**Universidad Politécnica de Madrid
Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura
Construcción y Tecnología Arquitectónicas**

Management Models of Sustainable Conservation for the Socio-economic Development of Local Communities

**A case study of the fortifications of Famagusta, Cyprus
and other fortified cities in the Eastern Mediterranean**

Doctoral Thesis

Rand Eppich, BArch, MArch, MBA

2019

Construcción y Tecnología Arquitectónicas
Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura

Management Models of Sustainable Conservation for the Socio-economic Development of Local Communities

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and other fortified cities in the Eastern Mediterranean**

Rand Eppich, Architect, MBA
Director: Dr. Professor José Luis García Grinda

2019

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Figure 1 – First page, Martinengo Bastion, at the northwest corner Famagusta, Cyprus (Eppich, 2016)

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Dedication

*To Ana who offered endless encouragement, Abril who waited patiently,
and Martín who arrived toward the end...*

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I wish to thank Architect Dr. Ana Almagro Vidal for her valuable advice and support throughout this process. Without her unwavering support, this study would neither have begun nor continued.

A special thank you must also go to Architect Dr. José Luis Garcia Grinda, advisor to this thesis. His first to last meetings were always engaging, interesting, informative, and positive, even given his full calendar and numerous responsibilities. He always managed to meet frequently and was eager and open, sharing his advice and patience. Thank you must also be given to Professor Dr. Özlem Olgaç Türker, Vice Dean, Faculty of Architecture, and Eastern Mediterranean University for her encouragement and guidance during the thesis process and the use of her office while in Famagusta. This thank you extends to Dr. Ege Tümer of EMU as she met with me frequently in Famagusta and kindly shared her deep knowledge of the city as well as her desires for the future of its past.

Of invaluable assistance, at the beginning, and the end, was the advice of Professor Dr. Michael Walsh, School of Art, Design, and Media College of Humanities, Arts, & Social Sciences Nanyang Technological University Singapore. His generous help with his knowledge of Famagusta, sharing his references, and comments on the nearly finished manuscript were priceless. His dedication to Famagusta's heritage is admirable.

I also wish to express gratitude to the communities and professionals in Cyprus who deeply care for the heritage of their island. They have welcomed me for years and have freely shared their knowledge concerning Cyprus. These professionals include Michael Pittas, structural engineer for his open collaboration on numerous fortification projects in Famagusta. For their initial inspiration for this thesis and continued support, acknowledgments must be made to the UNDP PFF programme, the European Union and the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage in Cyprus as they encouraged this line of inquiry and had devoted significant resources into the conservation of the walls, bastions, and citadel of Famagusta. The UNDP staff includes Tiziana Zennaro, and Fatma Terlik, of the UNDP and Agustin Moya of the European Union, his home and family were always welcoming with interesting conversations in Spanish about Cyprus.

Maria Costi must also be warmly thanked as she provided not only moral and academic support to this thesis but also opened her home in Nicosia for many well-deserved rests.

Thank you to all those individuals who patiently sat through my questions and answered honestly and openly to inform this document, those individuals from Famagusta, Nicosia, Cyprus, as well as all the other study cases. These individuals include Michael Walsh who contributed his time and bibliography; Claude Borg, Restoration Directorate, Malta; Veronica Bonello, Heritage Malta; and Jevon Vella, Architect in Valletta, and Stephen C. Spiteri for their insight and useful advice on the on-going fortification projects in Malta. Thanks must also to Caroline Strack-Otakie at the Visitor Centre at the Old City of Akko as well as Erica Gal. David M. Bruce, European Walled Towns Association; Ms. Biserka Simatovic, City of Dubrovnik; Anna-Maria Kasdagli, archaeologist from Rhodes; and Fatma Sema Yücel, Istanbul Municipality for her advice and knowledge concerning the walls of Istanbul.

Finally, the author must thank his family and extended family for their patience, perseverance, and encouragement. Including my mother and father, Dr. Clara Almagro Vidal for her advice on the index and helpful feedback during the research process, and finally, Dr. Antonio Almagro Gorbea, for his continuing words of encouragement and guidance, long walks in Famagusta, and access to his ample library on fortifications and conservation.

Motivations

I have always had a passion for places of history – reading, experiencing, and later as an architect, working to conserve them. I believe that tangible architectural heritage makes places unique, creates a sense of home and links us the past while reinforcing community, but is fragile and must be vigorously protected and promoted through exemplary projects, education, and research. This motto has been my professional direction as I have worked to preserve cultural heritage, most recently and for an extended period in Cyprus.

I was inspired by my work with the United Nations Development Programme, Partnership for the Future office and the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage in Cyprus to preserve the Othello Tower / Citadel, Martinengo Bastion, the Ravelin, Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion, and portions of the walls. I was amazed the first time I encountered the walls, bastions, and fosse of Famagusta in their untouched state. These fortifications and their need for conservation were the first inspiration for this thesis.

The second inspiration is that during my work as a conservation architect, I am often frustrated by the lack of sufficient financial resources to carry out successful, sustainable long-term conservation works. This frustration is amplified as several years after a difficult project; there is little preventive maintenance. I often wonder what the next generation of conservation architects will think of my efforts. While the funding for the conservation works in Cyprus is generously funded from the European Union, it was not enough. At the same time, I also noticed several places, Dubrovnik and Valletta particularly, which were financially sustainable and wondered how to adapt their good example to Famagusta.

The third source of inspiration is the small communities who live within walled cities. These families have often existed for generations yet today are under threat, from rising tourism, limited investments in infrastructure, and lack of basic services such as schools, banks, and stores. I have witnessed this first hand in Famagusta during my time living within the walls.

I realized that I needed more in-depth knowledge between the fields of social and economic development combined with sustainable conservation. Therefore I have combined my interests and inspiration for this thesis with the hope it can be useful for Famagusta as well as other fortified cities.

Declaration

I, Rand Eppich, declare that this is an original work done through my research. Where I have drawn upon inspiration or referenced work of others, they are duly cited. This includes images, drawings, and maps. Where the work of others has been consulted, they have been duly referenced and credit attributed.

Limited portions of the work have appeared in conference papers in accordance with the rules of the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid. In fact, this was an essential part of the strategy and methodology to test and receive feedback from peers during the investigations. This has included presentations in several conferences, stakeholder meetings, and symposiums. This process was approved and encouraged by my primary advisor. The content of these papers, articles, and presentations was dedicated to the topic of the conference or meeting and has been substantially altered to fit within the framework of this thesis.

I declare that this work has not been submitted for other degrees or titles, nor will it be in the future.

Rand Eppich, Architect, MSc, MBA

Abstract and chapter outline

This abstract is a summary of the thesis intended to give a brief overview and description of the document and its organization. It follows a logical progression in four parts, each building upon the other: Thesis, Case Studies, Famagusta, and Results and Conclusions, and is followed by the bibliography and list of figures.

PART I – begins with a chapter on the thesis itself stating with the research problem statement of managing and financing the sustained conservation of large fortifications for the social and economic development of the communities within. From a problem statement, the thesis is derived. This is followed by the justification rationale in investigating the thesis: the difficulties in creating a management model, the socio-political and cultural divisions of Cyprus, and the values, significance, and authenticity of the fortifications of Famagusta. There is also an explanation for the rationale for selecting Famagusta. Also included is the contribution to the field and relevancy of the topic in addressing a critical gap, that of management and financing conservation. This is then followed by the overall goal and objectives of the research and the hypothesis: Through improved management, the conservation of historic fortifications around cities is sustainable and can be used for survival and socio-economic development of the community within.

The second chapter comprises the literature review divided into three main themes: sustainability, development, and management, followed by the fourth theme of fortifications. These themes were derived from the readings taking into account the thesis, goals, and objectives. The literature review states the connections between these themes and identifies the key seminal documents while intending to make connections and identify gaps in order to state the position and direction of the thesis. The review of the relevant literature concerning fortifications and each specific case study is within the appropriate chapters. The last chapter in Part I describes the methodology followed during this study taking into account the literature review and on-site experiences. It contains the process of the refinement of the original problem statement taking into account the literature review and research. It then states the theoretical framework and how it was selected and evaluated for appropriateness and applicability are given the type of research problem and field of study. The research paradigm or worldview is also stated in this chapter, as this is important as a lens for data interpretation. Finally, there is a description of the data collection, verification, analysis, and conclusion.

PART II – Begins with a chapter on the history and importance of the eastern Mediterranean framing the context, geography, connections, and relationships of the region. It establishes the significance of the region during a critical time in history during the rapid evolution of fortification design in response to new forms of warfare technology. Importantly it sets the background for the case studies and describes the rigorous rational in their selection.

The next chapters are on the case studies of fortified cities: Istanbul (Constantinople), Acre (Akko), Rhodes, Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and Valletta (Malta). Each case studies is organized consistently beginning with the history, which is necessary to establish connections between case studies, followed by a description of the fortifications and their significance. This is then succeeded by a section on management and the organization of the responsible institutions and how the fortifications are being used for the socio-economic benefits of the communities within. These subchapters are then followed by characterization and analysis of each management approach to understand the advantages and disadvantages. Management organizational diagrams are included and analyzed for each case study to understand the agencies responsible, how they interact, the overlaps, and potential gaps.

The final chapter in Part II is a summary of the management models, comparing and contrasting the governance structure and institutional setting of each case study. Importantly, this includes a qualitative and quantitative evaluation using comparative factors in three categories, sustainable conservation, social-economic development, and management. This chapter quantifies the number of conservation projects, the existence of management plans, and presence of a conservation office. Importantly, it lists the growing number of tourists over the past decades and tourism-related businesses including hotels, hotel beds, and the larger regional economy. It also lists the declining population (and population density) within the walled cities, daily and overall ratio of residents to tourists and ventures an idea concerning carrying capacity. The current number of social services such as schools, community centers, and libraries are recorded as well as a number of other essential elements for communities including markets and transportation. This data is described in text and summary tables.

PART III – is the principal case study of Famagusta. This part is organized in the same way as each of the case studies in Part II in order to make navigation easier for the reader: history and context, description of the fortifications and the values, significance, authenticity, and integrity with a brief explanation of the conservation problems. This part includes a detailed history of the island up to the current political division of the island of Cyprus and how this impacts Famagusta and conservation of its fortifications. The management organization is described in two parts given the division of the island since 1974, including the governance structures, institutional contexts and conservation efforts of both parts of the island. There is an analysis of the barriers to implementing sustainable management of conservation in Famagusta with opportunities and shortcomings. This is succeeded by the recent and current linking attempts by the United Nations Development Programme, the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage (a bi-communal committee), and the European Union along with other civil society organizations. Within this section is described the loss of social functions within the walled city and lack of economic utilization for the cultural heritage of the city.

PART IV – This final section contains the conclusions, implications, and contributions of the thesis with the objectives of the research are reaffirmed and how this was accomplished. The management models of the five case studies and their good practice are summarized, including the necessary external and internal circumstances for the identified good practice to foster. These circumstances are analyzed and comprise of a conducive, open planning environment, knowledge and education concerning management, positive perceptions, local autonomy, particularly control of finance and public interest.

Partial proof of the hypothesis is offered through the success of four of the five case studies in sustaining conservation and economic development by way of management. However, the second half of the hypothesis concerning social development is disproven as the same case studies have failed to sustain the communities within their walls. The populations within the case studies have rapidly declined along with social services and housing. Social development has been subjugated to economic development based upon tourism.

The significance of these findings and their implications are discussed in the next section, including a discussion of the direct conflict between economic development and social development. The most significant implication is that the seemingly successful case studies cannot offer good practice examples concerning social development. This section is concluded by derived good social development practice from the case studies in their attempts to address this shortcoming and the literature review to offer good practice for Famagusta.

The contributions of the thesis are outlined in three areas: a) Demonstration through the case studies that as a consequence of good management sustainable conservation of extensive fortifications is possible and results in economic development, b) Recognition of the shortcomings of the very same case studies pertaining to the sustainability of the communities within the walls and deriving good social development practice, and c) Identification of good management practice for pragmatic implementation in Famagusta including critical social development aspects.

Part IV is concluded by avenues for future research and a thesis appraisal which includes an evaluation and limitations of the research followed by final comments.

Following these four parts is the list of figures and tables, and bibliography.

Síntesis en español

Esta síntesis es un resumen de la tesis que pretende ofrecer una breve descripción general del documento y su organización interna. Sigue una progresión lógica dividida en cuatro partes, cada una construida y fundamentada sobre la anterior: Tesis, Casos de Estudio, Famagusta y Resultados y Conclusiones. A estos cuatro grandes apartados le siguen un anexo que incluye la bibliografía y la lista de figuras.

PARTE I - comienza con un capítulo sobre el tema de la tesis en sí mismo, en el que se expone el problema de fondo de esta investigación: la administración y financiación de la conservación sostenible de grandes fortificaciones para el desarrollo social y económico de las comunidades locales. De afirmar la existencia de este problema, deriva la tesis que se desarrolla a continuación. A esto le sigue el fundamento que justifica la investigación desarrollada en la tesis: las dificultades para crear un modelo de gestión, las divisiones sociopolíticas y culturales de Chipre, y los valores, el significado y la autenticidad de las fortificaciones de Famagusta. Se incluye igualmente una explicación exhaustiva de el por qué de la elección de Famagusta como caso central de aplicación de la tesis. También se incluye la contribución al campo de estudio y la relevancia del tema para abordar una brecha crítica existente en la actualidad: la de la gestión y el financiamiento de la conservación del patrimonio cultural. Todo esto queda recogido en el propósito general de la tesis así como en los objetivos de la investigación y la hipótesis inicial enunciada: a través de una mejor gestión, la conservación de fortificaciones históricas alrededor de núcleos urbanos es sostenible y puede utilizarse para mejorar la supervivencia y el desarrollo socioeconómico de las comunidades intramuros.

El segundo capítulo comprende una revisión de las publicaciones existentes relativas al tema de estudio general, dividida en tres temas principales – sostenibilidad, desarrollo y gestión –, seguidos de un cuarto tema sobre fortificaciones. Estos temas proceden del análisis y organización de las lecturas realizadas teniendo en cuenta la tesis y sus objetivos. La revisión crítica que se realiza de la literatura existente establece las conexiones entre los distintos temas e identifica los documentos clave para entender el problema planteado, al tiempo que intenta establecer conexiones e identificar las incógnitas y puntos débiles para establecer el punto de partida y la dirección de la tesis. La revisión de las publicaciones relevantes sobre fortificaciones en general y de cada caso de estudio específico se encuentra en los capítulos correspondientes. El último

capítulo de la Parte I describe la metodología seguida durante este estudio teniendo en cuenta la revisión de la literatura y las experiencias en el sitio. Afianza y afina el análisis del problema abordado en la tesis a la luz de las publicaciones afines que de un modo u otro afrontan esta problemática. Establece el marco teórico de la investigación y cómo fue seleccionado y evaluado el caso principal de estudio para determinar si era apropiado y aplicable, dado el tipo de problema de investigación planteado y su campo de estudio. El paradigma de investigación o visión global también se establece en este capítulo, ya que es importante como lente para la interpretación de la información y de los datos recabados. Finalmente, se incluye una descripción de los datos recopilados, su verificación, análisis y conclusiones preliminares. La Parte I tiene la intención de abrir y establecer los antecedentes de la tesis. Es desde este comienzo que la investigación puede avanzar hacia los contenidos de la Parte II, los casos de estudio complementarios y la Parte III, el caso de estudio principal de Famagusta, seguido y cerrado por la Parte IV, las conclusiones finales.

PARTE II - comienza con un capítulo sobre la historia y la importancia del Mediterráneo Oriental que enmarca el contexto, la geografía, las conexiones y las relaciones de la región. Establece la importancia de la zona durante un tiempo crítico en la historia en el cual se produce una rápida evolución del diseño fortificado en respuesta a nuevas formas de tecnología de la guerra. Es importante destacar que en este capítulo se establece la base para los casos de estudio complementarios y se describe la rigurosa racionalidad en su selección. Los siguientes capítulos se refieren a dichos casos de estudio, todos ellos de ciudades fortificadas: Estambul (Constantinopla), Acre (Akko), Rodas, Dubrovnik (Ragusa) y La Valeta. Cada uno de ellos se organiza de manera consistente, comenzando con la historia, lo cual es necesario para establecer conexiones entre los distintos casos analizados, seguido de una descripción de sus fortificaciones y su importancia. A continuación le sigue una sección sobre la administración y la organización de las instituciones responsables en la actualidad de su conservación y cómo se están utilizando las fortificaciones para los beneficios socioeconómicos de las comunidades locales. Estos subcapítulos son seguidos por una caracterización y análisis de cada enfoque de gestión para comprender sus ventajas y desventajas. Se incluyen y analizan los diagramas organizativos de la administración de cada caso de estudio para

comprender las agencias responsables, cómo interactúan, las superposiciones existentes y las posibles deficiencias identificadas.

El capítulo final de la Parte II es un resumen de los modelos de gestión, que compara y contrasta la estructura de gobernanza y el entorno institucional de cada caso de estudio. Es importante destacar que esto incluye una evaluación cualitativa y cuantitativa utilizando factores comparativos en tres categorías: conservación sostenible, desarrollo socioeconómico y gestión. Este capítulo cuantifica el número de proyectos de conservación, la existencia de planes de gestión y la presencia de una oficina de conservación. Es importante destacar que se enumera igualmente el creciente número de turistas en las últimas décadas y las empresas relacionadas con el turismo, incluidos hoteles, camas de hotel y la economía regional a mayor escala. También enumera la disminución de la población (y la densidad de población) dentro de las ciudades amuralladas, la proporción diaria y general de residentes respecto de turistas y aventura una idea sobre la capacidad de carga. Se registra el número actual de servicios sociales, como escuelas, centros comunitarios y bibliotecas, así como una serie de otros elementos esenciales para las comunidades, incluidos los mercados y el transporte. Estos datos se describen en tablas de texto y resumen.

PARTE III – En esta parte se aborda el caso de estudio principal: Famagusta. Esta parte está organizada de la misma manera que cada uno de los casos de estudio de la Parte II para facilitar la navegación y correspondencia entre los distintos casos: se analiza y expone su historia y contexto, descripción de las fortificaciones y sus valores, importancia, autenticidad e integridad de las mismas con una breve explicación de los problemas de conservación detectados. Esta parte incluye una historia detallada de la isla hasta la división política actual de la isla de Chipre y cómo esto afecta a Famagusta y a la conservación de sus murallas. La organización de su gestión se describe en dos partes, dada la división de la isla desde 1974, que incluye las estructuras de gobierno, los contextos institucionales y los impedimentos existentes para llevar a cabo una gestión sostenible de las labores de conservación en Famagusta, señalando oportunidades y deficiencias en el modelo actual. A esto le siguen los recientes y actuales intentos de vinculación del Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, el Comité Técnico para el Patrimonio Cultural (un comité bilateral del norte y el sur) y la Unión Europea junto con otras organizaciones de la sociedad civil para promover la defensa, protección y conservación del patrimonio de la zona norte de la

isla. Dentro de esta sección se describe también la pérdida de funciones sociales detectada dentro de la ciudad amurallada y la falta de utilización y explotación económica del patrimonio cultural de la ciudad.

PARTE IV – Esta sección final contiene las conclusiones, implicaciones y contribuciones de la tesis con los objetivos iniciales de la investigación que quedan reafirmados y cómo se consiguió este logro. Se resumen los modelos de gestión de los cinco casos de estudio analizados y sus buenas prácticas, incluidas las circunstancias externas e internas necesarias para fomentar las buenas prácticas identificadas. Estas circunstancias se analizan y forman parte de un entorno de planificación abierto y propicio, conocimiento y educación sobre gestión, percepciones positivas, autonomía local, particularmente control de finanzas e interés público.

Se ofrece una prueba parcial de la hipótesis inicial de trabajo a través del éxito de cuatro de los cinco casos de estudio que buscan mantener la conservación y el desarrollo económico a través de la gestión. Sin embargo, la segunda mitad de la hipótesis sobre el desarrollo social queda refutada ya que los mismos casos de estudio no han logrado mantener a las comunidades dentro de sus murallas. Se comprueba, por el contrario, que las poblaciones dentro de los casos de estudio han disminuido rápidamente junto con los servicios sociales disponibles y la vivienda. El desarrollo social queda sometido al desarrollo económico basado en el turismo.

La importancia de estos hallazgos y sus implicaciones se discuten en la siguiente sección, incluida una discusión sobre el conflicto directo entre el desarrollo económico y el desarrollo social. La implicación más significativa es que los casos de estudio aparentemente exitosos no pueden ofrecer ejemplos de buenas prácticas relacionadas con el desarrollo social. Esta sección se concluye con buenas prácticas de desarrollo social derivadas de los casos de estudio en sus intentos por abordar esta deficiencia y la revisión de la bibliografía existente sobre el tema para ofrecer buenas prácticas para el caso de Famagusta.

Las contribuciones de la presente Tesis Doctoral se resumen en tres áreas:

a) Demostración a través de los casos de estudio que, como resultado de una buena gestión, es posible la conservación sostenible de fortificaciones extensas que conlleva como resultado un mayor desarrollo económico,

b) Reconocimiento de las deficiencias de los mismos casos de estudio relativas a la sostenibilidad de las comunidades dentro de las murallas y derivando en buenas prácticas de desarrollo social, y

c) Identificación de buenas prácticas de gestión para su implementación pragmática en el caso concreto de Famagusta, incluidos los aspectos críticos de desarrollo social.

La Parte IV se concluye con vías para futuras investigaciones y una evaluación de la Tesis que incluye una evaluación y limitaciones de la investigación seguidos de comentarios finales.

Como cierre de estas cuatro partes se enumera la lista de figuras y tablas, así como la bibliografía.

Role of the researcher

Every attempt was made during this research to remain unbiased. However, this was difficult given my role as the principal conservation architect for many of the key elements of the defensive network of Famagusta¹. My involvement with Cyprus began with my first exposure to the isolated northern third of the island in 2003 when the first checkpoint west of Nicosia was opened. It was here that I experienced, firsthand, the differences and commonalities, as well as *amistad*, between both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. I also experienced the impressive fortifications and their unfortunate state of condition. Formally, as well as unexpectedly, my role as conservation architect began in 2011 with the successful tender for the conservation of the Othello Tower / Citadel. This was when I began working as a consultant to the United Nations Development Programme, and I was struck by the commitment of both communities to preserve this neglected corner of Cyprus. I was filled with joy over three years later when a performance of Shakespeare's Othello was performed in Othello's Tower for the first time since 1964 to celebrate the completion of the works. My role continued with the successful conservation of the inner walls south of the Sea Gate, Martinengo Bastion, the Ravelin / Land Gate and most recently a project for the Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion.

This involvement, understandably, impacted the research process, and at times, it was difficult to remain subjective. But this involvement also continued to inspire the research. The key driver for this thesis was the fear that the generous funding from the European Union would cease and the fortifications would be left to their fate once again. I was also struck but the inability to understand the apparent lack of management and failure of the local community to take advantage, both socially and economically, of this valuable resource. I still believe that most citizens do not realize that there are very few cities in the world comparable to Famagusta. Therefore, I was spurred on to find solutions to the nagging problem of continuing sustained conservation. Even with many major elements of the fortifications stabilized, there remain many kilometers of walls, bastions, ditch, and counterscarps.

Nevertheless, every attempt was made to remain impartial and mitigate my role during the interviews, investigations, and see the situation in Famagusta and other case studies with a critical and objective eye.

¹ This work was conducted under the United Nations Development Programme and included the condition assessment, preparation of working drawings, and specifications followed by advice during conservation works.

Place names and terminology

The place names used in the thesis are known by multiple names which have changed greatly over time between languages and alphabets from Greek, Turkish, Latin, Italian, Arabic, and English. In general, the place names and spellings that are used are those well-known throughout history to Western Europe. Examples include the use of Famagusta rather than Famagosta or the Greek *Αμμόχωστος* (or *Ammochostos* which means hidden in the sand) or Turkish *Gazimağusa*. Likewise, the English short word Cyprus is used to refer to both the entire island and in place of the formal the Republic of Cyprus which holds political meanings or Greek *Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία*, *Kypriakí Dimokratía* or Turkish *Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti*. In addition, the English names are usually acceptable on the island of Cyprus as it was a colony of Great Britain for many years. In many cases, two place names are used together as this was the official policy of the United Nations Development Programme, i.e., Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion.

For other names throughout the Eastern Mediterranean common English names are also used. This includes Dubrovnik, rather than Ragusa as both names were used historically, Ragusa was usually used to refer to the larger republic that extended inland and along the coast rather than only the city, and those interviewed exclusively used the name Dubrovnik. In the case of Byzantium/Constantinople/Istanbul, all three are used depending upon the time period. For the history and description of the city, and construction of its historic fortifications Byzantium and Constantinople are used while the modern-day Istanbul is used to describe the present-day management and organization. Malta refers to both the name of all the islands as well as the extensive fortifications in and around the Grand Harbour including the name of the capital, Valletta as there are many separate individual municipalities. Often, the popular short names are used followed by the historical name in brackets for reference.

When there were doubts the United Nations Manual for the national standardization of geographical names was consulted (United Nations 2006) and the UN database of World Geographical Names (United Nations UNGEGN 2018).

One important aspect of the research is to define the relevant term and create or utilize definitions that are appropriate to the thesis topic. There are several terms that must be defined as they are themes that run through this thesis, often ambiguous and used interchangeably. This is important as this thesis combines several disciplines that may not always work together or share the same vocabulary. They are briefly explained in the following sections.

Sustainability is a general term used throughout the thesis that implies a process, organization, or management that is continuous as well as protection of the historic assets and environment. Development is used to refer to human socio-economic progress and quality of life improvement rather than only economic development. It also does not refer to building or property development. Management is defined as organizing complex human activities, entities, and tasks in relation to the conservation of heritage. It is not associated with “commercial and profit-seeking activities” (Zan 2015)(p 46). Cultural heritage or simply heritage or culture are broad terms meaning any legacy from the past that contains certain values. More specific definitions are used where applicable such as historic city centers or fortifications.

Fortifications are used in place of simply walls as the term does not sufficiently cover all the other elements of the defensive network such as bastions, ditch, scarp or counterscarp. The names for particular defensive elements utilized the *Illustrated Glossary of Terms used in Military Architecture* (Spiteri 1993) and (Müth, Schneider et al. 2016).

In any case, clarity and uniformity were sought, and terms were decided upon based upon the popular knowledge of these historic places rather than any political orientation. The use of any place name is not intended to give offense or prejudice.

If any offense is given, it is unintentional.

PART I – THESIS

Figure 2 - Ortho-photograph of the southern curtain wall near Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion, southeast corner of the fortified city of Famagusta, Cyprus. Numerous layers of fortification building are evident from Lusignan, Genoese, Venetian, and Ottoman periods (Eppich, 2017)

1 THESIS

1.1 Introduction

History and its ripples greatly impact our modern lives. However, much our history and its influence on today's society are not fully understood: "The past is a foreign country whose features are shaped by today's predilections, its strangeness domesticated by our own preservation of its vestiges" (Lowenthal 1985)(p xvii). One of the most visceral of these preserved vestiges is architecture, and one of the most powerful forms of surviving architecture is the fortified city. We can physically relate to high walls, deep ditches, and restrictive gates, but these remnants give us only the slightest inkling of a very violent past.

"The Middle Ages were a time of war in which periods of peace were extremely brief," "The history of warfare [of this region], was a powerful and persistent undercurrent of human life. ...war punctuated the year with its rhythms, open and closing gates of time. Even when the fighting was over, it exerted a hidden pressure, surviving underground." (Braudel and Ollard 1992)(p 152, 836). Every family living in or around the Mediterranean had a multigenerational exposure to conflict, from organized state-sponsored war to indiscriminate pirate raids "...armed conflict and the military life were so much a part of the political and cultural development that a general account of the period is, in large measure, a description of how men went to war" (Crosby 2000) (p 3). Every strategically important settlement that existed along the coast, from the large metropolis of Constantinople to small towns had substantial defensive architecture. "Cities captured... by force, were held to be at the mercy of the victors, resulting in wholesale massacres and numerous atrocities against the vanquished population" (Wilson 2018) (p 236)².

When the Knights of St. John raided the coastal city of Modon in 1531³ they "carried away a vast amount of booty. The fleet returned to Malta, bearing with it eight hundred Turkish prisoners, principally women, and children..." most of whom were made slaves (Porter 1858)(v II p 26). One prisoner was "a young Turkish woman of exquisite beauty" and was thrown "into the hands of the viscount of Cicala⁴, he carried her to

² Not all settlements had fortifications, only strategic or independent towns were allowed to erect walls

³ This expedition occurred soon after the Knight's expulsion from Rhodes

⁴ Ironically this same viscount, Sciopio Cicalia, later travelled to Constantinople where he converted to Islam and eventually revenged the sack of Modon

Messina, had her baptized, made her his wife, and had a son...” (Vertot 1818` the Knights of Rhodes and at Present,` the Knights of Malta) (p 484). In 1480-81 the Ottoman army captured the southern Italian city of Otranto, and according to tradition, offered to pardon the remaining male population if they would convert to Islam. They refused, and some 800 men were beheaded. *In 2013*, Pope Francis canonized all 800 martyrs (identities largely unknown) with the Vatican stating the martyrdom should be understood in "the historical context of the wars that determined relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire for a long period of time" (Davies 2013, Kington 2013). “Recently, though, historians have begun to question the veracity of these tales of mass slaughter and martyrdom” (Bisaha 2004)(p. 158). Nevertheless, the history of the Mediterranean abounds with such tails of extreme violence and explains the surviving and remarkable architectural defensive measures.

Nowhere is this brutal past more relevant than in the eastern Mediterranean, between the Medieval and the Renaissance, before gunpowder and after, between Christianity and Islam. The Roman Empire continued to live on for many centuries in the eastern Mediterranean after the fall of Rome itself, but their world order was challenged. Islam was to be “thrown across the path of history with the elemental force of a cosmic cataclysm. No one could have imagined the consequences or have prepared for them” (Pirenne and Halsey 1925)(p 23). According to the historian Henri Pirenne, this expansion was the primary cause of the end of Mediterranean cultural unity. Trade was disrupted, settlements failed, and the population dispersed into the countryside. “For a millennium, from the seventh to the sixteenth century, Islam and Christianity would contend for primacy in the Mediterranean world...” the “rivalry would become acrimonious and accommodating all at once” and “where strife and friction went hand in hand” (O'Shea 2006) (p 7, 232). This rivalry would eventually reach a stalemate in the late 15th century.

But Europe still demanded goods delivered via the Levant, luxury items such as silk and spices as well as grain and cotton for growing populations. This demand was to revive trade even across the rancor religious barrier and with it settlements that needed protection. The crusades had (re)opened up trade with the Levant and most European merchants “had no quarrel with Islam” and frequently flouted numerous Popes’ demands to resist trading with the infidel. “The merchants knew that the demand for spices and luxuries of the east would continue to grow” and “after a time, it became

clear that trade was possible no matter what the confessional complexion of a city...” (O’Shea 2006)(pp 240, 241). The “Growing prosperity of the merchant colonies enabled them to make their security somewhat more certain by building solid ramparts of stone, flanked by towers, and capable of facing a serious attack.” It became “impossible to imagine a town that existed without walls, fortresses in themselves.” And walls were not only the symbol of the city *but also of the people inside* (Pirenne and Halsey 1925)(p 145, 150).

The religious fervor and mercantile greed in the eastern Mediterranean resulted in sharpened conflicts which were made more deadly with new technological innovations such as gunpowder weapons and faster, larger navies. This was compounded as small settlements became cities and cities became states which were eventually replaced by nation-states which could more effectively maintain, pursue, manage, and finance large-scale, long-term wars with standing armies. The 13th to the 17th century was a time of increasing contact and conflict as the Ottoman Empire rose to prominence. The Ottomans also innovated with the creation of the *Yeni Ceri* (new troops) or Janissaries, a boy tribute that became the first permanent standing army since Rome (ibid).

The most cost-effective and safest way to move weapons, armies, and goods was via the Mediterranean. “Despite the obvious dangers of sea-traveling that even bewilder modern travelers, it was infinitely easier, safer, and - more importantly - faster than land travel.” Movement by sea and conflict combined with trade, greed, and religion encouraged the construction of new forms of defensive architecture. “Ultimately, the only way to control the seas was to control strategic points in its periphery” (Theotokis and Yildiz 2018)(p 5). “Indeed, naval strategy dictated the establishment and defense of naval ports used as bases that would allow a state to protect its trade-routes and project its economic power and military force” (Morillo, Black et al. 2009` and war from ancient times to the present) (p 3, 10).

Eventually, however, defensive fortifications in the Mediterranean became obsolete as weapons increased in destructiveness and the World’s attention and the economy shifted to the New World and Asia. The eastern Mediterranean and its principal actors were left to a slow decline. As impoverished cities faltered, defenses were left to decay. The cities that did prosper grew and needed valuable space and defenses were demolished. The physical reminders of the fear, paranoia, and extreme efforts to protect a city’s inhabitants and trade have been, for the most part, lost. However, there remain a few

excellent examples, and today, we have the luxury of preserving these vestiges of the past for their intrinsic, historic, and cultural values.

While the past may be a foreign country and our perceptions of it distorted, we must nonetheless preserve these architectural defensive vestiges in order to maintain a connection with the past, to remind us of the violence of conflict, and reflect on our own time and future.

“Visiting old battle sites and venerable cities of the Mediterranean world, with a view to understanding what happened there long ago, adds a sense of place that can only deepen appreciation of a distant time” (O’Shea 2006)(p 9). “The surviving past’s most essential and pervasive benefit is to render the present familiar. Its traces on the ground and in our minds let us make sense of the present” (Lowenthal 1985)(p 39). “The past is integral to our sense of identity; ‘the sureness of “I was” is a necessary component of the sureness of “I am” (Wyatt 1963) (p 319).

Figure 3 – Newspaper article concerning the importance of the Othello Tower in Famagusta, Cyprus with an emphasis on the division of the island (Cyprus Mail, 2014)

1.2 Research problem

“Preservation is never *just* an expense; it means keeping a capital asset. A relic’s worth depends on its state of repair, on who owns and looks after it, and on what use it serves; but everything surviving from the past has some value which is forfeited unless it is preserved” (Lowenthal 1985)(p 400). The problem (and convenient excuse) usually cited for lack of preservation is insufficient financial resources, but the overarching problem is more complex and often remains unaddressed.

The principal problem is inadequate management exacerbated by insufficient knowledge concerning good practice and weak or overly complex administrative/political structures. Contributing problems include unclear responsibilities misaligned with authority and a lack of initiative or imagination while ignoring the local community.

“Town walls have always played a critical role in shaping the identities and images of the communities they embrace. Today, the surviving fabric of urban defenses is a feature of heritage holding great potential as a cultural resource but in management terms one that poses substantial challenges, both practical and philosophical” (Bruce and Creighton 2006)(p 234).

1.3 Thesis statement

Although extensive works of architectural heritage, particularly fortifications, are expensive and difficult to conserve and maintain, their preservation is essential for our understanding and interpretation of history. Such cultural heritage assets are also a fundamental component of the identity of local communities and should be utilized for their survival and socio-economic development.

This thesis investigates and analyzes management models for sustainable conservation and the socio-cultural and economic impact at fortified cities in the eastern Mediterranean with comparisons and contrasts to the walled city of Famagusta, Cyprus.

1.4 Hypothesis

Through improved management, the conservation of historic fortifications around cities is sustainable and can be used for the survival and socio-economic development of the community within.

This thesis will explore various aspects, including management and governance as well as contextual factors of five distinct case studies in order to qualitatively and quantitatively test this hypothesis in order to propose improved management practice for Famagusta⁵. The hypothesis was used to guide the investigations to discover and describe good management practice and the surrounding circumstances necessary for sustained conservation and economic development and while also uncovering disparities in social development.

1.5 Justification rationale

However difficult and expensive to conserve, remaining fortifications are defining features of the cities and communities within. They clearly delineate boundaries, provide circulations paths, set aside open green areas, and encourage visitation. However, the conservation of fortifications is often seen as a burden upon public finances instead of being recognized as an asset that can improve society and the economy.

The rationale for this thesis research considers four main aspects:

- 1) **Values, significance, integrity, authenticity, and state of conservation** of the fortifications of Famagusta and the threats to this legacy and opportunities.
- 2) **Difficulties in creating and implementing a model for managing** the sustained conservation of extensive fortifications
- 3) **Vulnerability of communities within fortified cities** and the need to ensure their survival and improve their social and economic development
- 4) **Political and cultural division of the island of Cyprus** and the overall impact of relations between Turkey and the European Union

⁵ In qualitative research hypothesis are not usually tested as it is difficult to prove or disprove. Thus hypothesis are usually reserved for quantitative research, nevertheless the above mentioned hypothesis was used in order to understand and guide the research and draw conclusions.

1.5.1 Values, significance, integrity, & authenticity of the fortifications

The fortifications of Famagusta are by all measures significant, holding historic, aesthetic, economic, and even environmental values. Historically, the fortifications are important because they span from the Medieval to the Renaissance. The roots of the walls, citadel, and port are medieval in origin but adapted at various stages by a succession of rulers to address the increasing power and use of cannon artillery⁶. Famagusta, in some respects, represents the apex of Ottoman expansion, as their total victory was soon overshadowed by the loss of their fleet at Lepanto against a combined force of western Christian powers. The walls and bastions also hold more recent historic values as they played an important role in the 1974 conflict sheltering the Turkish Cypriot community.

Architecturally and aesthetically, they are significant as many of the elements were not only created to function defensively but also impress and broadcast the power and beauty of the Venetian Republic: “the defenses of Cyprus in general... hold a central place in the struggle for supremacy in the Mediterranean and provide some of the best examples of the development from medieval defenses to Renaissance military architecture” (Perbellini 2012)(p 5, 6). The Sea Gate, in particular, is of uniquely aesthetical importance with its well-designed proportions and shallow dome greeting ancient visitors. Martinengo Bastion, planned with precisely calculated firing angles is likewise aesthetically designed with complex vaults and rounded corners. Furthermore, the citadel, known as Othello’s Tower, holds intangible values with its tenuous connection with William Shakespeare. Economically, the fortifications attract visitors, and before the 1974 conflict, Othello’s Tower was the number one tourist attraction in Cyprus (Eppich and García Grinda 2017).

Finally, the fortifications are authentic as there have been few alterations since the Ottoman conquest in 1571. They also have a very high level of integrity in that they form a complete defensive network with an intact circuit of walls, their ramparts, untouched fosse, scarps, counterscarps, bastions, cavaliers, and even secret tunnels and mines. One remarkable aspect is the preservation of the *glacis* or open areas beyond the fortifications as well as the *terreplein* within the city and counter firing positions. Indeed, many current academics and those actively practicing and advocating

⁶ These are unlike the nearby fortifications of Nicosia which were completely rebuilt in the 16th century.

conservation have speculated that Famagusta and its fortifications and other monuments would currently be on UNESCO's World Heritage List were it not for the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community (Jaramillo 2015)(Eppich, 2014, History, Literature and Tourism: Shakespeare and Othello's Citadel). Recognition and protection of this authenticity and integrity are essential, and thus, a justification for this thesis.

Figure 4 – To the right the recently conserved northwest tower of Othello Citadel. To the left the curtain wall in very poor condition. Note the unsupported ashlar blocks and exposed the earlier wall. The limits of the project were at the juncture between the two. It was the desire to continue the conservation of the walls that led to this thesis. (Eppich, 2015)

1.5.2 Managing sustained conservation

An approximate cost calculation was made after the completion of conservation works at Othello Tower in 2015: 1.4 million euros divided by 5,000 square meters of masonry equals approximately 280 euros per square meter. This was then extrapolated for the 3 kilometers of remaining walls and bastions⁷. The result was eye-opening. Clearly, a strategy other than one-time, one-off grants is required to finance the conservation of the remaining portions of the fortifications.

Conservation of cultural heritage is often difficult to justify for many communities or governments. Political and community leaders are faced with numerous other sectors demanding attention, including education, health, and infrastructure⁸. It is even more difficult to justify spending large amounts from the public coffers on great expanses of ancient masonry and earth filling which, for the most part, are unadorned, taken for granted they will survive given their massive construction, or even admired as ruins. “Fortifications, because of their special character, are an outstanding category of historical monuments...” and “their great scale and their difficult accessibility are reasons why fortifications are the least restored and least maintained...” (Steriotou 2010)(p 19). In addition, fortifications serve no useful modern purpose. Linchfield and Tiesdell discuss obsolescence of historic structures “obsolescence is a relative term with regard to the terminal state, obsolete, which may never be reached” and “is rarely absolute” (Linchfield 1988)(p 22). Tiesdell continues and states historic structures are almost never obsolete “unless a building was designed for a very specific purpose” (Tiesdell, Oc et al. 1996)(p 23). Such is the case with fortifications – they are viewed as absolutely obsolete with no remaining use-value.

The task of conservation is compounded by frequently changing political parties and economic cycles. Also, the most effective means of conservation is preventive maintenance which consists of small, incremental interventions which in addition to proactive preventive decay “helps conserving authenticity as it avoids or minimizes the increase of damage thanks to early maintenance and –if necessary- some interventions. From this, it is usually deduced that preventive conservation is cost-effective” (Van

⁷ Three kilometers on the outside, if the measurements are also taken on the inside and also included are the bastions, cavaliers, and counterscarps, this figure could be upwards of twelve kilometers.

⁸ As stated early the constituents and business, along with their needs and tax base have moved outside the walls, thus further discouraging investment.

Balen 2015)(p 19). Effective small preventive conservation interventions do not provide the ribbon-cutting ceremonies necessary for political attention getters.

There are many threats to cultural heritage, including armed conflict and natural disasters, and these dramatic events frequently capture attention. However, a far more considerable danger is the slow, inevitable lack of management to guide continuous conservation and maintenance. The State of Conservation reports submitted to UNESCO by state signatories of the World Heritage Convention identifies the number one threat as “management and institutional factors” including “financial resources” (World Heritage Centre 2018)(p 2). Inadequate management is recognized as a threat twice as often as other human activities, including war, natural disasters, and new buildings and development. A UNESCO Statistical Analysis Report, states that 3 out of 4 World Heritage properties⁹ are negatively impacted by insufficient management affecting 359 properties located in 122 different states indicating that “this threat is widely spread and not limited to any specific region” (Veillon and Centre 2014)(p 18).

