the malaria, and locusts, and built hospitals and schools. Specific laws for different cities were also formed (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.60); the “Law on Famagusta Stones”, for example, was enacted for the protection of monuments and churches in Famagusta (Walsh, 2008, p.9). The British government concurrently emphasized the protection of the historical context of the inner city, and the construction started slowly but surely (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.62). Orr wrote “Now that funds are becoming available and the people are better educated and more in touch with the outside world, progress is becoming much more rapid, and leeway is being made up” (Orr, 1972, p.182). Of course, this condition applied directly to Famagusta and its harbour in which the British Empire invested a lot of money. In 1902, Coodes & Co. started work on improvements for its reconstruction and spent c. £300,000 (Walsh, 2008, p.5). Orr quoted from Lord Kimberly about financial difficulties of the harbour's construction and how not everyone thought it worth the cost:

I do not consider that the circumstances would justify an application to Parliament to supply funds for the construction of a commercial harbour, in addition to the heavy

annual charge which in the present financial position of the island must be borne by the Imperial Treasury in aid of local revenue. (Orr, 1972, p.153)

The British government's first intention with the harbour was to reconstruct it as a naval base, but this project was abandoned, due to the economic problems they encountered and the changing political situation between Turkey and Russia has changed. Instead, the harbour was converted to be used as a commercial one, which would cost less money and effort (Marangou, 2002, p.159-60).

In his report, the governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs wrote that £200,000 had been spent between 1926 and 1932 for cleaning and expanding the harbour to allow heavy traffic to return (Storrs, 1993, p.66). Ironclads (battleships that were made of iron or steel plates) were favoured in production instead of wooden war ships in the second half of the 19th century. Later, in 1879, with the application of steel steam ships (merchant and passenger ships) were produced ("Maintaining naval", para. 4), meaning all ships were larger than before (Pike, 2006, para. 15). Due to this, a port with a much larger entrance and a deeper shore was needed in Famagusta (Marangou, 2002, pp.171-81). Marangou divides the port's progress into three phases: first from 1898 to 1905, deepening the inner port and lengthening the quay (Marangou, 2002, p.171). This was began in tandem with construction of the railway from Famagusta to Nicosia. Further developments such as widening the entrance and extending the quay were done between 1925 and 1933, in the second phase (Marangou, 2002, p.178). Lastly from 1959 to 1965, the third phase focused on new extension projects (Marangou, 2002, p.181). By the time it was completed, Famagusta harbour had lost its prominence to other harbours yet again. Orr explains, "the project was therefore abandoned for the time being, and the commerce of the island continued to be conducted through the medium of the two southern ports of Larnaca and Limassol with their open roadsteads" (Orr, 1972, pp.153-4).

Many works by British and other scholars from various nations on the island's history, antiquities and architecture were revitalized. E. I'Anson and S. Vacher's work on mediaeval buildings in Cyprus was called *Medieval and Other Buildings in Cyprus* (1882-83), and a French scholar, C. Enlart's work on the gothic and Renaissance architecture of the island, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (1899) provides key texts even today. In addition, new surveys were started and new maps were published.

4.3.2 Portrayal of British Famagusta

With the start of a new era, the city was forming and changing again. New buildings were built close to the harbour as warehouses. Some buildings were removed such as the ruins of the *Genoese Loggia* close to the Queen's Palace which was located at 11 in Gibellino's map and it was completely destroyed (Uluca & Akın, 2008, p.200). In addition, new gates were opened to the harbour side in order to make entry and exit easy. They were located between the Sea Gate and the Citadel, and the Sea Gate was closed completely.

The constructions in the city can be separated into two sections. The first was between 1878 and 1930 and the second between 1930 and 1960. During the first section, renovations were focused on the north-west and north-east of the city. The majority of the construction of the harbour was done in this period. During the second period, constructions of private buildings and shops especially between the centre to the Land gate improved the city (Uluca & Akın, 2008, p.204). The agricultural areas inside the walled city were removed. Within the walls

new buildings like schools, municipality market, library and private houses were built. Probably the biggest change for the city was the addition of the railways. In 1894, the 36 mile long railway was built which connected Larnaca, Nicosia and Famagusta (Orr, 1972, p.15-6).

The British government moved the administrative centre out of the walled city to the area between the city and Varosha. In this area, they built new government buildings, the court, a hospital, and police offices. Existing buildings were used for various purposes. St. Peter and Paul Church's was used as a grain and potato warehouse, the Tophane bastion and St. George of Latins Church's garden was used as fuel store and the Venetian house was used as a women's prison. The remaining parts of the Palace were used as police offices, as during the Ottoman period (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.205). Not all churches were used for different purpose. Some were reconstructed and reopened as churches. In the beginning of the 20th century, the Nestorian Church (Ayios Yeorghios Xorinos Church) was used by the Greek Orthodox community, and in 1945 the Armenian Church was reopened for service (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.206).

In order to clean the main square and highlight the Lala Mustafa Mosque, they demolished two buildings on the west side of the mosque. In addition, excavations were made in several places, for example, in 1953, medieval water canals were found under the main square. New laws to protect the city were formed by the British government, such as the Antiquities law established in 1905 which only included monuments built prior to the Ottoman era. The renovations were rather focused on monuments belonging to the pre-Ottoman era, which is why there has not been much renovation of the Ottoman monuments. One exception is the reuse of the Ottoman school (mescid) as the Antiquities department (Uluca & Akin, 2008, p.207-9). These renovations ensured that the ancient monuments and buildings were preserved and still stand today so that their beauty can still be appreciated.

4.3.3 Analysis of the Maps

Thomas Graves, "The Harbour of Famagusta", London, 1850 (Cat No: 39):

The steel engraved map was based on Graves' survey, and was published by the Admiralty of the British Empire. Besides Famagusta, there were other cities depicted as well (Navari, 2003, pp.286-7). The chart focuses on the coast line of Famagusta and gives the depth of the water to sailors (similar to the charts of the previous century), and valuable information concerning projects to improve the port. At the bottom of the map the city is depicted. The walls are illustrated in a dark colour, and the ancient mole is clear to see. The map does not illustrate details within the city. In the 19th century, maps had become more accurate and scientific, and so there were few decorative elements or illustrations. Besides the information about the harbour the new name and old name of Famagusta (Arsinoe) are both given. Inside of the walls are painted with a reddish brown, probably showing the occupation places in the city. When the British took the island they started constructions within the city, especially at the harbour because it was useful for military purposes (Marangou, 2002, p.167).

Captain Horatio Herbert Kitchener, "A trigonometrical survey of the island of Cyprus", London, 1885 (Cat No: 40):

Kitchener's lithographic map of Cyprus was based on his survey in 1879, and was published by Stanford in 1885 in London. This survey was the first accurate survey of the entire island

of Cyprus (Navari, 2003, p.306). The enormous dimensions of the map are 12 feet 6 inches by 7 feet. Although Kitchener did not prepare a map specifically of Famagusta, this map is detailed enough to show the roads, districts, sub-districts, forests, towns, villages and other details. On the map Muslim and Christian villages are marked: the Christian villages are represented by a cross and the Muslim villages by a crescent (Gürkan, 2008, p.135). The walls and harbour are depicted as were some structures within the walls.

A. L. Mansell, "Mediterranean Cyprus- East coast Famagusta and Salamis", 1878-9 (Cat No: 41):

The Famagusta map was based on the survey by Lieutenant A. L. Mansell, but the second chart was based on a survey by Millard. Navari writes:

Both charts are very important for the cartography of Cyprus because they were the first to be based on truly scientific surveying. At the same time they bear witness to the fact that the British government wished to explore the advantages of Famagusta as a naval base and as a commercial port. Nevertheless, after eighty-two years of British rule, the harbour of Famagusta was still undeveloped as none of the proposed plans was ever realized. (Navari, 2003, p.304)

Similar to Graves map, this is a maritime chart which focused on the coastline of the city, was produced by using steel engraving, and was used as a report on the harbour and its coastline for improvement projects. The city fills only a small area on the map but still gives some useful information. It shows some public buildings such as St. Nicholas Cathedral, a few other churches, the citadel, the walls and the bastions. Similar to other maps of this century, there are no decorative elements or other drawings or symbols. Again, it is named Famagusta harbour, though the names of some buildings are given as well.

Karl Baedeker, "Famagusta", in *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*, Leipzig, 1905 (Cat No: 42):

This lithographic map was published in 1905 in Baedeker's travel guide (Navari, 2003, p.336). Karl Baedeker was a German publisher and bookseller, whose guidebooks also had information about the historical background of places ("Karl Baedeker", 2008, para. 1). The travel guide includes the old town of Famagusta. The map depicts the walled city itself rather than focusing on the harbour. Some of the public buildings inside the city are illustrated and identified with their names, such as; 'H. Nikolaos' and in brackets mosque was written, or 'H. Georgios' and in brackets Greek cathedral. The map does not only show the city and its buildings, but also their identity, including churches, the palace, bastions, the citadel and gates and even suggested the actual plans of a few buildings themselves. The locations of the buildings and the formation of the city are accurate and reliable which can be seen in a comparison with a contemporary map, such as that of Famagusta from Google Earth (Fig. 20). The wall of the old town in Baedeker map is correct as in today's map, as were the locations of St. Nicholas Cathedral, St. George of Greeks, and SS. Peter and Paul.



Figure 20: Google Earth, Famagusta, the walled city

This map is the only one from this period that specifically focused on the city rather than the harbour, and showed religious buildings, thus raising the Christian features of the city to prominence. Again, the walls are noticeable on the map, painted with red similar to the public buildings. For example, near St. Nicholas Cathedral, it is written “mosque”; so the map illustrates the Christian and the Muslim periods, and the changing context of the city. However, the map only focuses on Christian monuments, not Muslim ones such as Turkish baths, and in so doing the map maker ignored 300 years of the city’s history. The map therefore portrays only a partial identity and structure of the city as well as its history. Since Gibellino’s map from 1571, this was the first map to show many of the public buildings, to give names to them, and detailed information about the city. In the map, accordingly to its purpose Baedeker names the mosques and other Islamic structures which indicate the Ottoman and Islamic dominance in the city.

Baedeker’s map has its shortcomings too. He only depicts selected buildings, Gibellino’s map, on the other hand, depicts buildings like St. Nicholas Cathedral and many important structures within the city like the two Venetian columns. Another important difference is that Gibellino’s map was created as a report on the siege while Baedeker’s map was for a travel guide which should be more detailed. In addition, there is misleading information on Baedeker’s map which was the depiction of one specific church ‘St. Dominic’. In Gibellino’s map, the church is marked as ‘St. Dominic’, but in Enlart’s writing and also in Baedeker’s map, it is marked as St. Clara. Enlart describes the structure,

A pile of ruins known locally as Haia Fotou is probably a former convent of St. Clare... Admittedly the present-day legend of St. Fotou of Famagusta is a local invention, and Gibellino's engraving not merely does not mark St. Clare but inserts St. Dominic more or less at the place occupied by the ruins in question. They are, however, much too insignificant to have been St. Dominic. (Enlart, 1987, pp.293-4)

The current information about the ruins in time of the Baedeker's map and Enlart's research on Famagusta monuments, it is known as St. Clara and Haia Fotou (Fig. 21). Today, excavations on the site prove that most probably Gibellino's illustration is right and that the church is St. Dominic not St. Clara. A. Atun writes that,

The churches named "*St. Clara*" and "*Ayia Photou*" are exactly on the same spot and their locations coincide....As a result of the above matchings and calculations it is clearly seen and understood that the churches detailed in two medieval gravures and three 20th century maps, named as St. Clara, Ayia Photu and Ayia Photou are the same churches, and originally is the St. Dominic Church marked with number 5 and detailed as "*St. Dominic*" in the footnote of the map drawn by Gibellino. (Atun, 2011, pp.278-9)

In March 2011 a new excavation was started on this spot (Fig. 23). Even though, the excavation still continues, the team leader Hasan Tekel (personal communication, June 9, 2011) said that according to the evidence, this complex is most probably a monastery, as Gibellino had depicted (Fig. 22). From this excavation, they found a new structure which is probably the apse of a church in French Gothic style, and "*Ayia Photou*" where it was assumed as an underground church, might be a vault of this monastery. St. Clara is part of this complex as well. Unfortunately, the excavation came to a halt before new evidence for St. Dominic Monastery could be discovered. Regardless this information which had emerged today supports the 1571 Gibellino map which depicted this monastery, and demonstrates that Baedeker's map which was scientific reflected the current knowledge but also had inaccuracies.



Figure 21: Detail from Karl Baedeker's map; S. Clara Church

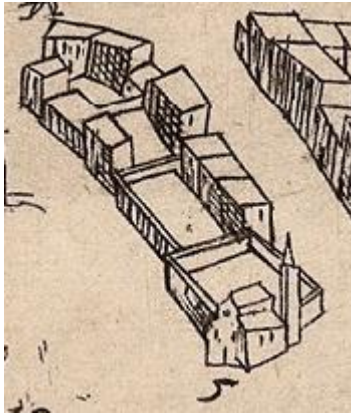


Figure 22: Detail of Gibellino's map, No: 5, St Dominic Monastery



Figure 23: Wall from St. Dominic Monastery excavation, possible apse of the church
(photo by author)

Chapter 5

NICOSIA MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

5.1 The Venetian Era Nicosia Maps

5.1.1 History of Nicosia

Nicosia is located in the middle of the Mesario plain. It was formed from the ancient city of Lidra (Ledra) located on the south side of today's fortification. During the time of Ptolemy I of Egypt, the name of the city was changed to "Levkontheon" (Mariti, 1971, p.39). According to some historians, towards the end of the Byzantine era (395 and 1191 A.D.), the name "Levkontheon" was turned into "Levkosia" (Gürkan 2006, p.12) and later became today's Turkish name "Lefkoşa".

Towards the end of the Byzantine period, Nicosia became an important city for refugees as a result of the Arabic assault on Constantia (Salamis; the ancient city close to Famagusta) when many people moved to Nicosia to escape. The Residence of the Governor of Byzantine was in Nicosia, making it the new administrative and military capital of the island when Isaac Comnenus, who was the last Byzantine Governor, declared Cyprus an independent state from the Byzantine Empire in 1184 (Gürkan, 2006, p.13; Lukach & Jardine, 2007,p.20).

In 1191, the island was invaded by Richard I and was subsequently sold to the Templar Knights (Lukach & Jardine, 2007, p.21). Nicosia kept its title as the capital city during the Templars' rule, which lasted only one year (Gürkan, 2006, p.13). In 1192, the island was given to Guy de Lusignan. During this era, the island prospered, population and wealth increased and the living conditions vastly improved.

Starting with the Lusignan period, the name of the city was known as Leucosia, residence of the king nobles: barons, knights and many others (Stylianou, 1989, p.12; Cobham, 1908, p.121). Besides being the administrative centre, it was also the seat of the Latin Archbishop. W. Von Oldernberg wrote about Nicosia in 1211,

This is the king's capital city, situated almost in the middle of the plain; it has no fortifications. A strong castle has just now been built in it. It has inhabitants without number, all very rich. In this city is the seat of the archbishop. (Cobham, 1918, p.14)

During the Genoese occupation of Famagusta, the nobility moved to Nicosia which improved the city's wealth with the addition of statues (Cobham, 1908, p.98)⁹. Paruta wrote, "Famagosta was possessed by the Genoese's for the space of 90 years, and yet the Lusignan Kings were masters of the Island at the same time. So as it might be conceived, the taking of that city would not make much towards the getting of the hole kingdom; whereas the whole nobility were withdrawn into Nicosia, and most of the people, wealth and ammunition of the island, so as one labour might do the whole business" (Cobham, 1908, p.98). People from various ethnicities, cultures and religions lived in the capital city. In the 15th century, the city had

⁹ Paolo Paruta's Account, pp.96-119.

50,000 inhabitants and over 250 churches and monasteries spread all over the walled city (Stylianou, 1989, p.14).

However, the statues were not preserved and the wealth diminished by the beginning of the next Venetian era. Nicosia remained the capital city and the seat of the Venetian Governor (Cobham, 1908, p. 121; Gürkan, 1996, p.28), yet Cyprus was no more than a military base for the new rulers (Gunnis, 1947, p.19). The island became committed to Venice, where two thirds of taxes were to be paid (Gürkan, 1996, p.27). In addition, earthquakes, drought and other natural disasters damaged the city and the island, causing population loss (Gürkan, 2006, p.24). With the upcoming threat from the Ottoman Empire, the city and island were in a critical condition (Gürkan, 2006, p.23).

5.1.1.1 The Siege of Nicosia, 1570

According to written accounts, on 1 July 1570, Ottoman ships were seen at the shore of the island. Giacomo Diedo writes,

The news of the Turkish landing spread throughout the island, and the inhabitants of the cities were filled with confusion and alarm at the thought that their whole hope of defense rested in the two fortresses of Nicosia and Pamagosta. The first was strong and well supplied with artillery, but there were not enough troops to man the vast extent of its walls. (Cobham, 1908, 91)

The Ottoman troops marched to Nicosia. Meanwhile, a group of horsemen left the city before the Ottoman army reached Nicosia in order to delay the army's arrival at the city and ready the city against the upcoming attack. However, the troop did not survive against the Ottoman army. After the confrontation, the Ottoman troops reached the city and surrounded it, camping towards the south side of the city.

According to Diedo, "the Ottoman main camp facing the space covered by four of city's bastions"; he added that "large bodies of horse and foot were posted of various points to prevent ingress to and egress from the besieged fortress" (Cobham, 1908, p.92). The main firing line was directed towards four bastions; Podocattere, Costanzo, D'Avila and Tripoli (Cobham, 1908, p. 82; 132). The Ottomans built forts and placed cannons to the south side and kept firing towards these four bastions while other troops surrounded the city.

Meanwhile, the besieged city had problems as Diedo explains in his account

The city, through the negligence of its chiefs, was poorly provided with grain: the trenches were not thoroughly dug out; the inhabitants were not disciplined, for up to this time so confident had they been that they would not be attacked that they had quite lately disbanded the island troops called Cernide, and left the town undefended. (Cobham, 1908, p. 92)

Fra Angelo Calepio, in his book *Chorografia* in 1573 wrote about his experience as a prisoner from the fall of Nicosia, sold to a captain, and taken to Constantinople. He writes "For the next few days the usual cannonade was kept up morning and evening, as well as volley firing, while they assailed the Podochatoro, Constanzo, Davila and Tripoli bastions, sometimes two

at a time, sometimes all four at once, but they were always valiantly repulsed.” (Cobham, 1908, p.136).

According to the written text, they continued firing at these bastions from early morning until late night, stopping only during the really hot noon hours (Cobham, 1908, p.153)¹⁰. However when this strategy did not work, they dug deep trenches and moved towards the wall (Cobham, 1908, p.83)¹¹. As Calepio points out in his account,

In a few days the Turks had made great tunnels, blowing up the earth to fill in our ditch, and making shelters in them with scaffolding. Our soldiers and the citizens learned this, and fearing the damage they would do us begged earnestly that they might be allowed to make one grand sally in force to prevent the enemy from mining, and to destroy his traverses. But their request was refused, because the whole number of Italians was very small, and many of these had died already of a malady then prevalent, and from bad anagement, and the natives were untrained. (Cobham, 1908, p.133-4)

While the Ottomans were trying to demolish the bastions, the Venetian soldiers inside the city were trying to repair the damages that the cannons caused (Cobham, 1908, p.135)¹². However, the Ottoman army were attacking restlessly, Paruta writes that,

The danger increased daily, as the enemy drew nearer; for the Turks wanting neither for diligence nor industry, were come with their trenches very near the ditch, and by frequent musquet shot, playing upon those that were upon the walls, kept them from appearing upon the parapets. (Cobham, 1908, p.102-3)

The siege of Nicosia continued for approximately two months, with both sides fighting each other relentlessly waiting for one of them to fall. The last assault was on 9 September 1570 when the Ottoman troops climbed the four bastions during the night without being discovered by the defenders, and a final attack started at dawn. Fabriano Falchetti who was taken prisoner after the fall of Nicosia described the event,

A few days later, on the morning of Saturday, Sept. 9, as reveille was sounded, they were already on the walls, having climbed up quietly, in the night along the roads they had made without being discovered by our soldiers, and attacked us so suddenly that we could offer little resistance to their first charge. (Cobham, 1908, p.81)

The Venetians could not hold back the Ottoman army, the four bastions were lost, and the invaders moved toward the centre of the city, where the fight continued for six hours before the city fell (Cobham, 1908, p.85; 95;138)¹³. Diedo finished his observation on the fall of Nicosia “Such was the lamentable end of the wretched citizens, such the tragic fate of Nicosia, a city famed as a fortress, glorying in its buildings, and widely known for its riches. Its happy position, its pleasant climate, the gifts showered on it by nature, the added charms

¹⁰ Fra Angelo Calepio’s account, 122-162.

¹¹ Gio Sozomeno’s account, 81-87.

¹² Fra Angelo Calepio’s account, 122-162.

¹³ Gio Sozomeno’s account, 81-87; Fra Angelo Calepio’s account, 122-162; Giacomo Diedo’s account, 87-96.

of art, had given it a place among the fairest, strongest and most renowned cities of Europe” (Cobham, 1908, p.95).

5.1.2 Portrayal of Venetian Nicosia

“The first is in Nicosia, which is the capital, now a great city, not on the sea but five German miles away in the heart of the island; surrounded by fertile and pleasant hills... There are many churches in the city, both Greek and Latin” (Cobham, 1908, p.41-2). Felix Faber observed the city in 1480 with these words.

The city gained its significant identification features in the Lusignan era. Even today Gothic monuments can be seen all around the city. The biggest and most important Gothic structure is the St. Sophia Cathedral. Regarding its architecture, Gunnis mentions it as being in the “purest early French pointed style” (Gunnis, 1947, p.49). In addition, Jeffery introduces the Cathedral in his book with these words “The great Mosque of St. Sophia is the largest monument of antiquity remaining in Cyprus, and the most important surviving memorial of the feudal kingdom of the Lusignans, and the art and culture of the Levant during the XIIIth and XIVth centuries” (Jeffery, 1918, p.64). The Cathedral was the coronation place for the kings of Cyprus and also the resting place for Lusignan kings and nobles as it is located in the middle of the city.

Besides the St. Sophia Cathedral, both Greek and Latin churches spread all over the city, such as St. Clare monastery or the basilica of Panagia Hodegetria (Stylianou, 1989, p.13-4). These churches and monasteries were dedicated to various saints, such as St. Clare monastery built by the Franciscans, or St. Dominic built for the Domenicans which was destroyed by the Venetians during the reconstruction of the walls (Stylianou, 1989, p. 13). Beside the Latin churches, churches in the Greek style also appeared in the city. These buildings were built in the Byzantine style with Gothic influence, for example the small church of Stavro tou Missericou which was converted into a mosque in the Ottoman era. Jeffery described its style thus: “This small church or chapel is an excellent example of the art and the mixture of architectural elements which seems to have prevailed in Cyprus during the Venetian occupation (Jeffery, 1918, p.44-5). In the maps we are going to see, these churches, especially St. Sophia, its walls and bastions, were depicted as main identifying features of the city.

Another important structure of the city is the Palace. The palace was built during the Lusignan period and remodelled in the Venetian era. Martoni wrote about the Palace, “The house in which the king of Cyprus lives is fine; it has a courtyard as large as that of the new castle at Naples, and many fine apartments round it, among which is a large hall.”(Cobham, 1908, p.22)

Alongside significant monuments, the fortification of the city determines its identification as the ideal city. In the mid-14th century, King Hugh IV and his son Peter built its stone walls. Around the 1370s, Peter II ordered extensions to the south-western edge of the citadel for stronger defences (Leventis, 2007, p.230). However, the Lusignan fortification and the citadel were not strong enough against the Ottoman attack. John Locke wrote about the condition of the walls in 1553 “This is the ancientest citie of the Island and is walled about, but it is not strong neither of walles nor situation” (Cobham, 1908, p.71). The reconstruction of the city walls started in 1567 by Italian architect Gulio Savorgnano in order to protect the inhabitants

from the imminent Ottoman attack (Sythalianou, 1989, p.15). During the Venetian era, the outline of the city changed to create better and stronger fortifications; the perfect military architecture as mentioned by Cosmesu “The perfect shape of Venetian Nicosia is unique: a circle, the most perfect of the geometrical forms, with its center quite close to the cathedral of S. Sophia” (Cosmesu, 2016, p.46). The local government demolished several churches and palaces within the city in order to create the circular shape of the fortification. Tommaso Porcacchi describes the city “...had a circuit of nine miles, but in 1567 the Signory of Venice, with a view of strengthening it, reduced this to three. It is supplied most healthfully and pleasantly with running water, and here the nobles of the island lived, who kept adorning it with ever new buildings, gardens and delights” (Cobham, 1908, p.165).

The new fortification had eleven bastions, named after the rich families of Nicosia who contributed to the reconstruction (Jeffery, 1918, p.28): Podocattaro, Constanza, D'Avila, Tripoli, Roccas, Mula, Quirini, Barbaro, Loredan, Flatro and Caraffa. The Podocattaro bastion was where the main attacks took place, and it gave its name to the northern gate, Del Proveditore Gate (Kyrenia Gate) (Jeffery, 1918, p.29). In this part of the city, mostly Greek families were settled (Leventis, 2007, p.246). Tripoli and Roccas were the western bastions and were built over the citadel which was demolished in 1567 (Leventis, 2007, p.248). Many churches were demolished, such as St. Dominic monastery, Santa Barbara church, San Giovanni church, the church of the Carmelites and others which were located in the area around the Roccas bastion. In memory of St. Dominico monastery the western gate was named Porta San Domenico (Paphos Gate). Beside the Caraffa bastion there is another gate; a south-east gate with the name Porta Giulio, which was named after Giulio Savognano. Jeffery describes the Gate as “a fine specimen of Venetian masonry” (Jeffery, 1918, p.29).

The new fortification had three gates [Porta San Domenico (Paphos Gate), Porta Guiliana (Famagusta Gate), and Porta del Proveditore (Kyrenia Gate)]. The gates only stayed open between sunrise and sunset, otherwise people needed permission from the Governor to enter or leave from the inner city (Salvator, 1983, p.12). The Famagusta Gate and Paphos Gate were almost face to face. The streets from these gates lead directly to the centre of the city. The structure of the city included narrow streets and two-storey buildings. The private buildings were mostly made of stone foundation with galleries and balconies with interior gardens. Today's Lapidary Museum is a good example of this kind of structure, which has survived for almost six centuries.

In two years (1567-1569) the fortification was roughly finished; however, there were some sections that were not completed before the arrival of the Ottoman army (Cosmescu, 2016, p.46-9): the moat was not dug all the way (Leventis, 2007, p.243) and the bastions did not have cavaliers or gun platforms, interior chambers or access to the gates (Cosmesu, 2016, p.47). Not just buildings were demolished or replaced for the fortification, but also the Pedieos River which runs through the city was diverted to encircle the new walls, both to protect the city from floods and to flood the moat (Gürkan, 2006, p.29).

5.1.3 Analysis of Maps

Anonymous map, “Nicosia Regal(e) Cita D(i) Cipro Combatuta Da Turchi”, Venice, The Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, Cyprus, ca.1570 (Cat No: 43):

This is the first map of Nicosia that has an interesting depiction of the siege. There isn't any written record about neither its date nor its maker. We assume that the map was made in Venice as an informative map of the siege most probably in 1570 because there is a copy of this map made by German map maker Balthasar Jenichen on the same date.

The bastions and the round shape of the wall are depicted very well except for the star shaped outer wall. The wall of a city is one of the aspects which is significant for identification of the city, which was well pictured in this case. The map does not give any names, bastions, buildings or otherwise. Also another missing feature on the map is the river. During the construction of the wall the river diverted outside the city, which encircled the new walls, however it was not depicted on the map at all.