Threat category	Number of reports	State Parties (193 States as of Jan 2017)
Management and institutional factors (including finance)	2246	134 (69% of all states)
Buildings & development	1213	110
Other human activities (including civil unrest, war)	1026	83
Social/cultural uses of heritage	912	92
Transportation Infrastructure	823	91
Biological resource use/modification	715	74
Physical resource extraction	508	54
Services Infrastructures	409	70
Pollution	345	57
Sudden ecological or geological events	324	58
Local conditions affecting the physical fabric	260	47
Climate change and weather	246	55

Table 1: Threats to Outstanding Universal Value as reported by State Parties between 1983 and 2017

⁹ World Heritage properties. Thus it can be safely assumed that sites not on the World Heritage List fare worse.

A primary argument for the conservation of fortifications is to attract tourism. However, this requires significant time to develop with unclear results and often outlasts political terms and is discouraged by the political division of Cyprus. Despite being imperative to conduct sustained conservation, it is difficult to create a model, thus one of the key justifications for pursuing this thesis.

Preliminary research conducted before and at the beginning of this thesis uncovered several promising models that offered a good practice that would be useful examples for Famagusta. One such example is the Alhambra in Granada, Spain, which is autonomous and financially self-sustainable: “Income from visitors 95%. Payments by commercial operators 0.85%. Others 4.15%” (Villafranca Jiménez 2014) (p 4). Another good example is the Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities, Croatia. Founded in 1952 it was created to raise awareness for preservation with a focus on the city fortifications. The activities of the Society are “financed by its membership fees, income from the sale of tickets for guided tours of the City Walls and voluntary contributions” (Veramenta-Pavisa, 2016, History of the Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities) (p 13). Thus, developing a management model for sustained conservation is difficult, but entirely possible – a key justification for this thesis.

1.5.3 Socio-economic development

Small communities within fortifications are particularly vulnerable given their isolation, restricted access, limited size, and serious threat of being overwhelmed by tourism.

Why socio-economic development?

Communities within walls are as much a part of the fortifications as the bastions and gates: “... community identity or identities are often closely related to the extent physical remains: town walls represent not only physical monuments but also ideas... constructs integral to the multi-layered self-images of communities” (Bruce and Creighton 2006)(p 2). Therefore, one key justification of this thesis is the investigation into the continued survival and future development of these threatened communities, particularly the diminishing community within the walls of Famagusta.

The term socio-economic development is broad and has also lost much of its meaning from overuse, so it is important to define it and how it relates to this thesis. The definition is best broken into its two constituent parts, social and economic.

Social development is about improving the well-being of residents and creating a sense of community. Lowenthal stated that “The more the ancient landmarks are destroyed, the more many of us hunger for a firm anchorage in time and place” (Lowenthal 1985)(p38). “The surviving past’s most essential and pervasive benefit is to render the present familiar. Its traces on the ground and in our minds let us make sense of the present” (Lowenthal 1985)(p 39).

Social benefits and development are further defined as a series of actions by Midgley: “a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole within the context of a dynamic, multifaceted development process” (Midgley 2013)(p 13). This form of development is important so that the residents can benefit from collective positive effects of participation or “social capital” including “features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam 1993)(p 2). Social capital is the relationships, interactions, and networks between residents who live and work together, which enable trust and society to function (Harper 2001). This leads to increasing community (and individual) wellbeing between residents and is essential for thriving communities and has many positive advantages including, improved education, cooperation, and lower crime (New Economics Foundation 2008). According to the Future Communities Initiative, it is important to generate the social and cultural infrastructure for a better quality of life. Five key factors were identified for the social development of communities (The Young Foundation 2008)(p 2):

- 1) A sense of place and belonging
- 2) Opportunities for collective activities
- 3) Opportunities to build social networks
- 4) Design that encourages interaction
- 5) Encouraging pro-environmental behavior

Fortifications, as key elements of identity, if managed and conserved, are integral to all five factors and thus play an important role in social development and the continued survival of the community. As the case studies will demonstrate, the open spaces and

structures of fortifications can provide both opportunities for residents to take part in activities and build their social networks. Such activities enrich the social life of the community and provide a platform for individual members of the community to meet and permit society to flourish through cultural events, means of artistic expression, religious, sports, and markets. Social and cultural facilities and amenities, both formal and informal are critical aspects of the community. Local social networks increase social capital and the quality of relationships between residents that give a community the capability to be supportive and empower a rich cultural life to develop a sense of belonging. While fortifications restrict access, they also concentrate all ingress and egress; thus, by design, encourage interaction¹⁰. In addition, “In the past, the notion of safeguard was deemed essential for the conservation of historical monuments, but that is no longer considered sufficient” but must “...strengthening the sense of community...” (Perbellini 2012)(p 5). Finally, the open areas provided by the ramparts, ditches, and glacis provide an open, natural surrounding which leads to pro-environmental behavior. In addition, a strong community is the best defense against overwhelming tourism, which is especially important in historic fortified cities¹¹.

And why economic development? But how can the conservation of cultural heritage stimulate the economy? As the literature review within this thesis will outline, the original meaning of development was industrial or economic growth. However, in recent decades, the economic aspects of development have been deemphasized with an increasing focus on social indicators, community development, and sustainability. As stated by the famed economist Amartya Sen “Economic growth is not an end in itself and has to enhance the lives people lead and the freedoms that they enjoy” (Sen and Honderich 1985)(p 152). However, the economic component of development cannot be disregarded, as simply put, it provides a means for sustaining life and thus remains central to development. Within all the case studies and Famagusta, the majority of commercial activities have moved outside the walls, thus reducing the need to live within or travel to the historic center¹². In Famagusta, this includes the last bank and most recently, in 2018, the popular D & B restaurant that acted as a community hub for more than 20 years. The economic activities are also interconnected with social

¹⁰ Encouraging or even forcing interaction. Famagusta only has three access points and during work it was often at the gates or bridges that one encountered friends and made acquaintances.

¹¹ As the case study of Dubrovnik will demonstrate later in the thesis.

¹² In many cases the economic activity has come to depend solely on tourism creating an artificial market based upon an often fickle tourism economy.

development; a thriving market provides an opportunity for social interaction and strengthening a community. Simply put, without an economy, the remaining community members within the fortifications would soon depart.

Importantly, any “physical revitalization results in an attractive, well-maintained physical public realm. However, in the longer term, a deeper economic revitalization is required because ultimately, it is the private realm – the activities within the buildings – that pays for the maintenance of the public realm. A merely physical revitalization may be un-sustained and short-lived. In the absence of large public subsidies directed at keeping the historic quarter as a public outdoor museum, historic forms must be occupied and utilized by economic uses which provide the sustained investment required to refurbish and maintain the buildings, and indirectly for the spaces between those buildings, thus the revitalization of historic urban quarters involves both the renewal of the physical fabric and the active economic use of those buildings and spaces” (Tiesdell, Oc et al. 1996)(p 18).

Any discussion concerning historic places and the economy would be deficient without addressing tourism because it is seen as the major economic engine that drives jobs, growth, and often conservation. “Tourism can capture the economic characteristics of the heritage and harness these for conservation by generating funding, educating the community and influencing policy” (ICOMOS 1999)(p 1). However, tourism also has negative impacts as it is often exploited to become an artificial activity damaging cultural places, eroding their uniqueness, creating social disruption, and could result in the commodification of places and servility of local communities (Eppich and Izkara 2014). For Famagusta, addressing tourism is essential now, because there has been limited visitation given the isolation of the northern third of the island, and recently there has been a rush to attract visitors solely for short-term economic gains¹³.

But what are the positive effects on the economy beyond tourism? What economic gains could be expected from using public money to invest in the conservation of cultural heritage? Bowitz describes several different methods to assess the economic impact, including the economic base model, where investment in base industries, such as immovable cultural heritage, includes increased employment and revenues from larger domestic activities. (Bowitz and Ibenholt 2009)(p 3). Bowitz goes on to describe the

¹³ As the case study of Malta will show the rush to sun and sand tourism led to overdependence and later decline.

direct effects that include increased local employment but stresses that “increased demand will usually take place at the expense of other local spending.” And that “in some cases, the project will reduce the propensity of local residents to travel outside the region for cultural experiences” (ibid)(p 4). For the nearly empty city center of Famagusta, this would not be detrimental as it could draw away income from the suburbs or the capital of Nicosia thus generate a net economic gain.

The indirect effects on the economy are also worth mentioning, and these include inputs such as materials, maintenance, etc. If these inputs are met from the local economy, rather than imported economic benefits would follow, and there would be a net positive economic impact. This includes sourcing stone from the local, yet idle, quarry that could serve to conserve the fortifications as well as other building projects¹⁴. There are also multiplier effects and ancillary spending. Should higher local revenues increase it will result in increased demand in part for local services and goods¹⁵, and, visitors will spend resources on food, retail, and accommodation¹⁶. An additional economic impact is the derived effects such as the export of skilled craftspersons trained in traditional building techniques, in effect creating a cluster of skills and industry that would improve the economy beyond conservation of the walls. These skills and materials could be exported to other areas of Cyprus as well as throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

Finally, there is the gravitation effect that is that an attractive (well-preserved) environment can attract businesses, professionals, and entrepreneurs with higher education (Bowitz and Ibenholt 2009). Fortifications, as an essential part of identity, could serve as a major factor in attracting and retaining creative people, a driving force in the economy. Robert Putnam, in the *Social Functions of Neighborhoods*, associates economic growth with “tight-knit communities where people (and firms) form and share strong ties” in attractive environments (Putnam 1993)(p 35). Prosperity and jobs also factor prominently into the rhetoric and decisions of politicians and should a link be created between the fortifications and the economy these decision-makers could be persuaded to allocate resources for conservation.

¹⁴ Currently this quarry is closed and the stone is imported thus providing no positive economic effects

¹⁵ Also called the Keynesian effect

¹⁶ This is defined as the second order multiplier

In regard to socio-economic development, in Famagusta, “The walled city finds itself suspended in a state of half-neglect, abeyance, lack of development...” and “needs strengthening-by combining conservation and development to increase the social and economic well-being of the place and support the continuing conservation...” (Mason, Tumer et al. 2014` 2008-2012)(p 10). The “liveliness of the Walled City will be at a critical stage,” yet there are “still a considerable amount of owner residents who are deeply attached to their houses and to the Walled City” (Doratli, Onal et al. 2001) (p 75).

Therefore, one of the key themes and an important justification for this thesis is the social-economic development links with the fortifications.

1.5.4 Socio-political and cultural divisions

As the last justification for this thesis, this is the one with the most international ramifications. The island of Cyprus is currently divided in half, within the southern part are Greek Cypriots and the northern part Turkish Cypriots, including Famagusta. Before the inter-communal conflicts of their early 1960s followed by the Turkish invasion of 1974, Cyprus was a mixed island with interspersed communities throughout (Borowiec, 2000, Cyprus: A troubled island).

Figure 5 – Cyprus before 1960 and after the invasion of 1974 (@BBCWorld 2018)

After the invasion by the Turkish army, international sympathy was largely in favor of the Greek Cypriot community. As a result, the government and Turkish Cypriot communities of the north have remained isolated, and the self-proclaimed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus government is not recognized internationally except by Turkey. This separation also has larger implications between Turkey and the European Union. As the entire island (as a member of the European Union) is seen internationally as a barrier to better relations between Turkey and the European Union (Ker-Lindsay 2011). This puts Famagusta in the heart of the matter. Although the topic of international relations and European Union accession is beyond the scope of this thesis, it must be mentioned as it is frequently the primary topic in Cyprus. Hence, it is necessary to resolve this separation of the communities, and if the monuments of Cyprus are conserved and well managed, it will help improve relations between the communities and facilitate the broader relationship between Turkey and the European Union.

1.6 Contribution to the field

Professionals in cultural heritage are frequently writing, discussing, and promoting the multi-disciplinary aspects of conservation as most projects, especially those undergoing physical interventions, require a considerable team with multiple talents. For a project that involves fortifications, these talents and backgrounds include material analysis, geology, engineering, history, and architecture. In the case of the ongoing projects in Famagusta, they also included wall painting conservators and stone conservators. However, most projects, short or long-term, do not include a manager with financial or business skills or training. The importance of managers with financial skills at World Heritage properties was recognized as an important addition to protecting the values of heritage places by UNESCO. “Today, there is an increasing recognition of the need to develop wider business planning competencies as a means to enhance the effective management of these critical sites” (Patry 2008)(p 8). This UNESCO study states that there is an abundant source of material related to increasing business advice but that most of it is written for “enterprises aimed solely at making money” (ibid)(p 32). In contrast, the primary objective for those managing cultural heritage should be for income generation to finance sustainable conservation.

In-depth technical and practical discussions of management receive insufficient discourse within cultural heritage. Luca Zan states: “The lack of real dialogue between the heritage disciplines and scholars of management and organization has led to misunderstandings and neglect of crucial issues for understanding organizations and outcomes on both sides” (Zan, Baraldi et al. 2015)(p 46). Jaramillo, in his study of cultural heritage in Famagusta, seems to agree: “Scholars of Cultural Heritage have generally set aside the valuation of heritage, assuming that heritage is a priceless asset that needs to be conserved at all costs. The general restriction applied to Cultural Heritage as only framed by the cultural sector further debilitates any comprehensive attempt to assess the impacts of heritage to the wider economic spectrum” (Jaramillo 2018)(p 162).

Finally, within the field of conservation, the topic of management, particularly financial arrangements or discussions, are often viewed negatively. This attitude is somewhat understandable, given that it is often difficult to balance income-generating activities with important cultural, scientific, and educational values of heritage sites - values that should override financial considerations. However, if properly and carefully managed the generation of income can provide for the long-term conservation and economic development for local communities (Eppich and García Grinda 2019).

This is where this thesis seeks to contribute to the field, the recognition, and importance of including sustainable management practice within cultural heritage conservation. This is the gap within the multidisciplinary field of conservation.

1.7 Relevancy of the topic

Most cities in the eastern Mediterranean are in a continuous struggle to fund conservation of their historic resources, especially fortifications if they still exist. As fortifications are extensive, expensive to maintain, and are, for the most part, unadorned, there is less attention given to them. There are many other competing historic places that garner more consideration. In addition, many cities have lost their fortifications, either due to neglect or intentional demolition. So, those cities with remaining complete defensive networks are even more significant. Simultaneously, through observation and study, many fortifications are inadequately managed. Thus, this thesis was conceived from this relevant gap between the need for conservation funds and lack of management.

In a more local dimension, the Turkish Cypriot community of Famagusta has been internationally isolated since the invasion of Turkish forces in 1974. Recently, there have been efforts by the United Nations and European Union to address this isolation and facilitate communications through bi-communal committees. One such committee, the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage, Cyprus (TCCH) was formed to give the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities a platform to work together to preserve their cultural heritage. To overcome their political and cultural differences, they have been working to conserve several sites located in Famagusta – the Othello Tower / Citadel, Martinengo Bastion, the Walls, and the Ravelin / Land Gate and Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion. They were supported with funds from the European Union and guided through management by the United Nations Development Programme – Partnership for the Future¹⁷. However, this initiative is a one-time¹⁸ large injection of funds, and long-term sustainability is questionable¹⁹. There must be other ways for this committee and their work to continue to address indefinitely, not only the cultural heritage of both communities of the island but also the fortifications of Famagusta.

Finally, the fortifications in Famagusta are in dire need of intervention. While significant individual elements have been given attention, there still remains nearly three kilometers of walls, numerous other bastions, and the more vulnerable elements

¹⁷ With architectural conservation technical support provided by international consultants

¹⁸ Or in the case of Cyprus multiple injections but not unlimited.

¹⁹ This one-time injection has since proven successful therefore there were follow-on funding schemes following the same model. Nevertheless, this thesis remains relevant as surely, the funding will cease.

such as the glacis, ditch, and seaside walls²⁰. Currently, there are incompatible and insensitive works underway within the ditch near Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion and other sensitive areas to accommodate fairs or restaurants.

Finally, the small communities within walled cities are at risk. They are isolated from their larger, more dominate suburbs, losing essential services, and overwhelmed by tourism. The community within the walls of Famagusta is only 2,000 people, and indications are that they are vulnerable. Therefore there need to be protection measures put in place as tourists are again slowly discovering Famagusta. Therefore, this topic is relevant at multiple levels and applicable to many different groups.

1.8 Goals and Objectives

The overall goals of this research are to improve management practice, identify, and ensure continued financing for sustained conservation, primarily for the fortifications of Famagusta, but also for other cities with extensive cultural heritage, including fortifications. A secondary goal to ensure that the built legacy from the past is used to a better extent for the socio-economic benefit of the community. It is unrealistic to think that this thesis alone will achieve these long-term goals, but, nevertheless, it will contribute and the results delivered and presented to relevant parties in Cyprus. In order to support these goals, the following specific contributing objectives were identified:

1. Investigate other cities that have similar characteristics, yet differ in organizational structures and management. Analyze their history, context, and management approach to in order to compare and contrast with each other and Famagusta. This is done in order to understand how some of these places are successful (or not) through management for conservation of their fortifications and how their institutions are organized, decisions are made, finances controlled, and resources allocated. It is important to understand the benefits of certain practice as well as gaps and other issues. Critically, the objective includes where the funding comes from if it is sustainable, and how they utilize the fortifications for the public good.

²⁰ Three kilometres measured on the outside only, if the counterscarps and other elements are measured it is over twelve kilometres

2. Gather and analyze data concerning the one principal case study – Famagusta. This data includes current management, funding mechanisms, barriers, and other potential issues. A comparison and contrast will be made against the case studies. This will inform the thesis and also those working to protect the fortifications of Famagusta.
3. Develop recommendations and good practice examples for both management and finance for conservation, as well as for socio-economic development, using the case studies as supporting evidence. But what constitutes good practice? According to an initiative by UNESCO to recognize, share and build capacity in management at World Heritage properties, best practice²¹ are “demonstrated new and creative ways” of managing, “recognized as being successful and sustainable”, and involve local people” including “innovative policies” (Centre 2018)(p 1). However, this definition is too general and lacking specifics to implement or adapt to a new location. The European Union through the European Regional Development Interreg program has defined good practice as “an initiative (e.g., project, process, technique) undertaken, that has proved to be successful and is of potential interest elsewhere. Proved successful means that the good practice has already provided tangible and measurable results in achieving a specific objective” (European Regional Development 2016)(p 1)²². The Interreg program goes further and provides checklists of what constitutes good practice. For the evaluation of the case study, both definitions will be used to identify and suggest practice to be transferred to Famagusta.

²¹ In this thesis good practice has been used in place of best practice as best implies that there is one solution and that has been exhaustively evaluated

²² Throughout this thesis, good practice is plural in its use

Figure 6 – Tourists on top of the Ravelin/Land Gate, Famagusta, Cyprus before conservation. Clearly, they benefit, but does the community? (Eppich, 2016)

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis, management models for the socio-economic development of local communities lies at the nexus of three distinct yet interconnected fields of study applied to the conservation of cultural heritage: sustainability, development, and management with a specific focus on fortifications and Famagusta as the main case study. This literature review will identify the relevant literature and seminal documents in these fields to make connections and identify gaps and thus position this thesis. Sustainability and development are frequently mentioned together, but in this review, they will be treated separately as the original definition of development was far from sustainable. Also, sustainability has always been a central theme in the conservation of cultural heritage, while the connection with development is more recent. The final fields of the literature review concern fortifications and specifically the city of Famagusta²³.

The literature review is ordered according to the fields mentioned above and progress from general to specific topics, often in reverse chronological order. This literature review was hierarchically sourced from charters, declarations, books, book chapters, Ph.D. dissertations, journals, and conference articles. In addition to these sources, other non-scholarly resources such as newspaper articles, websites, and magazines were researched and referenced when applicable and relevant²⁴. This review of the literature will be followed by a conclusion and discussion as to the relationship to the thesis.

2.1 Sustainability

2.1.1 Ubiquitous term?

What is meant by sustainability? It is certainly not a new concept having been relevant to agriculture and environmental conservation for some time. Today, however, the concept is ubiquitous and applied liberally to nature, education, and most recently to the conservation of cultural heritage. It shows every sign of overuse. In *Reclaiming the Definition of Sustainability*, Johnston states that the concept has “suffered from a proliferation of definitions, such that it has increasingly come to mean many things to many different people” (Johnston, Everard et al. 2007)(p 60). However, Auclair, as recently as 2015, stated: "Culture as an aspect of sustainability is a relatively new phenomenon but is beginning to attract attention among scholars and policy makers"

²³ The literature review for the comparative case studies are addressed in their respective chapters

²⁴ Interviews were critical in identifying literature to review and for the case studies. They are not included here but in their respective chapters.

(Auclair and Fairclough 2015)(p ii). Clearly, there are differing opinions concerning the word and its meaning, but as a concept, it still carries weight as it has been and remains at the very heart of conservation philosophy. Although the term sustainable has not been nominally used it is defined in the Venice Charter; “to support, and hold up, to allow continuation over time,” to “maintain on a permanent basis” (ICOMOS 1964)(article 4).

So, how and when did the term sustainability enter into the lexicon of conservation? The first place to begin is with guiding doctrinal texts, charters, resolutions, and declarations developed from within the conservation profession and by the international community. The frequently cited cornerstone of modern-day conservation philosophy, the Venice Charter of 1964, does not mention sustainability, *per se*, but only suggests the concept (ICOMOS 1964). Neither does the earlier Athens Charter of 1931 nor the other cornerstone of modern international conservation, the 1972 World Heritage Convention (International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments 1931, World Heritage Centre 1972). The same is true for subsequent seminal thematic documents, the Brussels Charter on Cultural Tourism, 1977, the Florence Charter of 1981 for Historic Gardens; the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Townes and Urban Areas, 1987; the Charter for Archaeological Heritage, 1990; or even the influential Burra Charter from 1999. None of these key guiding documents explicitly mention sustainability (ICOMOS 2018).

The word does not appear until the International Cultural Tourism Charter of 1999 (ICOMOS 1999). Quite recently, but telling as it makes the connection between sustainability, conservation, and tourism. By 1999 the adverse effects of mass tourism on delicate cultural heritage sites had already been widely recognized. Afterward, the topic of sustainability is prominently featured within the opening for the Budapest Declaration of 2002, celebrating the 30th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention (World Heritage Committee 2002). This preamble, now affixed to the World Heritage Convention, begins the declaration with the concept of sustainability in Article I and continues with Article 3c to “ensure an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability, and development” (World Heritage Committee 2002)(p 1). A few years later the term sustainability becomes pervasive in the Lima Declaration of 2010 on Disaster Risk Management, mentioning the topic five times in four pages, while, critically incorporating and connecting to management (ICOMOS 2010). Finally, the connection between conservation and sustainability is enshrined as it emerged as the

central theme within the ICOMOS²⁵ Paris Declaration on Development from 2011. The document states the challenge of “integrating heritage and ensuring that it has a role in the context of sustainable development” (ICOMOS 2011)(p 1). This Paris Declaration and other recent documents solidify the connection between conservation and culture with development and tourism as the ingress for sustainability within the international charters developed to guide the profession.

However, sustainability in connection with cultural heritage was in earlier widespread use in national state policy documents, parallel fields, and academia. Sustainability was proposed as a guide to the policy as early as 1997 by English Heritage, noting it is not “simply about monuments and buildings. Like the idea of sustainability itself, it is about people” (English Heritage 1997)(p 313). The term was also promoted for policy implementation by the national committee of the United States ICOMOS with the hosting of an international symposium: *Culture, Environment, and Heritage: Forging New Alliances to Create a Sustainable Future for the Past*, in 2000 (US / ICOMOS 2000). As mentioned earlier, one of the first areas where sustainability was prominently featured in connection with conservation was in tourism. Sustainable tourism at cultural heritage places was addressed by many practitioners and academics before the end of the 20th century as visitation began increased exponentially and the negative impacts of over-visitation were observed (Drost 1996), (Du Cros 2001), (Boyd 2002), (McCool and Moisey 2001). Du Cros, early on, asks the important question: “What is the best way to manage those heritage places for sustainability?” and goes on to state that it is “impossible to discuss cultural heritage tourism planning without mentioning cultural heritage management” (Du Cros 2001)(p. 166). In academia, sustainability was addressed in depth in *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment* where concepts, principles, and social sustainable were included. (Teutonico and Matero 2003) Within this volume, Throsby, a cultural economist, proposed a set of sustainability principles that could be used as guidelines related to economic development (Throsby 2001). Mason makes a summary of the principles of sustainability in relation to underlying values (Mason 2002). Finally, the connection between sustainability and heritage in academia is assured with the creation of a dedicated academic publication: *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* (Pereira Roders and van Oers 2011).

²⁵ International Council on Monuments and Sites

It does indeed seem that the term sustainability has become ubiquitous and, although it may have lost some of its impacts through overuse, the concept of sustaining heritage for the future generations has been, all along, central to conservation philosophy. It does not, as Carlos Jaramillo argues, “shifts culture and Cultural Heritage to become part of development processes” (Jaramillo 2014)(p 210). However, it is clear that the term of sustainability itself has entered the lexicon of conservation relatively recently, and its continued use, has come from other fields, including development but also notably from environmental conservation and tourism. One possible explanation is that early conservation of cultural heritage focused narrowly on preserving (or sustaining) physical remains, a difficult enough task without considering more expansive issues.

It was not until the conservation field broadened that sustainability entered as the profession began to overlap with other themes, including tourism, landscape, environmental preservation, intangible heritage, management, and development. Critically, sustaining the community who live within or adjacent to a heritage site is a relatively new concept to cultural heritage conservation. As recently as the 1970s, the native Bedul tribes were relocated away from the Nabataean monuments of Petra through a formal development plan for the National Park in Jordan²⁶ (Koorring and Simms 1995). Frank Matero, notes that “heritage conservation has lagged behind in its involvement in the larger debate on the quality of life and the environment” including supporting communities (Teutonico and Matero 2003)(p- vii). Finally, Gustavo Araoz, former president of ICOMOS²⁷, states that the “conservation of heritage sites fitting the characteristics of this new paradigm will require a re-examination and expansion of the field’s theoretical foundations” (Araoz 2011) (p 55).

²⁶ Through a USAID and U.S. National Park Service advisement

²⁷ International Council on Monuments and Sites

2.1.2 Community Sustainability

Sustainability of the surviving communities is of particular importance in the case of fortified cities. Given the expense and effort required to construct the fortifications, these settlements are physically small, thus severely limiting the population into tight areas in small homes. The walls, ditches, and other elements isolate the community while the gates restrict access. In addition, modern infrastructure such as plumbing and electricity is more difficult to install and access by automobile is usually prohibited in the narrow streets. “Walls physically delimit the inner city area leaving very little space for further development. In addition to that, the historic core itself is often subject to strict building regulations introduced to protect the historic appearance of the town” (Brezovec and Bruce 2009)(p 102). In short, it is difficult to live in an ancient fortified city. It is no surprise that many cities removed these obsolete structures.

This problem is compounded by growing tourism pressures. “Rising demand for heritage and cultural tourism is putting pressure on historic towns that were not designed to accept such volumes...” and this has been creating problems. “Traffic and pedestrian congestion, economic dependency on tourism, loss of identity and damage to historic monuments and buildings are often cited as negative impacts of tourism on historic towns” (Brezovec and Bruce 2009)(p 103), (Laws 2001).

This introduces a dilemma – tourism often brings a means to sustain the community economically and (hopefully) sustain conservation of the fortifications and other cultural heritage, but tourism also brings into doubt the social sustainability of the community. There have been several studies of this dilemma including Brezovec and Bruce in *Tourism Development: Issues for Historic Walled Towns*, and *Prepare: A Model to Aid the Development of Policies for Less Unsustainable Tourism in Historic Towns* (Brezovec and Bruce 2009), (Bruce, Jackson et al. 2001). On a wider scale, there are the international charters which deal with the sustainability of communities in historic places. Of particular interest is the Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas (International Committee on Historic Towns and Villages 2011) and the preceding Washington Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas. These publications specifically deal with tourism, community sustainability, and the conservation of walled towns and will be addressed in more depth in the case study evaluation and conclusions.

2.2 Development

2.2.1 Redefining

It seems clear that while the concept of sustainability was central to conservation, the term and connection to other fields emerged, most notably, from development. In 1987 The World Commission on Environment and Development addressed the inadequacies and problems with development by introducing the idea of sustainability. In the report: *Our Common Future*, commonly called the *Brundtland Report*, sustainable development was defined as “development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (United Nations General Assembly 1987) (p 2). Later, in 1992 at the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, participants consolidated these ideas into three pillars as the paradigm of sustainable development - seeking a balance between the environment, economics, and society (United, 1992, The Rio Earth Summit: summary of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development).

It was not until 1993 that this well-known mantra was later extended to include culture at the World Commission on Culture and Development (United Nations, 1993, World Commission on Culture and Development`, General Conference). UNESCO later stated that the world is not only facing economic, social, or environmental challenges – “Creativity, knowledge, diversity, and beauty are the bases for a dialogue on peace and progress and these values are intrinsically connected to human development and freedoms” (UNESCO and Erdelen 2002) (p 1). The three pillars of development, economic, social, and environmental, the document declared, could not possibly reflect the complexities of current society. UNESCO, along with the World Summit on Sustainable Development called for the inclusion of culture in the sustainable development model since culture ultimately shapes what is meant by development and determines how people act in the world. Building on UNESCO’s Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO 2002) the executive bureau of United Cities and Local Governments met in Chicago (2010) to mandate the Committee on Culture in order to develop a policy statement as culture is the 4th pillar of sustainable development (United Cities and Local Governments 2010).

Why this emphasis on development? The term development, like sustainability, is pervasive and thus must be carefully defined as it is an important theme that has become a popular catchword in conservation. In addition, cultural heritage is increasingly seen as a means of economic development through tourism. Modern development, as a term for this thesis, follows two closely linked yet distinct definitions, those of the United Nations Development Programme (United Nations Development Programme) and the work of scholar and Nobel Prize-Winning Economist Amartya Kumar Sen.

The UNDP defines development with the added adjective, human: “Human Development is about expanding the richness of human life, rather than simply the richness of the economy in which human beings live. It is an approach that is focused on people and their opportunities and choices” (United Nations Development Programme 2018) (p 1). The UNDP has further defined Development into three main categories:

People: the means to improve their lives rather than assuming that economic growth leads to greater wellbeing for all. Income growth is seen as a means to development, rather than an end in itself.

Opportunities: human development is about giving people more freedom to live lives they value. In effect, this means developing people’s abilities and giving them a chance to use them. Three foundations for human development are to live a long, healthy, and creative life, to be knowledgeable, and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living.

Choice: human development is about choice. It is about providing people with opportunities, not insisting that they make use of them. The process of development – human development - should at least create an environment for people, individually and collectively, to develop to their full potential and to have a reasonable chance of leading productive and creative lives that they value (United Nations Development Programme 2018).

The second definition of development used throughout this thesis is from Amartya Sen:

“The concept of development is so essential to economics in general. Economic problems do, of course, involve logistic issues, and a lot of it is undoubtedly “engineering” of one kind or another. On the other hand, the success of all this has to be judged ultimately in terms of what it does to the lives of human beings. The enhancement of living conditions must clearly be an essential – if not the essential – object of the entire economic exercise, and that enhancement is an integral part of the concept of development. [And, as he continues,] the concept of development – whether explicitly put forward or discussed by implication – has to be examined in this broad perspective related to economics in general, rather than only in terms of “development economics” narrowly defined”(Sen 1988)(p 11).

This is a very broad yet modern definition and is related to the quality of life, connection and economics and, importantly, the search for freedom. In Sen’s book *Development as Freedom*, he declares three linked freedoms: political, opportunity, and economic protection (Sen 1999). He goes on to write that a state of poverty will include a lack of at least one freedom or unfreedom, including a *de facto* lack of political rights and choice, vulnerability to coercive relations, and exclusion from economic choices and protections. From this, Sen concludes that real development cannot be reduced to simply increasing basic incomes, nor to rising average per capita incomes. Rather, it requires a package of overlapping mechanisms that progressively enable the exercise of a growing range of freedoms (ibid).

But these two expansive definitions of development are rather new. Development was originally defined as trade, industry, modernization, capitalism, colonialism, and exploitation. The term was once inseparable from economic growth and emerged from the Industrial Revolution when theorists such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Max Weber sought to understand and explain why some nations were wealthier, or more developed, than others. Given the numerous failures of pure capitalism, these early descriptions were challenged by Karl Marx (and others) in his famous work *Capital*, but the original focus on industrialization and modernization persevered. A later development was to be defined as a linear, progressive process in *Stages of Economic Growth* by the economic historian Rostow (Rostow). His ideas and theories were later

given a significant boost after the Second World War during Europe's extensive reconstruction.

However, this narrow definition of development (Marx & company notwithstanding) came under increasing scrutiny in the mid-20th century. The overly Western term overlooked cultural, political, and social contexts and the negative impacts of growth for growth's sake. Development did not take into account the human perspective and was damaging to the environment. In the early 1970s, Bhutan's King Jigme Singye Wangchuck declared "Gross National Happiness is more important than Gross Domestic Product" (University of Oxford 2018)(p 1). Since then, the broader idea of people-centered development has "captured the imagination of others far beyond its borders" (ibid). Therefore, development has evolved radically in the last 50 years to encompass a more holistic humanistic approach aimed at wellbeing, happiness, and sustainability - including culture.

2.2.2 Intersection between development and cultural heritage

However, what do the recent changes in the concept of development have to do with the conservation of cultural heritage?

As the definition of development changed from a focus on industrial and economic growth to become more sustainable and human-centered, it was natural that cultural heritage, as an integral part of communities, was included into the term development. The principal reason for ensuring continued sustained conservation of heritage places is for the betterment of social welfare and to enhance the quality of life. According to Todaro and Smith: Development is a multi-dimensional process involving changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of poverty (Todaro and Smith 2009).

Björn Hettne states the infusion of culture into development marked a significant change. The significance of culture and identity was a process "development is less about catching up and imitation and instead of development as an inclusive process where different worldviews are accommodated – that this emphasis on culture and could be the greatest challenge in the redefinition of development" (Hettne 2008) (p 697) (Rojas 2007).

In addition, the relationship between economic development and culture was highlighted by Jane Jacobs and Richard Florida in their research that provided evidence proving that culture and cultural activities draw in educated workers and new-economy businesses (Florida 2005). Florida's work was based on Jacobs' conceptions that healthy, vital public civic places are used and needed by their populations. Florida continues in his concept of the human capital theory that states that people are the engine of economic growth and that to attract and maintain the creative class culture is necessary. Prosperous cities "are succeeding largely because creative people want to live there" (Florida 2012) (p 294).

The international institutions, apart from those dedicated to heritage, have embraced the role of culture in development. *Culture Counts* (World Bank 1999a), *The Power of Culture* (UNESCO 1998), *Recognizing Culture* (Matarasso 2001 for UNESCO and World Bank), *Culture in Sustainable Development* (World Bank/UNESCO 1998), *Culture and Local Development* (OECD 2005) are just a few of the titles. "Certainly, the emphasis on a possible symbiosis between culture and development has far reaching implications and presents one of the greatest challenges to rethinking the development paradigm" (Loulanski 2006)(p 53).

Within the cultural heritage conservation field the recent Paris Declaration On Heritage as a Driver of Development reaffirms this and reinforces culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development along with Article 3 of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (Doratli, Onal et al.): "development, understood not only in terms of economic growth but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence" (article 3). Another influential document concerning social development and the role of cultural heritage is the Faro Convention (Treaty No. 199) signed, ratified, and placed into force of law by a majority of European Union states. Adopted by the Council of Europe the convention "asserts the principle of every person's right of access to the cultural heritage of his or her choice, while respecting the rights and freedoms of others" (Council of Europe 2018)(p 4). This convention promotes heritage-led and people-centered actions and also provides guidance to work with communities and encourage their active role in development. Within the Faro Convention are a number of documents which explain implementation and adoption through a number of good practice.

2.2.3 Sustainable Development Goals, New Urban Agenda

The complete incorporation of culture into development is reflected in three recent international approaches which address the intersection of sustainable development, urban growth, and cultural heritage: The United Nations *Sustainable Development Goals*, the *New Urban Agenda*, and UNESCO's *Historic Urban Landscape* recommendations. In late 2015, the United Nations and world leaders agreed upon, announced, and put into force new goals – the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). They are intended to apply to all countries in fighting poverty while protecting the planet. Unlike the previous Millennium Development Goals, these new goals are more comprehensive, broader, and more detailed, and, importantly, inclusive of culture. A summary is required to understand their interconnected aspects and how they related to conservation and sustainability.

The Sustainable Development Goals are a call for action by all countries – poor, rich, and middle-income – to promote prosperity while protecting the planet. They recognize that ending poverty must go hand-in-hand with strategies that build economic growth and address a range of social needs including education, health, social protection, and job opportunities, while tackling climate change and environmental protection (United Nations 2019).

According to the Deputy Director of the World Heritage Centre UNESCO, Jyoti Hosagrahar, for the SDGs to be successful culture must be at the “heart of development” (Hosagrahar 2017)(p. 1) This UNESCO report states that for the first time culture is integrated into the development goals at an “unparalleled recognition” that “safeguarding and promotion of culture is an end in itself, and at the same time contributes directly to many of the SDGs, particularly the development of safe and sustainable cities” (ibid). The famous three pillars of sustainable development – economic, environmental, and social, are overlaid with culture and “culture and creativity contribute to each transversally” (ibid)(p. 2). But exactly how? In many of the SDGs cultural is integrated, but it is SDG 11 – Inclusive cities, safe, resilient, and sustainable that is particularly applicable. SDGs 11.4 and 11.4.1 are keys for development of historic cities and call specifically “to strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard heritage” and expenditures (public and private) per capita on the preservation, protection, and conservation of heritage (ibid).

World leaders have also endorsed and adopted another international approach that involves sustainable development and cultural heritage – the United Nations New Urban Agenda (NUA). The Agenda is intended to set the standard for sustainable urban development and in the words of Andrew Potts of US ICOMOS “aim to help the world rethink how it plans, manages and lives in cities”(Potts 2016)(p 2).

According to the United Nations:

The New Urban Agenda presents a paradigm shift based on the science of cities; it lays out standards and principles for the planning, construction, development, management, and improvement of urban areas along its five main pillars of implementation: national urban policies, urban legislation and regulations, urban planning and design, local economy and municipal finance, and local implementation. It is a resource for every level of government, from national to local; for civil society organizations; the private sector; constituent groups; and for all who call the urban spaces of the world “home” to realize this vision. The New Urban Agenda incorporates a new recognition of the correlation between good urbanization and development. It underlines the linkages between good urbanization and job creation, livelihood opportunities, and improved quality of life, which should be included in every urban renewal policy and strategy. This further highlights the connection between the New Urban Agenda and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, especially Goal 11 on sustainable cities and communities(United Nations 2017)(p iv).

How does it relate to the SDGs? The New Urban Agenda recognizes that culture, and by extension conservation of historic cities, is critical in urban issues and development.

A core accomplishment of the NUA is that, for the first time, an internationally negotiated document calls for compact cities, polycentric growth, mixed-use streetscapes, prevention of sprawl and transit-oriented development. Historic cities and settlements, with their mixed uses, human scale, density and vibrancy, are typical models for just this vision of urbanization. As such, the adoption of the NUA should further valorize both the safeguarding of existing historic areas and the regard they are given as reference models for new development (Potts 2016)(p 5).

The tenets of the New Urban Agenda that related to historic cities:

10. Acknowledges that culture and cultural diversity are sources of enrichment for humankind and provide an important contribution to the sustainable development of cities, human settlements and citizens, empowering them to play an active and unique role in development initiatives.

37. Promoting safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces, including streets, sidewalks and cycling lanes, squares, waterfront areas, gardens and parks, that are multifunctional areas for social interaction and inclusion, human health and well-being, economic exchange and cultural expression and dialogue among a wide diversity of people and cultures, and that are designed and managed to ensure human development...

38. Sustainable leveraging of natural and cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, in cities and human settlements, as appropriate, through integrated urban and territorial policies and adequate investments at the national, subnational and local levels, to safeguard and promote cultural infrastructures and sites...

124. Include culture as a priority component of urban plans and strategies in the adoption of planning instruments, including master plans, zoning guidelines, building codes, coastal management policies and strategic development policies that safeguard a diverse range of tangible and intangible cultural heritage and landscapes...

125. Support the leveraging of cultural heritage for sustainable urban development and recognize its role in stimulating participation and responsibility. (Potts 2016).

Unfortunately, there is some difficulty in making the connections between the New Urban Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (Potts 2016). Nevertheless, these tenets must be taken into consideration when crafting any protection plans or future development in Famagusta.

2.2.4 Historic Urban Landscape approach

The final and most applicable international approach, in terms of historic cities, is UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape recommendations (HUL). This approach recognizes that "the city is not a static monument or group of buildings, but subjected to dynamic forces" and that "new development can interact and mutually reinforce role and meaning."(UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2013)(p 5). If dealt with properly, urban heritage will act as a catalyst for socio-economic development through tourism, commercial use, and higher land and property values – thereby providing the revenues out of which to pay for maintenance, restoration, and rehabilitation (ibid). The UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach intends to seek a balance between conservation and development. It recognizes cities must be evolving, dynamic, and living. It opposes dividing the city into separate conservation areas to create city museums and aims to preserve and enhance the quality of life and productivity of urban communities. "The HUL approach intends to manage change rather than only preserve the past - to integrate environmental, social, cultural and economic concerns" (ibid). It also outlines the involvement of stakeholders at all levels. In addition, the HUL approach recognizes that new urban projects must be infused with local culture while still protecting historic urban landscapes and their Outstanding Universal Values. HUL extends thinking from specific heritage resources to address the broader urban context and its geographical setting. HUL addresses the entire townscape and its ensemble of structures and landscapes, views, hills, rivers, bridges, walls, etc. that were composed by humanity and nature over time. The historic urban landscape approach aims at preserving the quality of the human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces while recognizing their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity. It integrates the goals of urban heritage conservation and those of social and economic development. It is rooted in a balanced and sustainable relationship between the urban and natural environment, between the needs of present and future generations and the legacy from the past (ibid).

2.2.5 Local Economic Development

These recent international initiatives and approaches for the inclusion of culture into sustainable development are encouraging. Yet the fact remains that a primary focus of development is the economy. As stated earlier in this thesis in the Justification Rationale, the economic component of development cannot be disregarded, as simply put, it provides a means for sustaining life and thus remains central to development. “Many of those who have the most influence on what happens to our heritage resources – property owners, members of parliament, bankers, investors – do care about the economic aspects of heritage buildings. It is often through the door of economic impact that those decision-makers become advocates for heritage conservation on other, more important grounds.” “Heritage conservation has multiple values: cultural, aesthetic, educational, environmental, social, historical, and others. A more recent addition to this litany of values is the economic value of heritage conservation” (Rypkema 2008)(p 1)(Rypkema 2008)(p 1).

However, even the concept of economic development has changed. Over the past 20 years, there has been an increasing emphasis on Local Economic Development (LED). As the name implies, it places specific importance on local (municipal and regional) economic activities to counter the impacts of globalization and build upon unique local advantages. It involves a range of activities, including planning, economics, and community involvement. According to UN Habitat, “LED can lead to economic solutions that ‘fit’ the local areas – that is, that build on local assets and strengths, involve local people and build capacity, and have greater buy-in from the community” (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2013)(p 1). As applied to cultural heritage, UN Habitat continues and states that “Cities may have natural advantages in one or more sectors due to... location, natural resources or history (ibid)(p 38). Cultural heritage has been recognized by numerous cities and development agencies as a competitive advantage to be utilized for local economic development. In an event hosted by the World Bank in 2012, Urban Sector Manager Joshi-Ghani stated that “it is important to understand how cities attract skilled people and industries to create jobs and what role they play in economic growth. Therefore it is very helpful to find linkages between cultural heritage assets and job creation.” At the same event the chief strategist for Ireland’s Industrial Development Agency, John O’Brian stated, “You have to have labor supply, a decent business environment, a reasonable tax regime... But other cities

can copy this easily. Any strategist will tell you that the key to a successful strategy is differentiation” and “culture and architectural heritage are the key differentiators.” He goes on to state that “cultural heritage is the differentiator” and one “cannot create the heritage so if you don’t preserve it, you cannot use it as an asset and as a differentiator” (Amirtahmasebi 2012)(p 1). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has also advocated the role of cultural heritage in local economic development “Cultural heritage is a powerful development asset that can help attract tourists, bring revenues, regenerate local economies, promote inclusion, boost cultural diversity and reinvent territorial identity” (ibid)(SS). The OECD has also established a center for local economic development has in 2018 they held a specific conference on culture and local development with the theme that “Culture is an integral part of local development.” (OECD 2019).

In relationship to the conservation of cultural heritage and local economic development Rypkema states that there are five major measurable benefits identified: job creation and income, rising property values, small business incubation, city center revitalization, and finally heritage tourism (Rypkema 2008). He goes on to state that there are other impacts including enhancement of crafts businesses, historic facilities and the performing arts, and neighborhood stabilization. Local Economic Development is of a particular focus in Famagusta for two reasons: the economy of the city within the walls, while essential for the survival of the community, has failed with few non-tourism related businesses²⁸ and the city has numerous unique local assets that it can build upon, namely it’s cultural heritage and fortifications.

The changes in the definition of development, from one of exploiting agriculture to industrial activities for purely economic growth to one of human and cultural development, is profound. This is where the sustainable social and local economic development related to the conservation of cultural heritage comes into focus within this thesis. Not only is it necessary to sustain the conservation of the fortifications but also offer human and local economic development to the community within walls. The next section of the Literature Review will discuss management as the key to accomplishing economic and social development for sustainable conservation.

²⁸ The exception is a cluster of approximately 9 Jewellery stores which gives hope that additional clusters can be created.

2.3 Management

One means of achieving sustainable conservation for cultural heritage and promoting local socio-economic development is through improved management. In general, the problem of inadequate management at cultural heritage sites is generally acknowledged, and there is a large and growing body of literature concerning the management of cultural heritage sites.

One seminal document, the World Heritage Convention of 1972 does not mention the word management, only alluding to the topic. It was not until the later revisions, and the prefix of the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage in 2002 that specifically features management and management systems: “all properties must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding.” (World Heritage Centre 2018)(p 96). Likewise, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention do not mention management until later revisions.

One of the first publications dedicated specifically to the topic of management of cultural heritage was Feilden and Jokilehto’s *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage*. This publication from 1993 outlined in obtainable, pragmatic terms the guiding principles, general policies, evaluation, treatment, and management plan preparation of a wide range of cultural heritage sites (Feilden and Jokilehto 1993). This popular and successful publication was followed by a plethora of other guidelines, manuals, and academic journal publications concerning management. ICCROM’s *Managing Cultural World Heritage* (Wijesuriya, Thompson et al. 2013), *Managing World Heritage Sites* (Leask and Fyall 2006), *Management Plans for World Heritage Sites, a Practical Guide* (Ringbeck 2008). Notable academic publications include Chapter 1, Heritage Management, Theory and Practice by Schofield (Schofield 2008).

Some of the management publications dealt with significant subthemes such as cultural tourism, *Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance*, (Pedersen 1999) and the partnership between tourism and cultural heritage by Du Cros and McKercher (McKercher and Du Cros 2002). Additional themes emerged to fill most niches related to heritage management: archaeological site management in Teutonico & Palumbo (Teutonico, Palumbo et al. 2002), where the summary lists obstacles including the need to “educate decision-makers, professionals...” and the “the management process must

be coherent in methodology but also flexible and adapted to local conditions” (ibid) (p 17). In the same publication, Martha Demas makes connections between planning for conservation and management based upon values (Demas 2002). These academic articles continue with a variety of topics connecting management and heritage to other themes such as community involvement and stakeholder collaboration (Aas, Ladkin et al. 2005), disaster management, (World Heritage Centre 2010), management guidance in the form of case studies (De la Torre 2005) and even extended to the exoteric topic of information management for cultural heritage (Eppich, Chabbi et al. 2007).

Of these numerous topics, one of the key connections between sustainability, development, and conservation management is economics. Publications that emerged from this field included: de la Torre and Mason (de la Torre and Mason 1998), and Klamer (Klamer and Zuidhof 1999, Klamer and Throsby 2000) who makes a good case for cultural entrepreneurship (Klamer 2011). Rypkema has presented and published extensively over a long period on the topic including the inadequate use of valuation metrics in the economic evaluation of historic real estate (Rypkema 2006) and (Rypkema 2008) in the *Economics of Historic Preservation*, (Mason 2005). Linchfield identifies the dimensions of obsolescence including physical, functional, image, legal, locational, financial, and economical: “The obsolescence of buildings and areas is expressed in a mismatch between the services offered by the fabric and the needs seen through contemporary eyes” (Linchfield 1988)(p 25). He is followed by Tiesdell in his *Revitalization of Historic Urban Quarters*, which discusses at length the connections between economics and cultural heritage conservation including the challenges of balancing economic development while respecting values (Tiesdell, Oc et al. 1996). Christian Ost, a cultural economist, also published seminal works focused on economic evaluation within historic cities, appraisals of theories, principles, and methods, and, interestingly, mapping urban cultural assets (Ost and van Droogenbroeck 1999).

These publications concerning economics and heritage culminated in a publication entitled the *Economics of Uniqueness* edited by Guido Licciardi and published by the World Bank in 2012. It collected the work of many of the scholars working in this area, including Throsby and Rypkema (Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi 2012). The focus of this publication is: “Can investment in historic city cores and cultural heritage and reduce poverty and promote economic growth?” (ibid)(p xiii). The book also brings to the forefront the question of balancing conservation with an acceptable degree of

change “weighing the trade-offs between conservation and development” (ibid)(p xix). Before this seminal publication, the World Bank addressed this issue in a number of project reports, position papers, and publications including Serageldin’s *Very Special Places* (Serageldin 1999) and *Cultural Heritage and Development* (the World Bank 2001).

Throsby, one of the leading theorists to emerge from this area (Throsby 2001, Throsby 2010)(1994, 1995, 1997), makes a strong case for management by defining culture and its connection with economics in terms of capital: “Cultural capital can be defined as an asset which embodies, stores or gives rise to cultural value in addition to whatever economic value it may possess” (Throsby 2001) (p 46).

All of this guidance, advice, and research concerning the management of cultural heritage is useful and informative. However, with all these publications, why are there still chronic issues regarding the management of cultural heritage? As noted earlier in the justification for this thesis, the State of Conservation reports submitted to UNESCO by states concerning World Heritage properties identifies the number one threat as “management and institutional factors” (World Heritage Centre 2018) (p 2). UNESCO, in statistical analysis, reported that 75% of all World Heritage properties are negatively impacted by insufficient management. (Veillon and Centre 2014). If these sites of Outstanding Universal Value, which receive an often inordinate amount of attention given their World Heritage status, are impacted by poor management where does that leave other sites such as the fortifications of Famagusta? Is it that the audience for these numerous publications are already convinced of the need for better management? Are the publications too academic or esoteric? Or is it that management of cultural heritage is just difficult? From the state of conservation throughout the eastern Mediterranean, including Famagusta, it is clear that the body of literature related to conservation management is not reaching local decision-makers, politicians, or, even, site managers.

The position of Luca Zan is that in-depth technical and practical discussions of management receive insufficient discourse within cultural heritage. Zan states: “The lack of real dialogue between the heritage disciplines and scholars of management and organization has led to misunderstandings and neglect of crucial issues for understanding organizations and outcomes on both sides” (Zan, Baraldi et al. 2015) (Zan, Baraldi et al. 2015)(p 1).

A recent call for more professional discourse between management and heritage sought to address them: "...less heroic issues of administration" (ibid, p 10). But it was acknowledged that this was likely to raise problems given the relative lack of skills: accounting, business, and finance which are: "...crucial issues for organizational sustainability and they are outside the vocabulary of most professionals in the field." This lack of awareness was also acknowledged by UNESCO: "A cursory evaluation of a typical site manager's background will often reveal a gap in terms of overall business planning capacity...", "including weakness in financial planning" (UNESCO 2008)(p 8). This is further reinforced by John Carman "It was noted that there is a disconnection between heritage management practices and the aims of management, and an unwillingness for the heritage sector to challenge established discourses and practices" (Carman)(p 15). Carman continues and states that there is "a need to engage more with management as a process, to reach a deeper understanding" (ibid, p 15).

This is where this thesis is positioned. To address the gaps between the academic management rhetoric (mainly related to economics²⁹) and identify where management has positively impacted sustainable conservation for the betterment of the community and, critically, where it has fallen short. The case studies and subsequent analysis of their organizations, management, and resource allocation will give insight into how sustainable conservation of significant monuments, such as the fortifications of Famagusta, can be undertaken.

²⁹ There is a very distinct difference between economics of cultural heritage and finance of sustained conservation, yet, this line is blurred by many publications. This literature search revealed that the vast majority of academic publications focus on economics and not on the practical aspects of management including finance.

2.4 Fortifications

This penultimate section of the literature review is focused on organizations, regional or city governments, and scholars or practitioners who have conducted projects and published on the topics of sustainability, development, and management applied to the conservation of fortifications. There are a number of international and regional initiatives, groups, and individuals seeking to link sustainable conservation of fortifications with socio-economic development. These efforts can be generally classified as research and policy recommendations, general advocacy, and specific projects. The scope of these publications is very broad; therefore, only those in the Mediterranean and Europe which have produced a number of seminal publications are included³⁰.

2.4.1 Organizations and initiatives

The European Union has sponsored numerous policy and research initiatives through various funding mechanisms, including their Regional Development Fund, namely Interreg. These efforts have resulted in the sponsorship of several cooperative, cross-border initiatives including *Ascent (2000-2006)*, *Sentinelles des Alpes – Sentinelle delle Alpi (2000-2006)*, *Forte Cultura (2011-2014)*, and *ATFORT, Atelier European Fortress (2013-2016)*. These organizations have stated in their objectives that they wish to conserve fortifications as well as promote development. Forte Cultura states that they seek to “promote further conservation, the cultural touristic use and the public presentation of the European cultural heritage of fortified monuments...” (Cultura 2014)(p 1) and *Ascent* clearly state their goal of: “achieving the socio-economic re-use of former military land & heritage” (Interreg 2006) (p 1). The link with development is strongest in the most recent project, *ATFORT*, with a specific goal of conservation through development: “In order to have the means and resources to preserve assets, the exploitation of new economic functions is indispensable. This offers the potential for socio-economic growth.” Finally, this project stresses the importance of management “the management of fortified heritage sites calls for enhanced governance models. Legal, organizational, and branding aspects have to be rethought, and innovation in financing models using good examples...” (ATFort 2016) (p 1). This initiative is closely aligned with this thesis and has produced a number of substantial publications.

³⁰ Other areas were briefly investigated but there are few walled cities in the Americas - It is often stated that there is only one walled city in all of North America, that of the World Heritage property of Quebec, Canada. Asia was also briefly investigated but it was quickly determined that it is outside the scope of this thesis.

These publications, including Identified Good Practices that outlines 21 concepts that could be adopted in the case of Famagusta, namely multifunction reuse, accessibility, and engaging volunteers. (Atelier European Fortresses 2015). However, these good practice are not sufficiently detailed in terms of success. Another publication by ATFORT is the Report on Funding and Financing (Atelier European Fortresses 2013 and Financing).

The UNESCO Venice Office and World Heritage Centre have also played a critical role and have sponsored workshops such as the Walled Cities Open Societies initiative which seeks to improve management of historic walled communities. These workshops focus on “Integrating historic walls within management systems; sustainable use and conservation of historic walls; and, communicating heritage; new symbolic values for historic walls” (Office 2016)(p 1). This initiative has produced a number of reports from each individual participating city on their management approaches, difficulties, and conservation efforts (Office 2016). Publications concerning Acre, Rhodes, Valletta, and other cities provided useful background information, basic descriptions, and brief histories. Most useful were sections outlining challenges and opportunities and planned activities and provided a good starting point, but most did not contain sufficient in-depth information.

There is also the FortMed initiative, sponsored by the Spanish Government in cooperation with a number of regional governments and universities which have sponsored symposium every year since 2015 with publications concerning fortifications in the Mediterranean (FORTMED 2015). These efforts are not limited to Europe but have included sites in North Africa. These publications are wide-ranging and include every topic from history to theory with several submissions useful in management and concerning the case studies.

General advocacy and professional cooperation is promoted by a number of international organizations including Europa Nostra, the World Monument Fund, European Walled Town Association, the European Cooperation Centre of Fortified Heritage, the International Fortress Council, the Organization of World Heritage Cities, and ICOFORT (International Scientific Committee on Fortifications and Military Heritage) as an international scientific committee of ICOMOS. National and regional groups include the Vauban Network (France), the Marco Polo System GEIE (Italy), the Fortress Study Group, and the *Asociacion Española de Amigos de Los Castillos*. These

organizations are platforms to share ideas, but more importantly, to promote visitation, interpretation, and conservation. All of them have developed a number of symposium and publications.

Europa Nostra, through their Scientific Bulletin, has produced a number of publication, notably, *Management of the monumental environment and its landmarks* and *The reuse of ancient fortified settlements from the middle ages to early modern times*. (Europa Nostra 2009), (Europa Nostra 2010).

Marco Polo Systems GEIE produced proceedings from their international seminar entitled Economics of Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Modern Fortifications in the EU where they stressed knowledge of economics and marketing in order to “give new life to fortifications...” “...and potential developments.” (System 2013)(p 2)(GEIE 2015). There is also the International Fortress Council with European member states and their own individual nation advocacy groups (International Fortress Council 2018). There is also ICOFORT, the International Scientific Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites that holds international conferences and produces publications intended to guide conservation of fortifications (ICOFORT 2018). Finally, there are notable state organizations including the Fortress Study Group in the United Kingdom and the *Asociación Española de Amigos de los Castillos* (Asociación Española de Amigos de los Castillos 2018, Fortress Study Group 2018)

These international, regional, and national initiatives have achieved limited success in connecting various cities facing similar issues, sharing of good practice examples, through the symposium, and the publication of their results. They have also drawn attention to the issues facing the difficulties of the reuse of fortifications and sustainable conservation. A number of noteworthy publications have resulted.

There are also many individual cities are conducting outstanding projects in this field. While the in-depth investigation of these examples is impossible within the scope of this thesis, nevertheless, it is worth mentioning several examples that have achieved success in sustainability and socio-economic development with their fortifications.

2.4.2 Publications

There are numerous publications concerning various aspects of fortifications, from conservation to reuse and management with a few mentioning socio/economic development. A majority of the organizations and initiatives listed above have published conference proceedings and academic papers. Notable are the Europa Nostra publications, particularly *Management of the Monumental Environment* which focus on fortifications and the *Reuse of Ancient Fortified Settlements* in their Scientific Bulletins (Europa Nostra 2009, Europa Nostra 2010). In 2012 the EU Prize for Cultural Heritage, Europa Nostra Award was given to a *Teaching Manual concerning the Fortifications of Vauban* (Europa Nostra 2012). The European Union has also published numerous proceedings including the Interreg project Keep, *Achieving the Socio/economic reuse of Former Military Land and Heritage* and *Atelier European Fortress* (Interreg 2006, Atelier European Fortresses 2015). UNESCO, particularly the Venice Office, has recognized the importance of the issue concerning the conservation of fortifications and has convened a series of meetings that have resulted in useful publications. These include the series Walled Cities, *Open Societies on Managing Historic Walls in World Heritage Properties* (Office 2016). Additional publications include the FortMed series *Defensive Architecture of the Mediterranean* that began in 2015. This series collects papers ranging from historic studies and conservation to management. This ser (FORTMED 2015). The ICOMOS Scientific Committee on Fortifications and Military Heritage (ICOFORT) has produced numerous publications over the decades which include guidelines, databases, reports and proceedings of meetings including the *ICOFORT Charter on Fortifications and Related Heritage* being finalized in 2018 and *Conserving Fortified Heritage* and the *International Conference on Fortified Heritage, Management and Sustainable Development* (ICOFORT 2018, ICOFORT Members and José Claudio Dos Santos Júnior 2018) (ICOFORT 2015). The Fortress Study Group from the United Kingdom produces notable publications including *Fort* and *Casemate*. WIT Press has also produced conference and publications such as *Defensive Sites*. Within Spain, the Asociación Española De Amigos De Los Castillos produces a regular journal. Finally, individual states and cities have produced numerous publications, including those that specifically deal with the case studies mentioned in this thesis. These will be noted and referenced within each individual case study.

2.4.3 Individuals

Finally, there are many individual scholars, researchers, and practitioners contributing to this topic. While there are too many to list in the limited scope of this thesis, the following are a few key figures who have contributed to the combined topics of fortification conservation and management in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Specifically concerning the fortifications of Cyprus, the architect Gianni Perbellini, former President of the Scientific Committee of Europa Nostra, has published and edited numerous editions. Perbellini has written extensively on the need to reuse fortifications and improve management, especially concerning the fortifications of Famagusta. He has promoted the European Charter of Cultural Heritage, and integrated development with “The aim of this approach was to promote improvement in the quality of life through cultural heritage and access to culture for citizens” (Europa Nostra 2009)(p 5).

David Bruce, the academic advisor to the European Walled Town Association, has written extensively on the issues related to the contested heritage of walled cities and tourism. Quoted elsewhere in this thesis he writes that “Town walls have always played a critical role in shaping the identities and images of the communities they embrace” and that “management poses substantial challenges” (Bruce and Creighton 2006)(p 1). Oliver Creighton, often coauthor with Bruce has also written on the impact of fortifications on communities “Urban walls are also mental constructs and critical components to the multi-layered self-images of communities...” (Creighton 2007)(p 340) “The management of city walls as heritage sites poses particular challenges as they constitute uniquely ‘civic’ monuments, both in terms of their past histories and (very often) their present-day status.” “As much as walls originally encircled populations for reasons of defense, their roles as symbols of commercial advantage, individuality and separateness have been more enduring.” (Creighton 2007) (p342). “The ‘enclave heritage’ of dispossessed groups, the layered identities of walls and their often very tangible references to disputed periods of the past, and their complex interrelationship with the built environment all create extraordinarily complex philosophical challenges for heritage management”(Creighton 2007)(p 353)

Pablo Rodriguez-Navarro, President of Fortmed initiative from the University Valencia has also written about the importance of recognizing and conserving fortifications in the

Mediterranean between the 15th and 17th centuries. Another Spanish scholar that has been influential in the conservation of fortifications include Antonio Almagro Gorbea who has applied new technologies to documenting and investigating defensive architecture for over 30 years. Peter Ros, is the European Union project manager of Atelier European Fortresses which has its goal management and conservation of fortifications in addition to influencing government policy. In terms of the defenses of Malta and connections to other fortifications of the Knights of Saint John, Stephen C Spiteri has been a leading figure. His investigations and subsequent promotion of conservation in Valletta have set the standard for other islands in the Mediterranean.

Finally, Michael Walsh has been influential in drawing attention to the state of the fortifications in Famagusta. He engaged the World Monuments Fund to place the city on their Watch List, contacted the Global Heritage Fund, and enabled political figures in Famagusta on the divided island of Cyprus to meet and discuss their common concerns.

Effective management of fortified heritage requires individuals such as these as well as the organizations they lead and their resultant publications. While not an exhaustive list, nevertheless, it is important to identify those individuals that have informed and influenced this thesis through their writings on conservation and socio-economic development.

2.5 Famagusta

The final portion of the Literature Review will address the main case study of Famagusta. This is a broad and deep topic; therefore, the review will only address the themes presented in this thesis, principally the condition, conservation, and management of the fortifications and, tangentially, social-economic development within the walled city. This review was undertaken to initially inform and direct the study and thus apply research from other portions of the literature review. This section begins with relevant historic reports followed by academic publications, Ph.D. dissertations, journal articles, and a video.

2.5.1 Historic reports

The natural point to start this review was from the historic records concerning the first descriptions of the state of condition of the fortifications at the beginning of the British period of administration. Edward I'Anson the Vice-President of the Royal Institute of British Architects in his *Mediaeval and Other Buildings on the Island of Cyprus*. I'Anson describes the fortifications of Famagusta in the late 19th century including early sketches of the citadel, not then known as Othello. (I'Anson 1882). Camille Enlart, a well-known historian of Cyprus, is also among the earlier writers of the cultural heritage of the island but focuses less on conservation and the fortifications of Famagusta (Enlart and Hunt 1987).

The first substantial volume describing conservation during this early period is by George Jeffery in the recently published *Diaries and the Ancient Monuments of Cyprus, Volume I and II* as edited by Pilides (Pilides 2009). Jeffery frequently quoted throughout this thesis, also published one of the first guidebooks to include the fortifications of Famagusta, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, and the *Fortress of Famagusta* published in the Royal Architectural Journal in 1908 (Jeffery 1908, Jeffery 1918). These are significant as Jeffery was the first Curator of Ancient Monuments from 1903 until his death in 1935 and during this time he frequently corresponded with the Society for the Protection of Ancient buildings in London concerning the preservation of the fortifications. In *Fortress*, he describes the conditions of the Citadel and includes the first measured sketches of the Citadel with the original Lusignan Plan superimposed on the Venetian Plan, including reconstruction sketches of the elevations. Jeffery also includes some of the earliest photographs and descriptions of the later Ottoman alterations and detailed descriptions of all the bastions.

Jefferies was followed by Theophilus A. H. Mogabgab who served as the Deputy Director of Antiquities for Famagusta District from 1935 until 1956³¹. Mogabgab was an interesting and character was a self-taught medievalist, and it was during his tenure that “the most comprehensive rehabilitation and restoration work took place in Famagusta...” (Tümer 2012)(p 171). Mogabgab was responsible for major conservation efforts and extensively photographed the original state of the fortifications, damage during the Second World War, and subsequent conservation efforts. While his photographic record is excellent, his written descriptions are, notably lacking. It is unfortunate that this important early annotated photographic record is largely inaccessible and has not been digitized.

The final historic record concerning the conservation of the fortifications is the official Cyprus Annual Reports of the Director of Antiquities (CARDA). These official reports date from 1945 until the Turkish invasion in 1975. The reports describe the condition and many conservation efforts of the walls of Famagusta and archaeological excavations to clear debris accumulated since the Ottoman siege. These historic publications give insight into early conservation efforts, the official policy of the British colonial government, limited budget information, and describe the city and changes in its early development. They also detail conservation and reconstruction after the Second World War including works at the Citadel (Othello), the Land Gate / Ravelin, Diamante-Signoria curtain wall, works at various ramparts and clearing of the ditch. Most importantly, they feature written descriptions of conservation works and photographs.

³¹ Interestingly enough, Mogabgab was also a Brother of the Order of St. John and M.B.E. Most Excellent Order of the British Empire

16. Curtain wall adjoining the Citadel, repair of corbelled wall-walk (A.5101).

Figure 7 – Historic photograph from CARTA, 1949 showing repairs to works on the interior of the curtain wall near the Othello Tower / Citadel. Compare this image to figure 4 which was an inspiration for this thesis (CARTA; 1949)

2.5.2 Academic publications

More recently, there have been a number of seminal works given the historical importance of the city and the growing international interest in the conservation of its rich architectural remains, including the fortifications. One of the principal long-term investigators in the architectural history and conservation of the city is Dr. Michael Walsh. He has edited and written four seminal publications concerning the city and its various architectural elements. One principal work, *City of Empires, Ottoman and British Famagusta*, contains key chapters on connections between Famagusta and Istanbul and the Transformation of Famagusta after the Siege in 1571 by Tümer, Recent Preservation Initiatives for the Fortifications of Famagusta by Yüceer, and the positioning of Famagusta Outside the World Heritage Club by Jaramillo (Walsh 2015). The second seminal publication edited by Walsh, *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*, contains chapters on trade and the economy by Jacoby, the Military Architecture of Venetian Famagusta by Perbellini, Twentieth-Century Restoration to the Medieval and Renaissance Monuments of Famagusta, again by Tümer – significant as it details the first attempts at conservation in the ancient city. Another chapter from this book: and Monumental Buildings in the Revitalization Process of Historic Urban Quarters: The Case of the Walled City of Famagusta by Doratli is important as it addresses the potential to enhance social-economic development of Famagusta (Walsh,

Coureas et al. 2012). The third publication, *The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm, Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, contains a key chapter by Jacoby on Refugees from Acre in Famagusta around 1300, and Maritime Trade by Arbel (Walsh, Kiss et al.). Finally, the fourth, soon to be published, concerns the maritime history of *Famagusta Maritima, Mariners, Merchants, Pilgrims and Mercenaries* with two key chapters: Placed in the Midst of Enemies? By Borowski and Sea Defenses in the Renaissance: Famagusta in Comparative Venetian Perspective by Cosmescu.

2.5.3 Doctoral dissertations

The third category addressed in this review is dedicated Ph.D. dissertations that tackle similar issues as this thesis. The first is that of Dr. Doratli Naciye, *A Model for Conservation and Revitalization of Historic Urban Quarters in Northern Cyprus*. While Naciye does not specifically focus on Famagusta or the fortifications, she addresses boundaries of historic quarters created by the walls and the revitalization of historic districts. The second Ph.D. by Dr. Ege Tülmer does focus on the conservation and history of the fortifications of Famagusta. This seminal work was the first to focus on the fortifications of Famagusta, their state of condition, and propose conservation measures, thus greatly informed this thesis³². Tülmer writes in detail on the historic conservation efforts and demonstrates a deep knowledge of the various phases of construction of the fortifications. This is also evident in her other publications mentioned earlier.

Another informative dissertation by James Petre entitled *The Fortifications of Cyprus Under the Lusignans: 1191-1489* (Petre 2010) provides historic background into the Lusignan and Genoese works at Famagusta. This dissertation provided historic references and was critical in locating key texts and contains a good bibliography. However, it only tangentially addresses conservation and does not touch upon social or economic development.

Hacer Basarir, writing in 2009, in his thesis *Urban Conservation of the Walled City of Famagusta/Gazimagusa* describes the issues and challenges of the city within the walls and mentions its history of stagnation and deterioration. Basarir states that the condition of the fortifications is due to north Cyprus' "unrecognized state" and that the political situation has "negative effects with respect to the financial aspects of conservation..."

³² Although in Turkish Dr. Tülmer provided excerpts and interviews in English

(Basarir 2009)(p 67). Importantly, he follows a two-tiered case study comparison approach with other complete walled cities. In his introduction, he focuses on short cases of World Heritage properties including Istanbul, Acre, Dubrovnik, and Rhodes and eight other cases unrelated to Famagusta. These case studies are described very broadly and focus on the cities, their conservation, and World Heritage status with less emphasis on the fortifications. In these short case studies, Basarir does not specifically address socio-economic development or, critically, management. For example, in the case study of Dubrovnik he does not mention the Society for Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities, a key player in the fortifications and conservation in the city. Basarir's broad emphasis on numerous short case studies with one principal topic, conservation, led to the decision in this thesis to investigate at a deeper level on fewer comparative case studies, only located in the eastern Mediterranean, linked historically to Famagusta with an emphasis on management for sustained conservation. These short cases are then followed with two more in-depth case studies of Urbino and Valletta. These more in-depth case studies do feature reuse of certain portions of the fortifications for social development, such as the St. James Cavalier and describe the government agencies such as Heritage Malta but only lightly touch on socio-economic development. Given these similarities and differences, Basarir's dissertation greatly informed this study.

The final dissertation that informed this study and is most aligned in terms of Famagusta, its conservation and development, and issues of financial sustainability is that of Carlos Jaramillo. Jaramillo describes in detail the situation in Famagusta, the importance of conservation of the city's cultural heritage assets, the financial situation, and the importance of cultural tourism. He outlines a pilot walking tour and to support this idea is a cost-benefit analysis, willingness to pay survey, and present value calculations. Critically, he states the "purpose of this study is to provide a funding strategy to rehabilitate Famagusta's heritage..." (p 179), very much aligned with this thesis. His practical approach with a deliberate focus on tourism and a modest walking tour sets aside political agendas, ownership issues, and lack of statistical data. However, he places an inordinate amount of importance on Famagusta and the possibilities of including the city on the World Heritage List with considerable space given to a possible nomination dossier. Rightly so, as the label or brand of World Heritage promotes tourism. And although he does recognize that a World Heritage nomination would "not be possible unless there is a government/management structure that oversees

that the characteristics for which the site was included in the World Heritage List” (p 179) and “...forty years of decay of Famagusta’s heritage site proves the limited capacity of the current management organizations, expertise and feasibility of its policies” (p 165). Given his recognition of the lack of management in consideration of one of the major alternatives is somewhat puzzling: “the Bi-communal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage, which in my personal and professional experience is a political front from the two sides of the island, not reliable technically, and reluctant to engage in contemporary discussions on economics, management or any form of alternative governance for Cultural Heritage that could represent a risk for sovereignty...” (p 164). Failure to engage with the most active bi-communal agency on the island for conservation, which has conserved six major elements of the fortifications, conducted an economic and social development study and commissioned a prototype management plan study is counterproductive.

Nevertheless, Jaramillo, survey, and findings are beneficial and have added considerably to this study. His approach is refreshing given that he is one of the only researchers dealing with the practical and critical question of how to pay for conservation – especially relevant in an environment where the central and municipal governments are lacking resources. One key difference between his thesis and this study is that he addresses all cultural heritage in Famagusta through the study of a single project, a walking tour whereas this thesis focuses on one item of cultural heritage through any number of good practice. Jaramillo’s final conclusions include an important consideration central to this work that “among the social benefits of conserving Famagusta would be the increase of the well-being of the population in Famagusta, or the improvement of pride and self-esteem, of being part of the city” (Jaramillo 2014)(p 172).

2.5.4 Contemporary reports

Finally, there are a number of contemporary reports that address Famagusta. The first comprehensive approach toward conservation and development is the *Famagusta Master Plan* of 2006 by the Famagusta municipality in partnership with the UNDP with financing by the European Union (Municipality 2006). This plan is in three parts, an assessment, potentials for revitalization, and proposals. It was created to direct future conservation efforts, and importantly, improve the social-economic situation within the walls. Noted in the introduction, the “erosion in the social and economic fabric of this

city...” (ibid)(p 1). Although small projects such as the pedestrianization of small streets and improvement of other areas, this was the first attempt to improve management for development and includes a number of revitalization possibilities. The plan also contains statistics on the community within the walls, number, and type of businesses and the economic structure providing an important baseline of data from which to measure social or economic development. However, this plan somewhat downplays the role the fortifications could have for regeneration, by far the largest most extensive element of cultural heritage in the city and unfortunately, the plan has not been followed or updated and is not widely available.

The second report is from the World Monuments Fund and the University of Pennsylvania: *The Walled City of Famagusta, A Compendium of Preservation Studies, 2008-2012* edited by Tümer and Mason (Mason, Tumer et al. 2014). This document provides an understanding of the city and detailed descriptive analysis and existing condition along with general proposals. This report is extremely informative of the city, the social and economic situation, demographics, and the number of historic buildings and is quoted frequently in this thesis. It compares Famagusta to Kyrenia, the other port city of northern Cyprus which has successfully exploited beach and casino tourism. This report contains brief descriptions of the fortifications of the walls as barriers and also lists their potential. It also contains the required analysis and assessment of the values and significance of the city. Unfortunately, while both of the above-mentioned reports provide extremely useful data and good ideas, neither goes into detail as to how their proposals should be paid for or the management mechanisms necessary to ensure sustained conservation or socio-economic development. There are references to the default strategy of tourism, and some vague mentions of raising the property tax base, and a revolving fund but investigations into paying for conservation is woefully inadequate.

Another key contemporary document is a special forum issue Occupied with Saving the Past: Advancing the Preservation Agenda in Northern Cyprus in the *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* in 2015. Within this issue are articles concerning the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage and the subject of looting by Hadjisavvas, international laws including the Hague Convention and difficulties in protecting archaeological remains by Şevketoğlu, the use of cultural heritage to build peace by Kassinis, and the role of international/local experts by McCarthy (Scham, Hadjisavvas et al. 2015). This publication focuses on the cultural heritage in the northern portion of Cyprus and the difficulties of conservation in an unrecognized state and provides invaluable insight into the structure and inner workings of management. It also briefly touches upon Famagusta, and its fortifications.

The final contemporary report is an informative and entertaining video that is essential to understanding the monuments of Famagusta, *The Stones of Famagusta, The Story of a Forgotten City* directed by Dan Frodsham and Allan Langdale (Frodsham and Langdale 2007). In this video, the fortifications are prominently featured and highlight areas where architectural adaptations occurred in response to gunpowder. The video contains some of the only images from within one of the bastions and tunnels dug by the Ottoman miners. The video finishes with a statement that the stones of Famagusta are in need of protection.

2.6 Summary

The Literature Review was undertaken to understand previously conducted research in three fields: sustainability, development, and management and how they are applied to the conservation of cultural heritage with the final portions more specifically focused on fortifications and Famagusta. This last portion consisted of publications produced by organizations, initiatives, and individuals focused on the previously mentioned topics applied to the conservation of fortifications. This review also addressed dissertations, reports, and academic studies focused on Famagusta. All of the above gave insight into the situation at the principal case study of Famagusta as well as the other comparative case studies. It was also undertaken to make connections between the four fields and identify any gaps and thus position this thesis.

Sustainability is and has always been, at the core of conservation philosophy, although the word only recently entered the field. Today, the word is loosely applied to many areas and thus risks losing its meaning, but regardless, the concept will remain central to the conservation of cultural heritage. Most often, sustainability is applied as an adjective to development.

Development was explored using the modern definition which concerns the welfare, future potential, and quality of life, rather than the out of date definition, which was strictly limited industrial or economic growth. Development has recently become intertwined with conservation as the field has broadened away from a singular focus on preserving physical remains of a single structure to encompass the surrounding context, landscapes, intangible heritage, tourism, as well as the communities and their welfare. “Indeed, the shift in the heritage sector from simple physical protection to a more layered approach to management that takes into account social, economic and environmental concerns provides a basis for giving the heritage a function in the life of the community...” (de Caro 2013)(p 4) (Wijesuriya, Thompson et al. 2013).

Management, the third subject, is seen as a way to ensure both sustainability and development in the conservation of cultural heritage. Without management, the most successfully executed conservation project will not outlive its authors. “...the principles of sustainability have, in practice, always been central to heritage conservation and management. Managing heritage assets is undertaken to ensure they can be enjoyed by all, including future generations, means putting sustainability into practice” (NSW Heritage Office 2004)(p 9).

What does this have to do with the conservation of fortifications?

Historic fortifications are a defining feature of many cities and their communities in the Mediterranean. “They clearly delineate boundaries, provide circulations paths, and encourage visitation” (Eppich and García Grinda 2015)(p 357). City walls have “an enduring influence on townscapes... and have always played a critical role in shaping the identities and images of the communities they embrace.” (Bruce and Creighton 2006)(p 234). In addition, historic city walls are unique and cannot be replaced “Any town, which, in the twenty-first century remains defined by its walls, in an anomaly” (Bruce and Creighton 2006)(p 234). “Town walls are indivisible from the townscapes within which they are embedded. Yet a long-standing tension exists between the

restrictive qualities of walls and gates (and their conservation within the branded ‘heritage city’), and the dynamic forces of urban change, which can exacerbate issues of dissonance” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 27-34).

Such identity and uniqueness are essential to the quality of life. Tweed and Sutherland state: “Increasingly, governments recognize the contribution that built cultural heritage makes to the social well-being...” (Tweed and Sutherland 2007)(p 62). They continue: “Heritage is seen as a major component of quality of life,” and “these features give a city its unique character and provide the sense of belonging that lies at the core of cultural identity” (ibid). Doratli, in her article on the walled city of Famagusta, states “In the long run, physical revitalization may not be sustainable, and it would only be a ‘cosmetic’ intervention, unless the buildings are occupied and utilized for economic use, which renders the structures and consequently, the area competitive with the rest of the city” (Doratli 2010)(p 105).

The final section of the literature review was concerned with Famagusta and its cultural heritage. This portion of the review commenced with the historic reports and the early efforts to describe the fortifications and conditions followed by the first conservation efforts. It was followed by academic publications and doctoral dissertations that focused on the defenses and the social-economic situation in Famagusta. Finally, these sections close with contemporary reports.

In toto, this literature review greatly informed the direction of this research and positioned the thesis: sustainable conservation through management for the socio-economic development of local communities and how this can be applied to Famagusta and its fortifications is therefore relevant. The terms investigated within this literature review thus cannot be separated. There could be conservation of the physical fabric of the walls, but without the development of the community, it would be pointless. And unless there is good management, any conservation intervention would not be sustainable, and the walls, as well as a community within, would soon deteriorate.

The themes presented here will continue to be used throughout this document with frequent reference to the scholars presented above.

3 METHODOLOGY

In order to address the research problem, the following methodology was adopted, taking into account the Literature Review, experiences in Famagusta, and at the case studies. This methodology began with a refinement of the original problem statement followed by an elaboration of a theoretical framework which was then investigated for appropriateness and applicability given the type of research problem, the field of study, and research paradigm. This led to a research design that further developed the thesis and provided a roadmap to collect additional information in order to develop conclusions.

3.1 Defining the problem

Previously to this thesis, numerous visits had been made to Famagusta and other fortified cities in the eastern Mediterranean and observations made of the poor state of condition, lack of maintenance, and seemingly absence of management or conservation strategy. The condition of the fortifications in particular contrasted greatly with other, often nearby, cultural heritage sites. Thus, questions were raised concerning their significance, management, and finance. In addition, the often precarious situation of the communities within walled cities was also (troublingly) observed. The communities within were under threat from either a lack of economic opportunities or being overwhelmed by a tourism-based economy. A problem was recognized, but further research was required. Therefore the methodology began by first observing the problem then refining into a problem statement. Several versions of draft problem statements guided the Literature Review and initial investigations into the issues related to sustained conservation of large fortifications, the survival of communities within, and Famagusta. This, in turn, led to parallel lines of research including management, financial organization, local government agency autonomy, and education with their impact on sustaining conservation. The literature review revealed a complex problem across the seemingly disconnected fields of sustainable conservation, socio-economic development, and management. Subsequent investigations were conducted of other fortified cities to compare and contrast with the situation in Famagusta in light of this problem statement. This demonstrated that Famagusta is not only struggling with the conservation of their fortifications but also many other cities. Further refinement of the problem statement also demonstrated that one key to sustainable conservation and community viability was management.

3.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework chosen to pursue this research was qualitative in nature as it deals with human organization structuring and design within governing bodies that impact management and conservation of historic fortifications and the communities within. It also studied how agencies within these governing bodies interact formally, but most often informally. As stated in Maxwell, a qualitative study is characterized by “activities of collecting and analyzing data, developing and modifying the theory, elaborating or refocusing the research questions, and identifying...” (Maxwell 2008)(p 214). In a qualitative study, “research design should be a reflexive process operating through every stage of a project” (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995)(p 24). Therefore this framework was selected as most appropriate to address the research problem. This stated, there were certain aspects of the research that are defined as quantitative as they deal with finance, budget, and visitor statistics, however, these are not substantial enough to categorize this theoretical framework as mixed-method or quantitative. A case study research approach was then chosen as according to Creswell, it involves issues to be researched and explored through a bounded system (Creswell 2007) (p 73):

“Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes.”

In addition, the case study approach is normally accepted within the disciplines of architecture, history, conservation, and especially in management and development. Creswell states the types of case studies must be bounded or within a distinguished group or activity (Creswell 2007). In this thesis, the case studies are bound in multiple dimensions as they are interrelated through history, geography, as well as connected through surviving communities under threat within fortifications. They are also bound by the need to conserve these fortifications and management activities. The type of case study can be referred to as a hybrid between the instrumental and collective case study approach. The instrumental case study focuses on one issue with one case study subject. Whereas, a collective (multiple) case studies the research concerns “selected multiple cases” (Creswell and Poth 2016)(p 73). This approach allows for different and varied

perspectives on the same issues, even given the difficulty of generalization given different contexts. This thesis focuses on the instrumental case study of Famagusta with a bounded group of other fortified cities in the eastern Mediterranean. One important aspect related to the case study is the selection. In Part II of this thesis, there is an in-depth explanation regarding the case study selection rationale.