Outside the walls he illustrates the Ottoman troops, and their camps; the main camp is at the south side like it was given in the accounts. We see tents on higher ground which is the reason why Ottomans chose to place the camp in this area; to be on the same level with the bastions. However, there are also inaccuracies about the camps, beside the main camp there are tents at the north side which were not mentioned in the documents but appear on the map. We see rest of the troops in different formations spread around the city just like was mentioned in the accounts.

The importance about the depiction of the siege is the moment when Ottoman army break the defences and get into the city (Fig. 24). The map maker illustrates that exact moment of attack on the 9th September from the south bastions. Because there is no given orientation on the map we assume that the north is bottom and the depiction of the attack of the Ottoman troops is from the south.

On that area, we see the clash of the Ottoman and the Venetian soldiers where the map maker completed the moment with; soldiers carrying spears and flags, as well as dead soldiers around them. Like a painting he adds movement to the map, not just with depiction of dramatic moment, but also with other details like; he depicts canons that surrounded the city or firing from the inside of the city, he illustrates the firing by adding smoke as it is in the detail from map. In addition, the moment when two troops on horses are attacking each other just outside the wall was added to tell the story of the Christian horsemen who left the city to confront the Ottoman army in order to slow them down. However, none of them were able to return back to the city.

The map has even scenes from the Ottoman army. Various troops are depicted around the city ready to attack with flags rising above them; in front of some of the troops, the map maker even depicts a general on a horse that stood up on its hind legs. The camps are represented in detail as well; depictions of Oriental style tents with one crescent symbol to symbolize the Ottomans and even the daily life of soldiers, such as, soldiers gathering in tents, or cooking in the camping area.

Beside the out of the walls, the inside's depiction is conventional but not very understandable. He fills inside the walls with buildings in different forms, however they are not indefinable.

There are a few larger buildings that stand out. We are assuming they are churches most likely and one of them is St. Sophia, as we know from written accounts Nicosia had around 250 churches both Greek and Latin. Although around 80 of them were demolished for construction of the walls. The towers are depicted to represent the churches' bell towers however; their depiction is more symbolic rather than the real image of the buildings. The rest of the city is filled with private buildings that none particularly standouts. The buildings do not give much information about the architectural elements of the city. The depictions of the buildings themselves are not an accurate image of Nicosia.

The map maker focuses on the siege rather than the plan of the city. Inside the walls are depicted just as representation of a city, none of the buildings has features to help identify them. However, the fortification of the city standouts on the map as the main identification features. The map fulfilled the function as an informative map on the conflict between the Ottomans and Venetians in Cyprus by focusing on the siege, especially the addition of movement and the dramatic moment of the fall of the city.

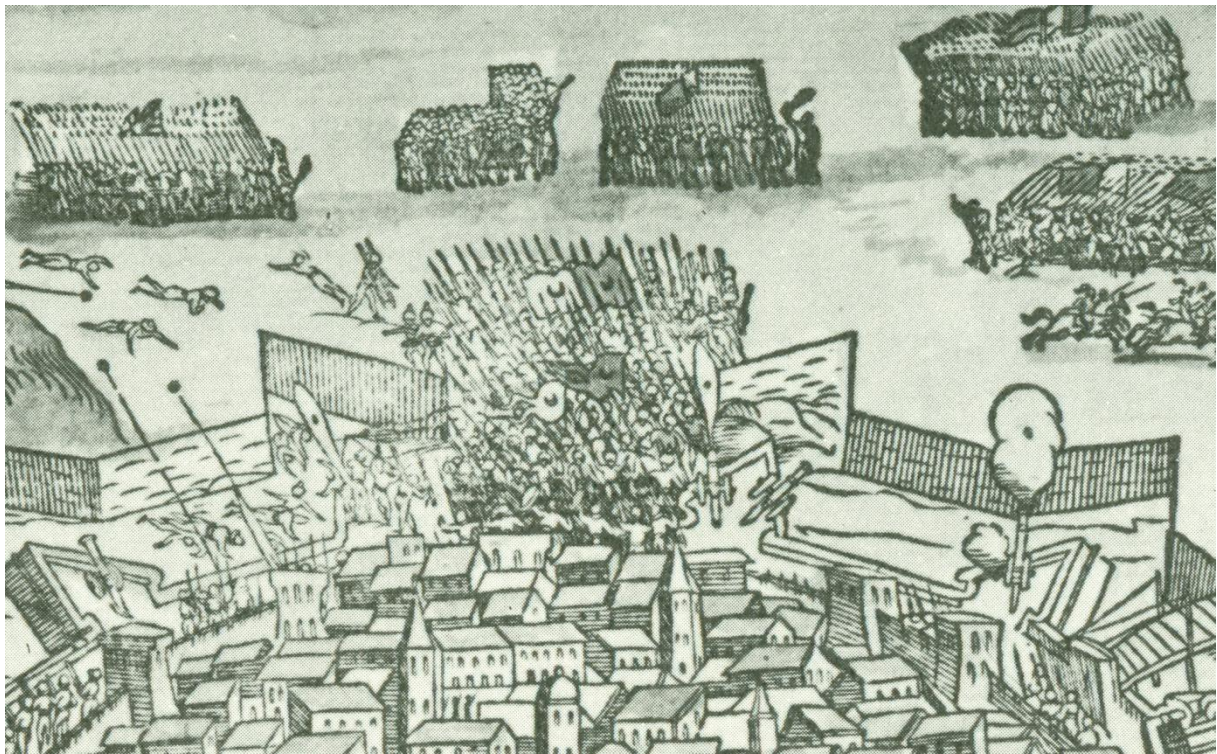


Figure 24: Detail from Anonymous map; the last assault

Giovanni Francesco Camocio, "Nicosia", in *Isole famose porti, fortezze... In Venetia alla libreria del segno di S. Marco*, ca. 1575, Museo Correr, Venice (Cat No: 44):

Camocio produced many isolarios and Cyprus was a major part of his work. Besides being a map maker, he was also a publisher. His maps usually illustrate wars and during this period the conflict between the Venetians and the Ottomans was dominant. As a result of this, Camocio depicts several maps of Cyprus. He illustrates both Famagusta and Nicosia to show the conquest of the island. This map is other illustration of the siege of Nicosia which was made in 1570.

Outside the walls, he illustrates the troops of the Ottoman army that surrounded the city. The main camp is at the south side especially towards the south-west where also the main attacks

happened during the siege; towards the four bastions. However, in the map there is an extension of the camp towards the east which does not fit with the accounts of the siege. On this map the river is also depicted, as coming from one side, fill the moat and continue from the other side as it was after it was diverted. Two bridges are depicted; one towards the north-west and the second one towards the south-east direction. As written information, he give the directions at four sides of the map; north; Tramontana, South; Ostro, East; Leuante, and West; Ponente (Stylianou, 1989, p.26). The map also has an informative scroll at the side however it was not filled.

Outside the walls, he illustrates the troops surrounding the city with the main camp located on the south side, especially towards the south-west. However, the extension of the camp towards the east does not fit with the written accounts of the siege. One important feature of his maps is that it gives information about the Ottoman army, different formations of troops and their names, as he marks the troops as *Ianiceri* for janissary and *Caualeria* for horseman. At the middle bottom of the map, there are two groups labelled as *Turchi* and *Christiani*. According to the text, a group of soldiers go out to fight with the Ottomans, as Diedo wrote that “after many objections on the part of the generals, a skirmishing party of a few stradiots left the city.... they was surrounded and killed” (Cobham, 1908, p.92).

However, he creates an image of the siege without depicting action unlike the other Nicosia map, such as depicting the sides without attacking each other or not showing the fire line between them. Instead he added other details and not just the troops surrounded the city but also he depicted canons, two captives hanging on the left top, and flags and crescent symbols on tents to point out the Ottoman troops in the battle.

In the map he depicts the diagrammatic shape of the city, and focused on the 11 bastions which is most significant feature of the city alongside the siege. He only shows two gates; the Famagusta (Giuliana) and Paphos (S. Domenico), and even then their names are not specified. There are other inaccuracies about the fortification of the city; for example; the Paphos gate should be between adjacent bastions at the south. Another example is that the bastions were drawn symbolic rather than realistic representation of them because edge of them is too sharp-cornered.

Within the walls, he chose to illustrate and label the major and the most significant building of the city in the middle, St. Sophia. Beside that there are illustrations of other churches which stand out however none of them is marked. The symbolic images of these churches are that of classical designs with single towers as opposed to the St. Sophia Cathedral which has a different architectural shape with an additional tower. He pictured many churches inside the city with this similar symbolic image. The rest of the inner city is drawn with private buildings spread without accurate plan of the city. We cannot really determine the streets, or squares on the map.

For the identification of the city, he uses the St. Sophia and he depicts significant features of the city; wall, and bastions. The main purpose of the map is illustrating the siege, as close to an informative piece with a frozen in moment image of the siege. He focuses on the illustration of the siege details and more importantly gave information about the Ottoman army.

Giovanni Francesco Camocio, “Nicosia” (river through the town), in *Isole Famose porti, fortezza...*, Venice, ca. 1570 (Cat No: 45):

Another map by Camocio from his war *Isolario* is the map of Nicosia depicted with the river in the scale as *passi* (paces), but has no imagery of the siege (Stylianou, 1989, p.30).

The plan gives a more accurate plan of the fortification of the city than his other map. Even names of the eleven bastions are depicted on the map, which are absent his siege map of Nicosia. Two bridges are depicted for entrance of the city, however the gate Porta S. Domenico is in the wrong section as it should be between the Rochas and Tripoli bastions. The gates’ names are not given on the map. Another gate Porta del Proveditore is shown in the correct position, as it stands between Querini and Barbaro, but it is not shown with a bridge.

Inside the town, he depicts a few public buildings and the S. Sophia Cathedral in the middle. The depiction of St. Sophia is not realistic, and just a symbolic image of any church is used for its representation. Camocio also depicts three other churches with towers, however they are not identified. The inside of the city is only drawn to give an idea about the inner walls of the city. Not many buildings are depicted, but plenty of empty space can be seen.

In contrast, the fortifications are depicted very well to display the new Venetian defence system against the Ottoman army. Another reason to depict fortifications and also to represent the image of the main cathedral is that they are the identification features of the city; how the city is known by other countries. Hence people outside Cyprus, the audience of the maps, can detect and recognize these locations.

Camocio’s maps were popular and were copied many times afterwards. They represented the basic identification of the city; specifically the imagery of the fortification and the Cathedral, which make these maps valuable. We can see altered or exact copies of these two maps by other map makers even in later centuries.

Balthasar Jenichen, “Ware Contrafetung Der Küniglichen Hauptstat(sic) Nicosia in Cipern Gelegen Ist Von Dem Turcken Erobert... Geschen Den 8 September (sic) Im 1570, B.I.”, 1570, Collection of M. Michaelides, Nicosia (Cat No: 46):

This map is based on a map by an anonymous cartographer in reverse. It was copied by the German map maker Balthasar Jenichen and signed B. I. in 1570. On the map, there are some additions to the original one as well as some differences in drawings. One of the most obvious additions is the label on the left side of the map, which gives the information of the name, date and signature of the cartographer with the addition of the date of the fall of the city, given as 8 September 1570 instead of 9 September. There are some variations in the representation of the Ottoman troops. Soldiers and cannons are much more detailed and noticeable. In this map, the war scene depiction is more dynamic, with cannons creating large clouds of smoke. The interaction between the Ottoman and Venetian soldiers is not limited to the city, as there are fighting scenes all around the map. Except for these differences, there is no additional information about the city or the Ottoman troops. The map is more like a painting than its prototype.

Simon Pinargenti “Nicosia”, in *Venice Isole che son da Venetia nella Dalmatia.*, Venice, ca. 1572-3, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem & the Jewish National & University Library (Cat No: 47):

Similarly to Camocio, Pinargenti also published a map of Nicosia in his isolario. There are plates that are signed by Pinargenti, however they do not have dates. The map is based on Camocio’s map, with the difference that the name of the city was written correctly as “Nicosia” without an extra ‘s’. The second difference from Camocio’s map is that this map is coloured. Tents are in red and green colour. Some soldiers’ armour and the roofs of the houses are painted in red. The river is in blue and the surrounding landscape is painted green and yellow. Other than these two details, the two maps are the same in every way and even the empty informational label in the top right corner of the map is unchanged. This map is one example showing that Camocio’s maps were copied several times and by various map makers to show the conquest of Cyprus.

Charles Magius, Plan dela ville de Famagouste , Plan de l’île de Chypre et emblème de l’arbre brisé, in *Description historique...1571*, Paris, 1761, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris (Cat No : 15):

Charles Magius (Carlo Maggi) compiled his travels in the book *Codex Magius* which includes the conquest of Cyprus and his captivity during this time. The first picture shows the city of Nicosia located in the middle, taking up a large part of the island which was named wrong as Famagusta (Fig. 25). The city is depicted surrounded by the Ottoman army.

The city walls are depicted as the main identification feature of the city because inside of the walls or other features of the city are not recognizable in the picture. However the depiction of the walls shows the circular shape of the city. The pictures show the army surrounding the city from all sides, yet according to the text, the attack focused only on four bastions. The depiction does not give other information about the city or the Ottoman army. The name under this picture is Famagusta while it is clearly the city of Nicosia. We know Charles was captured in Famagusta but we did not know if he ever went to Nicosia. The proportion of the city in respect to the island is unrealistic, so the picture is again symbolic, showing the capital city and the situation the Venetians in. The picture’s aim is to show the siege and the threat of the Ottoman army, not to give features of the city or to map the city.

In the second image, he depicts the Ottoman army moving towards the capital city, Nicosia. At the front of the city, the Ottoman soldiers come face to face with the Venetian soldiers who have left the city to fight the Ottomans in the hopes of stalling their advances. In the background of the soldiers is the Ottoman camp with its colourful tents. There is no use of Ottoman symbols, only the flag above the citadel of Famagusta. Even though this is a miniature, the city’s main feature St. Sophia Cathedral is depicted at the centre. It is surrounded by private and public buildings without realistic depictions. The two gates of the city are depicted as well, the Paphos and Famagusta Gates, as well as the fortification with eleven bastions and the Pedieos River. This miniature remains a symbolic illustration as the locations of the two cities are inaccurate. Nicosia and Famagusta were the two major siege areas that determined the fate of the island and in this picture the position of the Venetians against the Ottomans is demonstrated.



Figure 25: Detail from Charles Magius' map, Plan de la ville de Famagouste

Steffano Lusignano, "Nicosia", in *Chorographia et breve historia Universale dell'isola de Cipro principiando al tempo di Noé in sino al 1572*, Bologna, 1573 (Cat No: 48):

This plan of the city was made by Steffano Lusignano who was a Cypriot historian. The map was published in Bologna in 1573. This account contains the writings of Fr. Angelo Calepio about the conquest of the Ottoman Empire of Cyprus.

On the plan he depicts all three gates; Paphos Gate as Porta di S. Domenico, Kyrenia Gate as Porta dell'proveditor ouer di sop(ra), and Famagusta Gate as Porta Iulia ouer di sotto. However two gates, the S. Domenico (Kyrenia) Gate and Proveditor (Paphos) Gate, are depicted in the wrong places. Similarly to Camocio's map of city, the Proveditor Gate is between the Querini and Barbaro bastions. By the Podocattaro bastion, the attacks of the Ottoman army during the last assault are depicted. The map could have been copied from Camocio's map, which has resulted in both maps having the same inaccuracies about the gates. The inside of the plan is empty except for a circle with the words "Il Domo ouero S. Sophia" as a representation of the Cathedral of S. Sophia. There is no other information about the inner city on the map.

Again, we see the fortification of the city comes first and is more focused on compared to the other features of the city. The plan is just to show the walls, gates and main Cathedral as three important aspects to define Nicosia, and the significant features for the defence of the city which give helpful illustration to understand the siege.

Francesco Valegio, “Nicosia”—“In insula Cipri”, in *Raccolta di le piu illustri et famose citta di tutto il mondo*, 1572, Library of Congress (Cat No: 49):

This map of the city is from the town book of engraver Francesco Valegio, *Raccolta di le piu illustri et famose citta di tutto il mondo*. At the corner there is the name “In insula Cipri metropolis fertilissima opp”. This copper plate was also used later; in another publication called *Teatro Delle Piu Illustri et Famose Citta del Mondo.... a benefittio Universale. Cum Privilegio, In Venetia, Donato Rasicoti Forma Al ponte di Bare/II, ca. 1598/1600*, as well as in the *Universus Terrarum Orbis Scriptorum Calamo Delineatus... Studio et Labore Alphonsi Lasor A Varea (pseudonym of Innocenzo Rafaele Savonarola)... Patavii, M.DCC:XIII...* (1713), a century later. This map of the city is based on Camocio’s map without the siege (Sytliauou, 1989, p.42). The map is post-war and during the reign of the Ottoman Empire, so the map makers did not add troops like the maps before it. However, he added gardens and with that it can be seen that two years after the siege, the siege maps of the city were replaced with urban maps that only focused on the city without showing the battle. Because of the siege, the city’s fame continued even after its conquest, although, in the next two centuries the number of maps of the city decreased drastically.

5.2 The Ottoman Era Nicosia Maps

5.2.1 History of Nicosia

In August 1571, with the fall of Famagusta the island became part of the Ottoman Empire. During Ottoman rule, Nicosia continued to be the capital city of Cyprus. The island was one of the principalities (Beylerbeylik). The Beylerbeyi (Grand Seigneur), who was the head of the Divan (a council that discussed and decided on state issues), controlled the island from his office in Nicosia (Hakeri, 1993, p.243). As the capital city, Nicosia had the privilege of being “Paşa Sancağı” (the governor’s residences), which continued until British rule (Gürkan, 2006, p.33). Drummond explained about the Ottoman administration and importance of Nicosia:

Cyprus is ruled by a mussalem, or governor, who is also a muhasil, or collector of the grand Signior's revenues, and resides at Nicosia, which is the capital of the island, and stands in a pretty central situation. This city, where all the ultimate courts of judicature are held, together with five sea-port towns, where the trade is carried on, constitutes, in effect, all the considerable places in Cyprus. (Cobham, 1908, p.273)

After the conquest, the island had experienced severe damage; some villages were destroyed and others emptied. As a result of the war, the island’s population decreased, mentioned by Sandry as “an incredible slaughter” (Cobham, 1908, p.207), also some of the Christian population was held captives and others fled the island, leaving only a small amount of residents behind (Gürkan, 2006, p.35). In addition, pirate attacks, drought, famine, plague, and uneasiness between people affected the island and its population suffered badly as a result (Gazioglu, 2000, p.148; Kyrris, 2010, p.15).

After a century of ruling on the island, the Ottoman administration had to deal with rebellions (Hakeri, 1993, pp.258-66; Gunnis, 1947, p.33). In 1764, a rebellion against the government caused many deaths including that of the Governor of the island. The administration system was in jeopardy and visitors, especially from Europe, constantly mentioned the system and the rebels in their writings (Cobham, 1908, pp.461-2).

To increase the population and to protect both Muslim and Christian people, the Ottoman Empire took several precautions such as assignation of offices from the Empire, or the legislation of new laws (Gazioğlu, 2006, p.148-49). One of the actions that the Ottoman Empire took was to move people from Anatolia to Cyprus (Gürkan, 2006, p.35). People who can revive the island's agriculture, crafts, and economy were brought to Cyprus: besides increasing the Turkish population on the island, the aim was to boost the economy (Kyrris, 2010, p. 9-10). A mostly Muslim population but also a few Christians were forced to move to Cyprus. The population of the island now separated into two main groups: the Turks and the Christians. Dandini explained the new Muslim administration over the island and the changes it brought: "Turks only are allowed to enter Nicosia and all other fortresses on horseback. Christians and others must alight at the gate, and once within may remount their horses and go to their houses ..." (Cobham, 1908, p.181). Under the new government, restrictions were imposed against the inhabitants, especially Catholics. Some Catholics escaped from the city, others changed their names and religion in order to stay and became part of the Greek community (Gunnis, 1947, p.32). There was no permission for Latin to practice their religion, own land, home or church so they were forced to convert either to Orthodoxy or to Islam (Kyrris, 2010, pp.4-5).

Besides rebellions against the Government, natural disasters caused great harm to Nicosia as well as to the other parts of the island. Earthquakes damaged many old buildings; especially St. Sophia Cathedral. In addition, plague spread throughout the island and caused the loss of one third of the population (Newman, 1953, p.179). The city faced droughts, plague, grasshopper attacks, earthquakes and others, and population loss, famine, and economic and health problems followed these disasters. Cyprianos, Archimandrite of the Church of Cyprus, sums up all the devastation the city went through in this century with these words,

The island was suffering from repeated droughts, and the ravages of locusts, the peasants began to emigrate, and the country was gradually becoming a desert... especially through a great dearth in 1640, and in the following year a terrible plague, the island was wasted and ruined ... Drought, the incessant ravages of locusts, and the failure of commerce by reason of the wars waged by the Sultan with the Venetians in Crete and the Morea, and other troubles innumerable, reduced the Cypriots to such straits that many fled to the Syrian coast with their families. Towards the end of the century, in 1692, a great plague desolated the island, sparing, we learn, hardly a third of its inhabitants. About 1712 the wretched Cypriots had scarcely begun to enjoy a little rest after the plague, and other unceasing troubles which harassed the island and still harass it, when a new tumult and turmoil broke forth... About 1741 again an earthquake, and so violent that the minaret of the Mosque, formerly the church of S. Sophia, fell and wrought no small damage ... In 1756 a great roar and rumbling of earthquake in the night and morning of January 27, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants. In 1757 great dearth in the island by reason of the drought and the locusts, so that the people were cooking wild colocasia, a noxious root, and eating them, with other wild herbs. A great number fled from the island to Syria and Asia Minor. This dearth lasted nearly into the year 1758. (Cobham, 1908, p. 350-55)

With the increasing population of Turks, the changes on structure, daily life, and culture could be seen all around the city (Gürkan, 2006, pp.35-36). With this, Nicosia became a city which tried to renovate itself and create a common ground for its multicultural population. On the other hand, the damage from natural disasters can be traced within the walls too.

5.2.2 Portrayal of Ottoman Nicosia

Hurtrel describes the city's appearance in 1670,

The other houses in the city inhabited by the Turks are generally of good cut stone, built, we were told, by the Venetians, and the streets are wide and handsome. The houses are set in beautiful gardens, well planted, chiefly with the palms which bear dates. (Cobham, 1908, p. 233)

When the city converted from being Christian to Muslim, new Ottoman-style buildings like mosques, khans and houses with cumbas (bay windows) rose throughout the city within its narrow and irregular streets. The city was changing in order to accommodate its new rulers. A century later, J. Sibthorn, who was a professor of Oxford University, examined the flora and fauna of Cyprus and wrote about the city's changed appearance in 1787

The flat roofs, trellised windows, and light balconies of the better order of houses, situated as they are in the midst of gardens of oranges and lemons, give together with the fortifications, a respectable and picturesque appearance to Lefkosia at a little distance. (Cobham, 1908, p.339)

However, the heavy damage it sustained during the war was still apparent and even the travellers observed and documented a bruised city in ruins rather than a lively and beautiful Mediterranean city. Cotovicus wrote about his experiences in this town when he visited in 1599: "The city is very large, round in shape, fortified with eleven bastions and surrounded with a broad ditch. In size and situation it is certainly the chief city of the island, but is full of ruins, squalid and defenceless, for the walls are breached or decayed, and could not withstand a regular attack or siege" (Cobham, 1908, p.195). Almost a century later another traveller Hurthel who visited the city in 1670 emphasized the lack of attention by the Ottoman rulers and the bad conditions of the fortification (Cobham, 1908, p.232).

Despite the criticism, the city was not neglected altogether. The churches which had been converted into mosques were in use and well taken care of. The Cathedral St. Sophia was the first to be converted into a mosque right after the Ottomans took the city and changed its name to Selimiye Mosque. Cornelis van Bruyn wrote his observation about the Cathedral in 1683: "Four ancient churches, used by the Turks as mosques, are in good condition. S. Sophia, the principal, is large, larger than the church of the same name at Famagusta, and architecturally very beautiful" (Cobham, 1908, p.239).

As the most important monument in the city, most of the visitors who wrote about the city mention the St. Sophia, its conversion into a mosque, and its current condition, even though they were not allowed to enter inside the Cathedral. Mariti describes the Cathedral in his travel accounts from 1760 "Among the buildings the chief is St. Sophia...The outside of the fabric has suffered no change, except that the bell towers have been from the middle upwards completed in a different fashion, and most of the coats of arms of Christian families which adorned the walls have been defaced" (Mariti, 1971, 42-3). The Cathedral was damaged in 1735 and 1741, because of the earthquakes: one of its minarets fell down in 1741 (Gunnis, 1947, p.33). Cyprianos wrote, "About 1741 again an earthquake, and so violent that the minaret of the Mosque, formerly the church of S. Sophia, fell and wrought no small damage" (Cobham, 1908, p.355).

Besides St. Sophia Cathedral, four other churches were converted (Cobham, 1908, p.239). St. Catherine was the second most important Gothic building after the St. Sophia Cathedral, and it was converted and named as the Haydar Paşa Mosque. In addition to these newly converted mosques, some churches were used for different purposes, for example the Church of St. George of the Latins, which was used as a Turkish bath during this period.

Another example was St. Nicholas Church in the Orthodox community which was first turned into a “bedesten” a covered marketplace for textiles and food, and later used as storage. Mariti wrote that: “... another beautiful building which was dedicated to St. Nicholas...The place is now called Bezenten, a kind of market, where all kinds of goods were sold. It is the business resort of the chief merchants of Nicosia, Turks Greeks and Armenians” (Mariti, 1971, p.43).

Other important building that was used by the Ottomans was the Palace. Mariti writes about his observation about the Palace so we can see the changes from one era to another: “The palace of the *Muhassil* or Governor of the island is called Serai. Over the gate is boldly carved in stone a lion, the arms of Venice. Within is spacious courtyard, with apartments round it and stables below. The building is Gothic and was the palace in the time of the Christian Kings, but the place has undergone so many changes at the caprice of successive pashas and Governors that nothing remains to call for notice” (Mariti, 1971, p. 43).

In addition, the new government was reconstructing old buildings as well as creating new and oriental-style ones around the city. With these innovations, the city had a new look which would last for centuries; a mixture of Christian and Muslim cultures and designs where the lower part is in Gothic style and the upper part is in the Ottoman style with cumbas (Gürkan, 2006, p.33-34). New buildings constructed according to the Muslim tradition included the mosque (mescit), mausoleum (türbe), khan, baths, fountain and others (Gürkan, 2006, p. 35). According to Jennings, during the Ottoman period, they beautified the city with Turkish baths, fountains, schools, mosques, and bazaars (Erdoğan, 2008, p.258). For example, the archive documents record that during the early 17th century, there were seven Turkish baths in Nicosia (Erdoğan, 2008, p.258).

The famous Büyük Han (the Great Khan) was built after the conquest; it served as an inn for travellers and became one of the most important Ottoman monuments in Nicosia. Mariti writes of the khan, “In the middle of it is a khan, or vast courtyard, round which are many rooms: the gate is of marble, built up of ancient remains. This khan was built for the benefit of foreigners generally by Muzaffer pasha, who imposed to this end tax of two paras (about two crazie) on every Cypriot” (Mariti, 1971, p.101). There was another smaller khan close to the Great Khan, which is known as the Khan of the Itinerant Musicians. The Mevlevi Tekke, also known as the Mosque of the Dancing Dervishes, was built in the early 17th century (Bağışkan, 2005, pp.324-6; 20-25).

The fortification, which did not have any further purpose, was no longer a priority for the Ottomans, so only basic renovations for their preservation were done. As Sibthorn wrote, “The ramparts of the Venetian fortifications of Lefkosia exist in tolerable preservation; but the ditch is filled up, and there is no appearance of there having been a covert way” (Cobham, 1908, p.339).

Within 300 years, because of natural disasters, the decrease in population and the administration's negligence, most of the buildings were in ruins in the second century of the

Ottoman rule. European visitors emphasized the ruins in the inner city and the city's empty look. Ali Bey described the heartbroken condition of the city:

The extent of Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, represents a town which would easily hold 100,000 inhabitants: but it is a desert: you see large gardens and great open spaces full of ruins and rubbish. I have been assured that it does not contain more than a thousand Turkish families and as many Greek. (Cobham, 1908, p.393)

In addition, Constantius described the Palace in his writings, “Their palaces, once distinguished for architectural beauty, have suffered that ruin and disgrace which has destroyed all its ancient buildings” (Cobham, 1908, p. 316).

5.2.3 Analysis of Maps

Henry de Beauvau, “Nicosie” in his *Relation Journalière du Voyage du Levant...*, Nancy 1615, Nicosia Museum Library (Cat No: 51):

This map of Nicosia is similar to the previous Venetian maps from the 16th century. The map is in a French booklet under the title of “Relation iournaliere du voyage du levant fait & descrit par haut et puissant Seigneur Henry de Beauvau, Baron du dict lieu et de Manonville, Segneur de Fleuille, Sermaise, Domepure etc” which covers Henry de Beauvau’s journies in the Levant. The booklet also has a small map of Cyprus and a plan of Famagusta (Stylianou, 1989, p.46).

In Beauvau’s map, the fortification with the eleven triangular bastions in the circular form of the city is depicted as the significant aspect of the city. Only one of the gates between the *Rochas* and *Mulla* bastions is shown. The other gates are not depicted at all. It also shows the river crossing the city by illustrating the river flowing on both sides of the wall. Inside the city is similar to other maps; within a crowd of conventional buildings and in the middle of the city, St. Sophia Cathedral stands as the largest building. There are a few towers that indicate smaller churches spread out inside the walled city, however they cannot be identified. Besides these structures, the rest of the space is filled with private houses without any specific design.

The map maker only used information available from the previous century, and it ended up as a replica of the 16th century maps of Nicosia without the siege. It does not give any additional information about the city or any new information about the Ottoman rule and the changes the city had gone through in this century.

Marcello Alessandri, “Cipro – Nicosia”, 1620, Museo Correr, Venice (Cat No:52):

This map was made by Marcello Alessandri in 1620 and is now in the Correr Museum, Venice. The name of the map is at the top left. Similar to his Famagusta map, this map also focuses on the fortifications of the city. It shows the star-shaped fortification and the eleven bastions, highlighted with green. The outline of the city is coloured green as well. The fortification of Nicosia could be one of the finer examples of the perfect Venetian military architecture. Cosmescu explains the construction and Venetian military architecture of Nicosia:

The fortification of Nicosia must be understood in the context of the larger Renaissance project of designing the perfect city: functional urban life protected by strong, efficient fortification... The latest and most important development in military architecture is observed in Nicosia where it assumed the most advanced features to be found in Renaissance treaties: *fortificazione alla moderna*. (Cosmescu, 2016, p.45)

The map emphasizes the Venetian military architecture rather than giving information about the city or its situation during the 17th century; there is no indication of its history, structure or rulers, just the name of the city and its walls. The gates and inner city are not depicted at all. Inside the city walls there is a rose compass in the middle.

Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, "Nicosia", in *Il Mediterraneo Descritto...* Venice, 1706, British Library (Cat No: 53):

This map of Nicosia was made by the Venetian cartographer and publisher Vincenzo Maria Coronelli in 1706 and appeared in his book *Il Mediterraneo Descritto...* The name of the city is given in the top left corner of the map. The map was copied from Camocio's map of Nicosia without the siege from the 16th century. The map shows the fortified city, with Pedieos River going through the middle of the city. The city was copied directly from the Camocio's map without any changes. At the bottom, we have the measurements and on the right side of the map, there is a list from A to L which gives the names of the bastions, which are also marked. The difference between the original state of the bastions and the map is the name of bastion "Podacathero" which is written as "Cathero" on the map (Stylianou, 1989, p.48).

After two centuries of Ottoman rule, the 16th century maps of Nicosia were still in use to represent the city. This map is one of the examples showing that cartographers did not have new information and could only focus on the information they already had at hand, which was what was left from the 16th century.

Basil Grigorovitch Barsky, "Leukosia", in *Travels of Basil Grigorovitch Barsky in the Holy Places of the East from 1723 to 1747*, N. Barsoukov (ed.), 4vol., 1885-7, St. Petersburg, 1727, Akademija Nauk, Kiev (Cat No: 54):

Besides his depiction of Famagusta, Barsky also illustrated a picture of Nicosia where he stayed and taught Latin for two years. In his writing he described Nicosia's houses and gardens as well as the palm trees which also appear on the drawings. Besides these, he included comments on the city's strong fortifications. Similarly to other writers, he described St. Sophia Cathedral and mentioned that it was now a mosque Christians were not allowed to enter, meaning that he also only saw the outside of the Cathedral even though it takes up a large portion of his drawings.

This map sets itself apart from other maps of the 18th century as well as the previous centuries. The city is depicted from the side with its important features shown: the fortification, the city gate and the huge Cathedral in the middle. The picture must have been drawn from the Famagusta Gate, from the position of the Cathedral. The map is not realistic but is definitely informative. On the map, we see the Cathedral with flying buttresses in the Gothic style. He also depicts the two towers with addition of minarets and a crescent symbol on top to show the changes that were made after the conversion of the city from Christianity to Islam. There are not just these minarets, but at the back four other minarets can be

observed, showing and symbolizing the Muslim rule of the city. Private houses surround the Cathedral, one- or two-storey buildings, some with domes (these could be Turkish baths (hamam)) echo the writings of travellers who described the city's appearance turning oriental. Palm trees are also depicted on the map. Travellers often mentioned the gardens of the city and especially the palm trees as they are characteristic of this climate, and Barsky also observed them as they appear on the drawing. Even though this is not a cartographical map of the city, it is a good representation of the city, especially when compared to the other maps from this century.

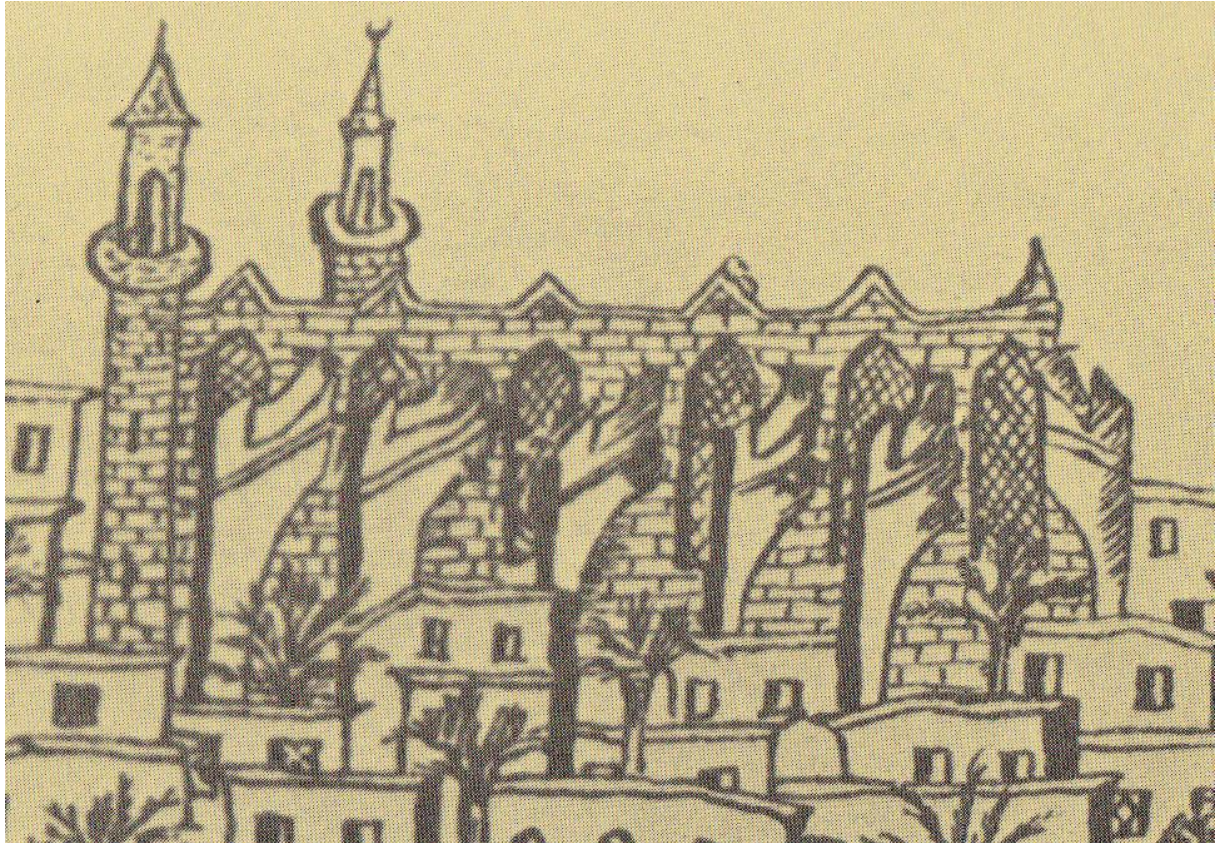


Figure 26: Detail from Basil Grigorovitch Barsky's drawing; St. Sophia Cathedral

Angelicus Maria Myller, "Nicosia", in *Peregrinus in Jerusalem, Fremdling in Jerusalem, Oder Ausführliche Reisz= Beschreibungen*, 1735 (Cat No: 55):

The map is from Angelicus Maria Myller's book describing his voyages to Jerusalem, under the name *Peregrinus in Jerusalem, Fremdling in Jerusalem, Oder Ausführliche Reisz= Beschreibungen*. The book was published in 1729. Myller started his voyages from Livorno in September 1725 and finished it in Rome in September 1727 (Navari, 2003, p. 251).

The map is another reproduction of a map from the 16th century used as a basis of a representation of Nicosia without the siege. The map shows basic features of the city: the fortifications, just one gate (the Paphos Gate) and the bastions. The inner city is not depicted accurately; only the middle with the St. Sophia Cathedral. The city is surrounded by landscape with a few houses in the distance, which did not appear in previous maps. However, other than this information, the map does not have any additional information about the city, the architectural structure of the inner city, or the Ottoman rule and the changing state of Nicosia.

5.3 The British Era Nicosia Maps

5.3.1 History of Nicosia

The living conditions on the island were better than in the previous century; although there were administrative problems and some disturbances between the inhabitants, Sultan Mahmut II tried to improve the administration and the status of the island with reforms. In 1838, the Sultan executed a new law against taxes which were beneficial for the public, and now the Divan was formed not only with Turks but also religious leaders of Orthodox, Armenian and Maronite Christianity (Lukach & Jadine, 2007, p.30).

Unfortunately, the Ottoman Empire was getting weaker as the years passed and ruling over the island was getting more difficult as each new problem arose. In 1878, the island was given to the British Empire in exchange for their support against Russia. Later, in 1925, the island became a full Colony (Hill, 1952, p.414). On 12 July 1878, the British Government took over the city with a ceremony replacing the Ottoman flag with the British one. On 20 July, the new governor of the island, High Commissioner Sir Garnet Wolseley took up his position (Gürkan, 2006, p.54).

During the British era, the city started to expand beyond the walls and Nicosia continued to be the capital city in this era (Gürkan, 1908, p.54). Even the Government Palace was moved outside the walled city. The expansion was towards the south and south-west of the fortification; the area between the Famagusta and Paphos Gates (Gürkan, 2006, p.74-6). During this era, the population of the city started to increase, alongside technological advances and improvements such as forming the sewer system, paving better roads for cars and bicycles, and bringing electricity to the city (Stylianou, 1989, p.17). Another development was the new railway between Famagusta and Nicosia, connecting the main harbour to the capital city and making the commerce and moving goods easier (Walsh, 2008, p.5). Later, the railway was extended to Morphou (Lukach & Jadine, 2007, p.103). According to the population count in 1881, the city had 11,513 inhabitants; the majority were Greeks at around 49%, and 47% were Turks. In 1901, the number of inhabitants had increased to 14,752 (Jennings, 2010, p.140).

5.3.2 Portrayal of British Nicosia

In this century, the city preserved its oriental appearance. Now it appeared more like the beautiful oriental city the travellers wrote about rather than a city in ruins. Dixon describes the city:

This little sister of Damascus is a labyrinth of lanes and alleys; winding under minarets, towers and fruit-trees; round about khans, kiosques, and fountains; in and out among brown walls, running waters and broken grounds. Only a native of the town can find his way from gate to mosque, from coffee-house to khan. (Dixon, 1879, p.141)

In addition, Camille Enlart, an art historian described the city in his book from 1899: “Nicosia is still a city of low houses widely spread out, with numerous gardens in between, and in consequence the great Gothic Cathedral of St. Sophia, though deprived of the crowning glory of its towers, dominates the broad townscape in a remarkable imposing way” (Enlart, 1987, p.82). Similarly to previous centuries, the Cathedral was the most significant building in the

middle of the city surrounded by mostly two-storey buildings made of stone (Stylianou, 1989, p.14).

However, this basic oriental look went through changes during the British Empire era, especially in the inner city: the Palace and major buildings in the city centre were demolished. The Palace, built in the Lusignan era and serving for the governments of both the Venetians and Ottomans, was demolished in 1904 (Stylianou, 1989, p.14; Gürkan, 2006, p.96). The government building was moved to Hagioi Homologitades village, outside the walled city. Not only that, but the old buildings were replaced and in their place new and modern ones were built. In addition, the Paphos Gate was closed in 1878 (Gunnis, 1947, p.39), but they restored some of the churches and mosques, such as the Araplar Mosque and Tripiotissa, Chrysaliniotissa and Hagios Antonios Orthodox churches.

The walled city was modernizing and inevitably the structure of the city changing because of it. Jeffery wrote about changing context of the city

Formerly the little shops were constructed with a raised “mastaba” of platform in front on which the shopkeeper sat cross-legged with apathetic indifference until some chance customer mounted the platform to commence a bargain...Such shops are now becoming scarce, the roadway is no longer so wide as it used to be, now that each shopkeeper encroaches upon it with his comparatively Europeanised premises, and the most characteristic feature of a Levantine town seems disappearing from Nicosia. (Jeffery, 1918, p.25)

In this period, the city expanded beyond its walls (Gürkan, 2006, p.71). İsmail Hakkı Efendi, who left Cyprus in 1878 and returned in 1930, was surprised by the changes Nicosia. He even did not recognize the city because there was no longer a castle or a castle gate that was used for entering the city (Gürkan, 2006, p.71-2). In addition, when Wolseley arrived to the city, he saw there were little to no trees outside the walled city. When he moved the Government building outside the city, he also planted trees. Baker explained their appearance:

Sir Garnet Wolseley was endeavouring to put a new face on the treeless surface, and had already planted several acres of the *Eucalyptus globulus* and other varieties on the lower ground, while date-palms of full growth had been conveyed bodily to the natural terrace around the Government house and carefully transplanted into pits. This change was a considerable relief to eye, and trees, if well supplied with water, will in a few years create a grove where all was barrenness. (Baker, 1879, p.59)

All these changes, the increasing population of the city and the expansion beyond the city's walls, gained Nicosia a new look.

5.3.3 Analysis of the Maps

Herbert Horatio Kitchener, Nicosia within the walls and part of Nicosia outside the walls, London, 1881(Cat No: 56):

This map was made by Herbert Horatio Kitchener, Lieutenant of the Royal Engineers, who was appointed by the Government to survey and map the city along with the island. The map was made in 1881 using the triangulation method in 1:2500 scale (Stylianou, 1989, p.54). The

map represents the walled city and some of its surroundings. The inside of the walled city is depicted in detail, including every block of building and street. The names of the important buildings are given in English. The churches are pointed out with crosses on them painted in black. In addition to churches, the names of mosques, market places, and khans are given.

The main Cathedral, St. Sophia is illustrated with its plan, and so it is the most eye catching building on the map. Another important building at the walled city is the Venetian Palace. The map depicts the Palace under the name “Konak”, which means government building in Turkish.

Regarding the fortifications, the names of the bastions are given in Turkish and the gates in English. During British rule, a new entrance was opened with the name Limassol Gate between the D’Avila (Kara İsmail) and the Tripoli (Mezarlık) bastion. On the map the name of the Tripoli bastion is given as Mezarlık in Turkish. On other maps, the name is usually Değirmen which means mill. Only a few street names are given. Outside of the walls are a few cemeteries, both Turkish and Greek, “*Küçük Chiftlik*” which means small farm, and a coffee shop and tannery.

Karl Baedeker, “Nikosia”, in *Konstantinopel , Balkanstaaten , Kleinasien , Archipel , Cypern*, Leipzig, 1914 (Cat No: 57):

This map is from the travel guide by Karl Baedeker which was published in 1914 in *Leipzig*. The name of the book is *Konstantinopel , Balkanstaaten , Kleinasien , Archipel , Cypern*. The maps of Cyprus appeared in the second edition of the book (Navari, 2003, p.357). The map, as a touristic map, focuses on the walled city. It gives information about the first decades of the British rule. The map gives the plan of the city; historical places which would be especially interesting for tourists are located by giving them a darker orange colour. The fortifications and bastions are depicted with their names accurately. The old and new Turkish names of the bastions are given on the map. Besides this, the gates have their names both in English and Italian. New gates are depicted: The Limassol Gate, which was depicted in Kitchener’s map, is illustrated under the name “Porta Nuova” (new entrance). In addition to this gate, the Hag. Antonious gate is depicted between the Caftano and Podocattaro bastions, and also the Kaymaklı Gate between the bastions, Landano and Flatro.

The old Venetian Palace, which was used as the Government building during the Ottoman era as well, is depicted under the name “Konak”. The building was demolished in 1904 and a new one built and used as the Law Court. The government buildings are depicted outside the walled city, in front of the Paphos Gate. The layout of the city as well as the main streets and squares can be seen clearly on the plan. Only a few street names are written, and those are the main streets. As a touristic map, historical places are depicted well on: bazaars, khans, mosques, and churches. In addition, police stations and the English Club are showed.

Outside the city is not depicted as accurately. We only see the main roads that leave the town, such as the road to Kyrenia depicted at the top of the map, that the map maker gives the name “Kerynia” to. At top of the map, he depicts the train station, showing the opposite ways leading to Famagusta and Morphou. For the first time, we have touristic maps of both Nicosia and Famagusta, which were two most famous cities of the island.

G. Jeffery, "The XVIth-century Fortress of Nicosia", in *The Builder* vol. XCII, London, 19 January 1907 (Cat No: 58):

This map was made by Jeffery for *the Builder*. On the map, the fortifications of the city are given in order to show the attacks and camps of the Ottoman army during the siege of Nicosia in 1570. Jeffery depicts the defences of the Ottomans in front of four bastions, and on the bastions we can see the location of the guns. The Podocattare bastion is at the heart of the attacks. The map also gives the names of the bastions and gates. On the map, Jeffery also wrote, "Traces of these entrenchments and batteries are still in existence" at the bottom. There are other details such as roads that lead to Limassol, Famagusta and Kyrenia and the Pedieos River, as well as the Cathedral at the middle, labelled as "Duomo".

Department of Lands and Surveys, "Cadastral plans (1914), Ayios Savvas quarter, Ayia Sophia quarter", Egypt, 1915 (Cat No: 59):

After Kitchener's map, the government needed a larger-scale map for land registration purposes. The new map was in 1:1250 scale. The order for the map was taken in 1909, its survey lasted between May 1911 and October 1911, covering 163.212 hectares, and the map was printed in England. The Department of Lands and Surveys used triangulation method to establish the survey. In addition, both theodolite traversing and the chain survey were used. In addition to the previous checks, an independent survey did the final controls. In 1914, the Department decided to modify the map. This new survey was made between September 1914 and December of the same year. With this new version of the map, they were able to cover the new buildings and the changes in the city (Stylianou, 1989, p.56).

There are two sections of this survey. The map is divided into 24 sections and each section was printed separately, except for one sheet where two quarters were drawn together (Stylianou, 1989, p.58). The centre point of the map is St. Sophia Cathedral. The map gives the names of the streets, important buildings, monuments, bastions, mosques and churches. In each quarter, we can see clearly the separation of parcels and buildings. The map is much more detailed and informative than the previous ones.

In addition to Nicosia, this series also has maps of the Larnaca, Limassol and Famagusta regions. In 1914 and between 1927-8, cadastral plans of Famagusta were made by the Land and Survey Department.

Department of Lands and Surveys, "Cadastral plans", 1927/8, 1:500 (Cat No: 60):

The capital city was constantly developing and growing. The settlement was extending outside the walled city as well. With these changes inside and outside the city, a new survey was needed. In 1926, the Department of Lands and Surveys was tasked with the making a new map in a scale of 1:500 for the walled city and a map with a 1:1000 scale for the outside of the walled city. The survey continued for a year, starting in 1926 and finishing at end of 1927 (Stylianou, 1989, p.62). By 1927, Nicosia had a detailed, accurate and up-to-date map.

Department of Lands and Surveys, "Topographical map of Nicosia within the walls", ca. 1935 (Cat No: 61):

By 1935, the Department of Lands and Surveys wanted to create a topographical map of the city which would be more informative than the previous ones. The previous maps of the city

were used for land registration and focused on the borders of parcels of land. The new survey focused on the walled city and covered some of its surroundings as well. This is one-sheet map which has scale of 1:2500 (Stylianou, 1989, p.64). The important buildings both inside and outside the city are coloured darker than the rest. In addition, the name of these buildings and those of the bastions and main streets are given.

Department of Lands and Surveys, “Topographical map of “Nicosia and Environs Eight-inch Map””, 1958 (Cat No: 62):

This map is actually an extended version of an old map of Nicosia. In 1952, according to the request of the Director of Planning and Housing, the eight-inch map of the city was extended further outside of the walled city. The extended version has nine sheets where the original was a single-sheet map. The map was completed in July 1958 (Stylianou, 1989, p.66). On this map we can see clearly how much the city has expanded outside its walls. Similarly to the previous one, this map also gives the names of important monuments, bastions, main streets and squares. Within few years, several maps of the island and especially maps of Nicosia has been made by the government. As the capital city, Nicosia was constantly and rapidly developing, modernizing and changing under British rule, and these changes needed to be documented just as quickly as well as accurately.

Chapter 6

LARNACA MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

6.1 The Ottoman Era Larnaca Maps

6.1.1 History of Larnaca

Larnaca is located southern coast of the island. The city is one of the earliest settlements on the island. The oldest remains founded on the site of Kition have been dated the 13th century BC. The city was founded by Kittim, the great-grandson of Noah, and is the oldest Phoenician settlement on the island, which was referred to Chittim in the Bible (Gunnis, 1947, p.105; Lukach, 2007, pp.84-5). In 336 BC, the city's name was heard of as the birth place of Zeno, who was the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy.

In the Lusignan period, the area was called Salines (Scala) because of the salt lake and also known as L'Arnica, named after the "larnax", meaning sarcophagus in Greek. Salines was a small town close to Larnaca and they joined to form today's Larnaca (Gürkan, 2000, p.49). In different periods of time, the name of the location changed from Salines to Kition, back to Salines to Scala and lastly to Larnaca (Yetkili, 2013, p.259).

Similarly to other port cities, Larnaca's significance comes from its port, especially after becoming the main port supporting Nicosia during the Genoese occupation of Famagusta. The port was also a naturally formed port like Famagusta. Piri Reis wrote about the port in his book "Kitab-ı Bahriye" in 1499 that,

When we sail past part of Cape Citi, we see opposite us and to the north the salt lakes. When we sail past these lakes, we arrive in Elikes [...] Here there is an anchorage and the ships can drop anchor at a depth of 7 fathoms, opposite the church. However, the anchors should be dropped from 12 fathoms. It is a good anchorage. (Marangou, 2002, p.195)

Even though it was a good port, during strong winds and bad weathers, it was dangerous for the passengers or goods delivery because of the high and erratic waves. Despite that, many travellers mentioned Larnaca as though it was the only good port on the island. Hurtrel said, "We were told that of the other ports of the island there was only the port of Larnaca, otherwise called Salines, which gave a fitting anchorage to vessels of all kinds, and thither all the merchantmen went for cargo" (Cobham, 1908, p.232).

In the 16th century, during the conquest of the island by the Ottoman Empire, the army landed in this area and first marched to Larnaca. They took over the city easily, and continued towards Nicosia. Diedo writes about Larnaca's surrender:

The next day it arrived at the Salines, and anchored off the Marina on the East. There Mustafa, meeting no resistance, landed his men and guns, and pushed on a few squadrons towards the interior to discover from prisoners the condition of the country and its fortresses. (Cobham, 1908, p.90)

During the Ottoman era, Larnaca was ruled by a Commissioner (Digdaban) appointed by the Governor of the island (Mariti, 1971, p.32). The fate of the city changed when Famagusta was closed to all foreigners. As a result, the main port was replaced by Larnaca as the new commercial trade centre of the island. Jeffery writes, "After the Turkish Occupation of Cyprus, Famagusta ceased to be considered a commercial port; the trade of the island passed through Limassol and Larnaca, where the foreign consuls had their establishments" (Jeffery, 1918, p.116). Its market was able to provide many goods and the city was the last stop for pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land (Gunnis, 1947, p.105). Larnaca grew and developed in this century, especially because of its Christian community, becoming an international city with the foreign consuls and continual visits from merchant ships (Gunnis, 1947, p.106). Initially, the consuls of France, Venice and the British Empire settled in the city. Later the numbers of the consuls increased in accordance with the rise of commerce in the area. During the 18th century, new Consuls, for example those of Naples, Austria, Russia, Spain and Ragusa, were established in the city because of the increasing commerce (Yetkili, 2013, p.283). The city's biggest advantage, which was being the home of the ambassadors, was helping the city to improve economically.

Until the last quarter of the 16th century, Venetian and French merchants were able to trade in the Ottoman territory. At the end of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire provided additional privileges to western merchants due to rise of Northern European dominance of the trade routes. The trading activities of the French, Dutch and English increased within the Ottoman territories (Bulut, 2002, p.199). In 1580, the British gained privileges similar to those of the French, and later in 1612 the Dutch merchants gained them, too (Özkul, 2013, p.242).

The port attracted merchants from various European countries such as Sicily, Sardinia, Tuscany, Holland, Denmark and Sweden (Stavrides, 2012, p.104). Mariti mentions that the city was visited by over 600 European ships and many Ottoman ones as well (Mariti, 1971, p.125). M. D. Vezin explains the city:

The Bay of Larnaca, or of the Salines, is the meeting-place of ships for all this part of the Levant. It is safe at all seasons, and when vessels meet with bad weather at Damiata, Jaffa, or even on the open sea they fly here for shelter, or come expressly to take provisions. French ships especially leave behind them in the Boghaz or Bay of Damiata their cable-tow with a buoy, and come to Salines: when the bad weather is over they return and take up their tow. Throughout the greatest part of the year South and West winds prevail, rising generally an hour before mid-day. (Cobham, 1908, p.370-1)

The port of Larnaca was used by both commercial and war ships. The busiest time for the harbour was from spring to late autumn (Marangou, 2002, p.211). From the port, products like cotton, the most famous, silk, grain, and leather, wool and salt were exported (Mariti, 1971, p.111-25). During the Ottoman period, the port's usage was increased by pilgrims' visits, too.