However, the methodology also overlaps, and relates in part with the grounded theory study in which an approach is taken to systematically analyze procedures (Strauss and Corbin 1990) and “develop a theory that explains process, action, or interaction on a topic” and “the researcher typically conducts 20 to 30 interviews based on several visits *to the field* to collect interview data to saturate the categories” (Creswell 1994)(p 64). Therefore there were several aspects of the research that used this approach and procedures when deemed necessary, following the procedures for carrying out a case study as laid out by Stake (Stake 1995) (p 74-76). The case study approach was determined to be appropriate with fortified cities identified through visits and data collected from multiple sources including observations, interviews, and State of Condition Reports, Periodic Reports, and Management Plans submitted to UNESCO. From these studies, an analysis was made followed by an interpretation. Quite useful during this process were several individuals identified through site visits and interviews that provided feedback and corrections as to the understanding of the situation in the selected case studies. The theoretical lens used further to focus this study utilized the Nara Document for its concept of values and the protection of those values, including historical, scientific, and especially social and economic. This allowed the case studies to be viewed collectively within the framework of the underlying values, their significance, and how management approached protection (ICOMOS 1994). The Nara Document also successfully aided in separating the research from a focus solely on the historic values or physical remains to include other broader aspects. To aid in the use of the Nara Document, the Nara Grid evaluation scheme by Van Balen was utilized (Van Balen 2008). This Nara lens modernizes the work of Alois Riegl. Riegl is writing in the early 20th century first advocated protection based upon values: historic-value, newness-value, contemporary-value, use-value, art-value and finally age-value. For age-value, he intended to define the value of the incompleteness, flaws, maturity, acts of nature and, importantly, the patina. He stated that these values are upon which the treatment of historic buildings must depend (Riegl 1996).

3.3 Research paradigm

The paradigm utilized to undertake a specific direction of this research is largely described as pragmatic or functional. This was chosen given the overwhelming practical problems required of architectural conservation, management, and personal views. Feilzer³³ argues that “pragmatism can serve as a rationale for formal research design as well as a more grounded approach to research” (Yvonne Feilzer 2010)(p 2). This rationale was very early on supported by Burrell and Morgan and described as the functionalist approach which “seeks to provide essentially rational explanations for social affairs concrete or objective reality through systematic study” (Burrell and Morgan 1979)(p 26). This pragmatic paradigm was appropriate given it’s a problem-oriented approach, concerned to provide practical solutions to real problems. This stated paradigm does borders on the interpretive with relation to the in-depth interviews, particularly with the primary case study of Famagusta, where considerable time was spent working within the organizations and management during conservation of key elements of the fortifications.

Figure 8 –Pragmatic Paradigm after Burrell & Morgan’s sociological paradigms (Burrell and Morgan 1979)

³³ Feilzer largely advocates a mixed method pragmatism research paradigm, however her arguments are also applicable to qualitative studies

One example of this pragmatic paradigm that is present throughout the research relates to the need for improved management in order to capture lost financial value or opportunities. Not for economic gain but to ensure sustained conservation. However, this pragmatic paradigm should, in no way, be interpreted as a neo-liberal approach or fully advocating for New Public Management. The New Public Management approach (Hood and Jackson 1991) seeks to address managerial reform within public administrations, whereas this paradigm only seeks mainly practical solutions for the problems faced at Famagusta and at other case studies.

3.4 Assumptions

In order to conduct this research, a number of assumptions had to be addressed concerning the topics presented in this thesis. It is important to mention the assumptions as they have driven the development of the theories and influenced the implementation of this research.

One of the primary assumptions is that Cypriots intrinsically care for the fortifications and wish to conserve them. This is not as clear an assumption as it may first appear as the fortifications are currently in very poor condition and were, after all, constructed by foreign rulers – first Lusignan, then Genoese, and finally Venetian (whom often oppressed the local Greek population). In addition, the fortifications are only Ottoman Turkish through later repairs, as they were constructed before the invasion in the 16th century. The assumption that the greater Cypriot community is concerned is warranted through direct experience by the author over an eight-year period at public meetings, attendance by large numbers of both Turkish and Greek Cypriot at the Open Heritage Days, and during presentations with the fortifications. This assumption is also warranted by the large numbers of articles in both Greek and Turkish in the popular media. (@cyprusmail, 2014, Shakespeare's Othello Tower in Famagusta gets a new lease of life - Cyprus Mail), (Sayfa 2015). Polls also quantify concern “a 2008 public opinion survey noted that a staggering 92 percent of Greek Cypriots and 72 percent of Turkish Cypriots believe that protecting the cultural heritage of one community that is located within the territory of the other is an important way to improve understanding...” (Kassinis 2015) (p 153 citing Kaymak, Lordos, Tocci, 2008)). Antidotal experience is also abundant, given personal interaction with Cypriots while working on the walls.

Another assumption is that both the Turkish and Greek Cypriot authorities have the desire to work together across substantial barriers for the conservation. This, also, has been verified first-hand during active meetings with the bi-communal Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage and their statements in popular media and academic publications (Kassinis 2015, SigmaLive 2016). And, most importantly, their role in the execution of five sizeable conservation projects on the walls. This assumption extends to the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus as they have expressed concern numerous times about the state of conservation of the fortifications.

However, there are many unwarranted assumptions that the political leaders have it within their political, economic, or managerial power to enact change at the local level to improve daily management and protection. This is less unclear given the closure of two recently conserved portions of the fortifications, unaddressed collapses, a lack of basic maintenance, uncontrolled parking, areas of graffiti and rubbish and failure to open an essential historic quarry. While the Famagusta Municipality has conducted several projects related to the fortifications within the ditch and installation of a park adjacent to the citadel they and the cultural authorities have not, for whatever reasons, addressed basic management.

These assumptions were important to recognize and delineate, as stated earlier, the goals and objectives of this research are to improve management and thus ensure continued sustained conservation of the fortifications. Should the local leaders or community be indifferent to the fortifications and their conservation, no amount of research or conservation work will change this. These assumptions will be maintained and challenged throughout this thesis.

Sunday, 06 July 2014 10:27

Υπό συντήρηση ο Πύργος του Οθέλλου

ΠΑΝ. ΧΑΤΖΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

Η έναρξη της συντήρησης του Πύργου του Οθέλλου στα ενετικά τείχη της κατεχόμενης Αμμοχώστου αποτελεί μια πολύ σημαντική εξέλιξη στις προσπάθειες που καταβάλλονται για την προστασία της κοινής πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς της Κύπρου. Το έργο συντήρησης του Πύργου του Οθέλλου γίνεται στα πλαίσια της Τεχνικής Επιτροπής Πολιτιστικής Κληρονομιάς, με τη στήριξη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και του Προγράμματος Ανάπτυξης των Ηνωμένων Εθνών(UNDP).

ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΗ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ.

Figure 9 — conservation works were frequently featured in both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot newspapers, thus reaffirming the assumption that the communities did wish to preserve the fortifications of Famagusta.(Cyprus Reporter, 2014)

Otello Kalesi Sağlamlastırma Çalışmaları Başladı

Gazimağusa Surlarığı'nda, 14'üncü yüzyıldan kalma, Shakespare'in eserlerinden birine konu olan Otello Kalesi'ni sağlamlastırma çalışmaları başladı.

SAĞLAMLAŞTIRMA ÇALIŞMALARI 8 AYDA TAMAMLANACAK

OTELLE KALESİ SANATSAL ETKİNLİKLERE EV SAHİPLİĞİ YAPABİLECEK

Gazimağusa Surlarığı'nda, 14'üncü yüzyıldan kalma, Shakespare'in eserlerinden birine konu olan Otello Kalesi'ni sağlamlastırma çalışmaları başladı.

Bazı kısımları yıkılma tehlikesi içinde olan Kalede özellikle erozyona uğramış duvarlar ile kemerlerin onarımı, kalenin yağmur suyundan korunması gibi çalışmaları da içeren proje Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Programı ile Kültürel Miras Teknik Komitesinin işbirliğinde Avrupa Birliği finansmanı ile yürütülüyor.

Figure 10 – Article in the Turkish Cypriot media concerning the reopening of Othello's Tower (Kibrispostasi, 2014)

3.5 Research design

The research design, given the pragmatic paradigm, is straightforward. The first part of the design was defining the problem statement, which was continually under revision and reassessment during the literature review, case study research, and interviews at the primary case study of Famagusta. This was followed by straightforward linear and logical steps:

1. Refinement of the problem statement, the formation of the thesis, development, and testing of the hypothesis
2. Collection of data and supporting evidence to the thesis and literature review
3. Conducting observational site visits, in-depth interviews
4. Description and adaptation of relevant terms, a collection of characteristics, values, attributes, identification of leading researchers
5. Formulation of evaluation criteria to compare and contrast the case studies
6. Acquisition and organization of the research literature into categories, identification of linkages and gaps
7. Analysis and evaluation of the data, proposal, and reassessment of the problem statement and thesis and validation of preliminary findings
8. Validation of the data, preliminary findings, peer review

This was for the most part followed, but was by no means neither ideal nor a linear process, but iterative and necessitated flexibility, often flawed, and frequently non-sequential: “Research design should be a reflexive process operating through every stage of a project” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 24). Maxwell, in *Designing a Qualitative Study*, states: “The activities of collecting and analyzing data, developing and modifying the theory, elaborating or refocusing the research questions, and identifying and dealing with validity threats are usually going on more or less simultaneously, each influencing all of the others.” (Joseph Maxwell, Chap. 7 *Designing a Qualitative study* p. 215). He goes on to state that “qualitative research requires a broader less restrictive concept” and can, therefore, be more interactive (ibid, p. 215). This does not imply that the design presented above was not followed but simply that it was flexible and adaptable as conditions warranted. This was useful, for example, when peer review feedback was provided after presentations and regional conferences or when interviews challenged research.

Figure 11 — Research Design based on Maxwell's *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* page 217 (Maxwell 2008)

According to Maxwell's approach, there are five components to such a flexible research design: goals, framework, questions, methods, and validity organized in a non-linear schematic. For this research design, an attempt was made to overlay the previously described linear process over Maxwell's model, keeping the problem statement and thesis as the center. One key element is goals which are described as questions: Why conduct the study? Who will the study influence? And where should it be applicable? This was critical given the practical paradigm adopted and the overriding motivation behind the thesis. For this component the goals, objectives and specific objectives first outlined in this methodology chapter are relevant, and this hybrid linear flexible model aided greatly in ensuring that these remained an essential part of the research design.

3.6 Data collection

Supporting evidence to the thesis the data collection began long before the inception of this thesis with the work on the conservation of Othello Tower. Informal interviews were conducted on-site, in the office work always with the essential questions: How can the remainder of the fortifications of Famagusta be funded? How will they be maintained? Who will manage this after the conservation work? Easy answers were not forthcoming.

More organized data collection begins in earnest with this thesis in 2015 in Famagusta with both formal and informal interviews. Government leaders, administrators from both the Turkish and Greek Cypriot authorities were interviewed. In addition, representatives from the European Union and managers from non-profit organizations, such as the United Nations Development Programme, Partnership for the Future, were engaged during the course of ongoing work. Academics from the Eastern Mediterranean University and other universities were also interviewed.

These studies concerning Famagusta then branched out into other case studies in 2016-2018 for comparison and contrast. At first, the case study sample size or bounded collection set was difficult to select given the numerous examples of fortified cities throughout Europe and the Mediterranean. However, during this data collection, the in-depth interviews, narratives, and secondary interviews the case studies began to be targeted with key aspects concerning funding conservation of large fortifications but with a varied organizational management approach. The selection rationale is described in detail in Part II and focused on fortified living cities in the Eastern Mediterranean that are connected historically to Famagusta yet are under different administrative and management structures.

The collected data can be divided into two main categories, primary resources, collected in the field, and secondary resources.

3.6.1 Primary resources: interviews, visits, observations

Primary research included extensive work on-site in Famagusta with two three month studies in 2016 and continued in 2017 with correspondence throughout 2018. This primary research also included reliance on former visits to many of the sites used for

comparative case studies with follow-up visits during the preparation of this thesis. This was supplemented with telephone interviews and emails. These consisted primarily of extensive on-site observations and experience in the field working on the fortifications. In-depth, open-ended interviews were conducted with academics, managers, and those responsible in the respective agencies tasked with safeguarding the fortifications. The questionnaires utilized for the interviews were based upon a series of questions related to management structure, organization, governance, funding, autonomy, and importantly, conservation. The questionnaires evolved over time during the collection of data and were used as a base and not strictly followed given an often hesitation to discuss finance or organizational and managerial deficiencies. The symposium and conferences listed later in the verification section were a valuable source and efficient method to collect data as many representatives from the selected case studies attended and peer review was considered essential. Whenever possible interviews were established during these symposia.

For the additional case studies, primary research consisted of short, targeted visits, and in the case of Dubrovnik and Istanbul, multiple visits. These also relied heavily on observations, site visits to the fortifications, and interviews. The interviews were open-ended and informal, given the hesitation to discuss internal organizational issues.

This primary research yielded sufficient results to draw parallels with the main case study of Famagusta. Many similarities were noted, and this was fed back into additional interviews and investigations.

3.6.2 Secondary resources: literature review, management plans

Secondary research included the standard database searches, relevant journals, and attendance to related conferences. It also included contacts with active researchers to obtain additional sources of information and archival research in Famagusta and Nicosia. The archives in both cities revealed useful data concerning the history of the conservation as well as the organization and management of the fortifications. This review represents research, along with several different themes.

- Highly relevant references related directly to the case studies, their history and management, and particular challenges to fortified cities. Attention was given specifically to management, conservation, and development of the comparative

case studies in addition to more general material. This included management plans, research reports, and the official publications of the relevant authorities.

- General conservation resources -related to cultural heritage protection, conservation, and management. This included side research of management of non-profit destinations apart from cultural heritage places as this offered unique information. Secondary (journals, magazines, newspapers, Internet)
- Economic development research in general, including local use and international tourism with a focus on cultural heritage.

The research was mainly conducted in English, but investigations were also made in Italian and Spanish with assistance provided by colleagues from Nicosia and Famagusta to fully understand the materials collected in Greek and Turkish. An effort was made to search widely on the categories mention above given the variety of periods and international involvement in Famagusta. An effort was made to translate important passages from relevant texts into English. The main criteria for selection are if they related to the key themes of this thesis, sustainability, development, management, conservation, and Famagusta. The research included academic papers, articles, and dedicated books but also journals, newspaper clippings, and Internet sources. Specific material directly related to Famagusta – its history, recent and past conservation efforts and the current economic development plan were included.

3.6.3 Data analysis and evaluation

During the collection phase and throughout the thesis at key milestones, the data was analyzed and evaluated against the original problem statement. This aided in subsequent lines of research and in organizing the data. In many cases, the collected data validated preliminary findings and often necessitated the collection of additional information.

The evaluation followed the UNESCO Evaluation Handbook and used five key criteria: Relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, impact, and sustainability (UNESCO 2007). When a key piece of data was obtained, it was rated against these questions both to appraise the information if it was useful and if it verified or challenged the thesis.

Another key in the evaluation of data was the research and development of evaluation factors to compare the case studies. This is described in detail in Part II, Chapter 4.

3.6.4 Verification

One important aspect of the methodology was the reliability and validity of the research methodology, approach, data collection, and preliminary findings. This has been accomplished through a close network of advisors, both academic and professional, and regular quarterly meetings with the thesis advisor. This was supplemented by four-yearly presentations and evaluations by the departmental tribunal which culminated in the pre-defense of this thesis. Verification was also accomplished through regular informal meetings with both Greek and Turkish Cypriots as well as extensive experience working as the principal architect for key elements of the fortifications of Famagusta in Cyprus.

This was supplemented through peer review and presentation of various aspects of the thesis at international conferences. This provided important feedback from academics and professionals in the main fields of research: sustainability, development, conservation, and fortifications. These included the following:

- 2014, Pamplona, Spain: Fortified Heritage: Management and Sustainable Development, Pamplona, sponsored by ICOMOS committee on fortifications, ICOFORT. This resulted in the peer-reviewed article: *History, Literature, and Tourism, Shakespeare, and Othello's Citadel* (Eppich 2015).
- 2015, Valencia, Spain: Modern Age Fortifications of the Western Mediterranean Coast, sponsored by the University of Valencia. This resulted in a keynote presentation and peer-reviewed article entitled: *Encouraging Willingness to Contribute City Fortifications and their Conservation in the Mediterranean*. This research provided a roadmap to this thesis on various case studies (Eppich and García Grinda 2015).
- 2015, Taipei, Taiwan: 25th International CIPA Symposium sponsored by ICOMOS / ISPRS / CIPA. A peer-reviewed research paper and presentation: *Management Indicators & Good Practice at Cultural Heritage Places*, which highlighted several fortified cities such as Valletta, Malta, and Dubrovnik (Eppich and García Grinda 2015).
- 2016, Ulquin, Montenegro: Sustainable Conservation of the Old Town Ulqin-Ulcinj – Kalaja where a presentation was made on financial contributions in order to sustain conservation of fortified cities.

- 2016, Florence, Italy: Modern Age Fortifications of the Mediterranean that resulted in a presentation and paper entitled: *Interpretation of Fortified Sites, Prizren, Kosovo*, sponsored by the University of Florence School of Architecture (Eppich, Thaci et al. 2016).
- 2017, Famagusta, Cyprus: Sustainability and Heritage, a seminar sponsored by the Eastern Mediterranean University. A presentation was made that included the fortifications and sustainable conservation of Famagusta.
- 2017, Alicante, Spain: Defensive Architecture of the Mediterranean, sponsored by the University of Alicante and resulted in the presentation and publication of *Cervantes and Shakespeare and their impact on the Conservation of two Mediterranean Fortifications* (Eppich and García Grinda 2017).
- 2017, Fortress Study Group publication Casemate, No. 112, May 2018. Casemate, *Ranikot, Dewar-e-Sindh, The Great Wall of Sindh, Pakistan* (Eppich 2018).
- 2018, Seville, Spain: Jornada Ruinas, Expolio e Intervenciones en el Patrimonio Cultural that resulted in a presentation and paper entitled: *Las estructuras de gestión del patrimonio cultural – ejemplos*, which include the case study of the fortifications of Famagusta, Cyprus, hosted by Universidad Pablo de Olavide.
- 2018, Tornio, Italy: Fortification Heritage. Two abstracts have been presented and accepted: *Conservation of Martinengo Bastion, Famagusta, Cyprus* and *Recovery and Reuse of the Venetian Water Collection System at Othello's Tower, Famagusta* (Eppich, Pittas et al. 2018).

In addition to the peer review selected portions of the thesis related to the case studies were presented to those interviewed for verification. In several cases, corrections were made, and the results refined. The thesis was also submitted in draft sections to international experts for review as well as to the Ph.D. committee and international experts who provided essential feedback at the later stages of the research.

3.7 Summary

The above discussion concerned the methodology used to pursue the problem statement and support and challenge the thesis. It was begun with the problem statement refinement followed by the development of the theoretical framework. The selection of this methodology was entirely pragmatic, given the issues, goals, and objectives of this research. At first, the framework was conceived as a linear process, but at times, it was by no means as organized as such. Therefore Maxwell's qualitative interactive approach to research resonated and thus resulted in the hybrid approach.

The Literature Review significantly informed the methodology, and often, it was a back-and-forth between the review and refinement of this methodology. As the data was collected the methodology allowed the organization and evaluation of this often deluge of information.

A critical point to the methodology was the verification by peers, and this was accomplished by the production of papers at key points along the way of the research. These were submitted to various congresses and groups in the theme of fortification management and conservation and subjected to double-blind peer review. This process built confidence in the ongoing, often halting research.

The data collection was also supported through the interviews, which served not only to collect information but verified the direction of the thesis. This was useful for the case studies as often managers, conservators, and architects working on fortified cities in the region had no contact with each other. They were naturally curious about what was happening in other cities and were often surprised to find they were facing similar issues.

This summary brings the methodology section and Part I of the thesis to a close. It is followed by Part II the individual case studies before moving on to the principal case study of Famagusta.

PART II – CASE STUDIES

Figure 12 – Panorama of Dubrovnik from the tower of Lovrijenac or San Lorenzo, 2017 (Eppich)

4 EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT

4.1 Trade / Religious nexus

“The sea is everything it is said to be: it provides unity, transport, the means of exchange and intercourse, if man is prepared to make an effort and pay a price. But it has also been the great divider, the obstacle that had to be overcome” (Braudel and Ollard 1992)(p 276).

Throughout antiquity, long-distance trade between Asia, Africa, and Europe shaped civilizations and their settlements. Grain commodities from Egypt’s Nile Valley and “Red Sea shells, gold and semi-precious stones” were transported north (Sowada 2009)(p 28) while luxury goods, such as silk from China, were transported west. Spices from South Asia also made their multi-stage journey northwest and were joined along the way with frankincense and myrrh from Arabia (Abulafia 2012). By the turn of the 3rd century BCE, most of these routes had been long established, and settlements grew into powerful cities through trade, transit markets, and by providing protection (Metropolitan Museum of Art 2017).

The nexus of this trade was the eastern Mediterranean where land routes from the south and east converged and necessitated transportation by sea to the burgeoning markets of Europe. Transport by ship was efficient, fast and, although dangerous, safer and less expensive than overland travel: “despite the obvious dangers of sea-travelling that even bewilder modern travelers, was infinitely easier, safer and – more importantly – faster than land travel” (p 3)(Theotokis and Yildiz 2018). “International trade radically reshaped broader patterns of economic exploitation within the eastern Mediterranean world itself but also fissures and differences” (Holmes 2012)(p 19).

Extensive trading nodes, particularly city-states on the coasts developed to facilitate the transfer of goods and people. Islands, such as Cyprus and Rhodes played a special part in these networks “many islands of the eastern Mediterranean were part of a complex web of maritime links furthering the mobility of people and commodities and providing channels of communication for beliefs, ideas, books , and technologies”³⁴ (Jacoby 2012)(p 93).

³⁴ Jacoby continues to state that the islands were “more dependent upon maritime transportation than continental coastlands” (p 96).

Three of the world's most influential religions were born in this region (Robinson and Wilson 2011). But there were many other beliefs "one did not have to travel far to encounter Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Monophysites, Maronites, Nestorian, Copts, Jews, Sunni Muslims, Shii Muslims, and Druze" (Holmes 2012)(p 31). While there were many differing beliefs, religion would prove to be a strong unifying force, an inspiration for territorial expansion, and a source of conflict (ibid).

The convergence of trade, its wealth, and differing beliefs came to a culmination in the eastern Mediterranean between the 14th and 17th centuries. "At the end of the fourteenth century, the Mediterranean belonged to its towns, to the city-states scattered around its shores." (Braudel and Ollard 1992) (p 657). But during the 15th century, the political form of the city-state was under threat. "It was becoming clear that the rival of the city-state, the territorial state, rich in land and manpower, would in future be better able to meet the expense of modern warfare; it could maintain paid armies and afford costly artillery..." (ibid, p 658). This included modern artillery resistant fortifications.

It was in this context that the Ottoman Empire expanded to encompass the entire region, thus control all trade coming from Asia, Arabia, and East Africa. "Its trade helped fill the treasury, which, given the weight of military expenditure, needed filling"(Stone 2010)(p 593). The ever-growing, seemingly invincible, and economically powerful Ottoman Empire was viewed as a major threat by most European leaders. "The Ottoman Turks struck terror into the hearts of Christian Europe." (Savory 1976)(p 25). They were described by the popular 16th century English historian Richard Knolls as "the terrour of the world"(Knolles 1603)³⁵(p 2)(Parry 2003). This publication was "a clear indication" that the general public needs to know of this threat as it was written in English not Latin (Şenlen 2006)(p 379). The capture of Constantinople in 1453, was seen as a symbolic victory of Islam over Christianity and Martin Luther wrote a pamphlet titled *On War against the Turk* where he urged resistance and war against the Ottoman Empire (Luther 1528). "This was a terror sharpened by a racial difference; across the narrow sea, two civilizations communicated through abrupt acts of violence and revenge" (Crowley 2009)(p 81).

³⁵ This term was in common use throughout history but became best known to describe the Ottomans in the 16th century Anders, I. (2009). English literature on the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. PhD History, Durham University.

Consistently trading, frequently in conflict, and often in collaboration with the Ottomans were a number of European city-states including Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa; and the most powerful of which became the non-traditional empire of Venice. Cities which were built on commerce; designed to simply move goods across the sea from the sellers in the east to the buyers in the north. The Muslim Ottomans were also opposed by the faith of Christianity; that of the Orthodox Byzantine Empire and the rival Catholic Hapsburg Empire to the west along with the Papacy, many other states, and military orders, including the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Knights Hospitaller.

The hostile religious divides between Islam and Christianity combined with the rapacious commercial bridges between east and west in a context of rapid technological change in both gunpowder artillery and navies had profound impacts on defensive architecture in the eastern Mediterranean. “Fortifications represent a category of building characterised above all by their scale and dimension, with many extending over kilometres and encircling large areas. Tightly connected with the aspect of dimension are the economic capabilities necessary for the erection, operation, and maintenance of fortifications, and the ability to acquire adequate resources and to control their allocation. In light of these factors, fortifications must be understood as highly significant achievements of pre-modern societies” (Müth, Schneider et al. 2016)(p ix).

“Firearm technology not only changed fundamentals of warfare but also triggered a revision of the medieval rules of military architecture”(Özgüven 2014)(p 741).

Figure 13 – detail from a fresco at the Battle of Lepanto from the Palace Marqués de Santa Cruz (Eppich)

Figure 14 – The Great Turkish Bombard from 1464 at the Armouries of the Tower of London, Ordnance Catalogue, H.M.S.O. London, 1976, p.172.

Figure 15 – Ancient Asian and Middle East trade routes terminating at the Eastern Mediterranean (Ciolek 2012)

Figure 16 – Map of the religious beliefs in the late Medieval circa 14th century (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

Figure 17 – The eastern Mediterranean (Eppich)

4.2 Fortification building

“Those blessed centuries that lacked the frightful fury of those demon possessed instruments of artillery, whose inventor, for me, in hell is being given the prize of his diabolical invention” – Cervantes (Cervantes de Saavedra 1605)(Capítulo XXXVIII). This diabolical invention was to transform fortification architecture (Muñoz 1998)(p 15).

Figure 18 – The Great Cannon (After, Lefroy, "The Great Cannon of Muhammad II," *Archaeological Journal*, XXV (1868), pp. 261-280)

Gunpowder artillery along with ideological animosity, growing demand in Europe for valuable goods, and greed led to a sustained and frenzied period of experimentation and invention in fortification building. Fortification architecture was marked by a continual process of experimentation, construction, and reconstruction, which was necessary as armies and navies grew, and the technology, techniques, and the management of warfare evolved. The cannon reached enormous proportions. During the siege of Constantinople, the Ottoman Emperor Mehmed the Conqueror used cannons which were over 5 meters long weighing 17 tons, which devastated the tall medieval walls and towers which had defended the city since the 4th century.

The growing demand for goods led to increased trade and shipping. Vulnerability and anonymity at sea led to increased piracy. Piracy, practiced by both Christians and Muslims was officially sanctioned by authorities who found it expedient and advantageous to “ignore or even covertly sponsor acts of piracy” there were with frequent raids on shipping and the plunder of vulnerable coastal settlements (Anderson 1995)(p 177). “In turn, piracy became more appealing to many as a vocation” which “was increasingly directed against coastal settlements...” (Atauz 2004)(p 77). Such piracy was a part of life in the Mediterranean with the trading Italian city-states, the Knights of St. John, and the Ottoman Empire and their client states participating (ibid). Expeditions were frequently led against coastal settlements and preyed on shipping and transport throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Conflicts for control of the Mediterranean were “struggles over the coasts and their cities rather than battles over open sea” (Pryor 1992)(pp 75-86).

Within a few hundred years, defensive architecture had changed from tall vertical walls and square towers encompassing small areas into spreading horizontal angular constructions with projecting ramparts mathematically calculated to eliminate protective cover for an attacker. The use of long-range guns required greater distances between defenders and attackers with multiple overlapping layers of barriers. The walls of Valletta, Malta were under constant development for over two centuries and included no less than three layers of ramparts, nearly 60 kilometers of walls, outlying fortifications, coastal watchtowers, and extensive tunnel countermines excavated hundreds of meters forward of the walls to intercept any enemy tunnels.

Fortification building and modern warfare with cannon and navies were expensive. “The modern implements of war created extraordinary new financial [and managerial] requirements for imperial politics. In the centuries to come, the systematic organization and extraction of taxes from all resources would be just as much an element of imperial strength as would the possession of fire-arms” (Hess 1973)(p 55). The construction of defensive architectural systems became one of the most expensive, important, and specialized forms of architecture. Schools and publications were devoted exclusively to the study and advancement of defensive architecture with sovereigns sponsoring the study of practice and theory (Pollak 2010). Scholars, architects, and even well-known artists such as Leonardo da Vinci studied and designed fortifications (Lepage 2009). The Renaissance scholar Leon Battista Alberti in his *Ten Books on Architecture* wrote that without walls, cities were “naked” (Alberti). Michaelangelo extensively drew the fortifications of Florence (Wallace 1987). And Machiavelli dedicated an entire book (Book 7) of his *Art of War* to the defense of cities and the construction of walls (Machiavelli and Dacres).

The need for proper education for military engineers forced the War Council of Spain, in 1605, to create a Seat of Mathematics and Fortifications in Madrid with the mission to teach mathematics, geometry, and fortification construction (Vicente Marotof 2002). Numerous treatises were written, published, and distributed concerning fortification design utilizing the power of the printing press developed in the 15th century.

These efforts were justified, not only due to rapidly advancing technology but also because every community on the coast of the Mediterranean required either defensive architecture or had to be moved inland. The coasts were the most fertile for commerce but also the most vulnerable in times of conflict (Soraluce Blond 2016). The need for fortified coast settlements along the sea routes was also due to the nature of transportation within the Mediterranean. People and goods were moved by slow, heavy sailing craft, and warfare carried out by light and fast galleys which were ideal for the mild summer Mediterranean Sea. The fragile, thin galleys were initially powered by free men and then later by slaves that consumed prodigious quantities of food and water thus required frequent protected stops. The agile galleys were excellent platforms for war as oar-powered they were easy to turn in battle and were swift and reliable in close engagements. They dominated war in the Mediterranean from antiquity until the 17th century when advancements in ship-mounted cannon and sail rendered them obsolete.

Life for the galley slave was short and brutal, and there existed a constant need to renew manpower thus fueling raids on coastal communities for slaves, creating a continual barbarous cycle. In 1551 the commander of the Ottoman fleet, Sinan Pasha, landed on the Maltese island of Gozo and after defeating the citadel enslaved the entire population of 6,000, many of whom were bound to serve as galley slaves. "...much of the raiding was undertaken solely to make such raids possible. The violence was self-perpetuating. The galleys created their own need for war" (Crowley 2009)(p 86).

Figure 19 – From the Arsenal Museum in Venice, 120 Pounder Culverin with the muzzle cut, recovered from the fortress of Famagosta (Cyprus). Made by Fabio Alberghetti, 16th-century Inv. No. 1274 (Almagro, 2019)

Networks of fortified cities were created which were located within several day's galley travels of each other. The fortified cities along these networks were the most complex forms of defensive architecture ever constructed given multiple threats from small-scale piracy to large-scale war. Paradoxically, the defensive architecture also had to be open for trade, receiving, supplying, and outfitting ships. The combination of many individually constructed elements working together for the protection of the inhabitants, the structures, and navies also contributed to the complexity of fortified cities. The outlying watchtowers, systems of communication, walls, bastions, gates, and citadels had to be designed and built to function in concert in order to provide a comprehensive defensive system while still allowing and controlling access for trade by sea and land.

Figure 20 – Expansion of the Ottoman Empire between the 14th and 17th centuries (Koucky 2018)

Figure 21 – Map of the Venetian Empire between the 15th and 16th centuries (Rialtofil 2018)

Figure 22 – Map of the western Mediterranean and the Empire of Charles V (*Libera la cultura*)

4.3 Surviving fortified cities

Today, few of the fortifications that encircled cities in the eastern Mediterranean survive with fewer still which contain all their elements. Both the Ottoman and Venetian Empires became stagnant and slowly declined after the 17th century as trade routes circumventing the Levant. The focus of Europe also shifted from the Mediterranean to the New World and Asia. However, several fortified cities survived and can be divided into three categories:

- a) Hollow fortifications - fortified defenses in which the settlement within was abandoned as the community failed, moved, or adapted outside the walls. The defensive architectural system survived only to become an empty shell. Many of the fortifications continued to function given their strategic location and built infrastructure but changed from defending a city and its inhabitants to purely military, protecting an army. One example of this type is the fortifications in Shkoder, Albania. The inhabitants moved north leaving the Rozafa Fortifications empty.
- b) Thriving cities – a city which succeeded economically, thus expanded and needed the space occupied by the fortifications once they became obsolete, either to construct additional buildings or simply to improve circulation. The city survived, but the fortification network did not. Often only individual elements remained, such as gates or towers, but the complete system was lost. An example of this today is the city of Vienna. Although the famous walls stood for more than 500 years and survived two sieges by the massive Ottoman army, in 1857, they were dismantled to create a circular boulevard (Rowland 2015).
- c) Extant, intact fortifications with surviving communities within – The settlements within the fortification somehow achieved a long-term balance between expansion and contraction. The town either declined but not enough to be extinguished or grew just enough to expand beyond the periphery of the walls but without the economic means or need to remove the fortifications. Extant and intact fortifications with surviving communities are the rare exception. These surviving fortifications have now become the remaining communities' defining and identifying feature.

4.4 Case Study selection rationale

By the mid-19th and early-20th century many city fortifications were rapidly removed with mechanized demolition to accommodate growing populations and improve transportation. There is less of a threat today given greater recognition of the values and appreciation for fortification architecture, but surviving examples are still at risk due to neglect, lack of resources, inappropriate alterations, and lack of management. Therefore, this thesis concentrates on the category of extant and intact fortifications with surviving communities within. This selection rationale is appropriate for case studies as the objectives are not only the history and development of fortified cities but also methods to sustainably conserve the fortifications as well as their communities while providing social and economic benefits.

This focus significantly reduced the number of cities available for study. However, there are still numerous such examples; therefore, additional criteria were required. The second criterion for the selection of case studies was if the defensive network is mostly intact with a complete circuit of city walls including the most significant elements such as bastions and gates as well as external components such as the fosse, counterscarp, glacis, or watchtowers. The third selection criterion used was UNESCO's World Heritage List with an explicit mention of fortifications as a defining element within the nomination dossier. This criterion was also used because such properties should represent best practice having already undergone a rigorous selection process and international recognition for their Outstanding Universal Value. World Heritage properties were also selected given the sheer amount of data publically and easily available and the frequent reporting mechanisms and management plans or systems required by UNESCO. The last criterion for selection was geographical within a limited time period, and strong connections between the case studies through history. Sites in the eastern Mediterranean were selected because of the historic struggle between three very different types of empires, their ideologies, and their approaches to warfare. The Ottoman Empire was multiethnic, multicultural, with numerous religions that was composed of many different sub-states and alliances that, for the much of its history, was land-based. The Venetian Empire³⁶ was the opposite, sea-based with small land footprints, monoculture, and mono-religious with the singular goal of commerce. The

³⁶ As well as the other city-states

final empire was Christianity - that of the Hapsburgs and the Holy Roman Empire, the Papal States and their allies.

Within this region and given the nature of the conflict between the 14th and 17th centuries the remaining fortified cities in the eastern Mediterranean represent a period of innovation and advancement in responsive defensive architecture against increasingly powerful offensive weapons. The period of time selected two historic bookends or apexes of fortification architecture that demonstrate a dramatic period of change from before gunpowder artillery to after, from the height of medieval defense (Constantinople) to the height of renaissance defense (Valletta). The time period and geographic criterion were also useful because the examples selected today all exist in different nation-states, each with their unique management models and modern-day constraints. Finally, there were also pragmatic concerns in selecting case studies given their proximity and accessibility.

This geography and period were also chosen given the conquests and history of the Ottoman Empire and four distinct strategies for defense 1) continuous confrontation such as the Order of the Knights of Saint John, 2) acquiescence, complicity, and even cooperation such as that of Dubrovnik in the Republic of Ragusa, 3) somewhere in between depending upon the circumstances such as that of the Venetian Empire, many times trading and in collaboration with the Ottoman Empire but also often at war, and finally 4) internal struggles within the Ottoman empire itself as in the case of the later fortifications at Acre. Each strategy had its impact on defensive architecture. The Knights of St. John were determined to fight and had no escape strategy; thus, their fortified architecture was often massive with no expense spared. The Venetian defenses were constructed carefully considering economic feasibility, with their cities designed only to hold out until help from the sea arrived. Dubrovnik also constructed its defenses with frugality; designed to resist only until diplomacy, usually in the form of bribes, could be employed. Finally, Acre's fortifications were constructed to resist the internal forces within the Ottoman Empire as well as to defend against Europeans, but not to attract too much attention from the Imperial Ottoman Court. Additional components of the geographical criterion concerned selection of fortified cities located on the coast. This approach allowed for the study of the responsive defensive architecture at the intersection of both land and sea.

Finally, there existed strong historical connections between the case studies selected. For example, when King Richard the Lionhearted set out for Acre on the Third Crusade he stopped for a while in Rhodes before moving on to rest in Famagusta (before conquering the whole of Cyprus). When the Knights of St. John were expelled from Acre they first found refuge in Cyprus including Famagusta before settling in Rhodes. Most merchants and refugees escaping the fall of Acre in the 12th century easily settled in Famagusta. While the Knights were in Rhodes and later Malta, they continued to maintain and cultivate land in Cyprus as one of the largest landholders. After the Knight's expulsion from Rhodes, many traveled back to Cyprus before finally settling and fortifying Malta. Such historical connections were essential to understanding in-depth the selected case studies.

Numerous fortified cities were investigated throughout the Mediterranean during the initial phase of the research. Many possible case studies were selected and initially examined but later discarded either because they had similar characteristics or did not fully satisfy all criteria. The case studies that were finally selected were then investigated to develop an understanding of different methods and approaches to the management and their contributions to the social and economic development of the communities. A sufficient variety of management models were selected to provide a comparison and contrast with the primary case study of Famagusta.

This selection criterion permitted the selection of the following fortified cities: Acre, Constantinople (Istanbul), Rhodes, Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and Malta (Valletta). These case studies were visited, studied, and examined to determine the state of their fortifications, the communities, and their management models. The following chapters describe these investigations and are ordered in five sections to maintain consistency, permit an overview, and create a structure for comparison with each other and with the central case study of Famagusta. The first section is a brief history which describes how the cities developed over time and are related to each other, followed by a description of the fortification architecture. This is followed by a description of the present-day organization and management, and if social and economic benefits are accruing, and finally, an analysis of the management model and description of good practice.

Each case study includes a graphic diagram to describe its management structure as well as maps of the fortifications and photographs.

It could be seen as difficult to compare such vastly different cities and their management structures given their different sizes. The populations within the walls range from 419,345 in the historic peninsula of Istanbul³⁷ to Dubrovnik with a shrinking population of only 1,557. The economies and *per capita* income also cover a huge range. The scale of conservation also varies immensely, Istanbul has nearly 6 kilometers of land walls alone while Dubrovnik, the smallest in the study, has a complete circuit of fewer than 2 kilometers. The governmental cultures are also different from progressive liberal western democracies in Malta and Rhodes, which are supported by the larger collective government structure of the European Union, to a strongly centrally controlled yet fractured and fragile parliamentary democracy in Turkey.

Yet despite the differences, the similarities are overwhelming. All of the cities are facing the same physical conservation challenges, a chronic deficit of financial resources, gaps in the management structures, and rising tourism with its own specific problems. All are listed in UNESCO's World Heritage List within which the nomination dossiers specifically mention the significance of their fortifications. Each city has a long history as an important coastal trading node between the east and the west, was significant for their part in major military conflicts, and played a meaningful role in the spread of religious beliefs. The fortifications that protected these cities were also at one time considered state-of-the-art. Finally, each city still contains a living community within, with a strong identification to their fortifications and have vigorous advocates for conservation, both inside and outside government.

Given these similarities and regardless of the differences, these examples offer good practice (as well as practice to be avoided) that could be adapted and adopted to the main case study of Famagusta³⁸. Famagusta, as distinct as any of these case studies, has additional challenges, one of the most significant is the division of Cyprus, political and economic isolation of the Turkish Cypriot north, and difficulties or barriers in promoting tourism and economic development. However, the work that will be described in Part III, of the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage of Cyprus and the United Nations Development Programme supported with funding from the European Union, prove that these difficulties can, at least, be initially addressed. The recent projects of this three-way partnership will also demonstrate that the political,

³⁷ Of an overall population of greater Istanbul of over 14 million

³⁸ As well as in each other and other fortified cities

cultural, and physical divisions of the island are not insurmountable. However, it remains to be seen how this model could be made sustainable, and this will be addressed in the last part of this thesis in the conclusions. The following investigations into other cities will aid and offer examples for the sustainable conservation and management of the fortifications of Famagusta.

4.5 Evaluation factors

In order to compare and contrast the selected case studies, it was necessary to research and develop evaluation factors (or indicators). Many indicators have already been developed along with a wide variety of different themes, including economic growth, social well-being, sustainable development, governance, and environmental protection (European Commission 2015). Some of these are individual indicators while others are aggregate indicators, such as the City Development Index (CDI UN Habitat II), Human Development Index (HDI UNDP), and the Sustainable Development Goals. Unfortunately, most of these aggregate indicators are intended for large areas with growing populations, thus are difficult to apply to small communities within walled cities. However, they do offer ideas for the creation of evaluation factors. Several useful factors were identified in *Downtown Success Indicators* (Department of Urban and Regional Planning, 2014 *Downtown Success Indicators*) and *Measuring Urban Development and City Performance* (Mavric and Bobek 2015). There are also indicators for measuring and monitoring the state of conservation of World Heritage towns (Conti 2011) and the well-established World Heritage periodic reporting system (Centre 2019).

The challenge for this thesis was to parse out relevant factors then recombine in order to create a pragmatic tool to compare the case studies and thus evaluate management. For this thesis, evaluation factors were grouped into categories described in the Literature Review: sustainable conservation, social and economic development, and management. Within each category, the factors were selected to guide the research and offer comparisons between the selected case studies. The results from this comparison will be discussed against the same factors evaluated in Famagusta in the conclusions.

The first category, the sustainability of the conservation of the fortifications, includes factors such as the presence of a local conservation office, clusters of local craftsperson skills and materials, number of executed conservation projects, a conservation strategy with priorities for upcoming projects, and on-site interpretation.