Beside its port, Larnaca was significant for its salt lake. The lake provided an important amount of income. During the Venetian rule, it was an important supplier of salt to Venice (Cobham, 1908, p.69)¹⁴. During the Ottoman period, salt continued to be one of the important incomes for the government, however the lake was neglected and the salt production was

¹⁴ John Locke's account, pp.68-73.

decreased. In many writings, travellers complained about the Ottomans' treatment of the salt lake. Cotovicus wrote in 1598,

The salt collected, which affords a very large revenue, is an Imperial right, and belongs to the Sultan: the Emin, of whom we have spoken above, is charged with the collection. The Greeks say that 'less salt is won now than when the Christians bore rule in Cyprus, giving as a reason the sloth and negligence of the Turks'. (Cobham, 1908, pp.191-2)

However, the city had serious health problems. Twice, plague created a huge threat to the island, in 1640 and 1760. Plague spread all over the island and killed 22,000 people in 1760. Mariti returned to the island in February 1760, and explains the situation in Larnaca:

The Salines and Larnaca were still free but in great alarm, for in Nicosia the mortality increased every day, and the spread of the disease throughout the island, and first of all in the seaports, as most thickly populated, seemed inevitable. Every consul, merchant and other Europeans were careful with whom they associated. Some had cut themselves off from all persons whatever: some were preparing to shut themselves up in their houses, before the plague spread further, and so to accustom themselves to a voluntary prison until God were pleased to take the curse off the land. (Mariti, 1971, p.140)

As a port city, Larnaca was under particular risk in such situations. In 1765, the city faced another thread of plague, and this time the start point was the Larnaca port.

6.1.2 Portrayal of Ottoman Larnaca

Unlike Famagusta or Nicosia, Larnaca does not have fortifications. It has small castle near the harbour. This building was a small fortification in the 14th century that turned into a castle for the protection of the harbour. However, in the 18th century when it lost its importance, it was abandoned. Mariti wrote that the castle was built by the Turks in 1625 and it is, "almost in ruins" however still guarded by janissaries (Mariti, 1971, p.17). During the Ottoman period, the castle was used as a prison by the government (Gunnis, 1947, p.113).

Regarding the inner city, the houses had stone foundations, and the rest of the houses were of mud brick. The public buildings were all stone. The houses were mostly one-storey buildings with gardens inside. Ioannes Cotovicus observed the city during his visit in 1599:

That Arnica or Arnicum was once a remarkable and very populous city is sufficiently attested by the remains of public buildings, and ruined houses. Now there is nothing to see but some small buildings, few and poor, of one storey only. There is still a Governor's palace, large and stately, of rustic work in squared and smoothed stone, constructed, I should say, by the Venetians, but now ruinous and almost destroyed, for the four walls only are standing. (Cobham, 1908, p.190-1)

Travellers often mentioned in their accounts the beautiful houses of the consuls that held significant place in the city. Heyman admired the English consul's house and the position of consuls in the island in his account from 1720:

The English consul's house here is the best on the whole island, though the outside of it is only of clay, but nothing can be more neat, or elegantly ornamented than the inside. It

has also the largest hall I saw in any part of the Levant; but, what is of much more importance, the English consul is highly respected all over the island, as jointly with his company he advances money to the inhabitants, for getting in their several harvests, in which otherwise they would be at a great loss. (Cobham, 1908, p.250)

The city became multicultural where it had more foreigners than the other cities. Mariti described the appearance of houses: "There are both Greeks and Turks who own fine and spacious houses, though not such as need particular mention, for they are of a wholly different and irregular style" (Mariti, 1971, p.31).

Even though the city was home of consuls and had an important port, it was seen as a village by some foreign visitors. Vassily Gregorovich Barsky who was a teacher at Nicosia, travelled around the island and wrote: "Larnaca is neither a city nor a village; it is a coastal resort where the consuls, French and British, live in order to govern and try those of their compatriots, who land in Cyprus" (Marangou, 2002, p.199). On the other hand, some visitors saw the city differently. Ali Bey wrote:

This is a town next in size to Nicosia, the seat of a bishop, and the residence of all the consuls, of a few European merchants, and of several Greeks protected by different nations, with whose subjects they share the privileges and immunities of their several flags. Hence you meet here with something of the same civilisation and freedom as in the towns and ports of Europe. (Cobham, 1908, p.403)

The city had one mosque for Muslims which was converted from the Latin church dedicated to the Holy Cross (Gunnis, 1947, p.113), and three worship places for Greeks (Mariti, 1971, p.28). Probably the most important monument in the city is St. Lazarus Church, a famous church that was mentioned in many of the travel accounts of Larnaca. Della Valle wrote:

This, they say, is the grave of Lazarus who was restored to life by Christ: adding that he built the church, of which he was bishop; that he died here, and that his body was carried later to Constantinople and thence to Marseille, the truth of this being proved by the miracles which are daily worked at the tomb, the sick are healed, and the like. (Cobham, 1908, p.213)

The church was used by both the Latin and Orthodox communities during the Ottoman period (Jeffery, 1918, p.169). The church was under the control of the Grand Signor and was restored in the 17th century according to its original plan (Gunnis, 1947, p.109). The church was one of the few that were allowed by the Ottoman administration. Gunnis points out:

Belfrys were not generally allowed in the Turkish Empire till 1857, as the ringing of the bells was regarded by the subject races under the Ottoman Empire as a tocsin and signal for a rising against their masters; and to prevent any likelihood of this the Turks, except on rare occasions, had forbidden any Christian church to be graced with a campanile. (Gunnis, 1947, p.109)

For the Muslims, close to St. Lazarus, was a small mosque and beside it a Turkish bath built in the 18th century. In addition, in 1745, Ebu Bekir Pasha built aqueducts from the village of Arpera to the city (Mariti, 1971, p.19). This structure was probably the most important addition to Larnaca that was built within that century. The aqueducts carried water from 6 miles away (Lukach, 2007, p.85) and solved the water problem of the city.

Another important monument close to Larnaca was Hala Sultan Tekke, the tomb of Hala Sultan. Hala Sultan was the daughter of the Milhan, and a relative of Prophet Mohammed (Gunnis, 1947, p.119). During the invasion of the Arabs in 644 when she was accompanying the expedition (Jeffery, 1918, p.184), she fell from her horse and died at the location where her tomb lies today. Gunnis mentions its importance, “The Tekke as clearly visible from the sea, and all Turkish vessels as they pass dip their flags in homage to one of the most holy places in the Mohammedan world” (Gunnis, 1947, p.120).

A famous monastery close to Larnaca is the Stravrovouni monastery, also referred to as St. Cross; in Greek “Stavros” means cross and “vouno” means mountain. The monastery was located 2,260 feet above sea level. The monastery has a piece of the Holy Cross and is considered one the oldest monasteries (Jeffery, 1918, p.189). After the conquest of the island by the Ottomans, the monastery stayed empty until the 17th Century (Gunnis, 1947, p.432), when Orthodox monks started to operate the church again. Van Byun wrote:

About five miles from Larnica, on a lofty mountain which serves as a landmark to sailors entering the bay of Salines, there is a convent called S. Croce, or the convent of the Cross, inhabited by some twenty Caloyers, a kind of Greek monk. These good folk pretend to have there a piece of the wood of the Cross of our Saviour, about the thickness of a ducat and nearly a foot in length, which was brought there by S. Helena. They say it is suspended between heaven and earth, without support, or connection with anything. A perpetual miracle holds it in the air. All the world flocks there every year on September 14, which the Greeks keep as the feast of the Holy Cross. (Cobham, 1908, p.241)

The salt lake’s condition was same as in the previous century and it still wasn’t used to its full potential. Contantinus explains the condition of the salt lake:

The circumference of this salt lake, which is near the modern Scala, was formerly about five miles. But under the Turks, as the export grew less, the lake partially dried up, so that the water now collected in it both from the sea and the rain cover a surface of scarcely two miles. (Cobham, 1908,p.309)

Another location that appeared on the maps was the ancient city of Citium. In this century, only a few remnants of it were left to see. In his descriptions, Mariti points out how the ancient city is mostly destroyed:

Now nothing is visible of this ancient city but the foundations of the walls which surrounded it, and of a building or two. The site is open cultivated field: and in working the soil there are found every day large stones, which are used in the modern buildings of the town Salines and city of Larnaca. (Mariti, 1971, p.24)

6.1.3 Analysis of Maps

Le Chevalier de Chaumont Senaire, “La Rade des Salines en Cypre”, 1683, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Cat No: 63):

This nautical chart was made by Le Chevalier de Chaumont Senaire in 1683 and shows the harbour's depths and the coast line for navigation without paying any attention to the city itself. Stylianou wrote about this map, "This practical and decorative chart of the bay of Salines-Larnaca, marks the first progressive development in the cartography of the island, since Venetian times" (Stylianou, 1985, p.97).

A rose compass and the depths of the shore are shown since these details helped sailors to set sail, the purpose of the map. However, it is not the only information that the map provides. It also depicts the features of the city and its surroundings, which separates this map from other nautical charts.

The map maker depicts the fort and St. Lazarus with its tower similarly to Dapper's drawing. He adds palm trees and the village close to the city. In the bay there are one large European-style ship and four smaller ones. Many places are marked and listed in a decorative cartouche on the left side of the map. The city which is mentioned as a village is depicted far away from the fort. The fort is labelled as D and it is depicted with few houses and a tower. The village has a few houses with trees as they are just used to show the location of Larnaca and not to give information about it; it is indicated with the letter F. Other locations that are labelled include Salines (C) and St. Cross Monastery (E). On the map, the frames for the name and the list of locations draw more attention than the depiction of the bay.

Olfert Dapper, "Salinas of Southpannen, Anders Arnicho di Salinas ou Les Salines", in his Naukeurige Beschryving der Eilanden in de Archipel der Middellantsche Zee..., Cyprus, Rhodes..., Amsterdam, 1688, Cultural Foundation of Bank of Cyprus (Cat No: 64):

This depiction of Larnaca is Dapper's second one, after Famagusta from the same book (Stylianou, 1985, p.102). The representation of the city is different from the other maps of this century. The city is depicted from the sea and the drawing gives the appearance of the city or as the other French map makers labelled the village's appearance and its surrounding landscape. Larnaca is depicted in front of the mountain and on the left side, the fort of the city is shown. Besides the fort, an arched building and St. Lazarus church are depicted. The bell tower of the church is depicted as well, although the tower collapsed at the beginning of the Ottoman rule and was rebuilt in 1857. In the city, other two-storey buildings were illustrated, which might be the Consul's houses mentioned by travellers at various times in their writings. In the background, the cartographer depicts a small village where the houses continued, as well. As we see on the drawing, Larnaca was a small settlement in progress. With this picture, the audience gets the idea of the landscape around the city as well. The palm trees and mountains surrounding the city give more information than the nautical charts from this century.

The majority of the drawing is the ships in the foreground. As the major harbour of this century and home of various foreign consuls, the harbour had many visitors especially from Europe and their ships are represented on the map. There are two kind of huge ships depicted, one kind representing Ottoman ships and others supposedly of European origin, possibly the Dutch merchant ships since Cyprus was an important trade centres for Dutch merchants during the 17th century (Bulut, 2002, p.217). From the beginning of the century until 1612, they were able to trade under the French flag and later under the English one (Özkul, 2013, p.257). Besides the huge trade ships, small sandals can be seen close to the shore.

Anonymous, "Plan de la Rade de l'arniqua et Salines dans l'isle de Chipre", 1699, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Cat No: 65):

This loose sheet map of Larnaca was made by an unknown French map maker at the end of the 17th century. The map is labelled in the corner as "Plan de la Rade de l'arniqua et Salines dans l'isle de Chipre" (Stylianou, 1985, p. 98-321).

This is another typical nautical chart from this century. The map shows the depths of the harbour with a depiction of the city. Similar to previous chart, in the middle of the map there is a rose and a scale in the corner. As befits the purpose of the map, it gives the depths of the shoreline to Salines. The places are listed as *pointe de Salines*, *Salines* (the salt lake itself), *fort a la marine*, *St. Lazare*, *monto christo*, *pui(t)s*, *L'arniqua*, *pui(t)s*, *cap Pila* without a reference table.

Salines is represented as a grid block with the name "Salines" written on it. The fort and the St. Lazarus Church are depicted side by side. The fort is represented with walls and towers while the church is depicted with three domes. The map maker also depicts two wells close to the shore. The city itself is depicted behind the wells in a symbolic drawing. The representation is only to show the location and not to give information about the city itself. There are also a few houses depicted away from the city which are not labelled.

Revest?, "Plan et elevation de la Baye de Lernica en lisle de Cypre", 1699, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Cat No: 66):

According to Stylianou, the map was possibly made by Revest, who had several maps of Cyprus' coastal cities (Stylianou, 1985, p.97-98). The date of the map is end of the 17th century, and we see similar chart maps in both the 17th and 18th centuries. The map gives information on the harbour's depths and the coastline for both Salines' and Larnaca's harbours for navigation. There is a rose compass in the centre with a scale.

Contrasting the navigational information, the map does not give much information about the city itself. It includes points from A to F in the right upper corner of the map, giving the important locations at the city and its surroundings, for example Point Chita (A), the Stravrovouni monastery or St. Cross monastery (D), Larnaca (E). The map maker also depicts the landscape of the area such as the hills behind the city. Salines is depicted as a grid block and it shows the location of the salt lake which was an important source of income for the city's commerce.

Alexander Drummond, "Salines Bay", in *Travels through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and Several Parts of Asia...*, 1754 Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collection (Cat No: 67):

Alexander Drummond was an English Consul in Aleppo between 1754-56. He visited Cyprus from March to May 1745 and in April 1750 for a second time. His *Travels through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and Several Parts of Asia...* was published in 1754. His book contains letters addressed to his brother and friends in which Letter VIII includes an engraved plan of the bay of Larnaca. The map shows the coastline of Larnaca from Cape Greco to Chitty. Drummond wrote about the settlement of Chitty, "Our bishop joins me in the

opinion that Chitty is really the ancient Citium, or very near the place where that city stood; it appears to have been very extensive by the old foundations that are daily dug up all round” (Cobham, 1908, p.279).

On the map, he points out a few important locations, such as Larnaca, Arpera, Salines, etc. in the foreground and the mountains in the background. The settlements are illustrated with tress and architectural structures in the centres. Differently from the other maps, Salines is depicted as a fort on the coastline. Two mountains marked as “Mount Croce” indicate the St Cross Monastery and the “Mount Olumpus” marking the highest point of the Trodos Mountains.

Differently from other maps from this century, he illustrates Arpera, where aqueducts carry water from its river to Larnaca (Jeffery, 1918, 185). Drummond wrote, “While he was Pasha of this island, in the year 1747, he formed the noble design of bringing water from the river at Arpera, and occasional springs on the road about six miles from hence, to supply the people of Larnica, Salines and the shipping” (Cobham, 1908, p.288). The other settlement, Lavagio, could be the village Livadia, a settlement since the Middle Bronze Age close to Larnaca. Unfortunately, he did not mention this in his writings and the names of locations can be different and hard to determine.

Hendrik Michelot, Arnold Langerak (Publisher), “Ernica”, in *De Waare Wegwyzer De Waare wegwyzer voor de stuurlieden en lootzen in de middelensche zee... door Hendrik Michelot...*, 1745, Nederlandsch Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam (Cat No: 68):

The map was made by Hendrik Michelot and published by Arnold Langerak in Leyden in 1745 in the book *De Waare Wegwyzer De Waare wegwyzer voor de stuurlieden en lootzen in de middelensche zee... door Hendrik Michelot...*, which gave descriptions of ports, coasts and bays in the Mediterranean region (Stylianou, 1985, pp.109-348). The map is a hydrographic plan of Larnaca and Famagusta. It also shows other anchorage such as St. Napa and St. Giorge. The main aim of the map is to give the depths of the coastline from Salines to Famagusta and the best locations for anchorage on the coastline. Larnaca is depicted under the name “Ernica” (Fig. 27). A similar feature in all charts from this century is that the city is only shown in a symbolic representation in order to show its location. We see houses continuing on the coastline separated from the city itself showing the port. The city’s illustration includes a wall and towers. On top of the towers, crescents symbolize the Ottoman rule, the first time in this century when Ottoman rule was depicted. In addition to the city, St. Lazarus is indicated out on the map. Salines and Chitta are shown with grid blocks and a tower by the shore. Cape Tita (Cape Kita), Cape Pilla and Cape Greco also are depicted with crescents atop the towers.

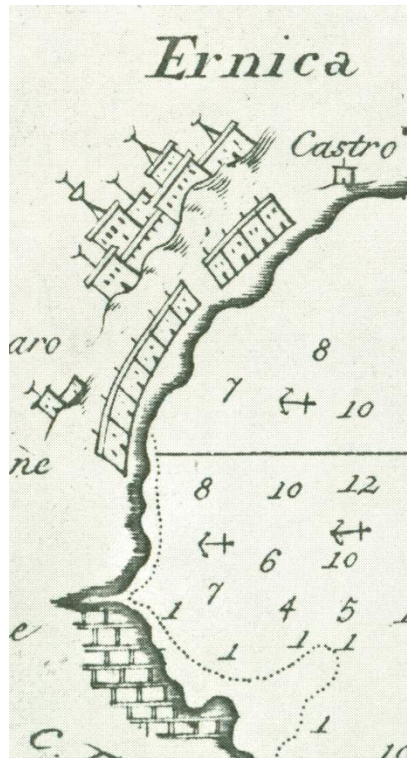


Figure 27: Detail from Hendrik Michelot's map; Larnaca and its coastline.

Joseph Roux, Marseilles, "Cipre- Ernica- Famaguste", in *Recueil des principaux Plans, des Ports, et Rades de la Mer Méditerranée Extraits de ma carte en Douze Feuilles gravée avec privilege du Roy par son tres humble serviteur Joseph Roux, Marseilles, 1779* (first appearance 1764), Cultural Foundation of Cyprus (Cat No: 69):

Joseph Roux was a Royal hydrographer. He also had a publishing house specializing in nautical charts in Marseilles. From 1764, he had two important publications: the *Carte de la Mer Maditerranee* and the *Recueil*; the collection of harbour charts without text was first published in 1764 in Marseilles. The work was based on the *Carte de la Mer Mediterranee* and had three editions. Each edition had a different number of plates. This map was published in all the editions, starting from 1779 until the 19th century (Navari, 2003, p.264).

The number of maps of Larnaca and also Limassol by French cartographers increased. Towards the end of the 17th century, French merchants became dominant in the commercial activities in Cyprus (Luke, 1969, p.89). From the 1660s the trade activities of French merchants increased in the area because of the new Minister of Finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, and his interest in Mediterranean commerce (Özkul, 2013, p.246). In the 18th century the French consul had more authority than any other consul in the city (Mariti, 1971, p126).

The first map (Pl.61) is from the edition that published Genoa by Yves Gravier in 1779 which was re-engraved from the 1764 issue. The map was copied from Hendrik Michelot's work with small changes.

The second map (Pl. 61A) (Cat No: 70) is from a different edition. The Livorno edition which was published by Jean Allezard in 1800 was under the name "Nouveau Recueil des plans des principaux de la Mediterranee". The new edition was modified and expanded. The spelling of the city differs on the second map (Navari, 2003, p.267).

The information on the map is quite similar to the previous map. The chart gives the depths from C. Chito to St. George, excluding Famagusta. One of the differences is that the St. Cross is depicted as a small mountain with the name S. Croix on top of it. This time the name of the city is Arnaca. The city is represented by groups of buildings; one in the background and the other on the shore. The group of buildings in the background has flags on top and a minaret, but the representation is symbolic. One interesting point of the map is the depiction of Hala Sultan Tekke, which is illustrated between Salines and Larnaca. In this small depiction, the map maker depicts a domed building with two minarets and cypress trees. Cypress trees were symbols of the island and were usually planted around churches, mosques and cemeteries. The Greeks and Romans called the cypress tree the "mournful tree". Ali Bey wrote, "The mountains round are covered with wild cypresses in beautiful clumps and thickets. The tree takes its name from the island" (Cobham, 1908, p.393). The colours used on the maps are of brown and yellow tones for settlements and coastline. Apart from a few changes in the representation, both maps show the depths and locations for anchorage with a scale on the left side of the map.

John Gaudy "Draught of Salina Bay in Cyprus" included in "A chart of the Levant or the Sea Coasts of Egypt, Syria, Caramania, and the Island of Cyprus", in *English Pilot, Part III, Describing the Sea-Coasts, Capes, Head Lands, bays, Roads, Harbours, Rivers and Ports, together with the Surroundings, Sands, Rocks, and Dangers in whole Mediterranean Sea...Carefully corrected, with new edition of several Ports...*, (first appearance 1716), 1736, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collection (Cat No: 71):

This is a map of Salines Bay, from the Part III of *English Pilot*, which gives descriptions of the coasts and their surroundings in the Mediterranean region. Probably its first publication was in 1716 by John Seller. This map is from the 1736 publication with corrections by John Gaudy (Navari, 2003, p.241). On the map, Salines and Larnaca are depicted as "Salina" and "Lernica". The two settlements are represented by blocks of buildings and towers with crescent on top of them. The mountains are illustrated in two dimensions with the written information "Mt. Cruife". The map has a compass showing the True North as well as giving the variation with a scale.

William Heather, "Port Salines and Ernica in Cyprus" in his *The New Mediterranean Pilot...* London, 1802, Royal Geographical Society, London (Cat No: 72):

The map by hydrographer William Heather shows the depths of the coastline from C. Chita to Famagusta. Each location is depicted in detail on the map. This is the most detailed information-filled map of the nautical charts within this century.

First of all, both names for Chita and Tita are written on the map with depiction of a fort. For a first time the Hala Sultan Tekke is labelled as mosque beside the salt lake. It is represented as a small domed building with a crescent on top. The salt lake is labelled "Salt Work" on the coast and behind it the name "S. Croix" is written on a depiction of a mountain which is the St. Cross Monastery. Salines is illustrated with a group of one-storey buildings of which two of them have towers. Salines' representation has an addition of the burial ground which was written and shown with a rectangular shape, and cypress trees are depicted as there was a tradition of planting them in graveyards. St. Lazarus Church is given in writing beside a group of buildings without being depicted. The city was represented under the name "Ernica". Different from other representations, the map maker depicts the ancient ruins of the city at the

bottom of the picture depiction of the city and also labelled it “castle”. He was probably referring to the fort; this was the first time it was called a castle and depicted at the other side of the city. The city is illustrated with various shaped buildings with flags on top which represent the various consuls in the city. Cape Pila, Cape George, S. George, Ayia Napa and Cape Greco are shown on the map as they are important locations for anchorage and sailors. Each has smaller illustrations to represent them. The St. George illustration is most likely the small settlement with various buildings. At the far end, Famagusta is shown without detail.

Within this century, there are several maps by British map makers, since the British consul was the other powerful consul on the island beside the French consul. The “Levant Company” established a permanent agency in Larnaca between 1592 and 1825. Heyman wrote in the early 18th century, “The English consul is highly respected all over the island, as jointly with his company he advances money to the inhabitants, for getting in their several harvests, in which otherwise they would be at a great loss” (Cobham, 1908, p.250).

Antonio Borg, “Piano Della Spiaggia Di Lernica”, in *Piani di tutte l’Isole dal Mar Adriatico sin tutto Levante...includere l’Isole Candia, Rodi e Cipri*, 1770, British Library (Cat No: 73):

The map was made by Antonio Borg under the name “Piano Della Spiaggia Di Lernica” in his *Piani di tutte l’Isole dal Mar Adriatico sin tutto Levante...* in 1770. Compared with other maps of the century, the chart gives a different representation. The main points of the area are given in writing as Cape Tigita, Cape Pila, Salines and Monte Crucis. The city’s name is not mentioned on the map but its representation as a group of houses and a tower, which is St. Lazarus Church, are shown. The fort is depicted separately away from the city. A little further away, another depiction of buildings and a tower appear, which is probably the Hala Sultan Tekke. Salines is depicted as one single structure which looks like a fort.

The map’s main aim is to give the depths of the bay, which it focuses on, especially with the rose compass in the middle of the map which takes the focus point of the map. The scale of the map is given at the top and the name can be seen beneath it.

Basil Grigorovitch Barsky, “Larnaca”, in *Travels of Basil Grigorovitch Barsky in the Holy Places of the East from 1723 to 1747*, N. Barsoukov (ed.), 4vol., 1885-7, St. Petersburg, 1727, Akademija Nauk, Kiev (Cat No: 74):

Another pen and ink drawing by the Russian monk Barsky of the port city, is Larnaca. The drawing includes the city itself at the background and the marina in the foreground. In the port, the fort with cannons is depicted. In the lower part, a minaret defines the Muslims and the Ottoman rule. Behind the fort, St. Lazarus Church is depicted. The current bell tower is missing since it had not been rebuilt at that time. However, the three domes of the church can be seen in the drawing. In the background, the St. Cross monastery dominates the whole hill. The houses are illustrated in a simple way, however two are larger than others and named as the British and French consuls’ houses with flags (Fig. 28). He even adds the people of Larnaca: two men walking towards the port, another on a horse or donkey and even one looking out to the bay of Larnaca. We also have a glimpse of the ships in the harbour as he depicts the top part of the mast of one of the ship with a small sandal beside it. With the details such as palm trees, inhabitants, ships, churches and mosques and varied structures within the city, the drawing gives the appearance of the city to the audience unlike the

symbolic representation in nautical charts. Even though it is a simple illustration of the city, it is the only one that shows the city's structure in this century.

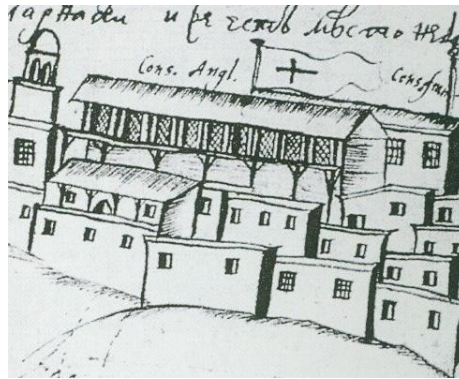


Figure 28: Detail from Basil Grigorovitch Barsky's drawing; the Consuls

6.2 The British Era Larnaca Maps

6.2.1 History of Larnaca

In 1878, the administration of Cyprus was handed over to the British Empire. The British navy and army landed first in Larnaca where they were welcomed by Bishop Kyprianos of Kition. The head of the officials was the first High Commissioner Garnet Wolseley. During the early years of British rule, the city was favoured by the British officials. Even High Commissioner Wolseley wanted to make Larnaca the capital city instead of Nicosia (Hill, 1952, p.289).

However, the city started to lose its popularity in later years because of the renovations at the port of Famagusta. By the mid-1950s Famagusta port was in full use again, with the addition of the railway between Famagusta and Nicosia which was built to create easier transportation from the port to the centre of the island. Mrs. Scott-Stevenson, wife of a British officer wrote about British influence on Larnaca:

Larnaca has become almost Europeanized and has lost much its picturesqueness; the streets are being paved and the drains that formerly ran in the centre of every byway are closed over. Shops full of European goods have taken the place of the old bazaars; an done sees more people in English than Greek costume. All this might be much more civilised, but I cannot say it is more beautiful; and the more I travel the more I see that beauty and civilisation do not necessarily go hand in hand (Severis, 2008, p.104).

During the British colonial period, a large-scale process to improve the condition of the island was started. Even though Larnaca served as the main port during the Ottoman era, it was not enough for the British government. The port was in need of renovation. As a result, in 1882, the British Government decided to develop it, since the port has shallow water and was dangerous for ships. The renovations started by making the quay longer and adding a sheltering arm at the end (Yetkili, 2013, p.271). Captain C. W. J. Orr wrote:

At Larnaca itself there was nothing but an open roadstead, sheltered to some extent to the north and east, but otherwise so exposed that even in moderately rough weather the landing of passengers and goods was difficult, whilst in westerly and southerly gales it

was impossible without grave risk to life and property. Yet this was the port through which practically the whole of the commerce of the island passed. It was at Larnaca that the foreign consuls were stationed and the shipping agents had their offices, and it was here that the Turkish maintained their Commercial Court. A small portion of the commerce of the island passed through the port of Limassol, also an open roadstead without any adequate landing facilities, and exposed to the weather. (Orr, 1918, p. 152)

Many travellers complained about Larnaca's port as they had to anchor away from the quay (Marangou, 2002, p.207). Sir Samuel Baker wrote in his book *Cyprus as I Saw it* about the condition of the Larnaca port:

We cast anchor about half a mile from the shore. Nine or ten vessels, including several steamers, were in the roadstead, and a number of lighters were employed in landing cargos... We landed upon the quay. This formed a street, the sea upon one side, faced by a row of houses. As with all Turkish possessions, decay had stamped the city: the masonry of the quay was in many places broken down, the waves had undermined certain houses, and in the holes thus washed out by the action of water were accumulations of recent filth... The quay was in many places undermined by the action of the waves, and it would be necessary to create an entirely new front by sinking a foundation for a sea-wall some yards in advance of the present face. There would be no engineering difficulty in the formation of a boat-harbour, to combine by extensive pile-jetties the facilities of landing in all weathers. (Baker, 1879, pp.1-3)

The port was the most significant feature of the city so the British government invested in the port first. The construction of the port was started in 1880, however it was not an easy task to improve it. Orr mentioned his concerns about the construction,

It was clearly impossible, without the expenditure of large sums of money, to provide accommodation at either of these ports which would enable large vessels to lie alongside and discharge their cargo direct, without the use of lighters. Attention was, therefore, directed to the remains of the ancient harbour of Famagusta, which in Venetian times had been the main port of Cyprus. The harbour is completely sheltered from all winds, except those blowing from the north-east, and as the east is not the prevailing wind no, heavy sea is ever experienced. (Orr, p.153)

Officially the proposal for renovation was submitted in 1904. The purpose of the renovation was to provide safety for small vessels to cast anchor near the shore. The initial idea was to increase the length of the quay by 200 feet and construct a wave breaker. However, this cost too much for the government so the renovation was delayed to 1906, and they asked for a cheaper plan by Coodes Co. The new renovation plan included lengthening the pier 250 feet, and its construction was finished in 1910. Later in this century, the company Coodes Co. researched the changes in the coast and gave advice to the overnment for improving the port. However, they did not make any other major changes at the port of Larnaca (Marangou, 2002, p.220).

6.2.2 Portrayal of British Larnaca

“Larnaca, as it is to-day, with its long sea front bordered by rows of palm trees under which the people sit at little tables, Continental fashion, sipping their coffee or wine, struck me as the quaintest mixture of East and West I had yet seen” (Chapman, 1945, p.125) Chapman describes Larnaca with these words.

Besides the old churches and mosque, in the 19th century, new churches were built in the city. One of them was the Latin Church of the Franciscans, Santa Maria della Gratia which was built in 1843 as a replacement for an old church which was built in 1702. Some churches were rebuilt, such as the monastery of St. George the Near, which is close to Larnaca and was rebuilt in 1833 by Bishop Leontios (Gunnis, 1947, p.118).

Larnaca is one of examples of how the east and the west can blend together, as mentioned by Olive Murray Chapman who visited Larnaca in 1936: “I came to the conclusion that nowhere else is the strange intermingling of East and West so characteristic of Cyprus, more clearly marked than in Larnaca” (Severis, 2008, p.108-9). She pointed out that the city had both an Oriental and a European appearance. Franz von Loher and A. Batson Joyner wrote:

A landscape was before me, in which the towns, gardens and buildings constituted only minor accessories. Larnaka appeared as a mere speck on the bosom of the open country. The haven contains about fifty houses, built in the centre of the curve of the bay, and above them wave the variegated flags of the different consulates, surmounted by pointed minarets and a new belfry. The town of Larnaka itself lies far behind, and is separated by wide fields from the haven. The rows of houses interspersed with stately mansions, churches, and gardens, filled with waving palms, constitute its principal attractions; all else is strictly Oriental, namely, its filthy, rags, and miserable huts of wood and clay. (Loher & Joyner, 1878, p.2)

6.2.3 Analysis of Maps

John Browne and J. Stokes, “Anchorages in Cyprus”, Larnaca, Admiralty Hydrographic Office, London, 1891-2 (Cat No: 75):

The first hydrographic survey was done by Lieutenant John T. Browne of the Royal Navy and Captain Thomas Graves of H.M.S. Volage in 1849, which this map was based on (Navari, 2003, p.333).

The bay of the Larnaca is depicted on the map in order to show its depths. It has two compasses and gives depths of the coastline in much more detail than previous charts. The city and Marina are depicted as well, however the illustration of them is not given in detail. The city is only shown as blocks of buildings without any names or locations of important buildings. On the map we can see the distribution of Larnaca and its marina. The salt lake and other small settlements between the city and Cape Kiti are depicted on the map as well.

Coode, Fitzmaurice, Wilson and Mitchell, "Larnaca harbour. Cyprus" and "Plan of Larnaca harbour...", Government Printing Office, Nicosia, 16 September 1925 (Cat No: 76):

These two maps were created for a report ordered by the British administration in 1925 (Navari, 2003, p.340-1). The first map shows the proposals for improving the harbour of Larnaca. The company was planning to do dredging in order to enlarge the harbour and extend the jetty so that bigger ships could cast anchor safely. The second one shows a comparison between the surveys that were made in 1906 and 1925.

In both maps the harbour is the main focus, so we only see part of the city. They label the buildings in the harbour: custom house, post office, quarantine station, public works department and boat house. The maps do not give enough information about the city itself, however they are important maps showing the changes to the harbour and the development at the cartography techniques in the later centuries.

The company Coode, Fitzmaurice, Wilson and Mitchell also had maps of other harbours such as the Famagusta harbour, where an extension to the port was proposed. The map of Famagusta was made in 16 September 1925 (Cat No: 77).

Thomas Graves, "Larnaca from the Anchorage" "Cyprus called by the Turks Kibris, the ancient Kupros, Surveyed by Captain Thomas Graves, H. M. S. Volage 1849... Magnetic variation 1875, decreasing 6' annually", Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, 1864 (Cat No: 78):

These maps were published according to the Act of Parliament at the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty in August 1851 and the additions to the map were done in April 1864, with yet more corrections done in December 1864. The map was engraved by J. & C (Stylianou, 1985, p.150- 410).

The insets on the map are: Limassol road enlarged; Larnaka road enlarged; Famagusta road enlarged; Ruins of Salamis; Kyrenia enlarged, with panoramic views: Limassol from the anchorage; Famagusta from the anchorage; Larnaka from the anchorage. The inset of Larnaca gives the side view of the city as an addition to the survey map of Cyprus.

In the illustration of the city, Larnaca is depicted from the sea (Fig. 29). We see two-storey buildings lined up along the coast. The map maker also depicts ships, one on the left, the other on the right of the map. Between them is a small boat with three fishermen. The landscape around the city can be seen as well, the mountains that also appear on the nautical charts from the previous century. Two flags wave on top of two buildings which indicate the foreign consuls' houses in the city. The illustration does not include any religious buildings.



Figure 29: Detail from Thomas Graves' map; profile view of Larnaca

Chapter 7

LIMASSOL MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

7.1 The Ottoman Era Limassol Maps

7.1.1 History of Limassol

Limassol is another port city on the southern coast of the island. During the Crusades, this city provided shelter for the ships. Limassol was the port where Richard the Lionheart first landed when he was heading to Jerusalem during the Third Crusade in 1191 (Gunnis, 1947, p.130). The ship which carried two queens, Richard's sister and his intended bride was towed to this port. The two queens were taken hostage by the King of Cyprus Isaac Comnenos and when King Richard landed at Limassol to rescue two queens, he destroyed the city. After the island was taken over by Guy de Lusignan, the city was rebuilt. Archimandrite Kyprianos wrote about the newly established city and its name,

Neapolis, the new town, was built by the first Lusignan king, and was given the name Limosiaon in remembrance of a city in France. There was a large forest there once called Nemesos. When the town was built it included many churches and monasteries belonging to the Greeks and the Latins. (Severis, 2006, p.77)

Similarly to other port cities, Limassol's port also shaped the city and gave it its structure. The port of the city was commonly used by merchants, especially Venetian and Genoese merchants before the fall of Acre. The usage decreased with the increasing popularity of Famagusta but it kept its international port statue. The port was still in use by pilgrim ships and by trade ships especially for carob (Yetkili, 2013, p.312).

An anonymous Englishmen wrote about the city during his visit in the first half of the 14th century "The first city to be reached was Limassol, where there is excellent wine, bread as white as snow, and a most friendly population, eloquent in French, most like the English in their pleasantness of their manners" (Severis, 2006, p.78). However, the city was destroyed in the 14th century by an earthquake and again in 1491 the city was damaged (Marangou, 2002, p.232; Forwood, 1971, p.115-16). Besides the earthquakes, attacks by enemies laid the city to ruin as well. In 1373, the city was destroyed during an attack by the Genoese because its port had a lack of protection. The city was burned down completely (Forwood, 1971, pp.115-16). In addition, the city was attacked by the Mamelukes, causing its destruction in 1425-6.

After all these destructions, some of writers explained the city as a village near shore without a harbour. In the beginning of 16th century Jacques La Saige wrote: "We left our vessel and landed at Limechon. It is now a village situated in the open country quite close to the sea, but there is no harbour. There is a castle which is pretty strong" (Cobham, 1908, p.56).

The city was not protected well. There was a fortress to protect of the harbour, however, it was demolished during the Venetian period. As a result, in 1570, during the conquest of Cyprus, Limassol was one of the first places that surrounded without resistance.

During the Ottoman period, the port was still in use and the harbour was still providing protection for ships, as Mariti wrote during his travels to Cyprus: “The roadstead is convenient, being sheltered from the fiercer winds: so that vessels take refuge here from the bad weather outside. Carobs are largely exported, for the best crops are gathered here. Salt too is collected from a salt lake not far off, which is not so large as that near Citti. A customhouse, with a chief or Agha, regulates the trade” (Mariti, 1971, p.83). Similar to other ports of the island, the Kadı had full power over it. No one was able to cast anchor or land at the city without his permission. Schimmelpennick Van der Oye wrote about difficulties to visit the city in 1657,

Very early in the morning, we arrived in Limassol where we cast anchor. We couldn't, however, disembark because the Turkish Cadis blocked us with his galley, trying to let us know of his displeasure, for on our arrival we didn't fire any greeting cannon-shots in his harbour (Marangou, 2002, p.237).

Sailors chose this port for various reasons. The water by the city was deep so large ships were able to anchor close to the port, but supplies and passengers were moved to shore in lighters (Yetkili, 2013, p.320). Pococke wrote about the city and its port that

Limesol, where we landed, is a small town, built of unburnt brick; there are a great number of mulberry gardens about it, with houses in them, which makes the place appear very beautiful at a distance; the country also abounds in vineyards and the rich Cyprus wine is made only about this place; the ordinary wine of the country being exceedingly bad. It is one of the cheapest places in the island, which is the reason why ships bound to Egypt and other parts put in here to victual. I was told that a small heifer sells sometimes for two dollars, or five shillings. (Cobham, 1908, p.252)

Besides the wine, the area was fertile, which drew the attention of sailors and visitors. Hume wrote about the production of foods around the area:

The plain of Limasol is perhaps one of the most fertile districts in the island, and where the ground is not cultivated there are clusters of the olive and locust tree, and the evergreen Cypress ...The vine is seen growing in almost every courtyard, and its fruit is of exquisite flavour; but the richness of the red grape brought to Limasol in little hampers from the interior is perhaps unequalled. (Cobham, 1908, p.341)

As a result of being cheaper than other ports and goods such as the famous wine, the port developed. In addition, during the Ottoman period, Limassol was second in line after Larnaca as the main harbour for commerce. The port was chosen by many foreign merchants. De Vezin wrote,

Limasol also is a resort for ships in all weathers. The town is well enough, particularly as to business. The English Consul has here a Greek as Vice-Consul to give assistance to British ships calling here, and to see what is wanted in the town and neighbourhood. Limasol has a Zabit, a Qazi, a Serdar and an Ashab-aghasi, or commandant; but the fort, like the rest, needs many repairs. (Cobham, 1908, p.371)

Archbishop Constantius of Sinai, who wrote about the port in 1766, praised the town: “Lemesos is the chief depot and place of sale. This town is no longer what it was, a populous, thriving commercial center but ranks amongst seaport towns next after Scala” (Severis, 2006,

p.83). However, not every writer was pleased with the city: for some it was small and unimportant. J. Sibthorp, a botanist from Oxford University wrote in 1787,

Limesol is an inconsiderable town, frequented only on account of its corn, and the neighbourhood to the vineyards of La Commanderia. The bay is deeper than that of Larnaka, and ships approach nearer the shore to take in their lading. Our vice-consul, a Greek, treated us handsomely; and uncommon for a Greek, lodged us in his house without making a bill. (Cobham, 1908, p.329)

7.1.2 Portrayal of Ottoman Limassol

Cotovicus described Limasol in 1599,

Limisso, which the ancients called Curias or Curium, was a city, the seat of a bishopric, and adorned with fine buildings. Now it is a mere village, though populous enough, situated near the shore in a wide and pleasant plain. Near it the Lycus, a streamlet, flows down from M. Olympus, and falls into the sea. (Cobham, 1908, p.188)

The name of the city appears in travellers' writings because they stopped at Limassol on their way to Larnaca. The city was demolished several times by earthquakes and attacks which affected the monuments in the area. Many visitors wrote that there was much to see or visit in the city. Regarding these few monuments, the city had a fortress from the 14th century. It was remodelled during the Venetian period. In 1525, the fortress was partially demolished by the Venetian Governor Francesco Bragadino because it was captured by Turkish pirates. In the later periods, it was used as a prison (Gunnis, 1947, p.135; Jeffery, 1918, p. 368)

The city did not have any glorious or major buildings but it had a church. It was a small city with a noticeable port. Drummond commented

Lemisol, though not rich, is a very pleasant place, accommodated with an exceeding good bay for ships; it has a wretched castle, and some small share of trade, yet this small share is greater than that of all the other sea-ports, except Larnica, which being the residence of the Europeans, carries all before it. (Cobham, 1908, p.286)

Travellers mentioned the city in 16th century and the changes in its appearance after the conquest. The Seigneur de Villamont, who visited the city, wrote,

The master took us to Limisso, a village in a beautiful plain and close to the sea. The houses are built chiefly of earth covered with rushes and fascines, of a single story, and so low that one must stoop to mount two or three steps... Then we walked about the village. There was nothing worthy of mark. About five years since an earthquake threw down all the houses, which have been rebuilt by the Turks after the fashion of pigsties. The poor Christians are no better lodged than the Turks, or even worse. They have indeed built a little church fifteen feet high, where they say the mass of the Greek rite. You may see too the baths where the Turks bathe every day, and the sepulchres in which they are laid after they have descended to the Paradise prepared for them by their false prophet Mahomet. (Cobham, 1908, pp.171-2)

After the Ottoman conquest, a mosque, khan and public bath (hamam) were built within the city. In addition, an Orthodox church was built in 1738 (Gunnis, 1947, pp.135-6). During the Ottoman period, as a result of its port the number of inhabitants increased alongside its commerce. Della Valle wrote, “September 30. I landed early, and walked about the town, which is fairly large and populous” (Cobham, 1908, p.214).

Amathus was an ancient Phoenician city close to Limasol which many writers mentioned on their accounts. Drummond wrote,

About six miles from Limesol, stood the Amathus of the antients, so celebrated for the amours of Venus and Adonis; it stretched down to the sea, from the face of an hill, where there has been a very strong castle, some of the walls of which are immensely thick, and probably were built by some of the Greek emperors: the port has been tolerable. (Cobham, 1908, p.286)

7.1.3 Analysis of Maps

Hendrik Michelot, Arnold Langerak (publisher): “Cipre”, “Limasol”, in *De Waare Wegwyzer De Waare wegwyzer voor de stuurlieden en lootzen in de middelensche zee... door Hendrik Michelot...*, Leyden, 1745, Nederlandsch Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam (Cat No: 79):

This is a scaled map by Hendrik Michelot that depicts the depths of bay of Limassol, from the Cape Gato to Tolera (Stylianou, 1985, pp.109-347). The city is depicted in the background, on top of a hill. The road that leads to the city shows that the city is not on the shore. On the both side of the road we see depictions of houses which on the right side indicate the marina. The inner city includes symbolic buildings with crescent symbols on them similar to his map of Larnaca and seemingly almost identical to its image. At the end of the bay, Tolare is depicted as a smaller settlement but with the same style of buildings and crescent symbols on top. An illustration of the salt lake is given without any written information.

Joseph Roux, “‘Cipre’- ‘Limasol’”, in *Recueil...*, 1764, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Collection (Pl.60) (Cat No: 80):

This is another map from Joseph Roux which was made in 1764. Related to his Larnaca map, the map is from his work, *Recueil* and also had various editions (Navari, 2003, p. 268). The map appeared in the 1795 edition as Plate 60 but these two maps are from two different issues of the 1764 edition. They are both copied from Hendrik Michelot’s work with small differences (Stylianou, 1985, p.147).

One important depiction on this map that differs from Henderik’s map is the pond, which is labelled as “Etang”. Van Byun wrote, “There is a fairly large fishpond in the neighbourhood, about a thousand paces from Cape la Gata abdima, and two hundred more from the sea” (Cobham, 1908, p.241). Between the pond and the city are depictions of small structures without any written information. The second map is the coloured version. The settlements are drawn in yellow and the coastline painted with blue: other than these colours, there are no other determinative colours on the map.



Figure 30: Detail from Joseph Roux's map; Limassol

Jean Joseph Allezard, "Limassol sur l'isle de Cypre" in *Nouveau Recueil des plans des principaux de la Mediterranee*, Marseille, 1800, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Pl.60 A) (Cat No: 81):

This is a nautical chart of Limassol based on Roux's map, made by Joseph Allezard. Allezard published improved versions of Roux's maps in 1800 (Stylianou, 1985, p.147). On the map, the coastline from the Cape Catte to the city is marked for sailors. Its scale is on the right and in the middle the name Limassol is given. The representation of the city is as a walled city on the hill in the background. The inner city has various types of building. The domed building probably represents a public building, may be a mosque where five minarets rise in the inner city. In this small representation it is hard to identify any buildings in the city. Besides the walled city, there are other groups of buildings which spread along the coastline, showing the small settlements. The pond is given as "Etang". Besides Cape Catte, there is no other written information on the map.

William Heather, "The Harbour of Limassol in Cyprus" in *The New Mediterranean Pilot...*, London, 1802, Royal Geographical Society, London (Cat No: 82):

This map was made by William Heather in London in 1802 (Stylianou, 1985, pp.147-8). It is similar to Allezard and Roux's maps showing the harbour and shore's depths. The depths of the bay are written with a scale in miles at the top of the map. The map gives written information on locations, from Colosso (Kolossi) to Tolare village.

The city is represented on top of a hill surrounded by a wall. The inner city has various buildings with towers which cannot be identified. The road to the city and the houses around it are illustrated as if to show that the city is not a coastal city.

The pond is named "Fish Pond", and between the pond and Cape Gato, "Actorita", which is Akrotiri, the ancient settlement is depicted. On the other side of the city, the name of the small

settlement “Masone” is given with an illustration of a couple of buildings. Unlike the previous maps, “Ruins” is written above Tolera.

7.2 The British Era Limassol Maps

7.2.1 History of Limassol

After the island was given to the British Empire, as with the other ports, the new government started to renovate the city. The port and city underwent renovation as the British government wanted to make the city into similar to Liverpool. Forwood explained British wishes about the city, “But after 1878 Great Britain, who wished Limassol to be the Liverpool of Cyprus, saw the harbour, imported work and workers and boosted the town’s income, size and prestige.... For those who seek the past Limassol offers little but the castle near the harbour” (Forwood, 1971, p.115-16).

In addition, Baker justified that Limassol should be capital:

Limasol must perforce of its geographical advantages become the capital of Cyprus. As I have already described, the port may be much improved. The Neighbouring country is healthy, and well covered with trees; the landscape is pleasing, and the new road opens a direct communication with the mountain sanatorium. The most important exports of the island are produced within the district, and, as might be expected, the result of commercial enterprise is exhibited in the increased intelligence and activity of the Limasol inhabitants. (Baker, 1879, p. 411)

The government decided to develop the harbour and make it modern and safe. They made observations and tried to improve the port. The port was good enough to anchor close to the port, however during extreme or bad weather, it was dangerous. Baker wrote about the port and its deficiencies “The quay washed by the waves, which in stormy weather dash against the houses, at which times it is impossible to land from boats, and crews must remain on board their vessels safely anchored in the roadstead” (Baker, 1879, p.258). He also describes how hard it is to unload the trade goods:

H.M.S. Torch was in the roadstead, together with about twenty vessels of various flags and tonnage... As boats could not lie against the perpendicular wall of the quay except during a perfect calm, there was considerable trouble in carrying on the commerce of the port according to modern requirements; but the inventions of necessity had simplified many difficulties at the expense of increased manual labour. Boats lay a few yards off the shore, and were loaded by men who walked shoulder-sleep with the packages upon their heads. I saw lighters discharging planks and baulks of timber, by shooting them into the sea with sufficient force to follow the direction given towards the shore, while the receivers stood in the water to capture them upon arrival. (Baker, 1879, p. 258-9)

The port of Limassol was significant in the eyes of the newcomer British officials. One of the reasons was the products that were being produced in the area. Hepworth Dixon emphasized the port and trade goods but also admitted that the port needed improvements:

Limassol is an old and famous port, fed by a fruitful upland country in the rear. Limassol is the wine port. Olives and carobs are exported also, and the trades send away much salt; but wine and fruit, lavished on every hill by nature, are the staples of their trade... In olden time Limassol was the second port in Cyprus, yielding only in importance to Famagosta. Since the failure of Famagosta, Larnaca has sprung up; first, as being a place of pilgrimage for Moslems; next, as being the nearest roadstead to the fertile port. If there be a desert in Cyprus, Larnaca opens on that desert. Little is grown that can be sold to strangers, so that Larnaca is not a necessary place of ships. When railways bring the capital and the ports into cheap connection with each other, Larnaca may sink into a place of pilgrims, while Limassol must advance with the increasing harvest of her fruit and the abundance of her wine... No pier, no landing stage has yet been built; such works cost money and we found no money in the public chest. Great things must wait. (Dixon, 1879, p. 326-8)

As a result, for the Limassol port, they did some renovations to the quay to improve its condition and create a better and safer landing for passengers. As part of the renovations, an iron quay was made which was started in May 1884 and finished in 1887 (Yetkili, 2013, p.312). The development of the old quay which was originally made in the Ottoman period, started in 1887 and was finished a year later. This new quay was made of concrete and named the Concrete Jetty (Yetkili, 2013, p.313). However, apart from small construction, they did not change the port because it would cost too much money. In the British period, the port was continued to be used as an open roadstead (Marangou, 2002, p.242).

7.2.2 Portrayal of British Limassol

During the British period, the government wanted to turn this small town into Liverpool. The renovations started to create a modern city. Anne Brassey, who was travelling in the Mediterranean region, visited the island in 1878 after the British Government took over and wrote her observations about Limassol: "Limassol where we arrived at about 10 am, is a long low white town, stretching along sea-shore, with domes and minarets, interspersed among the houses and palm-trees" (Brassey, 1880, pp.256-7).

Brassey's description was more suited to an oriental city in the later years as Limassol became a modern city under British rule when the city's historic structure changed completely. Jeffery wrote about his impressions of the city in 1918:

The town Limassol may be considered as an entirely modern settlement around the ancient fort; not a trace survives of any ancient domestic buildings. The old churches of this once important sea-port have disappeared completely, and even their very sites have long since been forgotten. (Jeffery, 1918, p.369)

In addition, Gladys Peto wrote in 1927 "Limassol appears to be a perfectly modern town. It possesses a very large new Greek church which is rather impressive.... The British community live either in a group of houses in the eastern end of the town..." (Severis, 2006, p.96).

On the other hand, for some travellers the city was not as impressive as others had found. For example, Percy Arnold, a journalist from the Cyprus Post in the 1950s, observed that

Lemesos, as the Cypriots call Limassol, is a tiny town really, with its low houses and narrow streets and an apparent absence of historic monuments when compared with the other towns of the island; a disappointing town except for the new Town Hall Square, yet it may be called the Liverpool of Cyprus, for not only is it a port, but also the main industrial centre of the island, with more factories than any other town in Cyprus. (Severis, 2006, p.100-1)

7.2.3 Analysis of Maps

Captain Horatio Herbert Kitchener, "Limassol: plan of Limassol", London, 1885 (Cat No: 85):

The map is dated 16 February 1883 with the scale of 1:2500 showing the modern Limassol. This is one of four maps that were published besides his Survey map; the other three town plans were Famagusta, Nicosia and Larnaca. In the corner, the map maker depicts the name and scale. The map also has Kitchener's signature with the date.

The map gives the plan of the city. Each building and street was surveyed and is drawn accurately. As a plan, the design of the main buildings is not depicted, and only the blocks are shown. The names of the main streets are written. Only a few places are named on the map, such as the fort, a few churches and mosques. Government buildings and the Commissioner's house are shown as well. There is no other written information about the city on the map.

In the previous century, we only had a symbolic representation of the city: because of cartographical developments and the new government on the island, the city can be seen truly and accurately. The map is not informative about city's history or inhabitants but captures its layout.

John Browne and J. Stokes, "Anchorages in Cyprus, Limasol", Admiralty Hydrographic Office, London, 1891-2 (Cat No: 86):

The map was published in London by the Admiralty Hydrographic Office between 1891 and 1892. Similarly to his Larnaca map, this chart was published according to his 1849 survey (Navari, 2003, p.333).

The map gives the depths of the bay under the name "Akrotiri Bay" and the outline of the city. The map shows the layout of the city without giving details; a block of buildings illustrates the whole city. The map gives various versions of the name of the city in the top left of the map: Lemessos and Leimeson. The name of the city, similar to other cities can be written differently in different accounts, as is pointed out on the map.

Chapter 8

KYRENIA MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

8.1 Kyrenia Maps

8.1.1 History of Kyrenia

The city is located in the northern part of the island. It was formed on the shore of a bay where a small port was built. Oldenburg wrote in 1211: “We first touched land at Schernae [Keryneia] a small town but fortified, which has a castle with walls and towers. Its chief boast is its good harbour” (Cobham, 1908, p.13). The city has had different names. In some accounts the city is referred to as Cerines, such as in Ioannes Cotovicus’ accounts, who wrote his observations about the city in 1599 after the conquest:

Corineum or Ceraunium, built by Cyrus on a lofty rock on the north coast, once gave a name to the island. It is now called Cerines. It has many inhabitants, and is remarkable for a solid and impregnable fortress built by the Lusignan kings, which still holds a strong Turkish garrison. (Cobham, 1908, pp.193-4)

The harbour was not mentioned much during early times. It was not the first choice on the route to pilgrimage or on the trade route with Europe. The port was rather used on trips between the island and Asia Minor. Piri Reis wrote about its harbour:

On these coasts there is a fortress called Guirne and there lays a small harbour called Fosyie. Apart from that, there is no other harbour worth mentioning on the north coast of Cyprus. About 40 miles west from that harbour, there is a bay called Pentiye and on the shore there are rocks forming a small harbour. Its entrance is to the north. There small vessels can berth. (Marangou, 2002, p.271)

As a small town, during the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire, the city surrendered without resistance. After the conquest of the island, soldiers and Muslim families preferred to stay in the castle. As Catselli explains,

The Turkish families did not care to live in Kyrenia town, but preferred to live with the soldiers in the castle. So the castle became a community of women children and soldiers together with chicken – coops and the rest. All visitors remarked upon the total desertion of the town. (Catselli, 1974, p.59-60)

This separation between the community's inner and outer castle caused the neglect of the town outside the castle and was also harmful for the port. During the Ottoman period, the port was still in use; however, it was neglected. The base of the harbour was filling in and it became impossible for large ships to cast anchor in the port. This inattention was observed by visitors and reflected in their writings (Cobham, 1908, pp.260-1)¹⁵. Antonio Mondaini, a Tuscan merchant, wrote about the condition of the harbour “... there is a small harbour, where three or four ships can take shelter. The big ships are compelled to anchor in the roadstead of Cerines,

¹⁵ Richard Pococke’s account, pp.251-271.

but in winter the Tramountane blows strongly and all the ships suffer a lot of damages” (Severis, 2009, pp.90-1).