Social development was the second category, and this includes important factors such as population within the walls over time, density by square meters per person, number of civil society organizations, safety, and number of social opportunities such as educational facilities, transportation, accessibility, and environment such as access to parks. Housing was a factor researched including price inside and outside the walls, including the Airbnb effect which compares short-term rentals inside and outside the walls, and if this system of informal rental is controlled. Importantly, one key evaluation factor was the impact of tourism on the local community which was measured by two recognized indices: Defert's index, which measures the tourist density expressed by simultaneous coexistence of two different types of populations (tourists and population of destination). Defert's tourism function index is calculated by the formula $Tf = N \times 100/P$ where N is the number of beds and P is the number of the population. This index gives a good idea of the level of tourism however, "it seriously underestimates the impact of tourism in major cities with large residential populations, and historic towns... ... that attract large numbers of day visitors." (Boniface, Cooper et al. 2012)(p 58). Therefore, Defert's index was improved by French author Rene Baretje to take into account the physical size of a place, and this is termed the Defert-Baretje's index. $DTFI = T(f)$ represents Defert-Baretje's tourist function index or Baretje-Defert's indicator, N is the number of beds, P is the number of local residents, and S is the surface of researched area, represented in km². "Defert-Baretje's index might point to the impact of tourism on the sustainability of cultural identity within the local population. Precisely, it might indicate whether tourism development encourages intensive construction..." (Marković, Perić et al. 2017)(p 171)

Economic Development was also analyzed in terms as the Gross Domestic Product for the region over time (GDP was unavailable at a finer level of detail) amount of tourism including the number of hotels, number of hotel beds, and a percentage of the local economy based on tourism. This percentage was obtained from published statistics and verified based on an estimated ratio of tourism-related businesses to non-tourism businesses. Finally, the number of major reoccurring events per year was investigated that would attract both residents and tourists.

The final category was management (which understandable overlapped with sustainable conservation). This category included factors such as the designation of the walled city as a separate political entity if the seat of government is located within the walls and a

local conservation agency with some level of autonomy. As the selected case studies, with the exception of Famagusta, are World Heritage properties, management aspects were investigated which are reported to the World Heritage Committee, and the World Heritage Centre of UNESCO via the State of Conservation reports. The last factor investigated concerning management is the existence of planning and managing documents such as a management plan and sustainable tourism plan. One of the key factors researched in more detail was a source of continuing finance for carrying out long-term conservation project with particular emphasis on funds generated locally. This included sub-factors such as investigations into policies of access pricing, willingness to pay (WTP) or willingness to contribute, intrinsic and extrinsic opportunities, and membership or reoccurring opportunities for visitation.

Although this thesis is mainly qualitative, as stated in the methodology, this comparison evaluation quantifies many of the evaluation factors. Some factors, such as population, were relatively easy to obtain given that census was taken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries during British and Italian control. Reliable and consistent data concerning economic growth and daily visitors, as expected, was difficult and frequently impossible to obtain; therefore, some estimates were necessary. For example, the GDP of the individual cities is not collected, but the economic numbers were available for a wider region such as the entire island of Rhodes. Because all the case studies, with the exception of Famagusta, are tourist destinations and tourism is a large component of the regional economies this larger figure was deemed sufficient. Another key factor investigated was the number of tourists, and this also was collected in a wider area; thus, assumptions had to be made to estimate the number of tourists visiting the walled cities. Nevertheless, insufficient data available was also insightful. The results of this evaluation will be discussed in summary at the end of Part II.

Figure 23 – The selected case studies and their fortifications in relative scale 1:25000 (Eppich)

Figure 24 – timeline of the major periods of fortification building of the selected case studies (Eppich)

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“Growing prosperity of the merchant colonies enabled them to make their security somewhat more certain by building solid ramparts of stone, flanked by towers, and capable of facing a serious attack.” It became “impossible to imagine a town that existed without walls, fortresses in themselves.” (Pirenne and Halsey 1925)(p 145, 150).

The walls were not only the symbol of the city *but also of the people inside.*

5.1 Istanbul (Constantinople)

“Although the Byzantines later claimed that Constantinople was a city ‘Well guarded by God’, it possessed the most elaborate and complex urban fortifications in the ancient world” (Crow 2008) (p 262).

Figure 25 – The Theodosian Walls of Constantinople with their triple layers of protection and alternating towers (Eppich, 2018)

5.1.1 History

Byzantium, established in the eighth century BCE, was situated to take advantage of overland Asian – European routes as well as the sea routes along the Bosphorus Strait that connected the Black Sea and Danube River to the Mediterranean. It was also carefully sited to provide a defense as the city was situated on a triangular promontory surrounded on two sides by water. On one side, the Sea of Marmara and Bosphorus Strait were naturally well defended with their strong currents, eddies, and tides while the second side contained one of the best natural harbors in the Mediterranean. The city was also surrounded by a defensive wall with projecting towers and a series of walled harbors closed off against attack. These defenses were put to the test during a conflict over the Roman imperial succession. In 193 CE the city was sieged by Septimius Severus, the governor of Pannonia Superior. “In spite of all his efforts, it held out against his armies for three long years. It was able to do so partly because it was very well fortified” (Harris 2007)(p 43). Eventually, the city capitulated, and Severus pulled

down the defenses and abolished the independence of the city. Only later did he realize the importance of the place and rebuilt the city and its fortifications (ibid).

The natural defense and commercial qualities of Byzantium would not be lost on Licinius³⁹, a Roman emperor, colleague, and rival of Constantine. Constantine, not long after his victory in Rome at the Battle of Mulvian Bridge⁴⁰, was faced with a civil war. His rival, Licinius, fled to Byzantium in the summer of 324, after a battle with Constantine. “There a mighty siege was undertaken against a city now packed with Licinius’s tattered army” (Kelly 2012)(p 75). Licinius soon fled the city across the straights only to be caught and executed. After reunifying the Roman Empire, Emperor Constantine selected Byzantium to serve as the capital of New Rome. It was to be known as Constantinople until the 20th century.

“Byzantium had no known Christian heritage...” (Freeman 2009)(p 236) although the founding of a new Roman capital provided Emperor Constantine with a break from tradition and old rulers; it still allowed him to maintain connections with Rome. It allowed him to establish a new city with a new religion: “It was a once – and not always consistently – a Christian city, an imperial capital...”, “It was “designed to function as the political, administrative, and ceremonial hub of the eastern Mediterranean world” (Kelly 2012)(p 193). “Cast by Constantine into the open light of tolerance and imperial support, Christianity blossomed into a thriving offshoot of Mediterranean religious life” and “by the mid-fourth century, it had grown broad enough to cast its shadow over not just religious matters but art and architecture, philosophy and thought, literature and learning, politics and foreign relations, law and social practice” (Lenski 2012)(p 1).

Constantinople would serve as the capital of Rome until the late 4th century when the empire was divided between the east and west, Latin and Greek. The eastern half, later to be called the Eastern Roman or known today as the Byzantine Empire, extended across most of the eastern Mediterranean from North Africa to the Balkans and along the Black Sea including Cyprus, Rhodes, Ragusa, and Malta. It survived the fall of the western half of the empire and the eventual fragmentation of Europe and was the most powerful military and economic force in the Mediterranean for over a millennium (Harris 2007).

³⁹ Licinius along with Constantine authored the Edict of Milan that granted official tolerance to Christians

⁴⁰ Constantine’s victory against overwhelming odds was attributed my many to his seeing the cross and the beginning of his conversion to Christianity,

The empire was viewed by its inhabitants and others, apart from western Europe, as a direct continuation of the Roman Empire. “The citizens referred to themselves as Roman from the founding of Constantinople in 323 to the fall of the city” (Brownworth 2009)(p 58). Even subsequent Ottoman conquerors referred to themselves as rulers of Rum. “When Mehmed II conquered Constantinople, he took the title Caesar of Rome, ruling, as he saw it, as the successor of a line that went back to Augustus” (Brownworth 2009)(p 59). Frequently threatened by invasion from all sides: Asia, Europe, and Arabia, the borders of this eastern empire were continually to fluctuate from its founding until the mid-15th century. At its height, the borders covered much of the coastline of the eastern Mediterranean and even encompassed, for a time, Rome. At the center of this empire was Constantinople, a multi-ethnic, vibrant and often volatile hub of politics, religion, culture, and commerce which flourished and grew exceedingly rich in its role as the capital. Between the 9th and 10th centuries, Constantinople was to reach its apex and became the largest and wealthiest city in the Mediterranean and Europe with a population over 400,000 (Laiou & Morisson 2007, pp. 130–131; Pounds 1979, p. 124.). The city and empire prospered and thrived on trade and was also a large consumer, drawing in commodities and luxury goods from the throughout the empire as well as abroad (ibid). It was described by an early unknown visitor from Spain as “the noblest city in the whole Roman world,” and “there is not as much gold and silver as there is in the city of Constantinople”(Harris 2007)(p 16), (Ciggaar 1995).

Understandably, the city required extensive protection as it attracted the attention of jealous and ambitious neighbors. The defenses consisted of a combination of diplomacy, military power, payments, and, most importantly, when these measures failed, strong defensive architecture. The harbor, appropriately named the Golden Horn, was protected by an iron chain suspended by floats which closed off the approach during times of conflict. However, “Byzantium only looked really formidable when viewed from the seaward side. From the landward side... the site looked very vulnerable indeed” (Turnbull 2012)(p 2). The third side was extremely vulnerable, with no natural defenses. Therefore a series of rulers, beginning with Constantine himself, made it their priority to fortify the landside base of the peninsula (ibid).

However, well-fortified the city fell during the infamous Fourth Crusade in 1203. The Fourth Crusade intended to recapture Jerusalem and the Holy Land via the conquest of Egypt, but due to financial difficulties was diverted to Constantinople supposedly to

support the deposed prince Alexios Angelos. Led by Venice, the siege was able to breach, not the impressive land walls, but the more vulnerable sea walls along the Golden Horn through a naval assault when the weight of their ships broke the protective chain (Madden 2004, Brownworth 2009). This allowing the Crusaders to scale the weaker sea walls with innovative towers built onto their ships and set fire to the city. After entering the city, they eventually arrived at the land walls from within Constantinople. “The sack of Constantinople is unparalleled in history. For nine centuries, the great city had been the capital of Christian civilization” (Runciman)(p 123). In 1261, when the city was eventually recaptured from the Latins, extensive repairs were made to the fortifications that protected the city for another 192 years until the advent of gunpowder and cannon (Turnbull 2012).

It was due, in part to this weakened position, that allowed advancing Ottoman Turks to slowly envelop Constantinople and control the hinterland and its resources reducing the once-mighty empire to a mere city-state. In 1453, Mehmet the Conqueror⁴¹ set in motion a series of detailed plans designed to capture the remaining elements of the empire and, most importantly, the city. “There must exist only one emperor in the world, one faith, and one kingdom...” Mehmed II is reported as stating (Babinger 1978)(p 112)(Dolfin and Thomas 1868, Özgüven 2014).

He constructed a castle on the European side of the Bosphorus and with its preexisting twin on the other side to control all access by ship. “The Ottomans called it Bogaz Kesen, the Cutter of the Straits or the Throat Cutter...”⁴² (Crowley 2013)(p 984). He also assembled a sizeable fleet to control access from the west and constructed enormous cannons to attack the land walls (Stone 2010, Özgüven 2014). But one masterpiece of his strategy was to build a wooden roadway from the Bosphorus to a stream that entered the Golden Horn allowing him to pull overland some 80 ships and attack Constantinople from the east. “Sultan Mehmed ordered his vessels dragged overland... ... putting them in position to fire on the sea wall from the other side, thereby spreading the Byzantine defenders even more thinly” (Othman) (p 29)(Shaw and Shaw 1976).

⁴¹ Mehmet II (1432-1481) known as the conqueror ruled from 1444 to 1446 and then again from 1451 to 1481. He was 21 when he conquered Constantinople and ended the Byzantine Empire.

⁴² Later called Rumeli Hisari

The Ottomans then launched a simultaneous attack on Constantinople from both land and sea. “Traditional weapons were still used on the war scene, but the actual destruction of the Byzantine city walls was achieved by the large, bronze *shahi* type of cannons, which were circa five meters long, weighed nineteen tons and fired a stone projectile weighing 500kg” and “the explosion could be heard within an area of 25 km” (Özgüven 2014)(p 739).

The combination of superior numbers and attack at multiple locations over a sustained period of time were deciding factors. But strategy, careful management of resources, and innovation, particularly in adopting new forms of warfare including the combined use of large cannons against medieval fortifications were to put an end to Christian Constantinople. On May 29, 1453, the Ottoman forces breached the land walls at their center low lying section, and the city fell and was subsequently made the capital of the Ottoman Empire. After Mehmet’s success, the walls received minor repairs and the addition of new walls to create the Yedikule Fortress at the southern end of the land walls. “After the conquest of Constantinople, the Sultan gave priority to official construction projects such as Yedikule...”⁴³(Özgüven 2014)(p 740).

Constantinople was to remain the capital of the Ottoman Empire until its fall in the early 20th century after the First World War. On 13 November 1918, forty-two ships and submarines including the rapid firing large-caliber dreadnaughts which could fire explosive shells over 20 kilometers⁴⁴ and were powered by steam turbines arrived via the recently cleared minefields of the Dardanelles (Rogan 2015)(p 385). The ships disembarked troops which marched through the streets accompanied by military bands while bi-planes flew overhead easily bypassing trenches and the ancient fortifications. Not since 1453 had the city known any other ruler. Technological advances had allowed the Ottomans to capture Constantinople, but the Empire had not kept pace with the rapid changes in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The time of the fortified city had come to an end.

⁴³ Yedikule, Saray-i-Atik also known as the Fortress of Seven Towers served as the official treasury and one of the palaces of the Sultan.

⁴⁴ 12 inch to 16 inch rapid firing guns

Admiral Somerset Gough-Calthorpe of the British Navy took possession of the city which was subsequently occupied by British, French, and Italian forces. The peacetime terms imposed were punishing and divided the former empire among the victors. The ancient city itself was retained by the Ottomans but only if they promised to abide by the terms of the treaty and payment of wartime reparations. The important waterways, the Bosphorus Straits, the Dardanelles, and the Sea of Marmara were to be placed under an international commission. The British controlled Palestine, including the ancient city of Acre and the holy city of Jerusalem while French-controlled Syria and Mount Lebanon. Italy and Greece were also given pieces of the former empire. Eastern Anatolia was reserved for the Armenians and Kurds who could succeed from the newly formed state. “The Ottoman Empire was effectively reduced to those parts of central Anatolia that no one else wanted: Bursa, Ankara, and Samsun on the Black Sea coast, with Istanbul as its capital” (p 392) (Rogan 2015)

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire led to humiliation and despair and was directed toward the Committee for Union and Progress, popularly known as the Young Turks. The Turkish National Movement, led by war hero Mustafa Kemal Pasha, later known as Atatürk, created the Grand National Assembly and pushed back against these post-war demands and ruled out any division of Turkish majority regions. Atatürk refused to demobilize the Turkish army and renewed efforts to push out foreign armies. In 1922, a new treaty was signed by European powers that recognized the current borders of modern-day Turkey. A number of reforms took place, the capital was moved to Ankara, and Constantinople was officially renamed Istanbul (Stone 2010)⁴⁵.

“The Turkish Grand National Assembly voted to abolish the Ottoman sultanate” and in 1923, “Mehmed VI, the last Ottoman sultan, was sent into exile aboard a British warship bound for Malta” (Rogan 2015)(p 395).

⁴⁵ “It was not until 1926 that the Turkish republic decreed that Istanbul was the only official form of the City’s name; before that, in different contexts – on coinage; in Ottoman documents; in literary usage – both names had been utilized” Wittek, P. and C. Heywood (2012). The rise of the Ottoman Empire : studies in the history of Turkey, 13th-15th centuries. Milton Park, Abingdon ; New York, Routledge.(p 4).

Figure 26 – British Troops in Constantinople (Levantine Heritage Foundation, 2018, Troops in Constantinople)

Figure 27 – Aerial view of Constantinople in 1920 showing the Allied fleet at anchor in the Golden Horn (Levantine Heritage Foundation, 2018, Troops in Constantinople)

Figure 28 – Constantinople and the Sea of Marmara showing the strategic importance of the location of city astride the Bosphorus connecting the Black Sea with the eastern Mediterranean (Andree, Richard, 1900 *The Times of London*)

Figure 29 – Fortifications of Constantinople after F.R. Von Hubner (Van Millingen 1899)

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5.1.2 Fortifications

The fortifications of Constantinople (Istanbul) constitute one of the most remarkable and longest-lasting defensive networks in the World. The city was purposefully established to be protected on two sides by water. However, the third side was extremely vulnerable. There were other disadvantages to the location of the city: a lack of water and further beyond, the open plains of Thrace offered few natural barriers. It was because of these vulnerabilities that in 328 CE when Emperor Constantine moved the capital of Rome to the preexisting city of Byzantium, he immediately set about building the land side defenses, reportedly “On foot, spear in hand, the emperor traced the limits of the future capital in person...” (Van Millingen 1899)(p 402).

However, by the 5th century, the city had outgrown its walls. Therefore the Praetorian Prefect Anthemius, governing for a young Emperor Theodosius II, set about to move the city boundaries and construct new defensive walls to the north⁴⁶. The growth beyond the old city walls was not the only concern but also the former capital, Rome, had recently fallen the Goths, and the Huns to the north of Constantinople were a growing threat. Thus, it was during the reign of Theodosius II (408-450 AD) that the third, landward side of Constantinople was refortified it was at the “base of the triangle that is most extraordinary” forming land walls which were “the most formidable defense in the medieval world.” “A complex, triple collar of walls, studded with closely spaced towers and flanked by a formidable ditch...”(Crowley 2013) (p 1).

The fortifications were not only limited to the land walls, but there were also substantial sea walls. The Chronicon Paschael states that in 439 the emperor Theodosius II “ordered that walls be made in a circuit on the whole seaward site of Constantinople” (Mango 2001)(p 24). In addition, there were defenses constructed across the Golden Horn to protect the entrance to the harbor.

When the city-state Genoa established their colony in 1261 on the opposite side of the Golden Horn, they also constructed fortifications today of which only the Galata Tower remains. Further north of Theodosian Walls were the Long Walls of Thrace or the Anastasian Long Walls which acted as the first outer barrier and extended from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara for over 50 kilometers. This outer land wall functioned from between the 5th and 9th centuries and contained gates, towers and

⁴⁶ The old walls of Constantine continued to remain in place in some portions even after the construction of the new walls

walls to further enhance the defenses. “As it survives it is the most monumental linear fortification dating from antiquity in continental Europe, comparable only with Hadrian's Wall in its complexity and preservation” (Crow and Ricci 1997) (p 253). “In the end, the only Byzantine walls that mattered were the walls of Constantinople itself. They were the one constant in a state whose borders routinely collapsed upon the capital. These walls “fostered a bunker mentality, they at least did their job...” (Frye 2018)(p 129).

It is these walls, the Theodosian Walls, which are the most impressive, stretching across the base of the peninsula for over six kilometers from the Marmian Sea in the south across the peninsula to the Golden Horn in the north. These fortifications consist of a complex overlapping multiple defensive networks of a ditch (*taphros*), outer terrace (*parateichion*), exterior wall (*mikron teichos*), inner terrace (*peribolos*), and the inner wall (*mega teichos*). This defensive structure is considered to be one of the greatest achievements of ancient military architecture (Military Architecture 2011, Turnbull 2012) (Figen Kivılcım Çorakbaş 2014).

The layers of fortifications were designed to make the city impregnable. “Attackers first faced a 20-metre wide and 7-metre deep ditch which could be flooded with water fed from pipes when required. The water, once in, was retained by a series of dams” (Cartwright 2017)(p 1). The walls of the moat were vertical and lined with ashlar so if an attacker gained access to the moat it would be difficult to exit. Behind the moat was an elevated level road for the defenders which was backed by the second wall that was reinforced with a series of towers. On top of this second wall was an elevated inner terrace that served as a platform to fire into the moat and beyond. Backing this terrace was the first or inner wall of up to five meters thick and over twelve meters high. This was further reinforced with ninety-six towers twenty meters high that were alternately placed with the towers on lower the second wall. This alteration was to create both horizontal and vertical crossfire situations and prevent defenders on the lower towers from blocking defenders on, the higher towers. These defenses were built with alternating courses of limestone and brick with an inner core of mixed rubble. It was not only the vertical height of the inner and outer walls that an attacker had to face but, more importantly, the horizontal distance which was designed to keep the primitive siege artillery devices as far away as possible (Turnbull 2012).

The Theodosian Walls were to protect the defenders of Constantinople and the capital city of the Eastern Roman Empire for nearly one thousand years with their overlapping protective elements, high walls, and towers. They were challenged by Attila the Hun, the Avars and Persians, Arabs, Bulgarians, Russians, and Crusaders. The significance of the Theodosian Walls and outlying fortifications is that they represent the apex of early antiquity and medieval defensive architecture. The successful siege by the Ottomans using gunpowder artillery was to usher in a new era of defensive architecture. No longer would high walls and towers be sufficient to defend and protect cities. “Although the Byzantines later claimed that Constantinople was a city ‘Well guarded by God’, it possessed the most elaborate and complex urban fortifications in the ancient world.” (p 262) (Crow 2008). “It is clear that their construction was an entirely novel response to the requirements of the new capital. They represent not only the most massive fortification in the ancient world but surely the most successful” (Van Millingen 1899)(p 268).

Figure 30 – Cross-section through the Land Walls (after Richard Bayliss / Müller-Wiener, 1977)(Crow 2008)

There were numerous innovations in the fortifications, including the overlapping vertical and horizontal protection and staggered horizontal tower elevations to create large firing platforms. This system was designed to keep attackers with their primitive torsion artillery (*ballistarii*) as far away as possible. Should an attacker get too close there were also several hexagonal towers designed to deflect any incoming shots. Other innovations included piping systems to flood the moat when necessary. Within the

moats, there were dams to maintain a deep water level over the uneven terrain. In order to actively defend the walls, there were a number of well-placed sally ports that allowed the defenders to venture forth from the walls and across the flooded ditch out onto the plain to counter-attack and then quickly withdraw.

As importantly, there were also a number of social innovations such as the use of the outlying fields to grow vegetables during times of peace; irrigated by the same piping system used to flood the ditches. This helped in keeping underbrush or trees clear from the line of fire (while also providing a nearby source of food). The first law on the Theodosian Walls was in 413 A.D., according to Kivılcım Çorakbaşı. “In the scope of this law, it is stated that the owners of the agricultural areas on which the walls are built can continue to own and use the lands for agricultural purposes. On the other hand, they are responsible for the maintenance of the towers that are situated on their lands” (Figen Kivılcım Çorakbaşı 2014)(p 5). The towers were also manned and maintained by the city’s commercial guilds of butchers or jewelers with competing charioteer fan clubs of which “the demes of Blues and Greens played a central role” (Haldon 1995)(p 3). At sometimes during peace, the towers were leased out for housing to generate revenue in order to maintain the wall. All of this took highly complex long-term planning from a construction, management, and financial standpoint.

5.1.3 Management Organization – Multi-tiered Bureaucracy

“Today, the Theodosian walls stand as a landmark delineating the western border of the ancient city. The inhabitants of Istanbul are privileged to have a cultural heritage of outstanding importance and beauty, but the preservation of such a gigantic monument is a difficult task, requiring substantial financial resources and expertise” (Ahunbay and Ahunbay 2000)(p 227).

The Land Walls of Istanbul and its surroundings were inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage property in 1985 as part of one of the four Historic Areas of Istanbul. In the statement of the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), the site was described as “the area along both sides of the Theodosian land walls, including remains of the former Blachernae Palace.” Moreover, in the Outstanding Universal Values, it was underlined that “the 6,650-meter terrestrial wall of Theodosius II with its second line of defense, created in 447, was one of the leading references for military architecture” (World

Heritage Centre 2018)(p 2). The description of the Land Walls within the World Heritage property emphasizes the importance of the current layout of the walls resulting from modifications performed in the 7th and 12th centuries and the Palace of the Blacherne.

The direct day-to-day management and conservation responsibility for the fortifications and surrounding areas rests with a specific organization – the Special Unit for Land Walls. This unit reports directly to the Directorate of Cultural Heritage Projects at the Department of Cultural Assets Conservation within the greater Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The Directorate of Cultural Heritage Projects is to prepare urban design projects in accordance with the sub-scale implementation plans for conservation and to make or to implement action programs when necessary for cultural heritage sites (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality 2018). This Directorate is also charged with supervision, coordination, and procurement regulation concerning projects related to heritage.

Any projects directly impacting the walls or within the buffer zone must be reviewed and approved by this unit. This unit then sends projects for approval to the Cultural Properties Conservation Regional Council for Istanbul (Regional Conservation Council). The Regional Conservation Council is an autonomous body that reviews development interventions at listed monuments. The board members are not ministerial staff but scientific, academic, and professionals, yet this organization has a reporter that observes, processes projects and prepares reports for the State Cultural Properties Conservation Board Directorate which reports to the General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums which in turn is below the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The Regional Conservation Council also proactively requests Heritage Impact Assessment Reports from the city, and when discussing the walls, it is addressed to the Special Unit Land Walls. As the walls belong to the municipality, the funding is only provided by the municipality.

While this organization may seem organized and straightforward, there are several other state and local government organizations with overlapping responsibilities. The Historic Areas of Istanbul Management Directorate (HAIMD) was created to write the overall management plan for the entire peninsula, including the walls. This Directorate, however, reports to a different organization within the municipality – the Directorate of Cultural Heritage Preservation. While they both report to the Department of Cultural

Assets Conservation, they are two separate bodies, with two different directors, missions, and staff. The HAIMD is staffed by members from other Directorates and the site manager (director) is appointed directly by the Ministry of Culture. The HAIMD also reports to an Advisory Board that is directly assigned by the Ministry of Culture and is expected to coordinate with the Special Unit Land Walls as well as the Regional Conservation Council, Historic Areas of Istanbul Management Directorate.

The Site Manager/Director is appointed directly by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Their role is to ensure coordination between ministries, determine working programs with authority, establish annual goals of the management plan, search for funding, prepare yearly budget proposals, draft contracts with authorities and cooperate with relevant institutions.

In addition to these local municipal level institutions, the state reserves the right to overall policy, oversight, and budget responsibility. The state currently exercises this supervision through the direct appointment of the site manager to the Historic Areas of Istanbul Management Directorate and the Advisory Board. Regarding budget responsibility, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has a special General Directorate of Revolving Funds which is responsible for all commercial activities related to the World Heritage property. They are the organ recipient for all funds generated from ticket sales and concessions at national level cultural heritage sites. Some of their most profitable sources of revenue come from Istanbul at a few sites located near the Topkapi Palace. They do not manage this directly but have outsourced revenue-generating operations at a national level to two private commercial operators BKG (gift shops and cafes) and TURSAB (ticket sales) (Bonini Baraldi, Shoup et al. 2013, Shoup and Zan 2013, Shoup, Bonini Baraldi et al. 2014)

Figure 31 – Management organization of the Walls of Istanbul

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Figure 32 – The Theodosian Land Walls alongside a major traffic circle. The authorities have managed to place a portion of the highway underground. (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Karasurları- Büyük Special Unit Land Walls)

5.1.4 Socio-economic benefits

Unfortunately, the fortifications in Istanbul provide very few meaningful socio-economic benefits to citizens or visitors. For the inhabitants of Istanbul, the land wall fortifications form a backdrop to their daily commute as a major multi-lane circulation highway follows outside the line of the land walls, thus, in effect, turning the Theodosian Walls into a giant traffic circle. The sea walls are less visible as they have become embedded in the urban fabric of Istanbul. There have been attempts to create social benefits by developing parks and recreational areas in the open spaces near the fortifications. The areas between the Marble Tower and Golden Gate have recently seen the addition of several parks, and there have been numerous urban renewal projects adjacent to the fortifications.⁴⁷ These recent efforts to make the fortifications more appealing for the benefit the local communities have been controversial and have resulted in the removal of some portions of the historic Yedikule market gardens or *bostans*⁴⁸. In 2013 “more than 20 acres of gardens, including the 17th century Ismail Pasa gardens inside the Yedikule walls, were cleared and replaced with sports grounds,

⁴⁷ Uluslararası Baris and Sahil Park

⁴⁸ Bostan in Turkish is defined as urban vegetable garden

car parks, and walkways. Today, much of the surrounding areas are left derelict” (Starr 2017). This concern, along with others, was echoed in a recent 2014 report to UNESCO “the OUV of the Land Walls WHS is under threat not only by the demolition of Yedikule Historic Vegetable Gardens but also by the ongoing renewal projects, restoration and reconstruction work that the local municipalities have begun to implement”⁴⁹ (Figen Kivılcım Çorakbaşı 2014)(p iv). This report continues with criticism of the restoration of portions of the land walls, particularly the reconstruction of the Blacherne Palace, the addition of nearby high-rise buildings, and urban park projects along the walls that impact historic neighborhoods. Thus, while the municipality attempted to create social benefits from the areas near the Land Walls they, in effect, disregarded the values associated with the historic vegetable gardens and neighborhoods.

For visitors, in a city endowed with numerous outstanding cultural heritage attractions with most tourists keeping to the lower peninsula in the Sultanahmet or across the Golden Horn in the Beyoğlu area. With well-known places such as Hagia Sophia, Topkapı Palace, and the Blue Mosque, a visit to the Theodosian Walls, however impressive, is not a priority. This is most likely because visitors do not know of the history and significance of the fortifications and because there is a general lack of promoting visitation to the walls. The lack of tourism could also be due to the current state of conservation of the fortifications with many areas inaccessible and even dangerous. The walls are also abutted by what could be construed as less desirable or non-tourist friendly neighborhoods which offer few amenities. Also, transportation to this area of Istanbul is difficult with service only by public bus or taxi.

For both visitors and residents, there are few events held that feature or utilize the fortifications. The Yedikule Fortress renovated and added to after the Ottoman conquest, at one time held a privately operated open-air theatre and was used for cultural festivals and music events, but this has since been closed given its state of conservation and legal ownership issues⁵⁰. There are plans to reopen once these issues are resolved, but this does not seem likely in the near future. One popular event that is related to the fortifications is the Conquest Celebrations held for one week in May. “This is a celebration of the capture of Constantinople on May 29th, 1453, a defining

⁴⁹ OUV – Outstanding Universal Value, WHS – World Heritage Site

⁵⁰ Ownership issues have since been resolved but the fortress remains closed

event in the history of the Turks and no expense is spared in its commemoration. Soldiers march past in full Ottoman military regalia and the sounds of the marching Mehter band also feature prominently” (2011)(p 2). But, unfortunately, these events are held in the Golden Horn or on the upper Bosphorus and surprisingly do not occur at the land walls where the actual conquest took place.

Clearly, the urban pressures of housing, transportation, and need for open space of the greater metropolis which grew from 2.3 million in 1965 to approximately 15 million in 2017 severely impacted the fortifications and surrounding space (Semiz 2017). There have been calls to balance development with conservation and improve planning policies: “Improvements should give greater weight to heritage protection, tighten public asset management...” (Semiz 2017)(p 322). A report in 2017 from UNESCO World Heritage Centre Reactive Monitoring Mission declared “Finding a balance between change and preservation is a delicate issue...” and recommends that the Management Plan needs to improve policies for conservation, visitor management, and increasing the perception of the site, quality of life, and awareness-raising (Centre and UNESCO 2017) (p 43).

The Special Land Unit, the managing authority for the fortifications, has been making efforts to balance development and conservation for residents as well as encourage visitation. The master plan has recently been completed along with the formation of a group of dedicated professionals advised by a number of preeminent experts. These efforts, some of which have yet to materialize, include an updated plan and closer coordination between agencies, a renewed website, exhibitions, and conservation projects⁵¹ with plans to open portions of the walls to visitors and even create bicycle trails⁵² given the long distances of the fortification in Istanbul and numerous property use issues.

There are also a number of advocates drawing attention to the importance of the walls and the role they could play in socio-economic development. “Walls are an urban element, generating the form of the city around them. They create situations in an urban context. We were after situations and everyday life rather than events. We looked for traces clarifying the significance of the walls in urban history and daily life” (Kıvılcım Çorakbaşı)(p 53) “The open areas outside the walls do serve their historic purpose as

⁵¹ Some of which have come under criticism from the conservation community

⁵² This is an innovative approach given the length of the walls but currently no path exists

vegetable gardens, sports and industrial areas, urban parks,” (Güler 2016)(p 3). This role is enhanced by the Istanbul Lettuce Festival in Yedikule for a breed of lettuce grown only in the gardens next to the city walls (Allen 2018). The vegetable gardens that still exist outside the walls serve their historic purpose, but it seems that this is not well understood and underappreciated, thus under development pressure (Huston 2017).

5.1.5 Analysis

An analysis of the management and situation of the Theodosian Land Walls demonstrates that there could be a significant improvement in their conservation and utilization for socio-economic development. Istanbul, with its physical size, large population, and numerous other cultural heritage sites, creates a unique situation that must be taken into account when managing the walls. The establishment of the Special Unit Land Walls is an explicit recognition by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Department of Cultural Assets Conservation of the daunting task of conserving nearly six kilometers of fortifications including 12 meter high walls, gates, ditches, citadels, and towers. Within the prevue of the Special Unit is the approval of projects within the physical boundaries of the walls with oversight by the State via an independent Advisory Board and the Coordination and Supervision Board. These oversight bodies are composed of scientists, academics, and professionals, some of which are appointed and report directly to the state. Decisions, on the surface, are made locally at the level of the greater municipality with responsibility resting with the Municipality via the Special Unit Land Walls.

There are numerous advantages to the organizational model of creating a Special Unit, including a clear mandate to protect, conserve, and promote visitation of the fortifications. The seemingly semi-autonomy of the special unit, while limited, is important as historically the State has been characterized by strong central government top-down management, particularly related to highly visited cultural heritage sites. However, there has been some decentralization with limited management responsibilities for cultural heritage sites devolved to municipalities (Shoup and Zan 2013). The Special Unit Land Walls has been engaging the professional community, holding congresses, and planning for the conservation of the walls. The Special Unit was involved in the creation of the new management plan for Istanbul’s historic areas and is open to sharing information. They realize the enormity of their responsibility and are attempting to address the numerous challenges (Special Unit Land Walls 2017). The

unit is also responsible for coordinating various efforts and involving professionals and stakeholders. They are seeking more autonomy and independent revenue collection capabilities. There are also ongoing attempts to bridge the gaps between the Municipal and State governance levels and between the various agencies tasked with cultural heritage.

However, there are also disadvantages, number one of which is that it is confusing with multiple overlapping municipal directorates related to the fortifications with different reporting mechanisms. While seemingly autonomous the Special Unit Land Walls must report to two different levels and the employees are paid by other agencies. The official Management Plan that was submitted to UNESCO was created by another agency that may or may not have worked closely with the Special Unit Land Walls. The link with the state is confusing, and it appears to be in an obtuse manner. Revenue from other popular sites cultural heritage sites such as Topkapi Palace flows directly to a private company contracted by State government. There is no independent municipal fund related to heritage and little incentive to create one. Should the Land Walls begin to attract attention from tourists and develop into a possible revenue source, the State may take notice and then seek to capture and control revenue with the Central Directorate of Revolving Funds. This essentially eliminates any incentives to create or develop self-funding activities or develop a virtuous conservation cycle. There is also strong pressure from redevelopment in or adjacent to the land walls from the numerous local municipalities. Taxes and fees from property developers fund the city, and thus, the open spaces and small communities near the fortifications are vulnerable. Staff and funding of the Historic Areas of Istanbul Management directorate come from a different agency other than the Special Unit Land Walls.

There are also numerous lingering issues regarding the conservation of the walls themselves and the surrounding areas (Figen Kıvılcım Çorakbaş 2014). Although there is a special unit, it does not seem to be entirely empowered politically or financially to conduct conservation on the fortifications themselves. They also seem to be unable to prevent inappropriate use of the adjacent open spaces or neighborhoods near the walls.

The Special Unit Land Walls are also organizationally separately from the Historic Areas of Istanbul Management which reports to a different Directorate. Although the Historic Areas of Istanbul Management office was designed to manage all the historic areas and write the management plan for the peninsula, it also suffers from

organizational problems. It was created from staff and budgets from other Directorates with a site director appointed by the state and lacks significant authority and may not survive in the long-term. (Bonini Baraldi, Shoup et al. 2013). This division has not gone unnoticed. In 2003 the World Heritage Committee made comments to a State of Conservation report concerned with the land walls:

The Theodosian Walls and the adjoining area are also part of the Historic Areas of Istanbul. The Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul is the body responsible for the maintenance of the Walls. The Walls have suffered from some over-restorations in the 1980s. The Municipality has two separate offices responsible for cultural heritage. One office includes experts who select projects, whilst the other office contracts firms for their implementation. It is recommended that the State Party ensures that the two offices work together in order to achieve proper surveillance of projects and works (World Heritage Centre 2018).

Thus, it seems that the numerous divisions within the management of cultural heritage, particularly the Land Walls, have continued. Upon initial analysis, the organization and management seem straightforward – a Special Unit for the Land Walls. However, during a more in-depth analysis, it was difficult to understand the hierarchies or government agencies or methods of inter-agency communications and interaction. And although the organizational charts are publically available, nevertheless, it took numerous interviews, emails, and discussions to understand the complex municipal and state inter-agency dependencies and linkages. Still, this organization is not fully understood as it is suspected there are several unstated and unwritten agency ties which are frequently in flux.

5.1.6 Good practice

Notwithstanding these complex organizational difficulties and overlapping responsibilities, the case study of Istanbul offers many good practice which could be adopted in Famagusta. The first of which is the explicit recognition that the Land Walls are significant enough to require a dedicated government agency. The Unit in Istanbul was established, staffed, funded, and given a carefully defined mission – preservation and oversight of the fortifications. Such a unit, abet more modest, could also be established in Famagusta. The establishment of such an office would be recognition by

the authorities that the fortifications of Famagusta are significant enough to warrant special attention and would clearly define who is responsible for conservation. As the following chapters on Famagusta will point out there is often ambiguity concerning management between the municipality and larger Turkish Cypriot authority.

The Special Unit in Istanbul is currently guided and overseen by a knowledgeable steering committee and report to the local, although large, municipality. Such a structure is easily adaptable in northern Cyprus given the similarities between Turkish administrations (the caveat being the Republic of Cyprus). This point cannot be stressed enough as the relationship between the municipality of Istanbul and the larger State sets a precedent in Turkey given the tendency of the larger state authority to manage cultural heritage aspects centrally. This is replicated to some extent in northern Cyprus. This would resolve any uncertainty and could be a model between the Turkish Cypriot authority in northern Cyprus and the municipality of Famagusta.

Another good practice is the efforts of the Unit to raise public awareness of the condition of the Land Walls and Sea Walls. The Unit has begun to promote tourist visitation and is preparing a bicycle rental service, and they have held several professional conferences and private tours. Such a dedicated government agency in Famagusta could follow this model for promoting its largest cultural heritage resource. Another good practice (although it may work against incentivizing financial self-sufficiency for the Special Unit) is the recognition by the State that cultural heritage can pay for itself. This is demonstrated in the ticket receipts for the more popular tourist attractions in Istanbul, and it could be carefully extended to the Land Walls in Istanbul – ensuring that the funds are protected and returned for sustaining conservation. As this thesis will later demonstrate, there was such a protected fund dedicated to cultural heritage in northern Cyprus which has, unfortunately, been dissolved. Such a financially sustainable model in Istanbul would be the closest inspiration for reviving the non-functioning fund in northern Cyprus. Finally, it seems that the Special Unit in Istanbul is actively communicating with local civil society organizations, and there are some rumors of efforts to protect the historic vegetable gardens outside the walls. This would also serve as a model for Famagusta as currently the civil society organizations are somewhat ignored and functioning without much recognition from either the municipality or the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

5.2 Acre (Akko/Akka)

5.2.1 History

“For if a ten years’ war made Troy celebrated; if the triumph of the Christian made Antioch more illustrious, Acre will certainly obtain eternal fame, as a city for which the whole world contended” - King Richard (Makhoully and Johns 1946)(p 1)

Figure 33 – The northwest tower of Acre, Burdzs Kuradzsim

Acre (Akko/Akka⁵³), a continuously occupied settlement since the Bronze Age, is located at the terminus of overland trade routes on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. “In history, Palestine has been the bridge between the three continents, and Acre has more than once formed its key on the seaward side” (Makhoully and Johns 1946)(p 1). “The great importance of Akko was that it commanded the entrance to the broad plain of Esdraelon, conducting to the rich valley of the Jordan, and so was... the key to Palestine” (Rawlinson 2005) (p 54). With one of the few naturally occurring harbors along this stretch of the coast⁵⁴, a steady source of water in an otherwise dry region, and nearby fertile fields, the city prospered for a millennium. This prosperity, location, and powerful nearby empires entailed a constant threat, thus the need for defenses. The settlement was initially founded on the higher ground east of the present city but later developed along a narrow southern oriented peninsula that sheltered the harbor thus enhancing both defense and trade (Abulafia 2012, Jewish Virtual Library 2018). The city’s early importance is evident in that Acre is specifically mentioned in the early Egyptian execration texts (1800 BCE) in a list of cities conquered by Thutmose III and also mentioned later in the list of cities reconquered by Seti I and Rameses II. “Sea Peoples inhabited Acre, and Acre was possibly one of the bases set up by the Egyptians, using mercenary garrisons” (Dothan and Dothan 1992)(p 211-213).

⁵³ Also Aké or Accho, Akre

⁵⁴ At Akko ships could ride securely in almost all sorts of weather as they were sheltered

The groups of people occupying the coast around Acre were to take advantage of their knowledge of sea navigation and launched their trading across the Mediterranean where they would later become known as the Phoenicians “Accho was their most southerly city in Phoenicia” (Makhoully and Johns 1946)(p 6). The settlement changed rulers frequently from an independent Phoenician city to Assyrian domination⁵⁵ before becoming a vital launching point for Persian military campaigns against Egypt⁵⁶.