When British rule started on the island, the port and city were in a bad condition. Kinneir wrote about the town:

The town, or rather village, of Cerina, the ancient Cerinia, was formerly defended by a strong wall; but the greater part of it has fallen down, and the port has been nearly filled up by the ruins. On the east side of the harbour stands the castle, a fortress erected, it is said, by the Venetians. The harbour, which is small, is exposed to the north wind, and cannot admit a vessel of more than a hundred tons burthen; but the trade is inconsiderable, there not being above fifteen families in the place. (Cobham, 1908, p.418)

Sir Samuel Baker explained the port and its problems in his book:

Kyrenia could never have been a perfectly safe harbour in all weathers, as the entrance is open to the north. There is a slight turn to the east, which might have protected a few small vessels during a northerly gale, but this portion is now silted up, and it should be cleaned by dredging. (Baker, 1879, pp.182-3)

The renovations were undertaken between 1885 and 1892; the port was broadened and deepened. In addition, light towers were built on top of the pillars (Yetkili, 2013, p.196). The small harbour with poor condition was renovated during British period, as Gunnis wrote: “The little harbour of Kyrenia has, since the British occupation, been furnished with a quay and a sea wall. In the centre are the ruins of an ancient lighthouse, the path to it from the shore being formed of circular inscribed Roman cippi” (Gunnis, 1947, p.127). However, many thought the renovations were too expensive and the money should have been used for other harbours, commercial ones which were more beneficial for the government. So, after this, there was no further construction at the port.

During the British period, Kyrenia became a favourite location of Europeans, especially British people. People who came to visit Cyprus wrote about its beauty and some of them even settled in Kyrenia (Catselli, 1974, p.92). Which is why the Government was interested in the city, and the renovation of the port and castle started immediately. In the end, the city became a mixture of a modern town with old structures.

8.1.2 Portrayal of Kyrenia

“Kyrenia, the most beautifully situated of all the little coast towns of Cyprus, possesses an old twelfth century castle of great historic interest” (Chapman, 1945, p.230). Chapman described the city with these words.

Kyrenia also has a castle that was renovated during the Venetian period in 1554 before the Ottoman army arrived (Gunnis, 1947, p.125). The repair and extension was done between 1554 and 1560 (Catselli, 1974, p. 55). The fort was renovated from a medieval fort to a modern stronghold fortress against the Ottomans. After the fall of the island, the castle was used as a prison by the Ottomans. Chapman describes the fortress that

The fortress, with its massive walls seventy feet high and four hundred feet in length from one great rounded bastion to the other in which loopholes take the place of windows, overlooks the sea, the waves of which at high tide break against its ramparts. (Chapman, 1945, p.231)

Today, only two towers remain from the medieval part of the fortification.

During the Ottoman period, the city was preferred by Christian families, although there was a Turkish population albeit outnumbered by the Christian population. The fort, which was used by Turkish families, was not in a good condition during the 17th century. Hurttel wrote about his observation during his visit in 1670,

We saluted the castle, a square structure which guards the harbour, and to which the Turks retire for the night. The town is almost all destroyed; there are but a few poor dwellings which the Greeks have built up after their own fashion on the ruins. (Cobham, 1908, p.232)

In addition, Alexander Drummond, who was a British consul, wrote in 1750:

No European is allowed to enter or even to approach it; so that I can only judge, from its appearance, that it may have been fortified by King Henry, at the same time with Famagosta and Nicosia; and that probably the whole work was repaired by Savorniani, who, in the year 1525, demolished the old works of these places, and re fortified them: on such an occasion we cannot suppose this important place to have been forgot and neglected, especially as we find the military architecture of all three in the same stile. The town has likewise been very well walled, and strengthened by towers, bastions, and a fossae: of these fortifications we may judge by the immense quarries which have been dug on both sides of the town, as they could have no use for the stones elsewhere, every place being more than sufficiently provided. These quarries they have wrought in such manner as to form communications with the fortress, and make several noble granaries for their grain. (Cobham, 1908, p.299)

Regarding religious monuments, the city had a church which was the seat of a bishop and one mosque. In addition, outside the town there was a small church used by the Greek community (Mariti, 1971, p.50; 53). In the mid-19th century, Heinrich J. Peterman wrote about the city, "There are two mosques in the village of about 200 houses, 60 of which are constructed by Turks" (Severis, 2009, p.95).

The surroundings were what the British visitors were most mesmerized by. Esme Scott-Stevenson, wife of the assistant Commandant of Police and later Kyrenia District Commissioner who lived in Kyrenia, wrote:

The fort is now turned into a barrack for the zaptiehs and part serves as a prison for criminals...The other buildings are the Turkish bath, the mosque, the Greek church and the Konak. The streets are merely lanes without shops of any description except a few eating houses. Poor as it is, no other town though in Cyprus can boast of more beautiful surroundings. (Severis, 2009, p.99)

8.1.3 Analysis of Maps

Thomas Graves, “Cyprus”..., inset “Kyrenia enlarged, by the Turks called Ghirni, the ancient Ceryneia” from the map “Cyprus called by the Turks Kibris, the ancient Kupros, Surveyed by Captain Thomas Graves, H. M. S. Volage 1849...”, Parliament at the Hydrographic office of the Admiralty, 1849 (Cat No: 87):

Captain Thomas Graves of H.M.S. Volage was appointed to survey and map the harbours of the island in 1849. This map is the inset in his larger map of Cyprus (Stylianou, 1985, p.150). On the map, we have the main features of the port city: its harbour, the fortress and the city itself. The depths of the harbour and coastline are given on the map. Even the “Ancient Sea-wall” is illustrated.

The Venetian fortress takes as much space as the city on the map. The inside plan of the fortress is depicted as well; we can see the outline of it, with the gates and bastions. However, the map does not give any further information. The map maker depicted the city itself in a darker colour outside the fortress. The buildings are illustrated as blocks without too much information. We only know the layout of the city from this map. Outside the city, on the shore, Akropolis, an ancient settlement, and its tombs are depicted. On the other side of the city we see the current Turkish cemetery. In addition, the landscape of the area is illustrated. In this small inset, the cartographer gives information of the city, its harbour and its surrounding all together.

In the second inset, Graves also added the view from sea. In this illustration, he depicts the Besparmak Mountains in the background. On the left, we see the fortress with its round bastions. The city extends from the fortress to the right-hand side of the map. One distinct feature is the minaret in the middle of the city. The rest of it is formed by smaller buildings, not identifiable as public or private. There is not any written information on the map; however the illustration captures the view of the city which no other drawing could do. Because the previous maps did not give information about the city’s appearance, this illustration partially completes the missing information. Even though, it is important to see what the city looks like, it only gives us the view from the sea, so the rest of the city is still missing.



Figure 31: Detail from Thomas Graves' map; Famagusta

Coode, Fitzmaurice, Wilson and Mitchell, "Kyrenia Harbour, Cyprus...", Government Printing Office, Nicosia, 16 September 1925 (Cat No: 88):

This map only focuses on Kyrenia harbour, as it is part of the report of Cypriot harbours that was ordered by the British administration of the island in 1925. The British Government wanted to improve the harbours and worked with the Coode Company to create maps of the harbours in order to prepare reports on them. On this map, they depict the necessary changes to the port, such as the extension of the moles. As a result the map does not include the city; it only shows a part of the fort. On the map the coastline is coloured with blue and possible improvements are coloured red.

Chapter 9

PAPHOS MAPS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

9.1 Paphos Maps

9.1.1 History of Paphos

This is another port city on the west coast of the island. The area is separated into Nea Paphos or New Paphos and Ktima. New Paphos stands where the ruins of the Roman and medieval city once stood. The city was founded by Agapenor. He reached the island in 1184 BC when he was returning home from the Trojan wars (Gunnis, 1947, p.138). The city was in constant danger because of earthquakes. In the 3rd century, New Paphos was destroyed by an earthquake (Yetkili, 2013, p.338) and again during the Lusignan period, earthquakes damaged the city badly and it was deserted by its inhabitants (Gunnis, 1947, p.139). Dominican monk, Felix Faber wrote during his visit in 1480,

How vast this city was, and how stately the churches which stood there, the extent of the ruins and the noble columns of marble which lie prostrate prove. It is now desolate, no longer a city, but a miserable village built over the ruins; on this account the harbour too is abandoned, and ships only enter it when forced to do so, as was our fate. As the city was laid low by an earthquake so it has still, and no king nor bishop gives a hand to raise it up again. (Cobham, 1908, p.45)

Pococke explained the complicated issue of name of the settlement:

Half a mile to the east of this place is the new town of Baffa, where the governor resides, new Paphos being now called old Baffa, and is inhabited only by a few Christians and by a small garrison in a castle at the port. There was anciently at new Paphos a celebrated meeting once a year for the worship of Venus, from which place they went sixty stadia in procession to the temple of Venus at the port of old Paphos, where, according to the fables of the ancients, that goddess, who is said to have been born of the froth of the sea, came ashore on a shell. The ruins of the city, called by the ancients new Paphos, are now known by the name of old Baffa, where there is a small village of the same name about a mile to the south of Baffa (Cobham, 1908, p.264)

Ktima was the modern city which became the main settlement of the area after the conquest the Ottoman Empire (Gunnis, 1947, pp.138-40). The Turkish Governor and a seat of the Greek Bishop were located in Ktima (Cobham, 1908, p.406).

Travellers mentioned this settlement as a village rather than a city, for example, John Heyman who wrote about it in the 18th century:

Bafee, thought to stand near the ancient Paphos, if not that very place, is at present a small town, or rather village, on the declivity of a mountain, some miles from the sea; at the shore is a castle for defending the road, and round it one observes several ruins. The Baffe plain is of a considerable extent, stretching itself along the sea, nearly to the white

cliff so called on account of its colour, which discovers itself at a considerable distance at sea. (Cobham, 1908, p.249)

In addition, Ktima was described in ruins by Ali Bey in the beginning of 19th century. He wrote that

The town of Ktima once of some size is now a labyrinth of ruins; with the appearance of a city of twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants it contains only two hundred Turkish and twenty Greek families. The bishop's palace, with its outbuildings, is in a separate quarter, but the bishop (who was away) seems to have fixed his residence in a town in the interior, said to be large and peopled by Greeks only. (Cobham, 1908, p.406)

Paphos also had a small and natural harbour, which was the safest stop on the south-western coast of the island. It was usually used by ships on route to Egypt, Syria and Palestine (Marangou, 2002, p.246). Especially during the Ptolemy era, the port was developed; water breakers were built to the east and west so the port became a good choice for trade routes. However, the port and the city were damaged several times by earthquakes, especially in 390 A.D., when the city was destroyed completely. During the later periods, the port was not referred as much until the Lusignan period (Marangou, 2002, pp.247-9). The port was used as a first stop on the route to pilgrimage. However, during strong winds, it was hard to use the port because it was vulnerable and unable to protect the ships. The port was never renovated until the British period (Yetkili, 2013, p.338), and continued to deteriorate, especially because of the earthquakes, decreasing its usage.

Later foreign merchants usually preferred much bigger harbours like Larnaca or Famagusta. Drummond wrote,

No place in this island ever bore the name of Old Paphos, except the sea-port, which nature has formed into an harbour; and the town of Baffo is handed down, from father to son, as a place that was built long after the town, at the port, which is capable of receiving small vessels; yet these were esteemed large, when navigation was in its infancy. (Cobham, 1908, p.291)

In 1760, Giovanni Mariti visited the island and stayed here for years. He explained the New and Old Paphos and the problems with the port,

Nea-Paphos or New Paphos is on the east coast. It was so called by ancient geographers, and is still known as Pafo, though the name in some modern maps is written Baffo. But it is no longer a city such as historians describe it, having been more than once destroyed. It had a harbour, and even now vessels coming to load here anchor outside; but only in summer, for it is the most dangerous roadstead in the island, exposed and with a bad and rocky bottom, which does great damage to the cables, which are sometimes cut through. Sailors take care to buoy them off the bottom with empty casks, which keep them suspended in the water. (Mariti, 1971, p.85)

During the British era, in order to improve the port, it was dredged in 1910 (Jeffery, 1918, p.405). However, other than that there was no other attempt to improve the port. According to a report prepared by the Council of British Navy and hydrographer on board HMS 'Himalaya' in 1878, rather than investing in Paphos harbour, they mainly targeted the Moulia rocks.

Large vessels could not anchor in the harbour but were able to do so at the Moulia rocks, so the government did not improve the port (Marangou, 2002, p.253).

At this port, silk was an important trade good, especially yellow silk. In addition, De Vezin praised the wheat from this area (Cobham, 1908, p.372). The city was also famous for its stones, which were Baf diamonds. Villamont wrote in 1589: “There are found here in great quantity very beautiful Stones called Bafo diamonds: some of them indeed are beautiful enough to deceive many a lapidary. The peasants put them aside and sell them very cheaply” (Cobham, 1908, p.171).

9.1.2 Portrayal of Paphos

The settlement is a small one and was damaged several times so that its monuments are either destroyed completely or in ruins. The Byzantine fort was restored by the Ottomans in 1589 (Gunnis, 1947, p.144), and this was mentioned several times in written accounts. Mariti wrote, “There is a fort on the shore, and another, ruined, on the adjacent hill” (Mariti, 1971, p.85). It was used for various purposes: fortress, prison and in later periods, salt storage.

There are several churches which are small. Some of them are in ruins, such as the Church of St. George or the Church of St. Marina, which dates from 15th century. There was a Latin Cathedral, which is also in ruins, that was probably was built in the 14th century. In the modern city of Ktima, there is a Mosque of St. Sophia which was converted from a Latin church (Gunnis, 1947, pp.144-7). This small settlement was mentioned in travel writing especially because of its relationship with Greek mythology around the birth of Venus. Even after the conquest of the island, the city was in ruins and many travellers emphasized this in their accounts (Cobham, 1908, p.292)¹⁶.

Apart from the Roman and medieval ruins in New Paphos, the area does not have monuments that will appear on maps. As Jeffery wrote about the Ktima, “The village became of greater importance after the Turkish Occupation, and its present appearance is completely modern. It possesses two or three churches which are without architectural or archaeological interest of any kind” (Jeffery, 1918, p.405). Today the inhabited area contains Neo Paphos and Ktima. The city has become a popular tourist resort with its archaeological sites and area. Today the city is on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage list (“paphos”, para.8).

9.1.3 Analysis of Maps

Marcello Alessandri, “Cipro –Baffo”, 1620, Museo Correr, Venice (Cat No: 85):

Similar to his map of Famagusta, the cartographer illustrated the fort of Paphos. The outline of the fort is depicted in green in the middle of the scale and the coastline is in blue. Regarding written information, the map only shows the sea and the port of the city. The name of the city is given in a decorative ribbon.

The interesting point about this map is that this is not the Paphos fort. The fort is very small and a square shape (Fig. 32). Its foundation is based on one of the towers that were built

¹⁶ Alexander Drummond’s account, pp.271-305.

during the Lusignan period. The structure had towers and a wall between them to protect the harbour. However, before the conquest by the Ottoman Empire, the Venetians demolished it so the Ottomans could not use it. After the conquest in 1592, the Ottomans reconstructed the fort, which still stands by the harbour. On the other hand, the fort on the map covers a vast area and is different in shape.

It could be a misunderstanding with another fort, because there is no other information on the map except the name Baffo. However, it seems that the coastline fits Paphos' shore, so this depiction could be an improved version of the fort that Marcello designed. The other two maps, of Nicosia and Famagusta that he depicts are accurate on the original shape of the fortifications and do not have any changes on them, so the map of Paphos separates itself from them.



Figure 32: The fort of Paphos (photo by author)

Thomas Graves “Old & New Paphos, with the Adjacent Coast”, in the map “Cyprus called by the Turks Kibris, the ancient Kupros, Surveyed by Captain Thomas Graves, H. M. S. Volage 1849”, the Hydrographic office of the Admiralty, 1850 (Cat No: 86):

The map was made by Thomas Graves, who was in charge of surveying the island in 1849. The map with a map of Famagusta was illustrated according to this survey and published in 1850 by Longman & Co. In 1989 a coloured version of it was republished.

The map shows the coastline and gives its depths. The name of the city and the settlements are given without any illustration of them. They are only depicted by orange spots in different sizes according to the type of settlement. The map includes the settlements Nova Paphos (New Paphos), Kteema (Ktima), Lerohipos, Colonee, Mandria and Kouklia – Paleo Paphos (old Paphos). The map does not give any information about the city but illustrates the surrounding landscape and location of the settlements. Its main aim is to show the bay.

Chapter 10

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CYPRIOT CITIES

The most important event during the Venetian Era of Cyprus was the conflict between the Venetians and the Ottomans, which caused maps of Cyprus cities to appear for the first time. The main purpose of many of the maps from this era was to depict the siege and battle between the east and the west. Maps became a visual record of the siege and also reports for people who wanted to know about the events during and after the war. The map makers illustrated not just the reality of the conquest but also a picture that was eye-catching and gave information to their clients. These depictions were from the European point of view with one exception: the *Şahname*.

The 16th century urban maps only illustrated two important cities, Nicosia and Famagusta. The siege maps of Nicosia depicted the fall of the capital city. Famagusta, as the last location of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, was the most significant town and became a centre of interest. Mostly, these maps depicted the sieges and the historical context of the cities, and often map makers depicted not one moment of the siege, but various important stages. For example, in siege maps of Famagusta, a burning ship illustration was included, or the map of Nicosia by an anonymous cartographer depicted the last assault by the Ottoman army before the city's capture.

In some cases, the depictions of the sieges were complemented with other texts. In this century, because of the battle between the Venetians and Ottomans, the island was under the spotlight. There were many maps and also writings about the sieges. From the travel writing of captives or survivors from the island we have first-hand information about what happened in Nicosia and Famagusta. The defences, attacks, destruction, challenges and suffering of people and soldiers were depicted in these writings, which were mostly reflected in the maps. One good example of the incorporated maps and written records is the Famagusta maps of Gibellino or Kartano which both gave written information besides the illustrations on the maps that complemented to the written accounts. Some of these maps more than others were given detailed illustrations of the city that determined the cities' social, political, and economical contexts (identification features).

Besides these maps with specific features, Camocio's maps were perhaps the most significant ones to be remembered: the maps of both Nicosia and Famagusta depicted the siege it was they were reflected in the written records. These maps were copied by many other cartographers, for example, Pinargenti's maps of both Nicosia and Famagusta, and Balthasar's map of Famagusta.

In all of these maps, Nicosia and Famagusta's walls were illustrated as the main identifying features of the cities. In the maps of Nicosia, its fortification, which was reconstructed by the Venetians, gave the city its new appearance and became the symbol of the city. The circular fortification of Nicosia is a great example of the 'ideal city' and the Venetian military architecture was depicted accurately on the maps. Therefore, even after the siege, maps that focused on its fortifications were published, such as Lusignano's map. The Saint Sophia Cathedral was another important feature, as the most important building and the symbol of the

city. It was illustrated in all maps; some maps depicted the Cathedral in detail and others only gave its name in the middle of the walled city.

Similarly to Nicosia, the strong fortification of Famagusta became the main identification feature on maps. This Venetian architecture drew out the siege for almost a year and created a strong obstacle against the Ottoman Empire's victory. The majority of the maps depicted the fortifications of the city accurately. There are even maps dedicated solely to the city's fortifications and defence system as military maps. However, the other important feature of the city was its harbour, and so this was also depicted, besides the citadel and the wall. In addition, on some maps, the interior of the city was illustrated in detail, such as the important buildings, like the Palace, administrative buildings, Cathedral, and other religious buildings which portrayed Famagusta's structure. However, by far the most detailed map was by Gibellino, who put a reference table on the map to show and identify the important buildings of the city, even including the Venetian columns. This map was an exception that was able to capture most details about the city. The maps of the 16th century reflected both the city and the siege with the help of the written records; some depicted more details, such as Gibellino and some used less details, such as Giacomo Franco.

On the other hand, even when the maps depicted the main identification features of the cities, they did not reflect the community, inhabitants and cultural context. One example is the representation of Famagusta by Braun and Hogenberg. In Braun and Hogenberg's urban atlas *Civitates*, folkloric dresses and scenes were added to give more information about the city and community and give the effect that the audience could actually see the city. Kagan states the problem with these effects: "Despite the boast, most chorographic views suffered from 'mere observation' that is, seeing without knowing. The result is that even those views which were topographically accurate did not – and indeed could not – enable a viewer to 'know' a town (Kagan, 2000, p.108). However, for Famagusta, the image did not have such additions, so in that case it was even harder to connect with the city or understand its community.

Since the war and sieges in these cities were major subject matters for the maps, they appeared in different mediums, like maps and miniatures in this century, for example, the Codex Magius, which includes a series of miniatures on the stories of the sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta. Nevertheless, Famagusta appeared with an interesting comparison. The miniatures by Charles Magius represented the western point of view and in contrast the *Şahname* represented the eastern point of view of the siege of Famagusta. The illustration in the *Şahname* celebrated the Ottoman victory by focusing on the aftermath of the conquest. Even though the city's illustration is inaccurate and simple, these miniatures only existed to glorify the Sultan's achievements. On the other hand, in the Magius miniatures, the city was depicted surrounded by the Ottoman troops and ships, focusing on the situation during the conquest. These miniatures support the written records with their visuals.

The map makers chose various ways to depict these cities and their sieges. Each map maker chose different ways and event to depict as from the turning point for the island. However, the main intention in most of them was to show the clash between the Venetians and the Ottomans throughout the sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta.

During the Ottoman era of the island, the port cities of Cyprus appeared only as an appendage on the charts. Particularly French ships and other foreign ships were visiting Cyprus because of the privileges acquired from the Ottoman Empire, for commercial reasons or for refitting.

These were among the reasons for the port cities' appearance on nautical charts. Sailors usually preferred the ports of Larnaca and Limassol. Although, Larnaca was the priority on some charts, ships, even though less than previously, were still visiting Famagusta's port as well. According to Frederich Hasselquist, who visited the island in 1750, Famagusta was a must-see place, not because of the city itself but because of its fame as once the most powerful city; He wrote, "Famagusta ought to be seen, less for itself than because it was formerly the strongest place in the island, and much talked of in history" (Cobham, 1908, p.307).

Many of the urban maps of Famagusta were mere plans of the city, which depicted the city walls and the harbour, but omitted information about the interior of the city such as buildings, streets and squares. Some maps showed a few public buildings but did not identify them and the rest of the city was left blank. Moreover, some of the plans were erroneous in their depiction of the main features of the city. Some maps depicted Varosha, which gave updated information about the contemporary condition in the island. However, on most maps there was no information about it: the map makers only depicted the area as gardens outside the city. Besides Varosha, the limited capacity of the harbour was given too. Descriptive and informative accounts from foreign countries were not detailed in their description of the inner town.

The harbour and walls of Famagusta were shown on some maps in order to represent the city and its identity, but in general, there is no map that focuses solely on the city itself. The city and especially its interior were often inaccessible or unimportant and so were depicted as an imaginary place with standard houses and towers. One good example is the drawing by de Bruyn that gives the profile view of the city because of the limitation against the Christian population entering the city. Even though it is a profile view, de Bruyn managed to depict the main features of the city and showed the changes within the walls after the conquest.

In addition, there are two maps that seem to be the exceptions to the other plans of the city as they do not just focus on the port: one was made by Enderlin and the other by Dapper. Enderlin's representation was a three-dimensional view of the city, showing the walls and the harbour, but inside the walls, the buildings were imaginary. Famagusta was drawn with a standard medieval city view, but not as it truly appeared. In addition to this map, Dapper's map showed the inner plan of the city, and presented the building blocks and roads, based on the wooden plan from the 16th century (Navari, 2003, p.216), and so it represented the accurate formation of the walls. It is the only map which illustrated the current situation by depicting destroyed buildings within the city. However, even though it showed this situation, it did not give an accurate and reliable image. With these two maps, the image of the city became more unrealistic after the maps in the 16th century which portrayed a more reliable image of the city.

In addition, the Allezard map, or the Borg map that identified St. Nicholas Cathedral as the most significant building of the city, set themselves apart from the charts in the 18th century. In addition to these features, and in order to reflect the Ottoman rule of the city, minarets and crescents were sometimes used. Other than these symbols, there was no information about the changing context of the city. Additionally, in the 18th century, foreigners were gradually able to get inside the city, so map makers had more information about the changes that had happened after the Ottoman Empire took control. There are no indications about the inhabitants or relation to travel writings. Similarly to the previous century, written records and

travellers' observations did not appear on the maps. After a century, the number of Famagusta maps decreased. Its nautical charts showed the depths of the port, where foreign ships could not drop anchor and moreover did not prefer to do so.

During the 16th century, apart from Famagusta, other port cities did not appear on the urban maps. Beside Nicosia and Famagusta, other cities of Cyprus surrendered themselves to the Ottoman army, so they did not have epic siege stories or value for the Europeans to depict them. Larnaca, which was captured immediately and without any resistance, started to appear on nautical charts in the next century. After the siege, when Famagusta was no longer the commercial centre of the island, its port was replaced by the port of Larnaca. After the 16th century, the city and its harbour became significant for foreign traders and so for map makers. New consulates were opened and the port was the new commercial centre of the island.

Many maps from the Ottoman era were nautical charts which showed the depths of the harbour and gave the names of the important locations in or around the city, which also appeared frequently in the written accounts. However, Larnaca's representation on the maps was symbolic, without depicting the city's structure, inhabitants, changing environment or any reflection of the written documents. There were a few additions to the imaginary illustration of the port cities that showed Ottoman rule on the island, such as the Henderik's map where on top of the buildings there were crescent shapes to symbolize Ottoman rule. However, the rest of the buildings were not realistic and cannot be identified by their designs. Drummond created a nautical chart as well. He travelled to the island and wrote about his voyages in his book. However, even though he actually visited the city, his depiction of it is not better than other charts, since the city is not a priority on these maps.

Some cartographers worked on charts of both Larnaca and Limassol, such as Henderik or Roux. In these illustrations, the city of Limassol looked quite similar to Larnaca. These charts of both Larnaca and Limassol were replicated from each other. They gave the same information and similar representations with small variations. The maps of both Limassol and Larnaca are more informative about the city's surroundings. They gave information on the important locations, such as famous churches, ruins or small settlements. Two of the most significant locations were the famous church St. Lazarus and the St. Cross monastery, which both carried religious and historical importance and were mentioned in the written records. The map makers were Europeans who created these charts for sailors, they omitted details about the cities and put the harbours under the spotlight. Unfortunately, the travel writings did not play a large role in these maps except for location. As a result, the coastline was depicted with accuracy for the best anchoring locations, which reflected the main purpose of the maps.