It was sometime during this period that a small colony of Greek merchants was established at Acre. The city eventually came under the control of Alexander the Great during his conquest of Syria, and he established a royal mint after his conquest of Jerusalem and Tyre in 332 BCE. Later in 312 B.C.E. Ptolemy I razed Acre’s⁵⁷ fortifications only to rebuild them a decade later (World Heritage Centre 2001)⁵⁸. The city was formally incorporated into the Roman Empire with under Claudius I (41-54 CE) and the Romans paved the road from Gaza and improved and enlarged the natural harbor by constructing a breakwater making it into a major port in the eastern Mediterranean. It was later overshadowed as a port in the late Roman era by nearby Caesarea but still remained Galilee’s major port “providing the easiest access to the interior of Palestine” (Friedman and Figg)(p 2).

Acre is mentioned prominently in the Bible, Book of Judges as a city of the Canaanites that resisted Hebrew domination⁵⁹. “And it came to pass, when Israel was strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute, and did not utterly drive them out,” “Neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho...” (Holy Bible 2004) (p 127) (Judges 3:15 verses 28, 31). Acre is also mentioned later in Acts and could have been one of the earliest Christian cities because of its mostly gentile community, and Paul spent time there on his third missionary voyage^{60, 61} (Gonen 1987, Holy Bible 2004)(Acts 21:7).

After the division of the Roman Empire in 395, the city came under the control of Constantinople with frequent incursions from Persia. It remained under control of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine) until the rapid expansion of Islam and Acre was captured by Amir ibn al-Aas in 636. The city benefited by a succession of Arab rulers

⁵⁵ This period would also see Assyrian domination of nearby Cyprus which had a number of Phoenician colonies

⁵⁶ Likewise, Rhodes was also a frequent launching point for Persian campaigns but against Greece

⁵⁷ Ptolemy II Philadelphus renamed the city Ptolemais but the Semitic name was still in general use. It was during the Crusader period that the name was corrupted to Acri or Acre.

⁵⁹ An important source of pride in today’s predominately Arab Akka

⁶⁰ Mentioned in the New Testament as Ptolemais

⁶¹ In the same voyage he visited Rhodes and Cyprus

who recognized the city's strategic location and set about strengthening its defenses. It was Mu'awiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus that made Acre the base of the first Arab sea power and soon afterward conquered Cyprus with campaigns launched from Acre. The Byzantines were to return in the 10th century, recaptured Cyprus and razed Acre and its fortifications, possibly to prevent further occupation or attacks. Yet, the city was soon resettled and refortified, acknowledging its critical location; an episode repeated frequently in the city's history (Makhoul and Johns 1946).

It was during the Crusader period that Acre developed into a significant trading hub for Europe as well as a military and religious center. Initially bypassed as it was heavily fortified, the city was eventually captured after numerous attempts in 1104 by Baldwin I with the help of the Genoese fleet. It was this alignment of religious fervor, military strength, and commercial interests that would be the success of the Crusader period, but when not aligned its undoing. The city-state Genoa was particularly interested as "the necessary supplies of Asia from Africa and Europe, it attracted merchants from the Great trading cities..." in addition "The Genoese received a third of the city and its revenues in return for help..." in conquering the city (Makhoul and Johns 1946)(p 21). Genoa would soon be followed by their rivals from Amalfi, Pisa, and critically, Venice. Several years later the Spanish Arab traveler Ibn Jubair visited the city in 1185 and wrote "Akkah is the chief of the Frank cities of Syria, the great port of the sea, and the great anchorage of their ships, being second only to Constantinople. It is the meeting-place of Muslim and Christian merchants of all lands" (Le Strange 1890)(p 332).

However, despite extensive fortifications, the Crusaders quickly surrendered Acre in 1187 to Saladin⁶², the first sultan of Egypt and Syria and founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, after their defeat at the Battle of Hattin. Led by King Guy of Jerusalem⁶³ the Crusaders had assembled a large force at Acre and marched out to meet the Muslim forces only to be decisively defeated, with Guy taken prisoner. This defeat precipitated the Crusader loss of Jerusalem and was a major turning point in the conflict between the Crusaders and Muslim powers (Porter 1858). King Guy was released a year later only to disavow his promise to leave and set siege to Acre. Saladin returned with his army and in turn laid siege to the crusaders thereby setting up a double siege. The fall of

⁶² An-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub also known as Salah ad-Din or Saladin

⁶³ Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem and later founder of the Lusignan Dynasty of Cyprus.

Jerusalem invigorated the call for another crusade and one key leader in the Third Crusade was King Richard I⁶⁴ of England, who arrived at Acre fresh from his conquest of Cyprus⁶⁵. Another key leader was King Phillip of France, a rival of King Richard. With both the Christian and Muslim sides continually reinforced and supplied by new arrivals from the sea, the double siege lasted nearly two years (Hosler 2018). Eventually, the crusaders successfully reconquered Acre in 1191. “Such was the tenacity of the besieged that the attackers almost literally had to demolish the defenses of Acre stone by stone” (Tyerman 2006)(p 14).

After the loss of Jerusalem, Acre then became the Crusader capital and headquarters for the military orders. It also remained the most important trading hub for the city-states and an embarkation point for pilgrims to the Holy Land for the next 100 years. “...the annual revenues of mid-13th century Acre alone were greater than the normal revenues of the King of England” (Nicolle 2005)(p 8). By the middle of the 13th century, Acre contained three major and several minor military orders, three city-states merchant communes, and numerous Crusader factions, and mercenaries paid for by European rulers. All these groups would build their own internal fortifications in Acre. The Templars established their quarters to the southwest and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, also known as the Hospitallers, establish their quarters to the north. The Knights of St. John would receive official recognition from the Pope and would build a large fortified complex next to the northern wall that remains to this day. It was during this apex of Acre as a European trading hub that the legendary Marco Polo departed for Central Asia and China. These prosperous times were not to last.

After the fragmentation of the Abbasid Empire in Cairo, the Mamluk⁶⁶ military caste seized power and claimed the sultanate in 1250. The Mamluks did not look favorably on the remnants of the Crusader states, particularly Acre. Beyond religious differences: “The Mamluks regarded the Crusader enclaves as potential allies of the Mongols who remained the Mamluks’ primary foes, while fear of an alliance between the Mongols and Western Europe dominated Mamluk strategic thinking” (Nicolle 2005)(p 10). In addition, the Crusader states and Acre were seen as an easy and rich target.

⁶⁴ King Richard the Lionhearted as he was later to become known

⁶⁵ King Richard would later sell Cyprus to Guy

⁶⁶ Mamlukes were military slaves that became a dominant element in the Islamic forces of the Levant

Infighting between the various Christian factions of Acre had substantially weakened the defenses of the Crusader Kingdoms. “The military orders were dedicated to the defense of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, though this did not stop them from quarreling with those who ruled or claimed to rule the Crusader States, and with each other” (Nicolle 2005)(p 29). One such episode was the War of St. Sabas which erupted between the merchant city-states of Genoa and Pisa with the two rival communes fighting on the streets. The “Hospitallers supported the Genoese against the Templars and their allies, Venice and Pisa.” Then “Genoa invaded the Pisan Quarter in 1257. After they were pushed back, the Venetians besieged both the Genoese and the Hospitaller Quarters” (Boas 2006)(p 50).

The commercial importance of Acre to the Mamluk state was thought to provide immunity: “The defensive plans of what remained of the Crusader states were based upon the assumption that they were economically so important to the Mamluk Sultanate that the latter would not actually try to destroy them” (Nicolle 2005)(p 39). “Indeed, their reason for existence, which remained trade between the Middle East and Europe.” (Nicolle 2005)(p 8). However, one of the main trading city-states, Genoa was increasingly dealing directly with the Mamluks. “Genoa also negotiated a new commercial treaty with the Mamluks, adding another nail to Acre’s coffin” (p 49). Thus, “Genoa’s interests did not necessarily coincide with the survival of Acre” (Nicolle 2005)(p 50). Hence, in 1290 Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil, intent on finally removing the Crusaders from the Levant assembled the forces of Egypt and Syria and marched on Acre. The situation in Acre was serious, and the leaders pleaded for help from Europe. However, “The only noteworthy reinforcement came from King Henry II of Cyprus who fortified the walls and transported forces with 40 ships” yet, “despite the continual arrival of reinforcements from Cyprus to Acre by sea, the Franks became convinced of their lack of strength...” (Nicolle 2005)(p 12). After a siege of 43 days, Acre was conquered, and the process of destroying the Crusader Kingdoms begun by Saladin in 1187 was completed by al-Ashraf Khalil who also planned eventually to attack Cyprus, but within three years was killed by his own entourage. Many refugees from Acre including wealthy merchants, religious leaders, the Military Order of the Knights of St. John and the royalty fled to Cyprus, and specifically, Famagusta.

Figure 34 – Acre located in the Eastern Mediterranean a short distance to the Sea of Galilee V (Hitti 1959)

Figure 35 – Fortifications of Acre

The conquest of Acre by the Mamelukes left the city in ruin, especially after their policy of pulling down coastal cities' fortifications in order that they could not be reused by a returning Crusader force. In the centuries that followed the ruined city was largely forgotten and "the city had slipped into oblivion" by the time of the Ottoman conquest. (Phillipp 2001)(p 1). Maudrell, an English traveler noted in 1697, "you see nothing here but a vast and spacious ruin." (Maudrell)(p 72). Although the city was destroyed, it was never fully abandoned as the traveler Abu-l Fida wrote soon after the conquest in 1321: "Acre is a beautiful city... There is a fine and spacious port, and artisans are numerous here." (Le Strange 1890)(p 333). Clearly, the Mamelukes could not destroy the underlying importance of the city's location, harbor, fresh water, fertile fields, surrounding protective mountains, and an ample supply of ready-cut building material.

The city's strategic values remained and by "the eighteenth century Acre had witnessed a dramatic rise in its fortunes, making it in 1785 the third-largest city in Syria – and largest port" (Phillipp 2001)(p 1). A small colony of French merchants was established in Acre, and the city was to play a critical role in a series of smaller semi-autonomous sheikhdoms beginning with the Emir Fakhr ed-Din, who in 1595 began to revive Acre. More importantly, was the rise of the Beduin Sheikh Zahir al-'Umar, ⁶⁷ who made the city his capital. Zahir was a Palestinian Arab who took advantage of waning Ottoman provincial power to rule most of northern Palestine beginning in the 1730s. The region prospered on his suppression of predatory tribesmen and realizing the advantages of Acre and its hinterland, entered into the monopoly of cotton when European demand was rising. He did business with the French merchants who exported the cotton and olive oil and later grain. He successfully defended and even expanded his sheikhdom until the Ottomans, in an effort to check his growing power, attacked Acre and he was killed in 1775.

His successor, Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar was appointed the commander of Acre and later became the Ottoman governor of the region. He also made Acre his capital and later ejected the small French trading colony. Napoleon was noted to have remarked, in reference to Acre, "The fate of the East is in that place" (Russell 1837)(p 297). In 1799, with the aid of the British navy and the threat of the advancing Ottoman army, the same al-Jazzar successfully defended Acre from a siege by Napoleon. Napoleon's army,

⁶⁷ Zahir al-Umar al-Zaydani or Dhaher al-Omar or Dahir al-Umar

stricken with a plague, was unable to conquer the city and later buried much of their equipment before retreating to Egypt (Waas 2015)⁶⁸.

In 1831, the increasingly powerful self-made Pasha of Egypt, Muhammad Ali, demanded from the Ottoman Empire the Syrian provinces for his son, Ibrahim Pasha. When these demands were not met, Acre was besieged again. Unlike Napoleon, Ibrahim Pasha and his Egyptian troops were successful and conquered Acre. Britain, later concerned about the power vacuum that was developing due to the decay of the Ottoman Empire, sought to support and reinforce their rule over Palestine. The antiquated defenses of Acre were bombarded from the sea by the British, Austrian, and Turkish navy, breaching the sea walls in one afternoon.

During the First World War, the Arab uprising coupled with the British campaign put an end to Ottoman rule, beginning the British Mandate that lasted until 1948 and their subsequent support for the establishment of a Jewish state. It was during the British Mandate that Acre was declared an Antiquity Site and protected by a 1929 Antiquities ordinance that included the city walls and Crusader citadel (British Mandate 1929, Heidtman 2014). It was also during the British Mandate that the citadel of Acre was used as a prison for members of the Jewish underground and was the scene of a famous prison break that was influential in the decision of the British to leave Palestine.

Acre was captured by Israel in 1948 following the withdrawal of the British with the displacement of a majority of the Arab population. The city again attracted new Jewish residents, largely coming from Eastern Europe but mostly settling in the city's expanding suburbs. In 2001, Acre was declared a UNESCO World Heritage property.

⁶⁸ Thus Acre did not suffer the same fate as Dubrovnik or Valletta

5.2.2 Fortifications

The fortifications of Acre, a place continuously inhabited and fought over for millennium, is a cyclical narrative of defensive construction followed by destruction, resettlement, and rebuilding. Each new ruler understood the site's strategic location, possibilities for trade, the source of fresh water, agricultural hinterlands, and easily defensible position. The original settlement took advantage of natural boundaries: "Its approaches from the north at Ras en-Naqura and from the south at Cape Carmel are narrow and could be easily defended." (Makhoul and Johns 1946)(p 1). In addition, the broad sandy beach to the south allowed early ships to be easily pulled ashore. Substantial fortifications dating from the Bronze Age were excavated on high ground at Tel Akko just east of the present-day city center which included an "18-meter rampart of solid clay topped by a wall and the remains of an elevated brick citadel" (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1999)(p. 1). Later in the Iron Age (1150-100 BCE) Acre is mentioned as "a city fortified at the time of Lulu, king of Sidon" (Hadari 2018)(p 2).

During the Islamic expansion in the 7th century, the fortifications of Acre were reinforced but later razed in 692 by the Byzantines (ibn Munqidh 1929). Only a few decades later the fortifications were reconstructed by Marwan ibn Muhammad ibn Marwan and later during the rule of the governor of Egypt, Emir Ahmad ibn Tūlūn, in 878, "the Moslem architect Abu Bakr builds the port of Acre and also the inner wall that will later be rebuilt by Dahr al-Omar" (Hadari 2018)(p 63). Abu Bakr used the innovative reinforcement technique "Stone-pillars use, as through-bonds" (Le Strange 1890)(p 329) which would later be copied by the Crusaders. Al Muqadassi, a geographer from Palestine, writing in 985 describes the city: "Akka is a fortified city on the sea", which "...had remained unfortified until the time with Ibn Tulun (the ruler of Egypt) visited it, coming from Tyre where he had seen the fortifications and the walls which are there carried round so as to protect the harbour." (Firouzeh 2015)(p 243). It was during the Egyptian Fatimid period Wazir al-Malik al-Afdel was "possibly building the stronghold in the city's southwest, where the Templars would later build their Citadel" ((Le Strange 1890)(p 14).

The arrival of the Crusades in conjunction with the rise of the Italian merchant city-states of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice would usher in an even more intense period of fortification building in Acre. During the First Crusade in 1099, Godfrey of Bouillon recognized the urgent need to conquer a coastal city yet Acre, known to be strongly

fortified, was bypassed. The need persisted and in 1101 King Baldwin I, of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, briefly laid siege to the city but soon withdrew. Several years later the siege is renewed, but he fails a second time as an Egyptian fleet arrives with reinforcements. Finally, in May of 1104 Baldwin I, with the assistance of a combined Genoese and Pisan fleet conquered Acre after a 21-day siege. This established Acre as the main seaport for the Crusaders who constructed a sophisticated system of fortifications including towers, a seawall and massive land wall with a ditch to close off the peninsula. The port was also rebuilt with a new breakwater. One interesting characteristic was the unique fortified inner layout of Crusader-period Acre. There were “physical division within the city between the various maritime communes and the military orders. Thus, in addition to the separated compounds of the Hospitallers and the Templars, the maritime communes from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice each had its own quarter” and “With regard to urban fortifications, efforts were initially focused upon citadels rather than the walls around a town” (Nicolle 2005)(p 5). The importance of relief, supplies, and reinforcement by ship during the frequent sieges of Acre would become a reoccurring episode in the history of the city until the 19th century.

After Saladin reconquered Acre from the Crusaders: “The Emir Baha al-Din Karakosh, builder of the walls of Cairo, is brought to Acre by invitation of Salah ad-Din and improves its fortifications” (Hadari 2018)(p 4). Yet, Saladin only held Acre for a short time before it was retaken by the Crusaders who then proceeded to rebuild the damaged defenses. They also began the process of updating the fortifications. Wilbrand of Oldenburg, a traveler in 1212, wrote that the fortifications included “a fine ditch, which is both wide and deep and stone-lined from the very bottom, and also by a double wall which is fortified with towers on an excellent system. Thus the first wall, which together with its towers does not overtop the main wall, is commanded and defended by the second and inner wall and the towers of which are tall and very strong indeed” (Makhoully and Johns 1946)(p 32).

These reinforcements were necessary in order to adapt to changing technology. “The early twelfth century marked a breakthrough in the development of mechanical artillery with the introduction of the counterweight trebuchet. This behemoth of the siege arsenal made its first appearance in the Eastern Mediterranean as the crusader states were being established” (Chevedden)(p 36). Furthermore, “beginning in the thirteenth-century military architecture underwent a radical change” with “vast changes in weaponry and

siege methods made over the centuries were countered by corresponding changes in the design of fortifications, and this is particularly true of the era of the crusades” (Chevedden 1999)(p 34). The development of artillery – not yet of gunpowder but of the counterweight trebuchet which reached the region thus necessitated sturdier towers to support the weight but also to create a solid backing to resist the impact and a base from which to mount the devices. “By the late 13th century, major advanced in the design of siege engines had profoundly influenced the design of fortifications.” (Chevedden 1999, Chevedden 2000)(p 71). Stone-throwing machines were as important in defense as in offense resulting in citadels and city walls having more numerous, higher and more protruding towers which served as artillery emplacements for the new trebuchets which could bombard the besiegers’ more exposed siege machines. “The outer defenses of Acre were an example of this new system” (Nicolle 2005)(p 39).

The fortifications required this reinforcement as in 13th century the Mamluk armies were using remarkably sophisticated mangonels siege machines⁶⁹ and incendiary devices, even the counterweight trebuchet. There is also speculation that the siege of Acre included gunpowder thrown or attached to incendiary arrows. “The Mamluks eventually arrayed more mangonels against Acre than they had ever used before” (Nicolle 2005)(p 53). However advanced the fortifications were constructed they could not withstand the Mamluk siege and in 1291 Acre fell, effectively ending to the Crusader period. Maudrell, writing in 1697, states of the ruins “It appears to have been encompassed, on the land side, by a double wall defended with towers at small distances: and without the walls are ditches, ramparts, and a kind of bastions faced with hewn stone” (Maudrell)(p 72).

Although Acre and its fortifications were semi-abandoned for hundreds of years, the city still had strategic value. “When the Bedouin sheikh Zāhir al-'Umar al-Zaydānī's made the city of Akko his capital in the 1740s he found the city in ruin. He utilized the remains of the Crusader city to rebuild the city with the present inner wall built by him. Not only did he utilize the remains of the layout but used the foundations of the old Crusader walls to build his own walls” (Waas 2015)(p 8). Beginning in 1750 Zāhir fortified his new capital building a wall that was “seven meters high and one meter wide” as well as the construction of an assault tower at the northeast corner and rebuilding of the seawall. The reason “was to protect against Bedouin bands and sea

⁶⁹ A mangonel is a type of catapult either human powered or a combination of human and counterweight

pirates.” (Phillipp 2001)(Phillip 2001 p 26). Later “his Turkish successors refortified and somewhat enlarged the town in the early nineteenth century, the Frankish ruins served as building material...” (Kedar 1997)(p 157).

Figure 36 – Reconstructed counterweight trebuchet in Butriago, Spain (Eppich, 2018)

Zahir successor, Ahmed Pasha el Jazzar⁷⁰, also made Acre his capital and continued reinforcement of the walls. These are the walls, with assistance by the British Navy, which successfully resisted the siege of Napoleon. The walls were substantially damaged during the siege therefore between 1800 and 1814 the ruler Al-Jazzar constructed a new double wall around the older existing walls with wider towers to mount cannon. A succession of Ottoman rulers continued to add to the defenses of Acre including Suleiman Pasha: “since Napoleon’s attack its defense had been greatly strengthened” (Makhoully and Johns 1946)(p 61) including an extra line of ramparts, reinforcement of the seawall, and the reconstruction of the Knights of St. John’s headquarters as the new citadel. Many of these works used the historic fortifications and other Crusader buildings as quarries.

However, their measures were insufficient as Ibrahim Pasha succeed where Napoleon did not and swiftly conquered Acre. He immediately set about repairing and improving the fortifications, including the sea walls. Even more important is that he envisioned the update of Acre walls according to the European fortification theory (Demchenko 2015). “These works were conducted under the direction of an Italian engineer Delcaretto and

⁷⁰ The butcher name was given to him given his tyrannical behaviour

Polish engineer Colonel Schultz.” (Rustum 1926)(p 143). These measures were insufficient as the defenses were not technically up-to-date and the city was bombarded from the sea by the British, Austrian and Turkish navy breaching the sea walls in a single afternoon. “After the return under Ottoman rule the walls of Acre were repaired...”, “Subsequently, it became clear to the Ottomans that no update can restore the military value of Acre fortifications and they were effectively abandoned.” (Demchenko 2015)(p 35).

The Ottomans had lost interest in Acre due to an economic and demographic decline of the city – which is what saved the fortifications. Today these fortifications are what is largely extant today. Acre because it was the frequent objective of invading armies as well as it’s mention in historical documents, are testaments to the importance of this port city. Thus there are two fortified cities of Acre: “The Ottoman city is built on the crusader city below...” (Centre 2018)(p 3). There are a few remaining structures of the Crusader fortifications above ground, most notably the Knights of St. John’s Hospitaller Fortress and the Knights’ Hall, the northwestern gate, and northern tower. Below ground more exists such as the crusader crypt, main sewage conduit, the Templars’ Tunnel, and foundations. In the harbor is the Tower of Flies with Hellenistic or earlier origins with later Crusader modifications. Archaeological work is ongoing both inside and outside the existing fortifications.

However, the large extent of the defenses above ground are the Ottoman era fortifications. These walls are in the form of an irregular pentagon with two sides facing the sea, one side the bay, and the other two sides facing inland. The two sides facing inland were more heavily fortified with two lines of ramparts. The inner rampart was constructed earlier, possibly, in some portions on the Crusader wall foundations. The inner wall only exists along the northern side of the city as the eastern inner wall was destroyed during an explosion of a gunpowder magazine during the British bombardment of 1840. It was this inner wall that successfully resisted the siege by Napoleon and was repaired soon afterward. The outer wall, which was constructed parallel to the inner wall was built after the retreat of Napoleon and features three angular bastions at the corners and gates designed to deflect cannon artillery and several tower platforms to fire into a larger ditch. Outside the ditch are two earthen angular bastions and glacis that exist. There are also remains of a third ditch which was never finished (Makhoully and Johns 1946).

The exterior wall is connected to the sea walls by two towers. The sea fortifications are largely extant along the open Mediterranean, creating a dramatic scene with waves breaking against the walls. These seawalls were most likely built upon earlier Crusader or earlier foundations and are unique in that at other fortified cities new ports were built along the sea thus isolating the walls from the water. The fortifications along the harbor exist in portions with the upper portions constructed during the Ottoman era, but the “seawall was built on the ancient wall foundations,” and within the harbor Hellenistic period stone slabs were uncovered and used as a foundation. (Schaffer, Sharvit et al. 2014). At the southwest corner of the city is an area known as the lagoon, where the Templar complex once existed (Demchenko 2015). Within the bay is the Tower of Flies; its origins are unknown, possibly Phoenician but rebuilt during the Crusader period.

There were originally only two gates, a sea gate on the eastern wall at the harbor and a land gate, also at the southern end of the eastern wall. Two additional modern gates were opened in the northern parts of the fortifications.

Figure 37 – Section through the two walls of Acre- the inner (right) wall is the wall of El Jazzar that resisted Napoleon, and the outer (left) was constructed later (after Alderson’s Notes on Acre)

Figure 38 – Acre fortifications - 1839 Engraving Print by Bartlett (El-Mudarris and Salmon 2007)

Figure 39 – Acre Citadel (Almagro, 2003)

5.2.3 Management Organization – A Company City

To spur economic development through tourism, the Old Acre Development Company, Ltd. (Company) was created in 1967 by the Israeli Ministry of Tourism. Acre and the surrounding region had the essential ingredients for tourism: a pleasant climate, beaches, a harbor, and a historic city center encircled by fortifications. The Company was created as a limited company with the only shareholder as the Ministry of Tourism governed by a board of directors with representatives from the local Municipality of Akko, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) (Gal 2017).

Israeli law officially classifies the historic center of Acre, both above and below ground as an archaeological site. Therefore the IAA has absolute legal authority over any proposals or interventions. However, the IAA is a regulatory organ of the State, not a management or development entity. Also because Acre is also legally classified as a city, the Municipality of Akko is also responsible for what is proposed within the center; however, it does not have the capacity for the conservation of monuments including fortifications. Therefore the Company was created as a bridge between these shortcomings with statutes stating oversight and coordination with the IAA and the Municipality required for any projects (Solar 2017).

The Company currently receives its operating funding largely from ongoing operations with the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Israel Antiquities Authority, and Municipality providing funding for specific conservation projects. “The budget that comes from the Ministry of Tourism or any other Ministry is earmarked for named projects for the development of the old city and development of attractions. The revenues generated from the attractions is what gives the company complete financial freedom covers all running and keeping costs of the sites, and other expenses including salaries, insurance and so on” (Gal 2017).

The Company initially began with infrastructure improvement within the walled city and carried out limited conservation projects such as single structures. These included the restoration of the Turkish baths, the opening of portions of the fortifications to create visitor attractions including The Templars’ Tunnel, A museum in the Hospitaller’s Fortress, and the Borj el-Corayim, a large 11-meter high fortified tower situated along the sea walls at the northwestern corner of the city. One of the most

important undertakings of the Company was begun in the early 1990s was the Acre Citadel Conservation Project. The Crusader structures, extending over 8000 square meters, called the Knights' Halls or the Citadel of Acre originally served as the headquarters of the Knights of St. John. The citadel was built as part of the city's defensive formation on the ruins of earlier fortresses, and during the British Mandate, it was the central prison. The structural condition of the Hall of Pillars within the citadel had become unstable with cracks appearing in the masonry vaults. Emergency engineering measures were conducted, and the Company proceeded with the restoration and development of the underground complex for tourism. The first part of the project resulted in an extensive archaeological excavation from 1992 to 1999 conducted by the IAA with financing by the Ministry of Tourism (Old Acre Development Company 2018).

In the 1990s, upon the urging of the IAA, the Company began to focus less on individual physical projects and tourism and more on economic development, a master plan and maintaining a viable community within the walls. The director of conservation for the IAA at the time stated that physical preservation, while necessary, was secondary to ensuring a sustainable community within the walls (Solar 2017). To address this and other issues, a Conservation Planning Committee was established with members reviewing building permits and advising the Municipality on pilot housing conservation projects within the walls. Thus, while the primary focus was still on tourism, there was an attempt to achieving a balance between conservation, touristic development and maintaining and improving the quality of life for the majority Arab-Muslim community in the historic center (ibid). There were and continued to be many issues regarding the Company as it was a State entity was not represented by the community within the walls. A further complication of the situation is that much of the historic housing within the walls is currently under the ownership of Israel Land Authority yet occupied by the Arab-Muslim community.

In 2001, Acre was inscribed on the World Heritage List with justification for inscription the Statement of significance notes “that it is a living, vibrant port city enclosed by fortified walls...” A defining element of this World Heritage property is its fortifications, citadel, land gate and walls, and sea walls. The remains of the Crusader town, dating from 1104 to 1291, lie almost intact below existing street level, “thus providing an exceptional picture of the layout and structures of the capital of the

medieval Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.” In the review of the nomination, the World Heritage Committee recommended that “the State Party incorporate into its management plan a coherent policy for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of residents of the Old City of Acre and to ensure that it remains a living city” (World Heritage Committee 2002)(p 43)

In 2005, the Old Akko Development Company⁷¹, the Israel Antiquities Authority, and the Akko Municipality founded the International Conservation Center. The Center's main goal was to provide training for conservation professionals with programs focusing on both theoretical and hands-on practical aspects. The Center was located in the city center and was intended to provide local and international participants with a working laboratory. This center was successful for a number of years and for a time was in cooperation with the Italian Government. However, the center has since been closed along with it's the community center (Amer 2018). More recent projects of the Company have included the creation of a visitor's interpretation and reservation center at the entry to the old city and a plan for the conservation of the Templars' fortress and conversion into a hotel (Gal 2017).

5.2.4 Socio-economic benefits

The management of the fortifications in Acre is the responsibility of the Old Acre Development Company (OADC), a company specifically created to develop and promote tourism. Therefore, it is understandable that one of their primary goals is to pursue economic benefits through “developing the Old City and Marketing it in line with a regional concept featuring accommodation (hotels), tours and visits to the sites and attractions of Acre and the surrounding area.” (Old Acre Development Company 2018). The fortifications, as one of the largest built historic elements in the city, play a significant role in promoting tourism and have been excavated, conserved, opened, and marketed for this very purpose. There is a heavy emphasis on the Crusader period archaeological and architectural remains and included, to a somewhat lesser extent, the extensive Arab/Ottoman-era fortifications. Other measures include a visitor center, operated by the OADC located at the entry gate at the northern anchorage that provides information on hotels, visits, and tickets not only for Acre but also for the surrounding

⁷¹ Israeli Corporations Authority

areas. There are a number of organized walking tours in Acre and printed pamphlets based upon historical periods such as the Walls Walk, Templar's Tunnel, and the Napoleon Walk (Old Acre Development Company 2018). There are also portions of the fortifications open to visitors with didactic panels such as the Citadel, Treasures in the Wall Museum (a private museum), and the Knight's Hall.

In addition to organized visits, there are also events held in, in part, within the open spaces of the fortifications. These include, appropriately, a theatrical knight tournament, but also other events unrelated to the fortifications such as the Masrahid Festival Theatre in Arabic with translation into Hebrew, the International Zimriya Jewish Zimriya Music Festival, the International Harp Festival, and the Olive Festival. Another major event is the Acre Opera Festival, which is held in the Old City's Crusader Fortress that includes music and an original production created especially for the festival. There is also the popular Fringe Theatre Festival produced by the Municipality of Akko and supported by the Israel Ministry of Culture, the Old Acre Development Company, and overseas philanthropic foundations. Some of these events are promoted by the Old Acre Development Company while others are the initiatives of the municipality or non-profit organizations which are permitted to use the spaces in and around the fortifications.

The fortifications are thus used in two ways to promote the local economy, 1) through the attraction of international tourists and for 2) regional visitors to festivals that use the fortifications as venues. The chief executive officer of OADC, David Harari stated "In September 1993, when he started working for the municipality, the city sold 24,000 tickets a year to tourist attractions, and today they sell 400,000. The tourism industry has become very important for the city, providing 1,855 places of business" (Ben Solomon 2013)(p 15). International tourism is a major part of the Israeli economy, with 13% of international visitors coming to Acre and approximately 250,000 visitors annually visit the underground Crusader City (Shoval 2013). Although tourism has been fluctuating in recent years, it nevertheless plays a major part in the economy, and the fortifications and their use are major attractions and venues. According to the OADC, there has been an "increase in the number of ticket sales annually, increase in property sales for tourism-related businesses, the addition of bed and breakfast places, and more than 80% occupancy in the hotels existing in Akko." (Gal 2017).

But are there social benefits for residents? In 2016, Acre only hosted 29,800 international hotel person-nights but 268,300 domestic hotel person-nights⁷² in 2017 (Statistics 2018). Thus, the vast majority, nearly 90% of visitors staying overnight, are domestic⁷³. Therefore, it is clear that the efforts of the management of OADC are providing social benefits with the numerous cultural events, site visits, and festivals for the residents of greater Acre outside the walls and Israelis.

But social benefits for the residents inside the old town? One of the primary objectives of the Company is “To enable high quality residential and living conditions for the population of Old Acre.” (Old Acre Development Company 2018). However, there is some evidence to the contrary with concerns of gentrification, lack of community involvement in the decisions by OADC, and a feeling the local Arab population is being pushed out. “Yes, there are economic benefits to the center as 80% of the businesses are owned by the Arab community, but the hotels and historic houses (to stay in) are owned by the Jewish community” (Amer 2018).

A 2015 documentary, *It's Better to Jump*, which won a number of international awards⁷⁴ records “fear that Akko being transformed by the government into an overrun tourist town with no population.” Heidtman further notes, “skepticism that exists amount the local Arab population” (Heidtman 2014 Israel)(p 68). And with the tourist development of the city, some streets have been renamed, which according to Shoval, resulted in “antagonism and anger, and in some cases in local defacing the street signs” (Shoval 2013)(p 4). “Slowly the community is being taken over by tourism, it may take 10 or 15 years, but it is for sure a danger.” “The city cannot be only about tourism. People who visit cannot enjoy Acre without the feeling of a community, without children and life in the street” (Amer 2018).

Nevertheless, the OADC has stated they are seeking to address the concerns of the residents within the walls with its training Conservation Center having an “open-door policy,” and various community programs (OADC 2018) and the Company has conducted early pilot renovations of historic residential houses (Solar 2017). According to the OADC “On the board of directors we have one Moslem member and one Druze,

⁷² 298,100 total visitors in 2016

⁷³ The data does not distinguish between the old city and the nearby beaches, nevertheless it is acknowledged that nearly all domestic tourists who visit the beach also visit the old city.

⁷⁴ Gold Lion Award Barcelona International film Festival, 2013 and Global award Best International documentary Oaxaca FilmFest, Mexico, 2013

since we finished all the infrastructure works there is no need for involvement of the community” and the local Municipality (outside the walls) has representation as the Mayor has a seat on the board(Gal 2017).

Therefore, while the fortifications are being successfully used for the greater regional socio-economic development, the specific local socio-economic and social development within the walls is somewhat in question. It seems clear that the OADC has succeeded in promoting and conserving the fortifications for tourist and event development and the success of this model has allowed them to expand to Nazareth and according to OADC “we can operate in any city for the ministry of Tourism” (Gal 2017). The ongoing conservation projects of both the Crusader and Ottoman-era fortifications are seen as contributing toward this. The fortifications are also being used for social development with a series of cultural events that attract a majority of domestic visitors (and a limited number of international tourists). In the words of Uri Jeremias, a hotel entrepreneur, “It is an amazing, high-quality tourist city, in some ways even more than many cities in Europe, like Rhodes or Dubrovnik...” (Dvir 2012)(Home, p 1).

5.2.5 Analysis

The management of Acre can best be described as a top-down state established but locally based, semi-autonomous city company. The primary goal of this company is economic development through tourism using the historic city center and its fortifications as differentiation or for competitive advantage as the main attraction while leveraging other nearby attractions such as the harbor and beaches. This goal is pursued, in part, through conservation of the monuments and fortifications, infrastructure improvement, hotel development in historic structures, and tourism marketing.

This city company model has its advantages. It has a singular focus on one place with a clear and easily understood goal of economic development through tourism. The company is financially independent for its ongoing operations yet financially dependent on various government agencies, including the IAA, for the execution of specific conservation projects. Although the objectives have broadened to include “high quality residential and living conditions” (Old Acre Development Company 2018)(About, p 1) the focus remains principally on tourism.

As an initially semi-independent Company, sponsored and endorsed by the state, it does not rely on the local municipality and thus avoids local politics, bureaucracy, and frequently changing governments. In the words of a manager / conservator of IAA, “this system of a city company responsible for the touristic development and conservation is an effective and efficient way to get things done. In the municipalities, there is so much politics and bureaucracy that they are sometimes quite stuck” (Alef 2017). In addition, the local municipal government does not have sufficient capacity and cannot deal with the numerous state agencies on an equal basis. This separation from local politics is possible, in part, given the authority granted by the Ministry of Tourism with cooperation from the IAA but also because of all the monuments, city fortifications, and most of the housing within the walls as the property of the state. Such a model has produced a proven track record with numerous project conserved and a quantifiable and respectable increase in tourism with benefits to the economy. As the model is an initiative of the state the oversight is well organized and is provided from a Conservation Planning Committee and an Executive Board with the board is comprised of members from the local municipality as well as the national agencies. Initial funding from the State incubated the Company and enabled it to focus on the medium to long-term goals, which included a focus on conservation of the fortifications. Such state sponsorship also endows certain stability and facilitates cooperation as well as oversight by the national conservation agency – the IAA. Such an equal level of state government agencies can provide significant side benefits such as the establishment of a training program in conservation, although currently closed.

There are, however, disadvantages. The Old Acre Development Company is an Israeli state-sponsored entity operating within an Arab-Muslim city center; thus, it is treated with suspicion from the local community. It has been accused of favoring a historical narrative based on the crusaders and Jewish history over the Ottoman or Arab history. This gap is evident in the selection of street names and signs with tourist maps representing names chosen from the Crusader history while the residents continue using historical place names (Shoval 2013). Tourism is frequently seen by the local inhabitants as a way to displace them. Also, local Arab residents were not a significant part of the decision making process concerning tourism. Decisions were made by the Company or the municipality (Khirfan 2010, Khirfan 2014), although there have been efforts to represent the local Arab population on the board of the OADC. Another

fundamental disadvantage is that this model was fragile in its early stages in that it depended upon the State for a long start-up process. However, the Company is now financially independent for ongoing daily operations with ticket revenue and contributions from local businesses. However, one disadvantage is that these revenues are funding ongoing small maintenance conservation projects with larger specific conservation projects still dependent upon the State⁷⁵. Another disadvantage is that because the Old Acre Development Company is an operated and managed as a company which must turn a profit for ongoing operations, it has engaged the State's representative, the IAA, as an equal partner but simultaneously as a sub-contractor to execute projects, thus leading to potential conflicts. Other disadvantages are that a company model can be easily impacted by national politics or changing national priorities, particularly driven by tourism. Such a model so obviously driven and solely dependent upon tourism thus can easily compromise conservation in the pursuit of short-term gains and desire to be self-funded. The local municipality, even if cooperating and participating, also can be ignored, and in the case of Acre, can establish a separate, competing parallel agency for tourism, culture, conservation, and development. Additional disadvantages include slow project execution, unreliable results based on tourism, and high initial investment from the State. It is entirely possible for such a model to be transplanted to another city given strong top-down state government funding with a weak local government and low resistance from the local community. Such a situation is rare. Nevertheless, Acre offers a model to be adapted even if it is a cooperation between the state and municipality. The model of a city company seems to be working in Acre.

5.2.6 Good practice

The good practice that can be gleaned from the case study of Acre is that a focus on tourism if carefully managed, can lead to good conservation. This is the model that could be most appealing to the municipality of Famagusta and Turkish Cypriot authorities given the alluring economic aspects (especially for the political leaders). The attention to tourism has had some positive social and economic benefits for the larger city of Acre, if not specifically for the community within the walls. However, some

⁷⁵ Although this is stated as a disadvantage it is understandable as large conservation projects are on-off large capital expenditures

events scheduled to attract tourists, to a limited extent, are also enjoyed by the residents. This would be a major challenge for Famagusta as the short-term economic gains could possibly overshadow any consideration for the social welfare for the community within the walls and also endanger the patient conservation work needed.

The good practice in Acre also involves the establishment, by the state, of a government company that while focused on tourism was also obliged to cooperate with the state conservation agency – on a nominally equal basis. Such a practice would be extremely difficult to implement in Famagusta as the state conservation agency is weak, whereas, in Israel, it is very strong. Should conflicts arise concerning conservation practice between a possible company in Famagusta and the conservation agency - the more powerful economic entity would most likely prevail. The establishment of a company in Acre was essential to avoid the constantly changing local politics and also had a profit motivation, or at least a motivation to be self-sustaining financially. This functioned because the authority of the state of Israel is undoubtedly greater than the municipality of Acre, whereas in Famagusta the municipality is nearly parallel to the authority of northern Cyprus⁷⁶. Finally, the state of Israel backing for the company in Acre insured another good practice – patience for the long term results, essential when dealing with extensive fortifications. The establishment of such a company in Famagusta, as will be described later, would be a major challenge given the reluctance to relinquish any power, particularly economic. However, some modified form of this model could possibly become a way for continued cooperation between the north and south of Cyprus.

⁷⁶ In addition, the Municipality of Famagusta was established before independence of Cyprus thus is internationally recognized, whereas the authority in north Cyprus is not.

Figure 40 –The interior of the Acre citadel during the Opera Festival (Tourist Israel 2015)

Figure 41 – Organizational chart of the management of the fortifications of Acre, add Ministry of the Interior – controls local municipalities

5.3 Rhodes

5.3.1 History

Situated just off Asia Minor, at the juncture between the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, is the island of Rhodes, which has for centuries played a significant role in commerce, politics, and conflicts. Inhabited since the Neolithic period it was home to indigenous peoples referred to in Greek mythology as Rhodian (Sampson 1984). Later in the 15th century BCE, it became part of the Minoan culture and eventually that of the Mycenaean Greeks during the Bronze Age (Marketou 2012). It was a frequent launching point for Persian invasions coming from the east, and in the Hellenistic period, it came under the control of Athens during the Peloponnesian War. In the closing years of the war, in 408 BCE, the three existing cities on the island, Lindos, Ialysos, and Camiros, united and founded the City of Rhodes at the north of the island around several natural harbors (Torr 1885)⁷⁷.

It was a planned city with a grid street network based on the Hippodameus ideal with two wide main streets crossing the city from end to end⁷⁸. The ancient city also boasted an underground sewage system and fresh water supply (Ministry of Culture and Municipality of Rhodes 2010). From the beginning, the city of Rhodes was fortified. "...its walls were strengthened after the Siege of Demetrius (302 BC)" with the method of "strengthening the masonry using the *emplekton* technique", which alternates ashlar stretchers and headers to create a more resistive wall tying the two ashlar faces of the wall together (Ministry of Culture and Municipality of Rhodes 2010)(p 2). The harbors were further protected by moles, long fortified extensions projecting into the harbor, with chains to close off the entry to the ports. Ships from the city assisted Alexander the Great in the siege of Tyre and after their success, the island reluctantly submitted to his rule in 322 BCE (Papachristodoulou 1948)⁷⁹. Shortly after the death of Alexander, the Rhodians expelled the Macedonian garrison and declared independence (Torr 1885). They managed to maintain this independence even when the surrounding territories were being divided by Alexander's generals. Rhodes successfully resisted a series of

⁷⁷ In ancient Hellenistic times Rhodes was also known as the island of the three cities as most Aegean islands only had one city, likewise, Crete was known as the island of a hundred cities. Torr, C. (1885). Rhodes in ancient times. Cambridge, C.U.P.