On the other hand, there is one different representation of the city similar to Famagusta which was made by Olfert Dapper. This depiction of Larnaca was from the sea, showing a few important buildings from the distance and the landscape that surrounded the city. The map gave us the appearance of Larnaca, and unlike other maps the city was the focus rather than the harbour, even though the cartographer had never been in Larnaca. Because the maps were informative about harbours, the travel accounts were not reflected in the maps, even though there are many written accounts of the cities and their changing socio-political context, appearance, citizens, and structure. The map makers from this century chose to omit the writings and only focused on the ports.

However, the Cypriot cities were still symbolic on maps without any details. The nautical charts were created for the port cities and the only inland city that appeared on the maps was

Nicosia. During the Ottoman era, there were still very few the urban maps according to the 16th century map numbers. As an inland city, it did not have priority in the eyes of the European map makers. As a result, the maps were not detailed or informative about the city or events.

For the identification of Nicosia, its fortification played an important role on the 17th and 18th century's maps. Comparable with his Famagusta map, Marcello depicted the fortifications which in both maps mainly show the Venetian military architecture mainly. With this, he illustrated the most significant feature of the city's identification while he kept the inside of the city empty. In most of the maps, the Cathedral was the only feature that was worth drawing apart from the fortifications. The maps were echoes from previous century rather than gaining a new primary function.

Regarding the Ottoman domain, the Ottoman rule or the changing appearance and structure of the city were not represented on the maps. Nevertheless, there was a drawing that illustrated the city differently from others. The drawing by Barsky showed the main elements of the city, which were the Cathedral and the minarets, and they were depicted to represent the Muslim domain in the city. With the addition of environmental features such as plants and trees, it showed the features of the location of the city. Even though there were several travel accounts, Barsky was the only one who also illustrated what he saw during his time on the island. Through this representation, we can see the circumstances that the city was in, what kind of changes happened after the siege and how the city looked like after two centuries and the drawing can also be referenced to written accounts. Even though this is a simple drawing of the city, it explains the city and its situation better than other maps from this era.

Under the Ottoman Empire, some changes were made within the walls, such as the transformation of buildings, conversion of churches into mosques, or additions or changes to buildings according to the new life style and aesthetics of the Ottoman Empire. But these changes were not reflected in the maps. Moreover, the maps did not depict the inhabitants; the changing population since the Ottoman Empire sent a large number of Turkish residents to Cyprus. There were major changes on the island and in the cities. Travellers often visited the island and wrote about its changing features, inhabitants and events.

In the Ottoman era, however, the maps were predominantly maritime charts focusing on the harbour and coastline, giving information for sailing such as depths and surroundings which were shown with numbers. The choice of the map makers can be observed in the maps as it played an important role in 16th century maps. The maps are similar to each other as their main purpose was to give information about the port and not the city. Again, the European point of view can be seen, as the most important part of the port city was their port so they focused on information for mariners, or merchants. However, because there is no map from the Ottoman Empire or eastern part of the world, the information in these maps is one-sided.

For the Ottoman Empire, the island had a strategic importance as it was Christian territory in the middle of Ottoman territory. By taking the island, they were able to control the trade routes from the Silk Road to the west. However, after the representation in the *Şahname*, there was no other map of the island or any cities. The miniatures like *Şahname* were created for a small part of society, for the Sultan and the elites (Karamustafa, 1992a, p.5). There are a few reasons or possibilities for the lack of Cypriot maps by the Ottoman Empire. First of all, after the 16th century the cartographical activities of the Ottoman Empire were low according to Europe. After the conquest of Constantinople, especially because of Sultan Mehmet's II's

personal interest in art, architecture and manuscripts, and especially cartography, many maps were published according to later years (Rogers, 1992, p. 228; Karamustafa, 1992b, p.210) and he created his own personal collection (Renda, 2007, p.4). However, the number of these records and manuscripts decreased with the decline of the power of the Empire (Rogers, 1992, p.229).

The most famous cartographical collection of portolan charts was *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, which was published by Piri Reis in 1521 (shorter version) and later in 1526 (Soucek, 1992, p.272). The book also included a map of Cyprus. Beside the portolan charts, in order to control the vast territory of the Empire, for administration, or to help the Empire's expansion, military maps were created and today there are very few examples of them left (Renda, 2007, p.4; Karamustafa, 1992b, pp.209-10).

In addition, the printing press did not have the same impact as it did in Europe. The number of maps published as well as their rate of survival was not high (Karamustafa, 1992a, p.6). In addition, there are collections of manuscripts that are "inadequately catalogued" (Karamustafa, 1992a, p.5) which pose a limitation for the studies of Ottoman cartography. Secondly, their neglect towards the ports or using Famagusta as a prison showed their lack of interest in the island. Also, the island was causing more trouble with ongoing conflicts between the Ottoman rulers and its inhabitants.

There are few documents that evidence mapping activities in the 19th century. Letters show that in 1863, a military figure named Şükrü Effendi was sent to Cyprus from Rhodes to map Famagusta for renovations¹⁷. However, there is no evidence of the map. The catalogue registrations are slow and there are many documents that were not registered, but also it is also possible that the map did not survive. However, there is no other evidence for cartographical activities by the Ottomans during this era.

From 1571 until 1878, the island was in the hands of the Ottoman Empire, after which it was leased to the British Empire. As the leading cartographical centre, and because of new technical developments in cartography, new surveys were carried out and accurate scientific maps of the island were produced. These surveys were undertaken because there was no updated map which the British administration could use. Large-scale surveys were made, nautical charts and topographical maps were drawn (Stylianou, 1980, p.150), the main purpose of which was either for administrative use, (such as taxation) navigational use, or use as reports for improvement projects for the ports. Thus, the maps not only focused on the cities but also on the harbours and large areas. Cosgrove states that

By the mid-nineteenth century, surveyed urban plans had become the base maps for the emerging science of urban statistics, by means of which expanding state capitals and new industrial cities were to be regulated ... Rather than celebrating the unity and harmony of urban community, the map's task was to bring into light of practical reason invisible further mapping of urban space: clearing and re-planning 'crowded districts', laying water supply and drainage systems, platting new suburbs, cemeteries and parklands. (Cosgrove, 2012, pp.177-8)

As the capital city, Nicosia was the seat of the British government, and it was developing and improving quickly. From the British era there are several maps of city in different scales,

¹⁷ Document No: MVL-790 from the Ottoman Archives, Istanbul.

usually published by the Land and Survey Department within several years of each other. From these maps we can track the development of the city and its changing structure. Certainly, in these maps the city was depicted accurately: the inner city with its major buildings and its layout can be seen clearly. The major difference between these maps was how much information they gave other than about the layout. Some gave the names of certain buildings and their designs or choose to include both Muslim and Christian monuments or one of them according to the scale and the purpose of the maps. The map gave its audience information on the modern and developing Nicosia in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Other than these survey maps, the city also appeared in a tourist book. Karl Baedeker's book gave important information about buildings, their locations and names. In this map we were able to see structures by the Ottoman Empire which were omitted in the previous centuries. During the Ottoman rule, oriental-style buildings such as baths (hamam) had appeared. The map was for public use, as it was informative for tourists and people who wanted to learn more about the city and its significant architectural structures. The touristic map was interlinked with the written accounts; both gave information on the structure and features of the city that created its identity. However, because the map was not detailed enough, it did not go further than other maps in show more about the buildings. It only gave the plan of St. Nicholas' Cathedral, and the rest of the map showed blocks that identified the location of the touristic places.

Especially during these centuries there were many maps that were used in various areas such as mapping nations, ethnicity, poverty, etc. The maps of Nicosia and their diversity fell short. The maps did not depict the community, inhabitants or events that differentiated the *civitas* (the city as community) (Kagan, 2000, p.9) from the description of the city. However, unlike in previous centuries, many maps of the capital were published. In addition, these surveys were made for all cities but unlike for inland cities such as Nicosia, some of the maps of the port cities had different purposes.

The walled city of Famagusta became one of these maps rather than their centrepiece. The charts concentrated on the coastline similarly to the previous century's maritime charts, and gave the city's identity by illustrating the walls and the harbour, but still the details were missing. In some charts a few public buildings were presented, usually the churches. After Gibellino's detailed map, in the 19th century a new, scientific map was produced by Baedeker which showed the inside of the city, its structure, identity and even the plan of the public buildings. However, the map maker preferred only to show the Christian monuments, and not the Ottoman ones, and so the latter were omitted. Hence, the map was not able to create an accurate and real image of the city. Although achieving its purpose, the map depicted public buildings, their current and historical names, streets and squares, etc., but even in this scientific map, some information was missing.

During the British rule, new maps of Larnaca, Limassol, Kyrenia and Paphos were prepared similar to those of Famagusta and Nicosia. Browne and J. Stokes' survey maps of Larnaca and Limassol showed the depths of the harbour without detailing the city's features. However, besides the survey maps made by the government, the companies that were in charge of the renovations prepared several maps of the ports and cities. The Coode, Fitzmaurice, Wilson and Mitchell companies created several maps of the port cities, for Famagusta, Larnaca, Limassol and Kyrenia, to suggest improvements and track their developments. These maps did not have detailed information about the cities except their plans and outlines of their

structures. Unfortunately, many maps and reports about the ports of these port cities produced in these centuries never reached their potential. The expected improvements were expensive for the government. As a result, some renovations were made on the ports but mostly, the projects were at least partially abandoned because of financial problems.

One example is Kyrenia, which started to appear on maps in the 19th century. It had a small port that was neglected during Ottoman rule and left in a bad condition. During the next era, the new government's policies included improving the harbours, and so maps of the city and its harbour were created. Kyrenia was the most popular city within the British people who visited the island and especially those who decided to stay. Most of them chose Kyrenia because of its green environment and closeness to the sea. Consequently, there were many travel texts about the city; its structure, historical buildings and fortifications were depicted in these detailed writings in this century. Although there was an interest in this city, there were not sufficient urban maps of this city. The curiosity of the Europeans was limited to the travellers only. The maps of the city were used to improve the harbour which was the main project by the British Empire for the city. However, similarly to Kyrenia, the number of Paphos maps was also very limited.

The change during the new era after Ottoman rule was reflected in maps. The usage of new and advanced technology changed the maps and representation of cities. The changing rule over the island did not appear on the maps. We cannot see new buildings or projects by the British Empire or what they want to fix or change. The maps did not give information about the citizens, either. In the end, from these four port cities we have nautical charts and maps of harbours where the cities were second in line and the ports were the priority for the cartographers.

Once again, the structure of the cities and their inhabitants changed during the century; however these changes cannot be seen on the maps. The urban space was depicted on the maps without giving much information about the cities' identity or their changing nature. The maps merely depicted their basic structures and outlines without giving their identities. The events, travel writings, experiences, inhabitants or design of buildings were not used to represent the cities, even though travel writings increased in this century because many foreign people moved to the island, especially from England and wrote about their experiences during their stay. As Cosgrove states that

But the relationship between map and texts rarely balanced, and over time, especially since the eighteenth-century adoption of 'plain style' in cartography that removed pictorial, textual and other 'decorative' devices from the map, the relationship between the different modes of geographical description has become increasingly distant. (Cosgrove, 2012, p.7)

In this era, maps were mostly under the control of the government and were made according to the newly developed techniques where the map makers' artistic choices did not matter as much as in previous centuries. Again, the maps were made by European map makers so that we only see their point of view towards the cities.

Chapter 11

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE REPRESENTATIONS OF CITIES

Wright pointed out, “Whether a maker of maps is ever seeking and finding new things to map and developing new ways of mapping them or is a blind follower of tradition and precedent is of course partly a matter of individual character, but it is also a result of outside influences (Wright, 1942, p.543).

In map making, there are various factors that affect the representation of a city. For the Cypriot city maps, in each century, these factors can be very different. Miller stated on Renaissance maps that, “As a construct of modern observation, classical knowledge, and visual conventions, Renaissance maps aspired to an accurate record of the world informed by both the standards of cartography and other forms of record of the knowledge of the world” (Miller, 2003, p.7). During the 16th century, because of the conflict between the Ottomans and the Venetians, Famagusta and Nicosia stood out. The map makers recorded this historical event: two sieges as well as the cities. Harvey wrote:

Maps are a graphic language to be decoded. They are a construction of reality, images laden with intentions and consequences that can be studied in the societies of their time. Like books, they are also the products of both individual minds and the wider cultural values in particular societies. (Harvey, 1980, p.36)

One purpose of some maps was to inform people about sieges or battles (Woodward, 2007, p.1536), and so maps reflected the main events of their time, and became a vision of the map maker and his society. The war of 1571 in Cyprus between the Venetians and the Ottomans dictated how the 16th century maps were formed; the point of view of the European map maker and both the Venetians inside and the Ottomans outside the city were seen. Maps became reports of this important event. To reflect it, the map makers represented both the sieges and the cities in detail, and so the structure and the context of Famagusta and Nicosia were depicted. Even maps which were more like paintings were produced in order to depict the war. During the 16th century, bird’s-eye view maps were used in order to give a practical image. Because of the desire to create a lifelike image, and realistic maps, with the developments in cartography in the late 15th century (Manners, 1997, p.94), map makers tried to illustrate the city as realistically as possible as with the Gibellino map of Famagusta which gives as much information as possible, Balthasar’s map which had the features of a painting or the anonymous map of Nicosia which depicted the moment of the last assault.

The cartographers depicted part of their own territory even if it was far away from their homes in two Italian cities. Even though the siege is the main subject, the cartographers tried to represent the cities and important events. Nuti summarizes the intention of the Renaissance town representations:

Geographically speaking, a town covers a sufficiently limited space to be included in a single view. Yet in the Renaissance the vision sought by its representation had a more important quality. For a long time the town had been perceived as a microcosm, both with regard to its architectural structure, as Italian fifteenth-century treatises argue, and

to its social and political identity, of which the citizens were conscious and proud. (Nutti, 1999, p.98)

These two cities were illustrated on the maps for the European audience. Woodward pointed out that map makers created detailed images for their clients (Woodward, 2007, p.1537). The clients of the 16th century maps were Europeans who wanted to know more about the conquest, so map makers depicted different stages of these two sieges.

In addition, map makers reflected their awareness of written documents, the experiences of witnesses, and added their own artistic work to satisfy their clients' curiosity about what happened during the sieges. Especially when the cartographers did not visit or experience the events at the location, the written records helped them to create scenes from the war, and the appearance of the city. There were detailed accounts that recount day-by-day events during the siege and afterwards and the cartographers needed to choose and compile the best way to represent them. Therefore, map makers were interested in these cities, and they reflected this interest by drawing their context, structure and identity. However, the descriptive illustrations of the cities that show the city's layout, streets and main monuments, do not mean that they reflected the cultural context as well. Kagan explains that the reflection of the physical layout for the audience to 'see' is not the same as with knowledge of the city's history or inhabitants or their experience (Kagan, 2000, pp.107-8). The maps were rather focused on the Ottomans than the inhabitants. They gave more information about the conflict than the city. The 16th century urban maps were able to illustrate the description of images of the cities for the audience. Even this kind of detailed representation changed in the 17th century.

When the island was an Ottoman territory, interest in the cities diminished. Famagusta was closed off to Christians, and this caused a lack of information about the inside of the city, and a loss of interest in general. As travellers mentioned in their texts they could not get inside and so they wrote or described how it was now within enemy territory, converted from Christian to Muslim, and possessing an empty harbour. As a result, the maps only gave information about Varosha and the port. The inside of the city was rarely depicted, only the walls and the harbour, although symbols were often used to portray Ottoman rule. During the 17th century, there was no permission for foreigners to get inside the city, nor could they get information about the inside of the walls. So lack of information could be one factor in the silence on the maps.

For Nicosia, the situation was different. The city did not have a problem with restrictions, however, there are only few maps of the city. The city's fame came from its 'ideal city' architecture that the cartographers replicated from previous maps, or they only focused on its fortifications. Even though travellers wrote about the city and its new ruler, these did not appear on the maps.

Another reason for this can be the loss in importance of these two cities. In the 17th century, Famagusta and its harbour became enemy territory and Nicosia as an inland city disappeared from the maps. Therefore both cities and the once-famous harbour lost their value in the eyes of Europeans and European map makers. When a city loses its importance, it effectively disappears. Marangou writes,

...many times in history, harbours and cities which had prospered in the past suddenly disappeared from the maps while desertion and oblivion came to reside in places that

used to thrive with life and human activity which were the unhurried result of past trade activity and transaction. (Marangou, 2002, p.31)

Nicosia, the ideal city that represented Venetian military architecture, appeared on the siege maps but almost vanished from the maps a century later during the Ottoman period. During the 14th century Famagusta had been a wealthy city and a significant port on the major trade and pilgrimage routes. It was a Christian city and an important harbour, which afterwards lost its glory and became a prisoner in enemy territory. In time it was forgotten.

During the 18th century, an imaginary view of Famagusta was depicted because the city itself was no longer significant and the harbour was in a poor condition and not being used to its full capacity. Unlike in the previous century, the Ottoman rule and Islam were shown by symbols, until the prohibition for entering the city was removed, whereupon travel texts offering information about the inside of the city reappeared. But the city, now dead, still did not gain the map makers' interest. Charts were created that only focused on the harbour because even if the port had left its glorious days behind, it was still in use. For their audience of mainly sailors, nautical charts that focused on the harbour were suitable.

On the other hand, unlike Nicosia and Famagusta which lost their value, Larnaca started to rise in the eyes of cartographers but only in one aspect: its harbour. Larnaca became the most important harbour for foreign ships. This harbour was worth depicting and so informative nautical charts of the city appeared and later Limassol was represented on the nautical charts, too. The port cities only appeared as long as their harbours were in use by foreign ships. According to the purpose of these charts, their depictions were stylized. Unfortunately, the map makers did not depict information about these cities from the written documents. They omitted the cities' structures, their changes during the Ottoman rule and their inhabitants. The only information about the cities' socio-political change was the crescent symbols, however the cities remain symbolic. On the charts, the city was represented with imaginary representation: the only addition was the crescent symbol to identify the Muslim occupation of the island.

As the map makers were Europeans, however, and similarly to other cities that were converted from Christianity to Islam, (for example Jerusalem and Constantinople), Christian features continued to be emphasized, often the complete exclusion of Muslim ones (Harley, 2001, p.101). As Harley points out,

...faced with a particular map, it is often hard to tell from historical context whether its silences are a result of deliberate acts of censorship, unintentional epistemological silence, or a mixture of both, or perhaps merely a function of the slowness with which cartographers revised their maps to accord with the realities of the world. (Harley, 2001, p.105)

The representations of the cities were based on an idealized image of a town or a city. Harvey writes that,

...when other identifiable towns are shown on the maps in these treatises the shape and other details of the walls vary, perhaps reflecting the actual features of the town's fortification and sometimes one or two buildings are showing inside the walls. But elsewhere in the surveyor's treatises, where we have not a map of a particular place but

a stylized picture or diagram to illustrate some point of theory or technique. (Harvey, 1980, p.69)

According to their purpose and the choice of map makers, the maps from the Ottoman period depicted not the real image of the cities but a stylized one. Wright emphasizes that "...the map maker must use his discrimination in deciding what to omit, and his map, although it may gain in legibility and beauty, will lose in reliability" (Wright, 1942, p.532). In some maps, the representations of Larnaca and Limassol in the Ottoman era were quite similar to each other. The image showed a walled city which is neither Larnaca nor Limassol.

Robinson pointed out,

Yet the cartographers of the past, the one who designed and drew the actual maps, is still the central character in the long process from the gathering of the data to the printing of the maps. His work with lines, colors, lettering, symbols, and the other graphic media is the work that makes the data intelligible to the reader. (Robinson, 1952, p.3)

The map maker chose how to depict the cities. For example, Borg added St. Nicholas' Cathedral as an identifying feature of Famagusta, on the other hand, Allezard added minarets in his depictions of all port cities. Barsky who visited and stayed on the island, depicted crescent symbols, minarets and palm trees to indicate the Muslim cities where the cathedrals were dominant structures in the city showing both the Christian and Muslim identity of the city. Some chose to use the crescent to emphasize the changing context of the city, while others did not use any symbol at all. Wright states that the suitability of the symbols "depends on the map maker's taste and sense of harmony" (Wright, 1942, pp.541-2). The choice also reflects how much the cartographer took from the written records, as there were many descriptive accounts of the cities, however the audience only saw this partially as the representations did not match the purpose of the charts.

During the British era, the representation of the cities changed again, and the cities appeared on the maps for different purposes. Harley writes, "Topographical maps or city maps and plans were made to fulfil several needs at once. They were designed as administrative or jurisdictional records, for defence, for economic development, or perhaps as general works of topographical reference" (Harley, 2001, p.39). In addition, Edney emphasizes that, "The mode is thus the combination of cartographic form and cartographic function, of the internal construction of the data and their representation on the one hand and the external *raison d'être* of the map on the other" (Edney, 1993, p.58). The British administration made new surveys and published new maps for several reasons: administrative purposes, and reports on ports, and so the maps covered large areas of land. Sometimes they were made for navigational purposes, giving detailed information on the harbours and the coastline of the port cities or for potential improvements. Maps of Kyrenia and Paphos were limited and crafted for similar purposes, in order to improve the cities' harbours. This was also the aim in creating the maps of Limassol and Larnaca.

The charts of the 19th century differ from the charts of the 18th century, however, as cartographic developments, resulting in scientific and standardized maps, changed depictions from imaginary to accurate. Moreover, because of the island's important strategic location, European map makers eventually took a new interest, and therefore the Cypriot cities reappeared on maps under British rule.

The urban maps that focused on only Nicosia and Famagusta were even produced in a travel guide that illustrated the cities' identity by giving identification features as well as names, history and structure. Detailed images of the formation of the cities, and also their context (historical and social) were finally created as a travel guide even if it did not depict the whole history. They were for visitors from outside the community. Kagan states that "Chorographic views ... were like the illustrations in today's touristic brochures, intended primarily for a public living outside the place they depicted" (Kagan, 1998, p.105).

The views that emphasized the description of a city were for an audience that was unfamiliar with the city itself; the public outside the city (Kagan, 1998, p.103). Kagan emphasized, "Publishers consequently favored views that emphasized a city's overall layout and design, a mode of representation which not only rendered faraway cities comprehensible to armchair travelers but also offered these readers ready comparison with cities with which they were already familiar" (Kagan, 2000, p.109). So the descriptive images worked better for the outsider audience. In case of the Cyprus the maps of the Venetian or the British era gave descriptions of the cities, *urbes* but the maps in the Ottoman era were not descriptive as much as they were imaginary. These maps were not there to show the community of the cities or their identity as *civitas* (Kagan, 2000; 1998).

The purpose of, and demand for, maps shaped the representation of cities on the maps in these centuries. Different purposes required different representations.

Chapter 12

CONCLUSION

Time has also moved on here, but the people of the island never cut themselves off from the past as we have done in the heretic West. They have simply taken it with them. And kept it with them. It is part of them. This is the most distinctive feature of Cyprus. A living history... (Severis, 2005, p.83)¹⁸

Cyprus has a rich and turbulent history which, during each century, has brought changes to the condition and context of its cities. This can be seen in the maps of Cypriot cities. Miller points out that "... maps provide the spatial and the visual contexts for events" (Miller, 2000, p.7). In parallel with the history of the city, maps changed simultaneously, reflecting events as they happened. Harley emphasizes that "... maps are perspectives on the world at the time of their making" (Harley, 2001, p.107). Every map reflects its time and its context, and so do the maps of Cypriot cities. Besides maps, historical texts were helpful to determine the representation and context of the cities as an historical source. When texts and maps are linked with each other, they are particularly useful. I explored the parallels between text and map to see the cartographers' awareness and its reflection on the maps. Many map makers did not visit the island and so texts were significant for their reconstructive mapping and historical reportage.

Maps and history are certainly interlinked, and like other sources, maps can be biased, too. The city maps throughout history did not reflect the whole truth, due to a number of factors which I previously discussed in this dissertation.

The Cypriot urban maps were able to show the context they are in, the historical events and their consequences in the eyes of the European map makers. Nevertheless, not all maps depicted the historical events and their consequences, especially during the first century of the Ottoman occupation. On many maps the cities were not illustrated as cities converted to Islam. Many of the cartographers ignored the information and did not add any information related to religion. On the other hand, there were maps that specifically focused on historical events, such as the siege maps of Famagusta and Nicosia. As a result, according to their context, the maps were not always able to illustrate the circumstances that the island and the cities were in.

The cities' representations served various purposes on the maps, emphasizing location, or touristic information for travellers. The urban maps of Cyprus reflected the changing cartographical features and developments throughout history. We can observe the developments from descriptive bird's-eye view maps to detailed plans. Various maps of Cypriot cities were illustrated in different forms; some were able to give the identity and structure of the cities, some not. On some maps, the identity and structure of the cities were given by depicting their main identification features, such as of their fortifications, or the main cathedral. Any specific features that would help to the audience to recognize the city were used on the maps. The representations were various and changeable according to the era

¹⁸ "A living history" is how Klaus Liebe described Cyprus in *Cyprus* (1986).

and context they were in, and the purpose was also the determining feature on the images of the cities. In the Ottoman era, the representations were limited to an imaginary image of a city that was used to represent port cities. For the function of a nautical chart the purpose of the image was enough to show the location and other basic information about the city. The maps were able to emphasize the history of the island, which was the starting point of the maps and this study.

Another important consideration was the role of the map makers whose choices were able to change the entire meaning of the map. But more importantly, these maps show the perspective of the European cartographers and audience towards the island. Nuti writes,

Vision however, is also part of a historical culture. It provides a pattern for the interpretation and organization of perceived environmental data. As a consequence, modes of representation are not simply sets of formal qualities, but expressions of diverse visual cultures. If the representation of a town 'form life' is at issue, the most trustworthy and significant image of it will undoubtedly be the one that matches most perfectly with the visual culture's mode of relating the observer to the object. (Nuti, 1999, p.98)

The Cypriots maps reflected the European point of view towards the cities. As Lynch points out, the meaning of representation is linked to the observer and his relation with the observed (Lynch, 1960, p.8). In the case of Cyprus, the observed was depicted by mostly European cartographers, and the maps represent the foreign perspective towards the island. The cartographers' perspective did not depend on whether they visited the island or not. There were images of the cities that were detailed and gave more information than any other map by cartographers who had never been on the island. On the other hand, cartographers visited the island and created standardized images of the cities. The cartographers' choices in their representations were based on the purpose and the audience. The maps only showed Cyprus' condition from outside and what the cities meant to an outsider. In addition, the maps were made for an audience unfamiliar with Cyprus where the only information received was from the maps or the text. As Kagan explains, descriptive images are "for a public living outside the place" (Kagan, 1998, p.103).

The analysis points out that the images of the Cypriot cities were descriptive representations rather than showing their true nature or identity. The cartographers depicted these cities as architectural entities; their main features were enough to be recognized by the European audience or even sometimes a standardized image of a city was more than enough according to the purpose of the maps. There were a few exceptions that tried to capture the essence of the city or try to give more information that was needed; however, the general representations of the cities were limited to their main identification features and structures.

Besides the descriptive features of these representations, these images of the cities were not always able to reflect the cities' social or cultural context. J. B. Harley emphasizes that maps can be understood as a social construction of the world; a way to create the social image of the world alongside its representation of the landscape while defining society beyond its borders according to the political, social, cultural context of their period of time (Harley, 2001)¹⁹. However, in Cyprus' case, the maps failed to create a social image of the cities. The illustrations of the cities served for other purposes than to highlight their own community and

¹⁹ Harley, J. B. 1989. Deconstructing the map, in *The New Nature of Maps*; pp.150-68.

culture. As a result, the city representations on these maps were not so highly prioritized in the eyes of the European map makers.

In every era, there was something more important than the city that the cartographers focused on. In the Venetian era, the siege was in the spotlight. The cities also had a few detailed representations; however the war between the Venetians and the Ottomans was the main attraction on the maps. In the Ottoman era, with the loss of interest in and information on the cities, also with the new purpose, the highlight of the maps became the harbours. As a result, the cities' representations did not exceed the standardized medieval appearance. Later, the British era, when the cartographical developments surpassed the older cartographers, created accurate plans of the cities which the audience was limited to the government itself. The practical usage of the maps limited the identity of the cities on these maps. Cosgrove emphasizes that "Scientific mapping remains more successful in protecting the future form of the city than in capturing the legibility of its daily life" (Cosgrove, 2012, p.179). For an island that has a turbulent history and mix identities, the maps by foreign cartographers are not always able to reflect either the cities' constantly changing history or their identities.

With these urban maps, we can follow the changing perspective of the European cartographers and audience. However, the main limitation of the study was the lack of Ottoman maps and an eastern point of view towards the island, which stayed under Ottoman rule for three hundred years. In addition, maps by Cypriot cartographers for the 'home audience' (Kagan, 1998, p.103) would be able to give the image of the community as *civitas*. However, there are few maps to create comparison with these maps and different points of views to the western one.

Today, the turbulent history of the island still continues. After the colonial rule of the British Empire, the Republic of Cyprus was formed in 1960, but in 1974 this republic separated into two: the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Because of the political conflicts between these two nations, the historical heritage of both is disappearing and damaging the cultural heritage. This conflict is also reflected in maps, whereby only one map was acceptable by both sides, that of the United Nations Development Programme. Today, political conflicts continue which affect and harm cultural heritage. Cyprus' rich history, its fascinating buildings and monuments, are all under threat. A study of the urban maps of Cyprus with descriptive images is able to show the changes that the cities go through over time. This study might spread awareness of the issue of the degradation of the cities and prompt people or organizations into protecting and renovating these buildings so that the changes between maps become only improvements and not losses for the cities. I expanded my previous work on the Cypriot city maps, and was able to create a complete image of the Cypriot urban cartography and point out its place in history of cartography. This study has demonstrated the changing representation of cities through maps from the 16th to the 20th centuries, contextualized by the cities' rich and varied history. It has started with maps of Famagusta and with further research now includes other cities of Cyprus and a larger and complete database of Cypriot maps. As a supplementary document to the dissertation, I assembled a catalogue of the Cypriot urban maps that includes a more comprehensive collection of urban maps than previous ones on the area. It can be a base for future studies on Cypriot cartography and a helpful guide for further researches. Furthermore, creating an online database with easy access to the maps of Cyprus allows for studying them while emphasizing the island's history; the common history of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

This research has initiated a starting point for further research on Cypriot maps, and perhaps detailed research on specific maps or eras that will bring to light the limitations of this study. Since the study only focuses on urban maps, it only studies representations of cities. The history of Cypriot cartography goes back much earlier and in much more detail than its urban maps. In addition, this study tried to capture all of the urban maps of the island from the Venetian Era to the British. Further studies can be based on this one to analyse these urban maps in detail for advanced research on the area. Certainly there are other areas that need to be explored and questions that need to be asked and answered.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A selection of 500 maps & atlases.* (1979). London: R.V. Tooley Limited.
- Abulafia, D. (Ed.) (2005). *Tarih boyunca Akdeniz uygarlıkları.* (N. Elhüseyni, Trans.). Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları.
- Alastor, D. (1955). *Cyprus in History.* London: Zeno publishers.
- Argan, G. C. (1989). *Planning and cities: the renaissance city.* (S. E. Bassnett, Trans., 2nd ed.). New York: George Braziller.
- Atun, A. (2002). *Mağusa yazıları: M.Ö.66-M.S.1772.* Gazimağusa: Samtay Vakfı.
- Atun, A. (2004). *Names of the locations of Cyprus lost in the depths of 2500 years of history.* Famagusta: Samtay foundation publications no 11.
- Atun, A. (2005). *Milat öncesinden günümüze Kıbrıs tarihi üzerine belgeler.* Gazimağusa: Samtay Vakfı.
- Atun, A. (2011). St. Dominic church waiting to be explored in the oldtown of Famagusta. *International Journal of Academic Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Part I.
- Avramea, A., Sphyroeras, V., & Spyros, A. (1985) *Maps and mapmakers of the Aegean.* Athens: Olkos Publications Ltd.
- Bagrow, L. (1985). *History of cartography.* (Rev. ed. by R. A. Skelton, 2nd ed.) Chicago: Precedent Publishing.
- Bağışkan, T. (2005). *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı-Türk Eserleri.* Lefkoşa: Kuzey Kıbrıs Müze dostları derneği Yayını.
- Baker, A. R. H., & Biger, G., (Eds.) (1992). *Ideology and landscape in historical perspective: Essays on the meaning of some places in the past.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Baker, S. W. (1887). *Cyprus: as I saw it in 1879.* London: Macmillan and co.
- Balderstone, S. (2007). *Managing Heritage in the wake of War and Conflict in Cyprus, ICOMOS Conference Extreme Heritage, Queensland, Australia:* James Cook University. Available at <http://www.aicomos.com/wp-content/uploads/susanbalderstone.pdf>
- Ballon, H., and Friedman D. (2007). Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning. *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Woodward D. (Ed.), *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3 (pp. 680-704). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bannister, D., & Moreland, C. (1989). *Antique maps: a collector's handbook.* (3rd ed.) London & New York: Longman.

- Barber, P., & Harper, T. (2010). *Magnificent maps: power, propaganda and art*. London: The British Library.
- Barrow, I. J. (2003). *Making history, drawing territory: British mapping in India, c. 1756-1905*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bertin, J. (1983). *Semiology of graphics: diagrams, networks, maps*. (W. J. Berg, Trans.). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bierman, Irene A., (1991). The Ottomanization of Crete. *The Ottoman city and its parts: urban structure and social order* (pp.53-75). Bierman, I. A., Abou-El-haj, R. A., Preziosi, D. (Eds.), New York: Aristiee D. Corates.
- Biggs, M. (1999). Putting the state on the map: cartography, territory and European state formation. *Comparative studies in society and history*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 374-405.
- Braudel, F. (1990). *Akdeniz ve Akdeniz dünyası*. (M. A. Kılıçbay, Trans.). İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık.
- Brassey, A. (1880). *Sunshine and Storm in the East*. London: Longmans, Green and co.
- Buisseret, D. (Ed.) (1992) *Monarchs, ministers, and maps: The emergence of cartography as a tool of government in early modern Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Buisseret, D. (Ed.) (1998). *Envisioning the city: six studies in urban cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bulut, M. (1999). XVII. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Hollandalı tüccarların Osmanlı bölgelerindeki faaliyetleri. *Osmanlı*, Vol. 3, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Press, 210-20.
- Bulut, M. (2002). The role of the Ottomans and Dutch in the commercial integration between the Levant and Atlantic in the seventeenth century. *The journal of economic and social history of the orient*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 197-230.
- Bulut, M. (2008). The Ottoman approach to the western Europeans in the Levant during the early modern period. *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 259-74.
- Campbell, T. (1994). *Cyprus: the reliability of early maps*. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Catselli, R. (1974). *Kyrenia*. Kyrenia: the "AVGHI" printing co. Ltd.
- Chacalli, G. (1902). *Cyprus under British Rule*. Nicosia: printed at the office of "RHONITIS KYPROU".
- Chapman, O. M. (1937). *Across Cyprus*. London: John Lane the Bodley Head.
- Cobham, C. D. (1908). *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a history of Cyprus: with an appendix on the bibliography of Cyprus*. New York: Kraus Reprint.

- Cosgrove, D. (1985). Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new series, Vol. 10, No. 1, 45-62.
- Cosgrove, D., & Daniels, S. (1989). *The iconography of landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cosgrove, D. (2012). *Geography & Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representation the World*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Cosmescu, D. (2016). *Venetian renaissance fortifications in the Mediterranean*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company.
- Crescent (2011). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/142628/crescent>
- Çevikel, N. (2006). *Kıbrıs Akdeniz’de bir Osmanlı adası (1570-1878)*. Istanbul: Ayhan marbaası.
- D’Israeli, I. (1823). Of a biography painted. *Curiosities of Literature*. Retrieved from http://www.spamula.net/col/archives/2006/02/of_a_biography.html
- Daniels, S. (2009). The making of the iconography of landscape. *Cultural Geographies*, Vol. 16, No. 12.
- Dreghorn, W. (1977). *A guide to the antiquities of Kyrenia*. Kyrenia: Halkın Sesi.
- Dreghorn, W. (1985). *Famagusta and Salamis*. Nicosia: K. Rustem and Brother.
- Dixon, W. H. (1879). *British Cyprus*. London: Chapman and Hall.
- Durrell, L. (1973). *Bitter lemons*. (8th ed.). London: Faber and Faber.
- Eastern Question (2011). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/177320/Eastern-Question>
- Edney, M. H. (2005). Putting “Cartography” into the history of cartography: Arthur H. Robinson, David Woodward, and the creation of a discipline. *Cartographic Perspectives*, Vol. 51, 14-29.
- Edbury, P. (1999). Famagusta in 1300. In *Cyprus and the Crusades: From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (pp.337-53). Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Edson, E. (1999). *Mapping time and space: how medieval mapmakers viewed their world*. London: The British Library.
- Elliot, J. (1987). *The City in Maps: Urban Mapping to 1900*. London: British Library.
- Enlart, C. (1987). *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*. (D. Hunt, Trans.). London: Trigraph. (Original work published in 1899).
- Erdoğan, M. A. (2008). *Kıbrıs’ta Osmanlılar*, Lefkoşa: Galeri kültür yayınları.

- Erdođru, M. A. (2009). *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar II*, Lefkoşa: Galeri kültür yayınları.
- Faşlı, M. (2003). *A model for sustaining city identity, case study: Lefkosa (Nicosia) in Northern Cyprus*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Gazimağusa: Eastern Mediterranean University.
- Fedai, H. (1997). *Fethiyye - i Cezire - i Kıbrıs*. Kıbrıs: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Fetvacı, E. (2009). The Production of the Şehname-i Selim Han. *Muqarnas: An annual of the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* (pp. 263-315). Necipođlu, G. (Ed), Brill: Leiden, Boston.
- Frans Hogenberg: Engraving 16th century news. (2011). *In Rag Linen, Online Museum of Historic Newspapers*. Retrieved from <http://raglinen.com/2010/03/14/frans-hogenberg-printing-16th-century-news/>
- Forwood, W. (1971). *Cyprus Invitation*. London: Garnstone Press.
- Gaziođlu, A. C. (2000). *Kıbrıs'ta Türkler (1570-1878): 308 yıllık Türk dönemine bir bakış*. (2nd ed.). Lefkoşa: Kıbrıs Araştırma ve Yayın Merkezi (CYREP).
- Goss, J. (1993). *The mapmakers art: An illustrated history of cartography*. Rand McNally.
- Green, A. D. (1914). *Cyprus, a short account of its history and present state*. Scotland: M. Graham Coltart.
- Greenhood, D. (1951). *Mapping*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Grim, R. E., & Wolter, J. A. (Eds.) (1996). *Images of the world: The atlas though history*. New York: Mcgraw-Hill.
- Gunnis, R. (1947). *Historic Cyprus: A guide to its town and villages, monasteries and castles*. (2nd ed.) London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Gürkan, H.M. (1982). *Kıbrıs Tarihinden Sayfalar*. Lefkoşa: Galeri kültür yayınları.
- Gürkan, H.M. (2000). *Tarih içinde Kıbrıs*. Lefkoşa: Galeri kültür yayınları.
- Gürkan, H.M. (2006). *Dünkü ve bugünkü Lefkoşa*. (3rd ed.) Lefkoşa: Galeri kültür yayınları.
- Gürkan, H. M. (2008). *Kıbrıs'ın sisli geçmişi*. Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür.
- Hakeri, B. H. (1993). *Başlangıcından 1878'e dek Kıbrıs tarihi*. Lefkoşa: Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı.
- Harley, J. B. (2001). *The new nature of maps*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Harvey, P. D. A. (1980). *The history of topographical maps: symbols, pictures and surveys*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Harvey, P. D. A. (1991). *Medieval maps*. Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.

- Hill, G. (1952). *A history of Cyprus*. Luke, H. (Ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Home, G. (1960). *Cyprus then and now*. London: J. M. Dent and Sons LTD.
- Iacovou, M., & Papanikola-Bakirtzis, D. (Eds.) (1998). *Byzantine and medieval Cyprus*. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Information- printing methods. In *Steve Bartrick Antique Prints & Maps*. Retrieved from <http://www.antiqueprints.com/Info/engraving.ph>
- İnalçık, H. (2009). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu klasik çağ (1300-1600)*. (13th ed.). İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Jacob, C., Edward H. Dahl (Eds.) (2006). *Theoretical approaches in cartography throughout History*. (T. Conley Trans.) Chicago: Chicago Press.
- Jacoby, D. (1989). The rise of a new emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the late 13th century. *Studies on the crusader states and Venetian expansion* (pp.145-79). London: Variorum Reprints.
- Jeffery, G. F. S. A. (1918). *A description of the historic monuments of Cyprus*. Nicosia: William James Archer, Government Printer, At the Government Printing Office.
- Jennings R. C. (2010). Lefkoşa; Mağusa. *Kubrus: Doğu Akdeniz'de bir Osmanlı Adası* (pp.133-52) (A. Erdoğan Trans.) Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür yayınları.
- Kagan, R. L. (1998). *Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain. Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography* (pp.75-108). Buisseret D. (Ed.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kagan, R. L. (2000). *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Karamustafa, A. T. (1992a). Introduction to Islamic Maps. *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (pp. 3-11). Woodward D., Harley J. B. (Eds.) Vol. 2 of *The History of Cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Karamustafa, A. T. (1992b). Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans. *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, Woodward D., Harley J. B. (Eds.) Vol. 2 of *The History of Cartography* (pp. 209-27). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Karl Baedeker. (2008). In *The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition*. Retrieved from Encyclopedia.com: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1E1-Baedeker.html>
- Karrow, R. W. Jr., (1993). *Mapmakers of the sixteenth century and their map*. Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press.

- Kostof, S. (2004). *The city assembled: the elements of urban form through history*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Kyrris, Costas (2010). Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlı Dönemi 1570-1878. *Kubrus: Doğu Akdeniz'de bir Osmanlı Adası* (pp.1-47). (A. Erdoğan Trans.) Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür yayınları.
- L'Anson, E., & Vacher, S. (1882-83). *Medieval and other buildings in Cyprus. Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, XIII/XVIII, 6, pp.14-16.
- Lang, R. H. (1878). *Cyprus*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Langdale, A., & Walsh M. (2007). A short report on three newly accessible churches in the Syrian quarter of Famagusta. *Journal of Cyprus Studies*, Vol.13, 105-23.
- Langdale, A. (2010). At the edge of Empire: Venetian architecture in Famagusta. *Viator*, Vol. 41, No. 1,155-98.
- Leventis, P. (2007). Projecting Utopia: The refortification of Nicosia 1567-70, *Chora Five: Intervals in the philosophy of Architecture* (pp.227-259). London: McGill- Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston. Ithaca. Ed. Alberto Pérez-Gomez, Stephen Parcell.
- Leventis, P. (2014). Dressing the Port, Re-Dressing the Square: Signs and Signifiers in the Urban Landscape of Famagusta, Cyprus, 1291-1571. *Montreal Architectural Review*, Vol.1, 67-87.
- Loher, Franz von and Joyner, A. B. (1878). *Cyprus, historical and descriptive*. London: W.H. Allen and co.
- Luopis, D. (2000). Ottoman Nautical Charting and Miniature Painting: Technology and Aesthetics. *M. Uğur Derman 65th Birthday Festschrift/65 Yaş Armağanı*. Schick, I. C. (Ed.) İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 369-397.
- Lukach, H. C., Jardine D. J. (2007). Kıbrıs'ın El Kitabı, Ali Çakıroğlu (trans) Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür Yayınları.
- Luke, H. (1969). *Cyprus under the Turks: 1571-1878*. (Rev. ed.) London: C. Hurst & Company.
- Luke, H. (1957). *Cyprus: A portrait and an appreciation*. Nicosia: Rustem and Co.
- Luscombe, S. Lord Kitchener of Khartoum. In *The British Empire*. Retrieved from <http://www.britishempire.co.uk/forces/armycampaigns/africancampaigns/boerwar/kitchener.htm>
- Lynam, E. (1953). *The mapmaker's art: essays on the history of maps*. London: the Batchworth Press.
- Lynch. K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

- Maintaining naval supremacy 1815-1914. In *Historical periods*. Retrieved from <http://www.royal-navy.mod.uk/history/historical-periods/1815-1914/index.htm>
- Manners, I. R. (1997). Constructing the image of a city: the representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 87, No. 1, 72-102.
- map. (2011). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/363506/map>
- Marangou, A. G. (2002). *The harbours and ports of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Laiki Group Cultural Centre.
- Marangou, A. G. (2003). *The seas of Cyprus maps, harbours and ships: 13th-19th century*. Nicosia: Cassoulides & Sons Ltd.
- Mariti, G. (1971). *Travels in the Island of Cyprus*. (C. D. Cobham, Trans., 2nd ed.). London: Zenos. (Original work published in 1769).
- Miller, N. (1998). Mapping the City: Ptolemy's *Geography* in the Renaissance. In Buisseret, D. (Ed.) *Envisioning the city: six studies in urban cartography* (pp.34-74). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, N. (2000). *Mapping Cities*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- Miller, N. (2003). *Mapping the City: The language and culture of cartography in the Renaissance*. London and New York: Continuum Int.
- Miller, W. (1921) *Essays on the Latin Orient*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Mollat, M., & De La Ronciere, M. (1984). *Sea charts of the early explorers: 13th to 17th century*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Molteni E., Moretti S. (2006) Maps and drawings of Corfu in the Library of the Museo Correr. *e-Perimetron*, Vol.1, No. 1., 1-31.
- Morgan, T. (2013) *İngilizlerin Kıbrıs'taki tarihi: Acısıyla tatlısıyla bir ada*. (C. Atay Trans.) Istanbul: Kalkedon yayınları.
- Mukerji, C. (2006). Printing, cartography and conceptions of place in Renaissance Europe. *Media, Culture & Society*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, Vol. 28, No. 5, 651–69.
- Navari, L. (Ed.) (2003). *Maps of Cyprus: from the collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation*. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Newman, P. (1953). *A short history of Cyprus*. (2nd ed.). Nicosia: K.Rustem and Brother.
- Nuti, L. (1999) Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance. *Mappings* (pp.90-108). Cosgrove D. (Ed.), London: Reaktion Books.

- Olfert Dapper, In *Musée Dapper*, Retrieved from <http://www.dapper.com.fr/en/foundation-olfert.php>
- Orr, C. W. J. (1918) *Cyprus under British Rule*. London: Zeno publishers. 1972; reissued, first published 1918.
- Özkul, A. E. (2013) The Consuls And Their Activities In Cyprus Under The Ottoman Administration (1571-1878). *Turkish Studies: International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, Vol. 8/2, 239-283.
- Papadopoulos, T. (1965). *Social and historical data on population*. Nicosia: Zavallis press.
- Paphos. In UNESCO World Cultural Heritage. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/79>
- Parry, V. J. (2003). *Richard Knolles's history of the Turks*. Özbaran, S (Ed.). İstanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey.
- Perkins, C. (2003). Cartography: mapping theory. *Progress in human geography*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 341-351.
- Pike, J. Passenger ships 19th century. In *Military*. Retrieved from <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/ship/passenger-19.htm>
- Pinto, J. A. (1976). Origins and development of the ichnographic city plan. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 35-50.
- Piri R. (1973). *Kitab-ı Bahriye, Denizcilik Kitabı*. Senemoğlu Y. (Ed.) İstanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser.
- Pollis, A. (1973). Intergroup conflict and British colonial policy: The case of Cyprus. *Comparative politics*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 575-99.
- Reddaway, J. (1986) *Burdened with Cyprus: the British connection*. London, Nicosia, İstanbul: K. Rüstem and bro and Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd.
- Rees, R. (1980). Historical links between cartography and art. *Geographical review*, Vol.70, No.1, 61-78.
- Renda, G. (2007). Mapping and picturing: Maps as records of history. *Foundation for science technology and civilisation*.
- Rispoli, A. (Ed.) (1997). *XIV-XVIII yüzyıl portolan ve deniz haritaları*. (2nd ed.) İstanbul: İstanbul İtalyan Kültür Merkezi.
- Robinson, A. H. (1952). *The look of maps: An examination of cartographic design*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

- Rogers, J. M. (1992) Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories. *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (pp. 228-53). Woodward D., Harley J. B. (Eds.) Vol. 2 of *The History of Cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Romenelli, F. C., & Grivaud, G. (2006). *Cyprus 1542: the great map of the island by Leonida Attar*. Nicosia: The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Rossi, A. (1984). *The architecture of the city*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: the MIT Press.
- Sauer, C. O. (1956). The education of a geographer. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. XLVI, No. 3, 287-99.
- Salvator, L. (1881). *Levkosia: the capital of Cyprus*, London: Trigraph.
- Schulz, J. (1978). Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice: map making, city views and moralized geography before the year 1500. *The Art bulletin*, Vol. 60, No. 3, 425-74.
- Severis, R. C. (2003). *Nicosia: Monuments and Memories*. Nicosia: Hellenic Bank.
- Severis, R.C. (2005). *Monuments and memories: Famagusta: the emporium of the east*. Nicosia: Hellenic Bank.
- Severis, R. C. (2006). *Monuments and Memories Limassol: a town of visionaries*. Nicosia: Hellenic Bank.
- Severis, R. C. (2008). *Monuments and Memories Larnaca: the Great Dame*. Nicosia:Hellenic Bank.
- Severis, R. C. (2009). *Monuments and Memories Kyrenia: the enchantress*. Nicosia: Hellenic Bank.
- Short, J. R. (2003). *The world through maps: a history of cartography*. New York: Firefly Books.
- Skelton, R. A. (1965). *Decorative printed maps of the 15th to 18th centuries*. (3rd ed.). London: Spring Books.
- Skelton, R. A. (1975). *Maps: A historical survey of their study and collecting*. (2nd ed.). Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, C. D. (2009). Reflections on the career of Denis Cosgrove 1948–2008. *Cultural geographies*, Vol. 16, 5-28.
- Smith, A. (1887) *Through Cyprus*. London: Hurst and Blackett publishers.
- Soucek, S. (1996). *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus* (Studies in the Khalili Collection Volume II). United States: The Nour Foundation with Azimuth Editions.

- Soucek S. (1992). Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean. *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (pp. 263-92). Woodward D., Harley J. B. (Eds.) Vol. 2 of *The History of Cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Soucek S. (2013, June). Piri Reis: His uniqueness among cartographers and hydrographers of the Renaissance. *Cartes & Géomatique*, No.216, 135 – 145.
- Speak, P., Carter, A. H. C. (1970). *Map reading and interpretation*. (2nd ed.). London: Longman.
- Stahl, W. H. (1960). Representation of the Earth's surface as an artistic motif. *Encyclopedia of world art* (pp. 851-54). New York: McGraw Hill.
- Stavrides, T. (2012). The Port of Larnaca in the Napoleonic Wars: An Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Hub in the Age of Sail (1810-1814). *Histories of Ottoman Larnaca* (pp.81-112). Balta, E., Stavrides, T., Theocharides, I. (Eds.). Istanbul: Thelsis Press.
- Steffoff, R. (1995). *The British Library companion to maps and mapmaking*. London: British Library.
- Storrs, R. (1937). *Orientalisms*. London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson Limited.
- Storrs, R. (1993). *Kıbrıs valisi Sir Ronald Storrs'un anıları (1926-1932)*. (T. Debeş Trans.) Lefkoşa: Dörtrenk Matbaacılık.
- Storrs R. and O'brien B. J. (Ed.) (1964). *The Handbook of Cyprus*. London: Christophers.
- Stylianou, A. & J. A. (1980). *The history of the cartography of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre.
- Stylianou, A. & J. A. (1989). *The history of the cartography of Nicosia*. Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia.
- Tatton-Brown, V. (Ed.) (2001). *Cyprus in the 19th century AD: fact, fancy and fiction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Thrower, N. J. W. (1999). *Maps & civilization: Cartography in culture and society*. (2nd ed.). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tooley, R. V. (1978). *Maps and map-makers*. (6th ed.). London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.
- Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Committee. (1980). *A chronology of the Cyprus problem 1878-1980*. Nicosia: the State Printing Office of the Turkish Federated state of Kıbrıs.
- Uluca, E., & Akın, N. (2008). Gazimağusa Limanı: 13. Yüzyıldan 20. yüzyıla bir Akdeniz limanının gelişimi. *İTÜ dergisi, mimarlık, planlama,tasarım*, Vol.7, No.1, 62-73.
- Uluca, E. (2006). Gazimağusa kaleiçi'nin Tarihsel Süreç içindeki Kentsel Gelişimi ve Değişimi (Doctoral dissertation). İstanbul Teknik University.

- Varnava, A. (2009). *British imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: the inconsequential possession*. Manchester University Press.
- Yetkili, E. (2013) *Kıbrıs Limamlarının Dünü, Bugünü ve Stratejik Önemi*. Lefkoşa: Comment Grafik ve Yayıncılık.
- Yılmaz, İ. (2012, May 6-10) The Kitab-ı Bahriye “Book of Navigation” of Piri Reis, *FIG Working Week, Knowing to manage the territory, protect the environment, evaluate the cultural heritage*. Rome, Italy,
- Wallis, H. (1992). *Vignettes in the cartographic history of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Walsh, M. (2004a). The Daughter of Notre Dame of Rheims: A Brief Survey of St. Nicholas Cathedral: Lala Mustapha Pasha Mosque, Famagusta, Northern Cyprus. *Toplumsal Tarih*, Vol. 127, 26-31.
- Walsh, M. (2004b). Saint Peter and Paul Church (Sinan Pasha Mosque) Famagusta: A Forgotten Gothic Moment in Northern Cyprus. *Inferno*, Vol. 9, Article 5, 1-9.
- Walsh, M. (2005). A gothic masterpiece in the Levant. Saint Nicholas Cathedral, Famagusta, North Cyprus. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1-6.
- Walsh, M. (2008). On of the princypalle havenes of the see: The port of Famagusta and the ship graffiti of its ruined churches. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, Vol. 37, No.1, 115–29.
- Walsh, M. (2010). The vile embroidery of ruin: Historic Famagusta between Ottoman and British Empires in Fin de Siècle Cyprus: 1878-1901. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 247-69.
- Whitfield, P. (1994). *The images of the world: 20 centuries of world maps*. London: The British Library.
- Wintle, M. (2009). *The image of Europe: Visualizing Europe in cartography and iconography throughout the age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, D., & Fels, J. (1986). Designs on Signs: Myth and Meaning in Maps. *Cartographica*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 54-103.
- Woodward, D. (Ed.) (1975). *Five centuries of map printing*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Woodward, D. (1985). Reality, symbolism, time and space in Medieval world maps. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 75, No.4, 510-21.
- Woodward, D. (Ed.) (1987). *Art and cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Woodward, D. (1996). *Maps as prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, distributors & consumers*. London: British Library.
- Woodward, D. (Ed.) (2007). *Cartography in the European Renaissance, vol.3 of the history of cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Woodward, D. (1985). Reality, symbolism, time and space in Medieval World maps. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 75, No.4, 510-21.
- Wright, J. K. (1942). Map makers are human: comments on the subjective in maps. *Geographical review*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 527-544.