⁷⁸ Hippodamus of Miletus, an ancient Greek architect considered by Aristotle to be a pioneer of urban planning. Aristotle. (2018)

⁷⁹ Cyprus at this time was also under submission to Tyre

sieges by the Seleucid King Demetrios and victory was commemorated by the erection of a gigantic statue of the sun-god Helios⁸⁰ (Abulafia 2012).

“Ancient Rhodes reached a pinnacle of power in the early second century B.C.” and “her fleet was unrivaled in the Aegean...” However, this success was short-lived and soon, “Rhodes felt the heavy hand of Rome” narrowly escaping war given their political alliances (Gruen 1975)(p 58). Rhodes came under the growing influence of Rome, and soon after the death of Julius Caesar the island was sacked by Cassius for failing to join him in the civil war, yet somehow they managed to retain their independence. The island was eventually incorporated into the Roman province of Asia under Emperor Claudius in 44 AD “when Rhodes fell into disfavor and was deprived of its local independence and mainland possessions” (Carter 2004)(p 16).

The importance of Rhodes as a waypoint is attested to as it is mentioned in the travels of Paul “And it came to pass, that after we were gotten from them, and had launched, we came with a straight course unto Coos, and the day following unto Rhodes...”, “And we found a ship ready to sail unto Phoenicia, and went aboard, and set forth. Then appeared unto us Cyprus...” (Holy Bible 2004)(Acts 21:1 p 234). There is much speculation as to the early history of Christianity in Rhodes, but given Paul’s missionary inclinations it could be assumed that he preached there and there may have been early Christians.

With the division of the Roman Empire, Rhodes became an essential part of the Eastern Roman Empire as most commercial traffic would pass through the Aegean Sea on its way to and from Constantinople. Yet, this afforded little protection as the island suffered frequent incursions including an invasion by the Persians under Chosroes in 620 CE, in 654 by the fleet of Muawiya (the first caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty), and later by Calif Haroun El Raschid of Baghdad. Raids from pirates based in Crete also created security problems but Nikephoros Phokas, later the Byzantine Emperor, relieved the Island after the re-conquest of Crete in 961 (Petraka 2018).

The continued interest of foreign powers in Rhodes attested to the strategic importance of the island, city, and its harbors and was to reach new levels of significance with a reinvigorated trade during the middle ages. Given the island’s key location along trading routes, Amalfitans and later Venetians secured special trading privileges from the Byzantine Empire. By the 11th century, Venice vied fiercely against Genoa for

⁸⁰ The famous Colossus completed around 280 BCE was said to startle the harbor.

control. Rhodes is frequently “mentioned in the merchant itineraries of the eleventh to twelfth centuries...” The city was also used as a station on route to the Holy Land for pilgrims as well as the Crusader armies. “Rhodes, whose fortresses and important arsenal... was not an island frequented solely by merchants and pilgrims. Instead, it played an active role in the military itineraries of Middle Byzantine times...” (Mamamut 2004)(p 26). Despite the significance of Rhodes, by the middle ages, the city population had been significantly reduced, and the fortifications were divided into three parts: The Byzantine acropolis, the Castrum, and the rest of the city with some fortified residential areas lying outside the walls (Cosmescu 2015).

Rhodes was also used as a staging place for the Crusades, provisioning the First Crusade, and providing a stopping point for the Third Crusade in the 12th century for Philip II of France and Richard the Lionhearted⁸¹. While remaining nominally part of the Byzantine Empire, the island was ruled by a series of powerful families and eventually the Genoese, Giovanni de lo Covo.

⁸¹ Richard the Lionhearted departed from Rhodes and went on to conquer Cyprus which provided him with the financial means to contribute to the defense and relief of Acre and continue on the Third Crusade

Figure 42 – Map of the eastern Aegean and Dodecanese (Le Isole del Mare EGEO)

In 1309 the city and island and later the surrounding islands were seized by the Order of the Knights of Saint John, who arrived from Cyprus after fleeing the fall of Acre in 1291. The fall of Acre and the remaining outposts in the Holy Land was a decisive blow to the religious, military orders⁸². The remaining Knights of St. John survived on in Cyprus, the island “...was never intended as a place of settlement, but as a stop-gap onto something else...” (Porter 1858) (p 22). There were serious questions as to the continued existence of these orders with many blaming them for the loss of the Holy Land. Therefore, the conquest of Rhodes “...gave them a much-needed lease of life that permitted them – unlike the Templars – to survive and prosper into the early 16th century” (Ibid p 22). It also allowed the Knights to remain in the Eastern Mediterranean as they never gave up hope of returning to the Holy Land. The Knights’ connection with Cyprus remained strong as they became the “largest landowner in the diocese of Limassol and one of the largest in Cyprus” and “produced wine, grain, livestock and sugar, which supplied Rhodes on a regular basis” (Coureas)(p 215).

The arrival of the Knights ushered in a sustained period of 200 years of fortification building and strengthened connections with Western Europe. The Knights heavily fortified the city transforming it into a powerful stronghold. The earlier Byzantine fortifications “were reinforced and maintained in their original layout throughout the period of the Knights, whereas in the beginning of the 15th century, they expanded...”(Georgalli and Psarri 2010) (p 43).

These defenses withstood the sieges of the Sultan of Egypt in 1444 and that of the Ottoman Empire of Mehmet II in 1480 (Nossov and Delf 2012). During this period Rhodes escaped the fate of the rest of the surrounding region which was conquered by the Ottoman Empire thus isolating Rhodes. With the development of more powerful cannon the Knights of Saint John heavily modernized and strengthened the fortifications and by the late 15th century they created one of the first renaissance defensive networks including escarpments, counter escarpments, ditches, ramparts, and bastions with smaller citadels and watchtowers on outlying islands (Smith and DeVries 2011). However, these efforts were in vain as Rhodes eventually fell to Suleyman II of the Ottoman Empire in 1522 after a siege of six months. The surviving Knights were permitted to leave making their way in the depths of winter to Crete. From there, the

⁸² The other two orders, The Templars and Teutonic Knights did not fare as well. The Templars were disbanded in 1312 by Pope Clement V under pressure from King Philip IV of France and their properties transferred to the Knights of St. John. The Teutonic Knights left the Mediterranean to conduct crusades in northeast Europe.

Grand Master made his way to the west, and some of the Knights headed to Cyprus (Allen). The Order was to roam for several years until they were bequeathed the islands of Malta by Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor.

The fortifications were repaired by the Ottomans but not restored or improved, and the open areas just outside the walls became Muslim cemeteries (Georgalli and Psarri 2010). The Greek inhabitants of Rhodes were banned from the city after dark, and this led to the development of numerous communities outside the walls. The economy also suffered as the city was no longer used as a base for east-west trade. The combination of these factors thus preserved the fortifications. The Ottomans transformed existing buildings but also added their own during the nearly 400 years of the rule including mosques and public baths and fountains (Ministry of Culture and Municipality of Rhodes 2010).

In the early 20th century Italy declared war on the Ottoman Empire and occupied Rhodes from 1912 until 1943. During this time they initiated restoration projects and protection laws which included the defensive network. “The beginning of the Italian occupation of Rhodes in the year 1912 constitutes a milestone for the *historicity* of the medieval town of Rhodes,” and the town became part of the so-called “Zona Monumentale” (Georgalli and Psarri 2010)(p 43). The conservation period for Rhodes had begun, and in 1929 an Italian administration decree designated the medieval town and surrounding cemeteries as a monumental zone, and later the area around the fortifications became a park. “In some instances redesign – several buildings on Rhodes, in an attempt to recreate the late medieval/renaissance lore of the island.” (Buttigieg 2014) (Karanassos 2009). At the end of the 2nd World War, there were two years of British control before Rhodes was formally incorporated into the Greek State.

Figure 43 – Rhodes, approximately 1490 Konrad Grünenberg

Figure 44 – Fortifications of Rhodes

5.3.2 Fortifications

“Whoever has not seen Rhodes... has never seen a fortress” – traveler Rabbi Obadiah ben Bertinoro in 1495⁸³ (Balard 1996, Mindel 2013)(p 25).

The surviving fortifications of Rhodes are unique in that they span two very different epochs, from the crossbow and catapult to large muzzle/loaded cannon that used granular gunpowder that could fire iron cannonballs⁸⁴ “the use of firearms became decisive from the mid-fifteenth century while the employment of gunpowder made undermining particularly effective...” “The next century reshaped fortifications, bringing the bastion into prominence and limiting the importance of curtain walls and towers.” (Kasdagli and Manoussou-Della 1996) (p 15)(Kasdagli and Manoussou-Della 2012). The significance of the fortifications of Rhodes lies in the adaptation and experimentation of defensive architecture in the face of rapid advances in gunpowder artillery.

In addition, there are no natural topographical defensive features other than the sea, so the defense had to rely completely on man-made fortifications. Torr, in his *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, points out “It was strange that its site was not occupied before” the founding of the city because the place “...demanded a large city, for the only hill that could serve as a citadel was more than a mile from the harbours.” (Torr 1885)(p 53). There were several factors influencing the construction and evolution of the defensive architecture of Rhodes after the Order of the Knights of St. John arrived. These factors included the preexistence of ancient defensive structures, craftsmen skilled in masonry, and the series of natural harbors that could provide relief during a siege. Critically, the Knights had extensive experience in fortifications having owned, built, and defended numerous castles in the Holy Land. They had ready access to experts, the latest design theories from Europe, notably Italy and Spain “Entirely new forms of fortifications were needed to resist artillery fire. “ It is generally accepted that it was Italian engineers who were responsible...” (Nossov and Delf 2012)(p 14). Spanish engineers also had influence in detaching towers that provided flanking fire along the walls and should a tower collapse it no longer caused the falling of the curtain walls, and if seized by the enemy it could be easily isolated. (ibid, p 10). The Knights also had an external source

⁸³ Obadiah ben Bertinoro was a Italian Jewish traveler who recorded his journey in the form of a letter sent to his father after his arrival in Jerusalem in 1488.

⁸⁴ The invention of granular gunpowder and the use of iron cannonballs instead of stone cannonballs also had a profound impact on defensive architecture during this period.

of financing from sympathetic rulers, the Catholic Church, and their extensive European holdings (Porter 1858).

However, the most important factors driving innovation were their defining mission, history, and lack of an alternative. They had experienced the consequences of expulsion from Jerusalem, Acre, the Holy Land, and were only based temporarily in Cyprus, without a home. Rhodes was their new home and center of operations, and they were determined to stay, literally digging in. “If they were defeated at Rhodes, there was nowhere to go and little purpose in their existence as a crusading order. What was important was that they were willing to die for their religion; in effect, death in battle against the infidel was expected as a sign of their faithfulness” (Smith and DeVries 2011)(p 130). This differed greatly from the approach of Venice, which constructed fortifications, such as those on Cyprus and Crete, only to protect economic interests far from home.

Another factor influencing innovation was the continual testing of the defenses. The Knights existed principally as a small military force while simultaneously providing aid to travelers to the Holy Land. In their capacity as a military order, they frequently raided shipping and settlements throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, putting them in direct opposition to their numerous Muslim neighbors. Naturally, this activity did not go unnoticed and after their arrival on Rhodes there were attacks from between 1310-1312 and 1318-1319 by the Ottomans, two attacks by the Sultan of Egypt in 1440, followed by a siege in 1444, and a nearly successful siege by the Ottomans in 1480 (Taafee 1852) “... for decades life in the Aegean was disrupted by almost continuous warfare, punctuated by piracy, between the Ottoman government and the Hospitallers at Rhodes” (Setton 1976)(p 189), (Smith and DeVries 2011). Each time the attackers withdrew the Knights took stock of what was successful and where improvements were necessary. “It was during the siege of 1480 when Rhodes was exposed to powerful artillery cannon fire for the first time, revealing imperfections in the fortifications of the city.” “It was also clear that the Turks would not give up...” (Nossov and Delf 2012)(p 183). “Western Europe knew of the situation in Rhodes, and there was widespread concern that the Knights Hospitaller would not survive the inevitable Turkish onslaught” (Smith and DeVries 2011) (p 32). A final test of the defenses was nature itself with a powerful earthquake and small tsunami in 1481, which caused numerous deaths and the collapse of many portions of the fortifications. The “violent earthquakes devastated Rhodes and

caused a wave of rebuilding that lasted until the eve of the Ottoman conquest” (Kasdagli)(p 113).

The balance of power between the Ottoman Empire and the Mamluks in Egypt also aided the Knights, giving them the necessary time to rebuild between each assault. They were also aided by succession disputes within the Ottoman Empire “the death of Sultan Mehmed II in 1481, followed by a quarrel between his two sons, Bayezid II and Jem, provided the Order with a much-needed alleviation of the immediate Ottoman threat” (Buttigieg 2014)(p 30), (Nicholson 2001). “The Grand Masters during this period certainly expected that the peace would not last. And they took advantage of every second afforded them to repair and rebuild the city’s fortifications“(Smith and DeVries 2011)(p126). Soon, the succession in Constantinople was resolved, and the Ottomans defeated the Mamluks in 1517 to gain control the entire eastern Mediterranean. This isolated both Rhodes and Cyprus as the remaining Christian islands.

The international nature of the Order also led to a cross-fertilization of ideas concerning defense with each nationality bringing their own experiences, expertise, and even fostering competition. Each nationality was organized into six langues⁸⁵, linguistic-geographical criteria, with each tasked with financing, constructing, and defending different portions of the fortifications. In addition, each successive Grand Master was determined to leave their mark on the defenses of Rhodes with the installation of their coat of arms installed over newly constructed towers, bastions, and gates.

Figure 45 – Coat of Arms of Pierre d'Aubusson, 40th Grand-Master of the Order of the Hospitallers of Saint-John of Jerusalem (Knights of Rhodes), elected 17th June 1476-died 3rd July 1503)(Jebulon, 2010)

⁸⁵ Langue or tongue, an administrative division of the Knights originally five which grew to eight: Auvergne, France, Provence, Aragon-Catalonia-Navarre, Italy, Castille-Leon-Portugal, English (dissolved in mid-16th century) and German.

This unique combination of factors led to Rhodes becoming an experimental laboratory leading to new forms of architectural defense, its construction, and subsequent management. The variety and type of towers, curtain walls, deepening and widening of the ditch, and invention of the ravelin and finally the development of the angular bastion are all defining elements at Rhodes “when experimentation resulted in the widest variety of forms.” “The adaptations of the fortifications to meet new demands...” “...under the constant threat of enemy attack.” (Kasdagli and Manoussou-Della 1996)(p 15). These revolutionary changes are highlighted because after the fall of Rhodes in 1522 the experimentation was halted. The Ottomans repaired and maintained the damaged fortifications, but as the city was no longer critical and the threat of attack was essentially nonexistent, so there were no further innovations.

In addition to the fortifications of the city of Rhodes, the defenses extended beyond the city to include the island and other islands forming an outlying perimeter defensive network. The Knights controlled the surrounding islands and constructed numerous watchtowers and over twenty castles. These were not intended to resist a siege but provide protection against piracy and keep lookout against larger scale invasions. In the case of a full-scale invasion, the knights and population were expected to withdraw into the fortress city of Rhodes. The fortifications of the city can best be described as semi-circular, creating a “C” to surround the harbor to the northeast. Two moles project outward from the city walls to encompass the harbor with two fortifications at their tips. In the event of a threat, a chain was slung across the harbor between the fortresses, thus closing off access to the harbor. The base of the two moles is connected by sea walls and a series of towers which are considerably less strengthened than the land walls. These seaside fortifications received remarkably less attention as it was considerably more difficult to attack from ships than from land “Thus parts of the wall not threatened directly retained their medieval form. Such as the sea walls...” (Kasdagli and Manoussou-Della 1996) (p 15). An effective cannon or technique had not yet been developed that could successfully aim and fire from a rolling ship.

The land facing walls were remarkably stronger and when reinforced in the early 15th century were “evidently built on the model of the walls of Constantinople.” with a double wall punctuated with towers with the inner wall higher than the outer wall (Nossov and Delf 2012)(p 154). In addition, the masonry of the towers was not tightly interconnected with the curtain wall so that in case of a collapse one it would not bring

down the other. The towers interspersed along the walls attest to the increasing need to resist artillery, and the development can be traced in Rhodes. Along the walls, an older square tower can be found followed by rounded towers, angled pentagonal towers and finally bastions. The nearly successful Ottoman siege of 1480 highlighted many shortcomings of the fortifications. Therefore numerous measures were introduced to reinforce the fortifications, including thickening and backing the main curtain wall with earth and the closing of several gates. This allowed the placement of cannon on top of the wall as well as the rapid transfer of defenders along the ramparts. The ditch was also widened and deepened.

Many of these measures resulted in innovations designed to defend against the Ottomans, not if, but when they returned. These innovations included numerous outer works projecting beyond the land walls. These outer works “differed in height and shape,” which suggests experimentation “in search of optimal protection” (Nossov and Delf 2012)(p 193). During the widening of the ditch, some sections of the old counterscarp were left intact in several locations. This resulted in numerous thick walls with platforms within the ditch or *tenailles*. These were designed to prevent direct hits on the main walls. There were also squat structures with openings all around, known as *caponiers*, constructed within the ditch designed to provide flanking fire along the length of the ditch. The parapets were also rounded and the embrasures redesigned to reduce exposure while firing from the ramparts.

5.3.3 Management Organization – Top-Down

The significance of these fortifications, along with the city itself, was recognized in the listing of Rhodes as a World Heritage property. Two criteria specifically mention the fortifications:

Criterion (ii): The fortifications of Rhodes, a “Frankish” town long considered to be impregnable, exerted an influence throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin at the end of the Middle Ages.

Criterion (iv): This cultural property is an outstanding example of an architectural ensemble which illustrates the significant period of history in which a military/hospital order founded during the Crusades survived in the eastern Mediterranean area in a context characterized by an obsessive fear of siege. (World Heritage Centre 2018).

But the importance of the extant fortifications was recognized much earlier. During the Italian administration, restoration projects were begun on the fortifications, and the city was designated as a monumental zone. In 1957, a new city plan was ratified, and the entire medieval town was declared as a “historical monumental complex worthy of preservation” by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (Kasdagli 2010) (p 4). Despite this declaration, there were often overlapping responsibilities as well as gaps concerning the protection of Rhodes and its fortifications (Papatheodorou 2003). This period was marked by absolute administration of the Archaeological Service which, for better or worse, vetoed any changes to the city and was woefully understaffed and funded (ibid).

This situation continued throughout the 1960s and 70s. In an attempt to cope with the significant problems of the old town, the Ministry of Culture, the Municipality of Rhodes and the Office Archaeological Receipts Fund entered into a contract in 1984 which resulted in the establishment of a local Works Supervisory Committee of the Monuments / Office for the Conservation and Restoration Office of the Medieval Town of Rhodes (Office for Conservation). “The 4th Ephorate initiated a collaborative venture with the Municipality of Rhodes in 1985” and “a committee, including representatives from all interested parties, defined the objectives of the project the elaboration of all the necessary studies and the organization and supervision of works undertaken was entrusted to the newly created Office of the Medieval City of Rhodes” (Gerousi and Brouskari 2013)(p 35).

These efforts were principally funded by the Archaeological Receipts Fund which is the agency within the Greek Ministry of Culture that maintains ticket sales, concessions, and other economic activity for all archaeological sites throughout Greece (Zarifis, Manoussou-Della et al. 1990, Papatheodorou 2003, Fund of Archaeological Proceeds 2019). Funding in 1998 was provided by the “Credit Management Fund for the Execution of Archaeological Projects, operating under the supervision of the then Ministry of Culture” (Gerousi and Brouskari 2013)(p 35). A special study *Principles for Intervention in Buildings of the Medieval Town of Rhodes* 1987 by a fellow group of architects belonging to the local Office for Conservation set out the guidelines for interventions (Zarifis, Manoussou-Della et al. 1990). Within this framework, several successful numerous conservation projects were conducted including the hospice of St. Catherine, which was later awarded the European Union Prize for Culture. “However, the most important achievement has been the restoration of the city’s massive fortifications, a unique example of military architecture. The fortifications presented serious conservation problems...” with many transformed for social uses including the bastion of Auvergne for cultural functions, the moat into a recreational site, and the former Knights’ Hospital into a museum (Gerousi and Brouskari 2013)(p. 35, 36).

Rhodes was included on the list of World Heritage properties in 1988 and an essential aspect of the nomination was because of the fortifications “comprising a unique pure example of the period of adaptation to modern artillery” “clear indications of the experimentation that led from the medieval defensive mechanisms to those of modern times, characterized by the use of arsenal” (World Heritage Centre 2018)(p 1).

The projects Works Supervisory Committee of the Monuments / Office for the Conservation and Restoration conducted a series of projects including the restoration of many portions of the land walls and the rehabilitation of the ditch which led to the growth of various activities for cultural events. Exhibition space was opened in the ramparts of Saint George and dell Carretto Bastions and within the complex of the Gate d’Amboise. These projects were followed by extensive restorations of the fortifications on the seaside including the Sea Gate, partial restoration of the Fortress of Saint Nikolaos and the three docks in the two central harbors. Large-scale works continued after 2000 and included the remains of the Byzantine fortification complex and tower to the south walls of Kollakiou. Additional completed “Project of Protection and Valorization of the Monumental Complex of the Medieval Fortifications of the City of

Rhodes” was approved on Oct. 2002 by the Ministry of Culture with interventions planned for 20 years. Including the sea walls, three fortified docks, Byzantine fortifications, land side fortifications, and the ditch which including accommodations for theatric performances.

In parallel to the work of the Office for the Conservation other projects were also executed beginning in 1996 by the 4th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, a local office of the Ministry of Culture. The Ministry provided financing along with European Community Project funding. Most of these were other projects within the walls and included the Suleymaniye Mosque. The joint agreement between the Ministry of Culture, the Municipality and the Archaeological Receipts Fund was allowed to lapse at the end of the 20 year period in 2004. Thus the local Works Supervisory Committee of the Monuments / Office for the Conservation and Restoration Office ceased to exist. Importantly, the restoration works on the fortifications were not only to restore the monuments but also “to improve living standards, thus providing the inhabitants with a motive to carry on living in the medieval city” (Gerousi and Brouskari 2013)(p 36)(Ministry of Culture and Sports 2019).

5.3.4 Socio-economic benefits

Since the early 20th-century tourism has been a major component of Rhodes’ economy, thus the city has benefitted from its natural and cultural heritage for nearly a hundred years. Package tours were arriving by ship during the Italian period as early as 1925, increasing after the Second World War and accelerated rapidly with mass tourism in the 1970s and 80s with the advent of cheap flights and charters from northern Europe. Today, the economy of the island is entirely dependent upon tourism, which provides more than 70% of its Gross Domestic Product, with 40% of island residents directly or indirectly employed by tourism. Tourism receipts by the late 1990s exceeding 580 million dollars (Pappas 2008). Tourism alleviated the dire economic problems caused by job losses in agriculture and manufacturing and reversed the loss of population through out-migration (Spilanis and Vayanni 2004). This is understandable given the advantages of the island: sunshine, beaches, natural beauty, and cultural heritage,

including the impressive fortifications. While tourism is essential to the economy, there are ongoing questions about the social impacts⁸⁶.

The residents have been long accustomed to tourism and realize that it provides the economic means by which to live on the island. A 2008 survey of residents' attitudes to tourism, including critically within the historic walled city, several key questions were asked including: "The living standards increase more rapidly because of the tourism revenues," a statistically significant majority of both men and women agreed. Other questions that residents agreed or strongly agreed with included "Tourism promotes cultural exchange" and, critically, "Tourism is a factor of historical and traditional building's preservation." However, while the residents understand their economy is based on tourism, they also have mixed feelings and generally agree that tourism commercializes the local traditions, raises prices of goods for locals, and degrades the environment (Pappas 2008).

One question from this survey that the residents strongly agreed with was that "Tourism improved entertainment for the locals." This is important as that there are a significant number of cultural events and festivals that occur in and around the fortifications include the Medieval Moat Theatre "Melina Merkouri" which hosts plays and music concerts during the summer, the classical music concerts at Palace of the Great Magister, and the Medieval Rose Festival, which features reenactments of crusader battles⁸⁷ (Festival 2018).

There are numerous other festivals including projections of colored lights accompanied with music and narratives in multiple languages on the walls of the citadel, windows, and battlements which reenacts struggles between the Knights of Rhodes and the Ottoman Turks and is based on the siege which ends with the conquest of Rhodes by the Turks and departure of the Knights. There is also the Rhodes International Film Festival and Ecofilms, a festival that features environmental films (Municipality of Rhodes 2018, Rodos Films 2018). Other festivals include the Moon Festival, the Arts Festival of Rhodes, the Simi Festival, the Medieval Festival of Rhodes, the Days of Music Festival, and finally the Ecclesiastical Organ Festival of St. Francis of Rhodes. According to George Dellas: "...the rehabilitation of the ditch's free space, led to the growth of various activities..." and "the organized operation of spaces of cultural events

⁸⁶ And environmental impacts with 1,150 tourists per square kilometer with a limited water supply

⁸⁷ Critically, this same festival is shared later in the year with Valletta, Malta

contributed, such as the theatre Melina Merkouri, the exhibition spaces in the ramparts of Saint George and of dell Carretto” (Dellas and Manousou-Della 2003)(p 220).

Museums which are located within the fortifications include the Palace of the Grand Masters (Castello) which is the fourth most-visited and profitable museum in Greece (Greek Statistics Office 2018). There is also a “Walk the Walls and moat tours, and although limited it does include the Kókkini Pórta (Tower of Ágios Ioánnis). In addition to events and tours, the open spaces of the fortifications feature a Mediterranean garden in the north moat and parks in the open spaces to the south and frequent farmers markets and food festivals. The annual Flower Festival, held in the Mandraki harbor, includes themed floats decorated for a parade.

Figure 46 – Rhodes, Medieval Rose Festival that is the same held in Malta (Medieval Rose Festival, 2015)

This rich calendar of events no doubt contributes to the economic development of the city by attracting and entertaining tourists. As the earlier mentioned survey demonstrated, these festivals and events also contribute to the social development of the residents. One final result from this survey was that those interviewed overwhelming describe their interaction with tourists as positive (86.7% for 35 years, 84.2%, 36-50 years and 81% over 50 years) (Pappas 2008).

It seems that the residents of Rhodes have accepted tourism and understand its economic and social benefits, even if there are negative impacts. Furthermore, they wish to improve and understand the need to move away from the model of mass tourism, taking into consideration better uses of their unique natural and cultural resources. Tourism on Rhodes is essential, but its development based on mass tourism stagnated during the 1990s. Early in the same decade, the issue of sustainable development concept was introduced, and a number of programs were initiated including those involving culture with tourist agents recognizing that “Sustainable tourism should rely

on culture” (Fokiali, Xanthakou et al. 2006). Afterword there was a defined effort to “Expand from inactive archaeological tourism at world-famous sites, to the active exploration of aspects of local contemporary culture: local cuisine, settlements, and traditional activities and customs” (Spilanis and Vayanni 2004). There have been efforts to differentiate the tourist product and diversify away from mass tourism – to supply high-quality tourist products, including culture cultural activities and cultural heritage locations, such as the fortifications of Rhodes. It seems that this focus is paying off and after a period of volatility following the Greek financial crisis, tourism numbers are set to reach record highs in recent years “exceeded the most optimistic forecasts recording a 30% rise” with over a million tourists visiting Rhodes in the summer (Greek Observer 2017) (Greek Observer 2017) (p 1).

These socio-economic benefits have been made possible by the open spaces surrounding the fortifications and the conservation of various portions of the fortifications. “The prospect of transformation of the monumental space in regions in which the citizens have the possibility to live, move, have fun and to be educated, is decisive for the future of the exceptional sample of World Cultural Heritage that represents the fortified city of Rhodes” and a “network of uses of the restored monuments started developed at a city level, thus, they began to form reference points among the residents ”(Dellas and Manousou-Della 2003) (pp 220, 223). And as recently in April of 2017, the cultural organization Europa Nostra awarded a price for the restoration and enhancement of the Bastion of the Grand Master’s Palace in Rhodes. This medieval bastion was located to the north of the fortifications and had partially collapsed burying portions of the palace. The restoration and upper platform “serves as a venue for large-scale cultural and social events; splendid view toward the northern tip of the island, the Palace and the northern part of the medieval fortifications...” (Sports 5/4/2017 12:00:00 AM).

5.3.5 Analysis

Rhodes has two management models – one from the past and one in place today. The joint state municipal management model that existed for twenty years from 1984-2004 was by most accounts very successful. It conducted numerous conservation projects on the fortifications and surrounding areas, important monuments within the city as well as performing surveys coupled with an attempt to retain a viable community within the walls. This old model in the Office of Conservation was seemingly born out of frustration and guided by strong personalities with ties to both Rhodes and Athens and was a rare 3-way public joint venture that bridged between two state institutions and one municipality. This approach was “novel and, for Greece, pioneering decision for joint action by the various responsible authorities” (Kyriakos)(p 7). However, this seemingly successful approach was abandoned and responsibilities for the state property, such as the fortifications, was returned to the state, and local monuments and public spaces remained under control of the municipality. The decision to forego the renewal of the joint office has been dismissed as a weak economy. However, this occurred in 2004 before the global financial crisis and during the optimism of the Olympic Games in Athens. Some staff was transferred from the joint office to the State Department of Recent Monuments and Works while others were transferred to the municipality Department for the Protection of the Medieval City and Archaeological Site. The staffing levels are approximately 40% of their original level.

The model that exists today is a typical top-down approach with almost direct control from the Ministry of Culture in Athens. While a local office in the form of the Ephorate exists in Rhodes, they only advise and executed projects. In addition, in 2010, the local 4th Ephorate of Antiquities was merged with another to create the regional Ephorate of Antiquities Dodecanese, thus increasing its geographic prevue. The new Ephorate is also expected to carry out the activities of the Office of the Archaeological Receipt Fund in Athens. They manage, execute, or contract projects on the state-owned property such as the fortifications. They have two staff members who facilitate the operation of the Rhodes office of the Archaeological Receipts Fund. These funds are then delivered to the Office of Archaeological Receipt Fund in Athens (Kasdagli 2010). “All fees go directly to Athens – to be redistributed according to government policy. The money is not directly returned to the monument that generated it” (Kasdagli 2018). The local

office does not make decisions concerning income, which is determined in Athens, they are, however, expected to make recommendations.

The municipal office focused on buildings and public spaces and prepared the overall Management Plan, which was approved by the Ministry of Culture in Athens. In 2011 there was also a merging of local governments from a two-tiered system of a number of local municipalities to one municipality for the entire island of Rhodes. The city of Rhodes grew to manage the whole island, and the agency was renamed the Department of the Medieval City and Monuments. This department focuses on locally significant historic structures, urban plans, and public spaces throughout the island (Minaidis 2017).

From interviews and articles, it is unclear why a seemingly successful model was abandoned. The standard answer is a weak economy or need to consolidate departments and responsibilities. “The contract since the '80s between the Ministry of Culture and the Municipality of Rhodes was completed with success. I don't know why this kind of co-management was not repeated” (Konstantinos 2017). However, as the model currently stands, there are two organizations that address the management and conservation of cultural heritage on Rhodes at the municipal level and the state level.

The municipality is in favor of returning to a single authority to improve cooperation.

The need for cooperation among stakeholders, i.e., the Ministry of Culture and the Municipality of Rhodes, and the benefits that come out of this, are apparent. We believe that effective city management requires a Single Management Agency, which will be the link between stakeholders in order to achieve coordination, collective action, and comprehensive result. This body should be directed to integrated protection and management of the Medieval Town, to meet the modern needs of the residential complex with a view to the maintenance of the monumental and historical character (Charalampos and Kyriakos-Panteleimon)(p 1).

The new Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, formed from the 4th Ephorate and 22nd, also seems to be unsatisfied with the current situation: “The administrative dislocations, allied to the deterioration of the economic climate, have affected the efficiency of the local heritage protection sector” (Kasdagli 2017)(p 1)(Kasdagli 2018).

The three-way division between the local Ephorate, Athens, and the Municipality has created some issues regarding the revenue-generating use of the monuments. Rhodes is a popular tourist destination with over 1.6 million visitors in 2012. Ticket sales for visiting the 3.3 kilometer Wall Walk and other venues bring in considerable revenue, in 2009 this amounted to nearly 1.3 million euros. Events are also held in the state-owned properties, including an “open-air theatre of the medieval moat which is used for performances by educational institutions and private enterprises” (Kasdagli 2017)(p 54). One of the most frequent users is the municipality.

However, these possible sources of revenue seem mismanaged with income only sufficient to cover event costs with any surplus returned to Athens.

The Ephorate, the Central Archaeological Council, the Ministry of Culture and the Archaeological Receipts Fund are institutions not geared to cope with demand which regards the heritage, and specific standing monuments in particular, as a commodity. As all fees go directly to Athens, in order to be redistributed according to government policy, money is not directly returned to the monument that generated it. The Ephorate might, instead, act as adviser or supervisor to a more task-oriented unit, this could be an upgraded local office of the Archaeological Receipts, supplied with a manager arrogated with a measure of independent action and a suitable budget, along with more staff. And more intensive use of the more popular monuments without a cash return, which could be used to benefit the heritage in general and the monument concerned in particular” (Kasdagli 2010)(pp 54, 55).

It seems clear that Rhodes is a classic case of top-down, centralized management. Major decisions are made in Athens, including financial arrangements; the local Ephorate has little autonomy coupled with significant responsibility for the state-owned monuments while seemingly understaffed. At the same time, the Municipality is responsible for locally monuments with limited coordination with the Ephorate and most likely duplicate overhead. The historical assets, particularly the ditch for concerts and palace, are generating revenue, but this does not flow back to the maintenance of the monuments. There is little incentive to increase revenues or find new sources as the financial decisions are made in Athens. Simultaneously, there is also overuse of some monuments due to their popularity but also underuse of others given the seemingly slow

response time due to bureaucracy. Several of the monuments are overused as venues by many government agencies including the Municipality without cost. In short, there is little local autonomy and virtually no incentive to manage well or keep funds generated locally. This has led to some setbacks gained during the 20 years of the previous model of a joint office. The organization and management of the fortifications can be characterized as overlapping authorities and gaps between agencies.

5.3.6 Good practice

Nevertheless, there are many good practice occurring in Rhodes that can be transferred to Famagusta. One good practice that can be learned from Rhodes is that, while there are some disputes about organizational difficulties and numerous changes in agency structure, the fortifications are well conserved, interpreted, and visited. This good practice could serve as a vision for how the fortifications in Famagusta could be in 20-30 years. Unfortunately, the comparison between the condition and use of the fortifications in Rhodes and those in Famagusta would most likely be explained away given the larger economy of Rhodes, higher visitation, and international connections.

But, the condition of the fortifications in Rhodes is a result of a high level of interest and pride over many decades by the public, professionals, and government. The people of Rhodes care greatly for their monuments – as a result of education and good interpretation. Such a good practice could be easily transferred to Famagusta as the current education and interpretation efforts, as will be pointed out later, are seriously lacking. Interestingly, professionals in Rhodes interviewed for this thesis were self-deprecating and frequently lamented the state of their fortifications. However, this was viewed in a positive light as they were not complacent and demonstrated genuine concern to improve conservation. When the high level of conservation in Rhodes was compared to Famagusta, they readily acknowledged the differences.

Another meaningful good practice in Rhodes is that there is not a sole focus on the more significant elements but also minor monuments, adjacent historic housing, and critically, later Ottoman additions and monuments. There is an explicit recognition of their entire history and its vestiges, including domination by powerful outsiders including the Knights of St. John and the Ottomans. This good practice offers Famagusta an excellent example of how to address conservation and management

holistically within the city as well as embracing and respecting their entire range of history and historic fabric – even if it is not of Ottoman heritage.

The fact that the fortifications and surrounding spaces in Rhodes are used extensively for social activities, museums, music venues, live-reenactments, and markets is another good practice. The social activities are designed not only for tourists but also with the local community in mind (as many are conducted and announced only in Greek). This demonstrates that the local community has come to terms with and accepted tourism for its economic survival yet has somehow managed to retain its identity (although the community within the walls of Rhodes still has continuing challenges). While revenue from these activities in Rhodes has been dropping recently while tourism is increasing, these events, nevertheless, have generated substantial income in the past and through improved management, they could see a reversal. This is more difficult in Famagusta as the fortifications have never generated revenue, and thus, it is hard to imagine they could possibly pay for themselves.

Finally, an excellent good practice is that some limited events such as the Rose Festival in Rhodes are also conducted in Malta, thus maintaining historic connections and encouraging cross-visitation and education between the islands (for participants and tourists but also inhabitants). Such a festival could also easily visit Famagusta thus re-establishing and renewing strong historic connections which are now completely absent. This practice would go far in raising appreciation among the local community for their valuable cultural heritage resource while supporting visitation.

Figure 47 – the Organizational structure of Rhodes

5.4 Dubrovnik (Ragusa)

5.4.1 History

Dubrovnik (Ragusa) was founded around a small harbor along the coastline of the aquatic highway of the Adriatic. The city's exact origins remain uncertain; however, a leading theory is that following the destruction of the nearby Illyrian / Greek / Roman city of Epidaurum sometime in the 7th century by the Avar invasions, the inhabitants moved to the current location (Wingfield 1859). Initially established upon a rocky promontory or island jutting into the Adriatic the original settlers were joined by emigrating Slavs who established a twin settlement on the mainland. As the city expanded, the two settlements merged to become one city (Janekovic-Römer 2003, Harris 2006). The fortifications also expanded to enclose the northern suburb sometime at the end of the 13th century (Latin 2012). The location was not advantageous as it had few natural resources, the soil was not fertile, there was no source of dependable fresh water, and the coastal mountains looked over the fortifications and down into the vulnerable city below (ibid). There were, however, five initial key resources: trees, the sea, an ability to craft ships, an uncanny knack for business, and a burning desire to for the city to be in control of its own destiny.

Dubrovnik, from the 9th century on, the city was protected by the Byzantine Empire (800-1205), before being subjected by the Venice in the 13th century as it was directly in the path of the infamous 4th Crusade (1202-04)⁸⁸. Venice was later obliged to give up Ragusa along with its other Dalmatian possessions in 1358 after losing a protracted war with Hungary and Croatia. It was under subsequent Hungarian sovereignty (1358-1433) that Dubrovnik emerged to become a powerful sea trading city-state, benefitting from loose oversight from inland Buda and its craftsmen's skill and ability to design and construct ships. The subsequent economic and social success of this small city-state was its independent spirit, a free market attitude, key alliances, good governance, and generations of skilled diplomatic leaders (Havrylyshyn and Srzentic 2014). Once free from Venice, Dubrovnik was allowed to "develop their own institutions and their own commercial network without a great amount of external interference" (Abulafia 2012) (p 389). Dubrovnik became a regional trading hub with free access into the Balkan interior. "The territory of Ragusa, because of its sterility as much as because of the large number of people, lives off a small income...", "... and this is why it is necessary to

⁸⁸ The Fourth Crusade would continue on to conquer and sack Constantinople

engage in commerce.” (Krekić 1972)(p 35). This period of mercantile growth was described by Abulafia as domination by the Ragusan fleet which would “emerge as one of the largest merchant navies in the Mediterranean.(Abulafia 2012) (p ix).

Figure 48 – Dubrovnik (Ragusa) on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea

In reaction to the growing influence and power of the surrounding Ottoman Empire, the city wisely acknowledged suzerainty to the Sublime Porte in Constantinople in 1458 and was obliged to pay tribute and send ambassadors (Harris 2006). This arrangement allowed the city to retain its independence, yet more importantly gain special trade access and tax exemptions within the Ottoman Empire, including profitable rights to the Black Sea when other more powerful European city-states, including Genoa and Venice, were banned. Its unique position also allowed the city to serve as a link between the Ottoman Empire’s cities and the West. Despite this apparent submission to the Ottomans, the Ragusan ships flew the flag of the city motto *LIBERTAS*(Abulafia 2012).

Dubrovnik often functioned as a transshipment point for goods such as tin, copper, and even armaments from countries which were technically at war with the Ottomans. Under this arrangement, the city flourished economically and was frequently described as the pearl of the Adriatic. (Havrylyshyn and Srzentić 2015)(p 4), (Braudel and Ollard 1992). The historian Preto describes Ragusa as “Gate of the East for Christians, of the West for the Turks, faithful daughter of the Roman Church and friend of Catholic Spain, vassal of the Sultan, impartial distribution of news to friends and enemies, double spy of the Turks and Christians: all these definitions di Ragusa perfectly fit the role actually played by the small republic Adriatic.” (Preto 1994) (p 235). Ragusa even managed to obtain a Papal Bull in 1433, “allowing the city to trade with the infidels” (Havrylyshyn and Srzentic 2014)(p 24). Indeed, Ragusa’s policy was “to have no friends or enemies, only its own interests” (Dedijer 2002)(p 130). This is best exemplified in Ragusa’s role in the famous sea battle between the Ottoman Empire and the West at Lepanto – “Ragusa boats served on both sides” (Dedijer 2002)(p 130).

From the late fourteenth century onward Ragusa’s leaders manage to maintain various levels of independence from larger more powerful neighbors through diplomacy, tribute, subordination, an extensive intelligence network, key alliances, and by playing allies and enemies against each other. The city was careful not to align itself too closely to the west and the mercantile and economically powerful Venetians, the pious Pope, the Holy Roman Empire, or too closely with the militant Ottoman Empire to the east. Following the period of Ottoman suzerainty (1684-1806) Ragusa benefitted from a period of loose Austrian protection but maintaining strong ties to Constantinople (Harris 2006).

However, Ragusa’s independence would wane when trade routes shifted away from the eastern Mediterranean ushering in a period of economic and population decline combined with a weakened Ottoman power, and a devastating earthquake in 1667. In 1808 the city opened its gates to a small troop from Napoleon’s army in order to fend off a siege by a combined Russian fleet and Montenegrin army. Napoleon’s commander promised to respect and defend Dubrovnik’s independence (Bejelovucic 1970). The French and Ragusan troops manned the historic defenses but were in jeopardy as the Russian navy hauled their guns to the heights above Ragusa⁸⁹ and were able to shell the

⁸⁹ An action that would be repeated in the 1991 Siege of Dubrovnik with the Serbian forces

city over the fortifications⁹⁰ while Montenegrin irregular troops ravaged the communities and wealthy villas outside the walls⁹¹. A small French relief force, pretending to be larger soon arrived and the siege was lifted as well as the pretense of protecting the independence. The French commander, Marmont, while acting benevolent said to the Ragusa senate “*vous allez être de notres*” (Bejelovucic 1970)(p 115). While appearing to ignore the inevitable Dubrovnik continued to act independently until Marmont sent the declaration that “The Government and Senate of Ragusa are dissolved.” The declaration effectively dissolved the courts, placed the Consul of France as head of the government (ibid)(p 120).

Ragusa had lost its treasured freedom; its fortifications were not used to defend itself.

The loss of maritime neutrality was economically devastating for Dubrovnik as soon after incorporation into Napoleon’s Europe the city’s lifeblood of shipping was attacked by the enemies of France. “The contraction of Dubrovnik’s merchant fleet was catastrophic – from 277 ships at the start of that period to a total of forty-nine, of which eleven were laid up, at the end of it” (Harris 2006)(p 404).

French rule was not to last long and only eight years later the city was, in turn, surrendered to British and Austrian forces and eventually was more fully incorporated into the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. It was to remain within this Empire until the end of World War I when it became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In 1929 the state was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and during the Second World War was occupied and partitioned between Germany, Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria. However, the state survived the war and emerged to become Yugoslavia, a nonaligned socialist state. “The First World War gave birth to one Yugoslavia that the Second World War destroyed. That same war then created quite a different sort of Yugoslavia” (Lampe 1996)(p 1).

Fatally, the second version of Yugoslavia was only to last into the latter half of the 20th century, a mere forty years. Following a rise in extreme nationalism in the late 1980s compounded by an economic crisis, Yugoslavia was faced with ambitious politicians who chose to exploit regional, ethnic, and religious tensions. The state broke up along ethnic and religious lines with Croatia including the Dalmatian coast declaring

⁹⁰ This is now the location of additional fortifications above the city which date from this period

⁹¹ This would also be strangely echoed in the Yugoslavian conflict in the late 20th century

independence in 1991. The Yugoslavia Army seized the coasts and inland mountains around Ragusa and October 1, the army attacked Dubrovnik from Montenegro. “No one had expected it “as there were few Serbs living there...”, “ But Dubrovnik was a sitting target, ripe for the taking.” (Silber and Little 1996)(p 182). The Yugoslavia army began shelling the city from above with Montenegrin irregulars ravaging the countryside much like the Russians and Montenegrin did over a century earlier. The historic fortifications of Ragusa, designed to resist a siege in the 16th century, were no match for modern artillery based on the mountains above. The destruction wrought by this shelling provoked international condemnation and which eventually resulted in the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, which convicted two Yugoslav officers for their involvement (Harris 2006). “The shelling of Dubrovnik in 1991 was an instance where any benefit to the attackers resulting from the terror caused and cultural destruction wreaked was certainly outweighed by the international reaction to the siege“, “The shelling of Dubrovnik was an enormous mistake for Serb propagandists” (ibid p 60-61).

Figure 49 – Fortifications of Dubrovnik

5.4.2 Fortifications

The protection strategy of Dubrovnik extended far beyond the city itself with the first line of defense as diplomacy with frequent payments to more powerful neighbors, bribes to well-placed individuals, carefully considered alliances, and a small but prepared navy. Should these measures fail, they also constructed fortifications that underwent numerous updates. The physical defensive network consisted of watchtowers on outlying islands and along the coast with the individual fortification of Sokol protecting the inland mountain approach. Also included were defenses built around the satellite cities of Ston, Mali Ston and Bronze, known as the Walls of Ston.

However, the most impressive and oldest fortifications are those immediately surrounding the city itself. The early settlements that formed on the rocky outcroppings above the Adriatic had rudimentary fortifications which resisted a siege of the Saracens in 866-7 of 15 months. However, it was in the beginning in the early 13th century that the outline of the walls that exist today was established but was “systematically modified and added to until the year 1660...” (Veramenta-Pavisa 2016). This time spans between the medieval warfare with catapults and siege towers to artillery; thus, the defenses required frequent reconstruction, adaptation, and additions. The unique position of Dubrovnik as a trading city-state that existed simultaneously inside as well as outside the Ottoman Empire allowed it to serve as a link between Muslim states and the West thus exposing it to emerging technology. Ragusa was an early adopter of the gunpowder revolution with “The first artillery pieces commissioned in 1351” (Madunic 2013)(363)(Harris 2006)(p. 297). This early adoption attitude “...changed the ways of warfare, and initiated a general reconstruction of the City’s fortification complex.” (Veramenta-Pavisa 2016) (p 65).

These adaptations took the form of thickened double walls, shortened earth-filled towers, deep ditches, and angular bastions. In addition, Dubrovnik enjoyed good relations with the West and was eager to take advantage of the latest advances in defensive theories and frequently engaged numerous military architects from Florence, Sienna, Parma, and Bergamo to modernize the fortifications. Dubrovnik even shared the Bergamese engineer Antonio Ferramolino who “...advised on the defenses of Ragusa in 1538 and twice visited Malta, in 1535 and 1541” (Hoppen 1999)(p 35).

Ragusa was also a self-sufficient manufacturing center of ships, gunpowder, and “from 1410, a small foundry operated” for the casting of bronze cannon. (Madunic 2013)(p 363). Indeed, the “large depots of munitions, arms, and other war materials made Ragusa one of the most valuable military assets in the region” (Madunic 2013)(p 371).

“All the efforts and centuries-long endeavors to keep the City Walls in step with the times and the warfare of the day were determined by the desire to preserve the freedom...” (Veramenta-Pavisa 2016)(p 68). This desire to protect the independence of the republic is reflected in the inscription over the gate of the outlying fortress of Lovrjenac: *Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro*, Not for all the gold is freedom sold (Veramenta-Pavisa 2010) (p 37).

The fortifications to protect the freedom of Dubrovnik consist of nearly two kilometers of walls reinforced with sixteen towners, three fortresses, six bastions, and two angled towers. These defenses form the shape of a C around the main harbor with one side facing the open Adriatic, another surrounding the port with the remaining two sides facing inland. To resist increasingly powerful artillery, the medieval fortifications facing inland were shortened and made more massive while the towers were enclosed and filled with earth. This provided for more solid protection as well as platforms to mount cannon. The tops of the walls which once had thin parapets and embrasures were reinforced to accommodate more defenders and their cannon. This adaptation to warfare technology while accommodating the existing city within is evident in the widening of the walls and extension of the ditch toward the exterior rather than the interior at the northern and western sides. It is also evident in the long term planning required to adapt the fortifications rather than rapid modifications to address a specific threat.

Access into the city was through two heavily fortified gates to the west and east protected by additional defenses. The western or Pile Gate consists of an outer and inner gate with an area in between. The approach is protected by a rounded bastion and with restricted access across a stone bridge and wooden drawbridge over the ditch. These defenses were further reinforced by the outlying independent Lovrjenac Fortress which also protected a smaller harbor and outer suburb. Entry into the city from the East was through the Ploče Old Gate set into the original wall with two additional gates and an inner ditch constructed outside as the defenses were improved. A large angled Ravelin was constructed outside the original gate to defend the approach but also to protect and

enclose a small suburb and the entry to the port. A third entry to the north, the Buža Gate was opened up later during Austrian rule and is substantially less fortified.

The land walls to the west and north are further protected by an additional lower outer wall with a series of *torretas* or low semi-circular towers with the space between the walls infilled with soil. This substantially thickened the walls to provide additional protection. Other defensive features that must be mentioned include the massive Minčeta Fortress corner tower to reinforce the juncture between the northern and western land walls, the fortress of St. John's Tower to protect the harbor, and Bokar Fortress to protect the smaller harbor to the west.

However, by the 16th century, the fortifications were largely obsolete as the Republic was increasingly reliant on diplomacy and payments. In addition, “whether consciously or not, by adopting a low profile strategy and not [further] modernizing their fortifications, Ragusans managed to escape a deadly strategic trap.” (Madunic 2013). As described by Parrot, the construction of advanced or extensive fortifications by other small European states meant to compensate for military weakness usually resulted in pre-emptive attacks by greater powers worried about the capture of such fortifications by their enemies. (Parrott 2000). Indeed this was the fate of Malta, also invaded by Napoleon. “Realizing that Malta, with its strongly fortified storm-free harbours and its weak government, was too rich a prize not to be coveted by his rivals.” “The very fortifications on which the knights had expended so much of their substance provoked an attack.” (Hoppen 1999)(p 266). This was also the fate of Cyprus and its capital Nicosia. Venice, concerned for her island given rumors of the Sultan's interest and its proximity to the Ottoman Empire, sent a new governor Savorgnano. In Nicosia, he quickly created new fortifications, “he pulled down the ancient wall and adjoining houses, and drew a new line in a round figure...” and “...fortified it with eleven bastions” and a wide ditch. This provoked the ire of the Ottomans who took offense “to see an island fortified against themselves in the heart of their Empire” and “Suleiman conceived an extreme fright at it.”⁹² (Foglietta and Cobham 1903)(pp 14-15).

Ragusa was also a very frugal city-state which carefully weighed the costs of diplomacy against defense. Another interesting note is that it is estimated that Ragusa only spent “12% of its total budget” on defense far below that of other states “most states military

⁹² Suliman the Magnificent was currently in Hungary at the siege of Sigeth, where he subsequently died. One of his generals, Mustafa, inspired his son Selem to carry on with the campaign against Cyprus.

expenditure accounted for a very large share of at least about 20% to as much as 80% in times of conflict.” (Bonney 1995, Havrylyshyn and Srzentic 2014)(p 50).

Although the fortifications became obsolete, they nevertheless protected the community from pirate raids, kept order in case of local unrest, and served as a strong deterrent designed to withstand a siege *long enough for diplomacy to be employed*. The fortifications of Ragusa are significant in that they were not built by an occupying foreign state as in Famagusta (Venice) or rebuilt by a conquering force as in Rhodes (Knights of St. John) but by the community within. Each section of the defenses was entrusted to a commander selected from the ruling class and manned by the citizens supplemented by mercenaries. The defenses were also not conceived or constructed as carefully planned fortifications as in Valletta, Malta, but continually adapted around the existing city while economically incorporating older obsolete portions. Due to the diplomatic prowess of the republic’s leaders and substantial payments to powerful neighbors, the republic remained independent with its walls unbreached. It was not until 1806 that the gates were opened and the republic surrendered to Napoleon in order to secure protection from the surrounding forces of Russia and Montenegro. Eight years later the city was in turn surrendered by the French and became part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The occupying Austrian forces sought to modernize the city with attempts to pull down portions of the walls which “provoked a massive show of discontent by the citizens of Dubrovnik who stopped it and initiated the reconstruction of the demolished battlements”(Veramenta-Pavisa 2016).

Centuries of independence due to diplomatic success, followed by a relatively peaceful capitulation coupled with the status of the walls as symbols of the city ensured that the fortifications survived largely unchanged since the 17th century as an important testimony of community defense and as a record of continual architectural adaptation to changing technology. This was reflected in the early nomination of Dubrovnik to the World Heritage List in 1979 with specific mention of the fortifications in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. “They are among the most complete and are widely regarded as one of the finest, systems of city fortification in Europe” (Allock 1994).

5.4.3 Management Organization – Non-profit Autonomy

In the second half of the nineteenth century, small commissions began to be organized within the city government followed the formation of boards made up of several prominent citizens which were involved with improving public services, infrastructure and the care of monuments. In the mid-19th century, a five-member committee was established within the city government to ensure that no construction works would deface the appearance of the city. This situation continued until the end of the 19th century when a civil society organization named Society for the Promotion of Interests of Dubrovnik was founded with its purpose to improve the city including paths, promenades and public gardens. This group was disbanded with the onset of the First World War. Revived in the early 1920s and called Dub, it began repairs, reconstructions, and limited renovations (Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities 2015).

Figure 50 – Fortifications of Dubrovnik and setting between the mountains and the sea make it easy to understand why it is such a popular tourist destination (Eppich, 2017)

With the formation of the state of Yugoslavia at the end of the 2nd World War, Dub was officially abolished. But during this post-war period, several concerned citizens regularly and informally met and were principally concerned about the state of the monuments in Dubrovnik, particularly the identifying features of the city such as the city walls. It was difficult to organize formal associations in the early days of Yugoslavia. However, the city of Dubrovnik was recognized as an essential part of the formation of the new state by the Ministry of Culture (ibid).

Therefore in 1952, the Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities was approved, and its principal role was to maintain protect, maintain and conserve the fortification, organize lectures, conduct research, and archaeological excavations, publish and finance conservation. The activities of the Society were funded by membership fees, state donations, income from ticket sales, and voluntary contributions. In 1979 the Old City of Dubrovnik was inscribed on the World Heritage List (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018).

During the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, the city was directly targeted and significantly damaged, leading to an international conservation effort. After the independence of Croatia, the ownership of the walls passed to the city. The Society was investigated because of its connections to the Yugoslavia government in Belgrade. However, it retained its independence and continues to manage and conserve the fortifications in Dubrovnik and the surrounding region (Veramenta-Pavisa 2016).

5.4.4 Socio-economic benefits

Four-fifths of the economy of Dubrovnik is based on tourism with “a prevailing orientation to the hospitality industry and tourism” (Neretvanska 2018)(p 2) and revenues from tourism are used to subsidize the City’s income (Sidorenko, Sesum et al. 2015). In 2017, the small city witnessed a 17% increase from the previous year to 1.16 million visitors with 3.9 million overnight stays, a 14% increase (Dubrovnik Tourist Board and Dubrovnik 2018). Increasingly, this is not limited to the summer months with the winter months, also experiencing large increases in the numbers of tourists. “We expect an increase of tourists in Dubrovnik over the festive season by between 10 and 15 percent,” commented the director of the Dubrovnik Tourist Board, Romana Vlasic (Thomas 2018)(Home Interview section).

The fortifications are a big part of the attraction. In August of 2017, “in one day alone, 10,388 visitors bought tickets to walk Dubrovnik’s ramparts” (Morris 2018)(Travel section). The walls of Dubrovnik recorded 1.1 million visitors in 2017⁹³ at a ticket price of 150 HRK or 20.17 euros for revenue of over 22 million euros. Clearly, there are economic benefits (Thomas 2018).

⁹³ The number of visitors ascending the fortifications corresponds with the total number of visitors to the city thus it could safely be assumed most visitors also visit the walls.

year	Croatia visitor numbers	Dubrovnik visitors
2001	7.6mm	228,000
2007	10.8mm	507,000
2011	11.2mm	631,000
2017	14.0 mm	1,160,000

There are other direct economic benefits related to the fortifications such as the refreshment concessions on top of the walls and use of the spaces for events such as the Night of Museums which feature St. John's fortress and the Midsummer Scene Theatre with an open-air stage within the Fortress of Lovrijenac (Midsummer Scene 2018). The Dubrovnik Half-Marathon which takes place every spring features a special 2-K Run the Walls race where a "limited number of participants run a circuit of the city walls," and the Ston Wall Marathon route follows stretches of the medieval Ston wall (Ston Wall Marathon 2018)(p 1).

There are also indirect economic benefits related to other events where the fortifications serve as a backdrop or open spaces as venues. These events include the Dubrovnik Carnival, the Dubrovnik Film Festival, the Spring Music Festival with the Dubrovnik Symphony Orchestra, the Summer Festival Dubrovnik which is the largest cultural event in Croatia lasting six weeks in which the entire historic city becomes a stage for opera, concerts, and theatre, and Festiwine, which features locally produced wine. Finally, there is the Christmas and New Year's Eve celebrations, which illuminate the walls (du motion 2018, The Telegraph 2018). This rich calendar of cultural events, regardless of the intended audience for tourist or resident, contributes substantially to social development and quality of life. The substantial economic activities from tourism also impact social development through the creation of employment.

But while there have been many positive economic benefits and social development given the number of visitors, there are also serious disadvantages and negative impacts on the small city's economy based exclusively on tourism. Currently, there are a number of proposals to develop large leisure resorts, cruise ship terminals, and traffic tunnels near the historic city. This has generated a backlash among local non-profit groups who requested an evaluation by UNESCO which in 2015 responded with a Reactive Monitoring Mission. This mission recorded "An inevitable side effect of this tourism 'monoculture' has been the 'museumification' of the city with domestic buildings being replaced by holiday rental apartments." With only "about 1,500-2000

permanent residents within the inscribed property, while a further 2,000 visitors are accommodated in apartments.” The report continues with a conclusion that “the actual tourist carrying capacity of the property has never been clearly defined...” (Sidorenko, Sesum et al. 2015) (p 29). In response to this the World Heritage Committee, in 2016, requested the state party to develop and submit a “tourism strategy, legal regulations for cruise ship tourism, identification of the sustainable carrying capacity of the city” (Committee 2016)(Decision 40 Com 7B.50). This has led the current mayor, Mato Franković to “cap the number of people allowed inside the city’s medieval walls to 4,000, half the UNESCO recommendation of 8,000, in an effort to protect the heritage site and improve the tourist experience” (Morris 2017)(Travel section).

Clearly, while tourism has allowed the city to leverage its historic and natural resources for the economic and social benefit of residents, it has also developed quickly beyond the control of local management.

Figure 51 – The Ston Marathon (Ston Wall Marathon 2018)

5.4.5 Analysis

Early and continuous civic involvement characterizes the management of the fortifications of Dubrovnik. This active community involvement, coupled with near-complete long-term autonomy of a small non-profit community-led organization, has allowed for the successful and constant conservation of the fortifications. One important aspect is that the Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities focused on one particularly neglected aspect of the heritage of Dubrovnik, that of the fortifications. Today, the Society has branched out to include outlying fortifications and essential structures within the city center but still concentrates on the fortifications and has achieved an enviable track record. Another important factor was the acceptance by the state⁹⁴ in devolving responsibility of significant monuments to a community-based organization. The proven success over some decades has given the Society a prestige and influence both in local conservation decisions and internationally.

The advantages of a non-profit entity are clear; their near or complete autonomy allows the Society to control revenue and thus incentivizes the managers to seek to maximize rent and undertake initiatives for increasing financial revenues. This autonomy allows the Society to direct 80% of their revenue into a nearly continuous conservation project with impressive results. This organization also permits the community, both within and outside the walls, to actively participate as well as interested international individuals or absent property owners. Open membership gives the non-profit a broad stable base which enjoys popularity within the community. The broad membership could allow the Society to continue to operate and function should there be any significant drop in tourist revenue. The structure of the entity has sufficient oversight by a volunteer board of directors with clear lines of communication and additional oversight from both the municipal and state governments. The autonomy of the Society also allows little room for error as there is clear responsibility. In a recent 2015 UNESCO/ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission, there was noted a series of inappropriate conservation interventions “In spite of the apparently robust control mechanism, the Mission was concerned to note that the contractors restoring the walls have extensively used cement, rather than lime mortar, in new pointing and capping, contrary to best conservation practices” (UNESCO-ICOMOS 2015)(p 9). There was little doubt as to whom to contact concerning these works, and the recommendations of the mission were

⁹⁴ Particularly during the Yugoslavia period when many societies were absorbed by the government

followed. The community-based organization, when initially established, accepted state funds but today is financially self-sustainable with multiple sources of revenue. The rise in revenue is mainly due to the increase in tourism that a flexible management model was able to capitalize upon. The Society early on recognized the importance of tourism and established a complete tour of the walls. However, ticket sales now represent approximately 90% of the Society's revenue (Society of Friends of Dubrovnik 2017). The remainder is supplied by concessions rents along the walls, membership dues, and special projects. This surplus income has allowed the Society to continue conservation and even purchase additional properties just outside the walls to protect views and prohibit development. They are currently planning to open a museum and additional portions of the lower/outer Renaissance portions of the walls which will most likely result in higher revenue even as tourism is restricted (ibid).

However, there are a number of disadvantages, the first and foremost of which is that this model is currently overly dependent upon tourism revenue with no major secondary source of revenue. 90% of their income is from tourism receipts and should tourism decrease; it will have an immediate negative impact on their operations. The Society has recognized this and has been seeking to diversify. The second serious disadvantage is that their revenue stream has attracted the attention of the municipal government politicians who recently demanded a cut of the revenue and are currently receiving 50% of all ticket sales⁹⁵. This demonstrates that such a non-profit society, even with a proven track record, could easily succumb to local politics. During interviews, it was noted that "the Society does not know where these funds go" (Society of Friends of Dubrovnik 2017). Surplus revenue highlights the vulnerability of this management model in Dubrovnik. Ultimately, the municipality owns the monuments and in times of financial crisis can seek to gain control of well-performing sources of revenue. Fortunately, the success and influential membership base prevented the municipality from gaining full control of the fortifications.

⁹⁵ The municipality initially desired 100% of all revenue (ibid)

5.4.6 Good practice

There are numerous good practice in place at Dubrovnik which can be adapted for Famagusta. It is clear that the non-profit autonomous management model functions extremely well and is financially independent, enabling continuous sustainable conservation. This model motivates the management to seek out new sources of revenue to extend their operations in order to address conservation at outlying neighboring fortifications. This also demonstrates that an enlightened local government and state can share responsibility with a non-profit entity while coordinating conservation efforts. This autonomy and motivation have led the Society to use the spaces of the fortifications for numerous social activities, as outlined above. This offers additional good practice for Famagusta as currently there are few social activities, and those that do take place are uncoordinated.

There are also non-profit organizations dedicated to cultural heritage operating in Famagusta – thus a precedent. However, these organizations in Famagusta are more seen as advocacy groups or worse as social clubs not sufficiently empowered to enact large scale projects. As the chapter on Famagusta will demonstrate there have been some projects carried out by civil society organizations, but these are small projects such as single structures or parks and not at the scale or complexity required for conservation and management of the fortifications. Unfortunately, this good practice may be difficult to implement in Famagusta given the reluctance by the state or municipality to relinquish power to an autonomous entity - especially should an entity begin to generate revenue, as demonstrated in Dubrovnik.

Another good practice in Dubrovnik is a long tradition of significant and active community involvement. The non-profit Society allows the local community, expatriates, and international visitors to actively participate either through intrinsic means (donations) or through extrinsic means (books, souvenirs, and ticket purchases). In Dubrovnik, belonging to the Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities is viewed by some as a badge of honor. This good practice could be adopted by the civil society organizations in Famagusta as now they operate on the fringe and consist of a few dedicated people. The model in Dubrovnik could offer them an example of widening their appeal and activating a membership base. While this may take many years and continuous efforts, the model in Dubrovnik offers tangible results.

Figure 52 – Organizational structure of Dubrovnik

5.5 Malta (Valletta)

Figure 53 – The land walls of Valletta

5.5.1 History

The rocky archipelago of Malta, Gozo, and tiny Comino consists of just over 300 square kilometers. With limited sources of water, frequently unreliable rainfall, and very thin and poor soil over limestone outcroppings, the islands were hardly able to produce much in the way of agriculture. They also lack any mineral resources, are windswept, and given ancient deforestation subjected to erosion. However, “History reveals no period since the Maltese Islands were settled that they have not attracted attention well beyond the scale of their small size” (Goodwin 2002)(p 2). With its deep natural harbors and strategic location in the center of the Mediterranean, the islands of Malta provided a perfect shelter for ships in antiquity.

Occupied since the Neolithic period (4th millennium BCE) the islands contain some unique examples of megalithic architecture⁹⁶, with the possibility that “the Neolithic Maltese created a cultural island...” to emphasize “both Malta’s cultural difference and extensive contact and trade...” (Robb 2001)(pp 175, 196).

⁹⁶ Often referred to as The Megalithic Temples of Malta (Ġgantija, Hagar Qim, Mnajdra, Skorba, Ta’ Hagarat and Tarxien) they are amongst the earliest free-standing structures.

During the Bronze Age, the islands became increasingly connected with local trade and fortifications began to appear around isolated settlements in elevated areas. Later sometime between the tenth and eighth centuries BCE, the islands and their harbors, were of great interest to Phoenician-Punic commerce as they extended their trade networks west. Phoenician colonization provided a safe haven for ships in distress, some limited local products for commerce, and could have been a reaction to increased trade competition from nearby Greek colonies on Sicily (Luttrell 1975, Bonanno 2005). “It is unlikely that the fortifications discovered around certain Phoenician settlements were measures taken against the Maltese population,” “the protective measures were taken against outside assaults...” (Atauz 2004)(p 50).

With the fall of Tyre in the eastern Mediterranean to Alexander the Great, the Phoenician trading networks to the west were weakened, and Malta came under the influence of nearby Carthage. This eventually led to conflict with the rising power of Rome and the outbreak of the First Punic War (264-241 BCE). “The rising insecurity of the Maltese population can be seen in the construction of a complicated system of watchtowers and defensive walls around important structures...” (ibid)(p 53). Later, during the Second Punic War (218-202 BCE) the Romans took control of Malta; hence, the islands became less connected with Carthage but were also isolated from developments in the western Mediterranean. “With the beginning of Roman occupation and changes in the socio-political structure of the Mediterranean, Malta lost what was left of its strategic importance and became just another small island within the quiet Mare Nostrum” (ibid)(p 56), (Bonanno 1990).

Christianity plays an important role in the history and lore of Malta “Tradition, from time immemorial, has pointed out a bay in Malta as the scene of St. Paul’s shipwreck” (Smith 1866)(p xv). The narrative states that in 60 AD, the Apostle Paul, on his way to Rome to face trial was shipwrecked with Luke and 273 others. After being bitten by a poisonous snake, he was not affected, which was taken for a miracle. Paul was then taken to the home of Publius, the Roman chief of the island and while there cured this father. Afterward, Publius converted to Christianity and became the first bishop of Malta. The rest of the island’s population then converted which would make it one of the first states to become officially Christian. However, it is disputed that Malta is the Melita mentioned in Acts 28:1: “And when they were escaped, they knew that the island was called Melita” (Holy Bible 2004)(Acts 28:1). It has also been claimed that Melita is

Mljet (Meleda), an island off Dubrovnik (Zubrinic 2009). In addition, “for the first three centuries of our era, there is no evidence, not even archaeological, of the practice of the Christian religion” (Bonanno and Urso 1992)(p 16), (Atauz 2004)(p 71).

Regardless of the story’s veracity, the story has profound cultural and religious implications on Maltese identity “Saint Paul’s shipwreck is also an event of great significance in recognizing the context of Malta in the Mediterranean Roman world” (Atauz 2004)(p 70). “Malta, geographically located on the respective peripheries of Muslim North Africa and Christian Europe, has since the Late Middle Ages used the claim to be the site of the shipwreck of the apostle Paul in A.D. 60 (Acts 28) as a key argument for a Latin European Identity” (Buhagiar 2007)(p 1).

After the division of the Roman Empire in the 3rd century CE, Malta remained part of the west but was reunited with the east following the rule of Emperor Constantine. Subsequent emperors neglected the navy which contributed to the loss of the western Mediterranean and weak connections with the islands. The seas were largely controlled by Germanic tribes, Visigoths, and Vandals, which captured Carthage, and the Ostrogoths which attacked and occupied Malta (Atauz 2004). The islands were probably restored to the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire) by Belisarius in 533 CE when he conquered Sicily. This period witnessed the Byzantine fleet dominating the Mediterranean, which led to increased trade and security.

The security afforded by the reinvigorated Byzantine fleet was not to last long as piracy increased. “...it seems that the occupants of these settlements in the center of the island felt insecure and built fortifications. It is difficult to tell who or what caused these defensive measures, but raiding pirates or the Arabs are the likely candidates” (Ibid)(p 79). It was during the Islamic expansion that Arabs conquered Malta in or about 870 and constructed new fortifications and reinforce existing defenses. They built the walls around the city of Melita in the interior and changed its name to Medina, meaning fortified city, now known as Mdina (Goodwin 2002). They also added coastal fortifications on the peninsula of Birgu near the present-day city of Valletta (Atauz 2004).

The Muslim rule in Malta was ended by the Norman attack of 1090 and by the late 11th century Count Roger I of Sicily established Norman rule over Malta where ongoing conflicts with Arab settlers led to the garrison of soldiers and increased and enhanced

defenses of Malta's three main castles (Luttrell 1975). Giovanni Francesco Abela, A Maltese of noble Spanish descent, wrote the first history of Malta in 1647 and alleged that the expulsion of the Muslims by Roger was aided by the surviving indigenous Christian population (Abela 1647). However, Abela was frequently loose in his interpretation and has since been questioned given that "the whole process of maintaining a Maltese national consciousness in the face of centuries of foreign rulers has encouraged the development of unspoken assumptions" (Luttrell 1975)(p 30). The Norman advances would shift power in the Mediterranean and would eventually lead to the capture of Jerusalem, the Holy Land, and Acre. The Normans "were aware of Malta's strategic value both as a base from which the Muslims could threaten Sicily and as on from which the Latins themselves would be able to strike..." (ibid)(p. 30).

Under Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor⁹⁷, the governing bureaucracy of Sicily and southern Italy reorganized and centralized with the integration of Malta. Importantly, this reorganization included control of the navy and entailed improving the defense of Malta. "The three fortified locations on the Maltese Islands, Castrum Maris, the castle of the "city" – Mdina, and the castle in Gozo required expensive maintenance" (Atauz 2004)(p 113)⁹⁸.

Frederick's rule coincided with the rise of the trading Italian city-states of Amalfi, Pisa, and in particular, Genoa in the late medieval period would have repercussions for Malta. Expansion of trade both to North Africa and the Levant would increase the importance of waypoints such as Malta. As Genoa was integrated tightly with the Kingdom of Sicily⁹⁹ "Malta functioned more like a Genoese ship permanently anchored to the south of Sicily for most of its post-Muslim era, especially between 1200 and 1400" (Atauz 2004)(p 107). While Frederick sought to control the Genoese, they still maintained some measure of authority in Malta with control of the surrounding sea and often practiced piracy.

After Frederick, control of Sicily and Malta passed to Charles I of Anjou after his successful invasion of Southern Italy, but his rule ended in 1282 after a rebellion broke out in Sicily¹⁰⁰. The Sicilians petitioned for several new leaders finally settling on Peter

⁹⁷ Frederick II, King of Sicily, Germany, Italy, Burgundy and ruled the Holy Roman Empire from 1220-1250

⁹⁸ In the middle of the 13th century, Malta still had a sizable Muslim population

⁹⁹ After Frederick II's reorganization of 1220

¹⁰⁰ Known as the Sicilian Vespers

III of Aragon¹⁰¹. Thus, control of Sicily and Malta advantageously came under the rule of the Crown of Aragon. Catalan traders had been extending their networks south to the Maghreb and east to the Levant, and Malta was of importance to support these lengthening shipping routes (Cassar 2000). These networks would eventually extend to a trade agreement between Malta and Dubrovnik and the establishment of regular trade (Atauz 2004)(p 122). However, toward the end of the late Medieval Period a series epidemics, frequent changes of rulers in Sicily, conflicts in Genoa combined with the decline of Genoese trade and rampant piracy would negatively impact Malta until the early 16th century. These troubles were compounded by an increase of activity of Ottoman galleys with an attack on Malta in 1488 (ibid).

The history of Malta from antiquity to the Late Medieval is one switching orientations from north to south, from Europe to North Africa, from Christian to Muslim, frequently being raided and harassed from all sides, thus requiring limited, yet essential fortifications. The islands were continually reliant on outside powers and trade for food and commerce, and when these networks were disrupted, the populace suffered. Malta frequently served as a base for piracy as well as a safe haven in times of difficult weather. This would all change in 1530 with the bequeathment of Malta and Tripoli by Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, to the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, after their expulsion from Rhodes¹⁰². This period would usher in a sustained period of extensive fortification construction unlike anything seen before in the Mediterranean.

The Knights were at first reluctant to accept these barren islands far from their eastern Mediterranean origins. “Accustomed as they had been to the verdure and luxuriance of Rhodes...”, “...they were but ill-prepared for the rocky and arid waste which first met their view in Malta.” “It contained neither river nor lake and was very deficient in springs. Its surface was a bare rock, almost destitute of earth, and its vegetation poor and insignificant”(Porter 1858)(p 18, 20). A commission sent by the Grand Master to survey the island reported that the “island’s defenses were weak, the soil poor, resources few, well water scarce and brackish, and the people targets of frequent sea raids” (Allen)(p 21). The Knights were reluctant as the island were merely a rock of soft

¹⁰¹ Peter III’s wife was Constance, daughter of Manfred and the sole survivor of Frederick II

¹⁰² The Knights were expelled from Rhodes by the Ottomans eight years earlier in 1522

sandstone...”, “...barely covered by more than three or four feet of earth” with wood so scarce as to be sold by the pound” (Norwich 2006)(p 303).

Ironically, these very same deficiencies would prove to the Knights’ advantage during the defense of their new home. The Knights soon began to realize the potential and strategic location of the islands and began to turn Malta into fortified stronghold and base from which to carry on their raids against the Ottoman Empire. The rent demanded by Charles V: “every year on All Saints Day a single falcon” (Allen)(p 29).

The Knights were masters of fortification architecture and this period witnessed the reconstruction, modernization, and establishment of a series of massive fortifications around the harbor on the main island’s southeast coast as well as reinforcing and creating other fortifications throughout the islands including watchtowers, redoubts, and city walls (Spiteri 2017). Rightly so, the Order expected the Ottoman Empire to contest their very existence (Porter 1858, Hoppen 1999). Malta also served as a checkpoint from the eastern Mediterranean to the West thus hindering any Ottoman expansion. Their strengthening of the existing fortifications was soon to be tested.

In May of 1565, the Ottoman Empire landed a large force in Malta and set siege to the fortifications. This conflict, later known as the Great Siege of Malta, the Knights numbered less than 6,000 and resisted successfully a force five times greater (Bradford 2014). After a successful defense of their new home, the Order, expecting a return of the Ottoman fleet, continued to reinforce and expand the fortifications for the next 200 years. They established the city of Valletta on a peninsula in the center of Grand Harbor and set about creating state of the art fortifications with over 60 kilometers of walls (Allen). The Knights ruled the islands until 1798 when they were expelled by Napoleon on his way to Egypt. Napoleon “Realizing that Malta, with its strongly fortified storm-free harbours and its weak government, was too rich a prize not to be coveted by his rivals,” “the very fortifications on which the knights had expended so much of their substance provoked an attack” (Hoppen 1999)(p 266). However, Napoleon radically changed and imposed a new governmental structure with open animosity toward the church, which was not popular with the Maltese. Soon, the limited French garrison that was left behind had to take shelter in the fortifications. The Maltese requested English assistance who soon blockaded the islands thus effectively isolating the French from both the sea and land, the result of which was the quick surrender and departure of the French garrison.

The British realized the strategic importance of Malta like so many previous seafaring nations. The islands, their deep harbors, and the fortifications were to be critically important to the British as they were establishing a chain from London, through Gibraltar, to Malta, on to Cyprus and then through the Suez Canal to their possessions in South Asia. It was under British rule that Malta would experience a second great siege during World War II, although of a very different nature (Castillo 2006).

As a British base, Malta was bombed the day after Mussolini declared war. “Malta was the only British base between Gibraltar and Alexandria, and known to be of such strategic importance, its defenses at the outbreak of the Second World War were poor, verging on non-existent...” (Holland 2013)(p 5). Malta, being so close to hostile Sicily, was considered undefendable, yet of critical offensive importance (Holland 2013). At the outbreak of the war, the antiquated defenses were woefully inadequate, and the British set about installing pillboxes and concrete watchtowers on top of and underground chambers below the Knights’ ancient fortifications. The initial defense was coordinated from the British headquarters in Fort Sant Angelo where the Knights of St. John had successfully defended the islands nearly 400 years previously. Here again, the hearty rock of Malta would prove useful. For two and a half years the islands were continually bombed, faced starvation, and a lack of war resources yet survived to conduct offensive operations via aircraft and submarines. It was from Malta that the invasion of Italy through Sicily was launched with two-thirds of the Italian fleet sunk (ibid). The entire population of Malta was awarded the St. George Cross with the installation of a memorial on top of the fortifications of Valletta. On 21 September 1964, the Maltese state was formed as an independent constitutional monarchy with the last British forces leaving in 1979. In 1965 Malta joined the Council of Europe, and in 2004 the nation joined the European Union.

Figure 54 – Fortifications of Valletta and Grand Harbor (Eppich, 2018)

Figure 55 – Fortifications of Valletta and Grand Harbor

5.5.2 Fortifications

“Rien n’est plus connu que ce siège, où la fortune de Soliman échoua” - Voltaire

Nothing is better known than this siege, where Suleiman’s fortunes ran aground. – Voltaire (Beuchot and Miger 1829) (p 536),(Allen)(p 256)

Figure 56 – The fortifications of Valletta as seen from Marsamxett Harbor (Eppich 2018)

The fortifications of Malta are the culmination of centuries of defensive architectural knowledge condensed into a relatively small area: “Malta has one of the highest concentrations of military works anywhere in the World,” and it is possible to “trace the history of fortifications from the 16th to the 20th century on this one small island” (Stephenson and Noon 2012)(pp 4-6). Built on top and encasing pre-existing defenses the fortifications constructed by the Order of the Knights of St. John utilized the natural topography and geography and are a continuation of centuries of their defensive experiences, technologies, and theories. When Emperor Charles V granted the archipelago to the Order, it was to “wage an incessant war against the pirates and infidels” (Burke 1858)(p 33), (Stephenson and Noon 2012). Therefore, the three islands,

Malta, Gozo, and Comino, which make up the archipelago were a continual building project and laboratory for defensive architecture as they were under the constant threat.

When the Order arrived in 1530, they inherited antiquated fortifications which were woefully inadequate, and the Knights set about to radically alter them to resist artillery with new walls, ramparts, and bastions, largely constructing anew from the foundations in three principal locations, Fort St. Elmo, Fort St. Angelo, and Fort St. Michael. The Knights had only just begun when the army of their nemesis appeared on Malta's shores – that of Suleiman the Magnificent with an estimated 35,000-40,000 troops. “The sudden arrival in Malta of the Turkish fleet in May 1565, hit Europe like a hurricane” (Braudel and Ollard 1992)(p 1014)¹⁰³. Balbi quotes Suliman as saying, “my intention is the taking of Malta is not for the sake of the island itself but rather for its utility in other even harder and greater enterprises” (Allen)(p 79).

Unlike Rhodes, these new and adapted fortifications, even if somewhat inadequate, resisted an intense three month, three weeks, and three-day siege by the Ottoman Empire in 1565. This siege came to be considered one of the turning points in the conflict between Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Given the Order's experience, a renewal of the siege was never a question of if, but when. As the Ottomans were unsuccessful and the Order remained, the evolution of the fortifications continued up until the capitulation to Napoleon in 1798. However, this did not halt the improvements as the French occupation was short, and soon, control by the British began. The strategic location of Malta remained important especially following the opening of the Suez Canal as the islands were a critical element in protecting shipping between India and Great Britain and played a key role in the Second World War. Therefore the evolution of the fortifications continued until the mid-20th century. Thus the fortifications on Malta span from oared slave galleys to submarines and aircraft.

¹⁰³ As Braudel notes, however, there were numerous rumors and reports about the Turkish arsenal including an important dispatch from Ragusa identifying Malta as a possible target (ibid)(p 1015)

Figure 57 – Section through the landside fortifications of Valletta (after Stephen C. Spiteri)

As in Rhodes, any description of the fortifications of Malta cannot be restricted to a single location but include outer defensive measures that were designed to develop the islands into a fortified network. There were castles, watchtowers, coastal fortifications, and walled cities such as Mdina in the center of the main island. These were designed to protect the population from frequent raids and also watch for larger scale invasions, where they could repel an invader upon landing or slow down an invasion to allow time for the defenders to prepare.

However, at the center of these outlying fortifications was one of the best natural harbors in the Mediterranean. It is not one but two harbors, Marsamxett and Grand Harbour divided by the central peninsula of Sciberras. Control of these safe anchorages commanded not only Malta but also the strategic center of the Mediterranean and east-west passage. Both of these harbors are further divided into a series of smaller harbors by the Birgu and Senglea Peninsulas, Manoel Island and other projecting landmasses. The tips of these peninsulas were fortified as they controlled the harbor entrances, provided the best firing positions, and were naturally easier to defend being surrounded on three sides by water. Settlements were established along the Birgu and Senglea peninsulas with fortifications closing off the connection with the main landmass. Following the unsuccessful Ottoman siege the fortifications continued to be expanded and the city of Valletta, named after the Grand Master charged with the defense of Malta in 1565, was established on the central Sciberras Peninsula, designed to keep

enemy artillery as far away as possible from the main defenses. The defensive fortifications along the base of the peninsulas are particularly characteristic of the Renaissance. The angled and multiple level bastions overlap and merge into each other to form a sawtooth edge in plan with few straight walls. The angles were carefully calculated to provide multiple overlapping angles of fire and to eliminate any protection or dead ground within the ditch or beyond. These are backed with high cavaliers that provided observation points and platforms for large cannon. There exist several lines of defenses cumulating in the ambitious Floriana Lines at the base of the Sciberras Peninsula. The Santa Margherita Lines were designed to secure the heights above the peninsula heights that allowed an invader to oversee and fire down onto the city. After the siege, the town of Birgu was renamed Città Vittoriosa and Senglea was renamed Città Invicta and to enclose further and protect these fortifications and cities another more extensive lines of fortifications were constructed known as the Cottonera Lines. There are also multiple lines of fortifications protecting the settlements designed to extend the protection out. After the siege Fort St. Elmo was extensively reconstructed at the tip of the Senglea Peninsula.

5.5.3 Management Organization –Multiple Jurisdictions

The significance of the fortifications and the city of Valletta was recognized by the inclusion on the World Heritage List in 1980:

Criterion (i): The city is pre-eminently an ideal creation of the late Renaissance with its uniform urban plan, inspired by neo-platonic principles, **its fortified and bastioned walls modeled around the natural site** and the voluntary implantation of great monuments in well-chosen locations.

Criterion (vi): The city is **irrevocably affiliated with the history of the military and charitable Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem**, which founded the city in 1566 and maintained it throughout two and a half centuries. Valletta is thus associated with the **history of one of the greatest military and moral forces** of modern Europe (Centre 2018)(emphasis added) .

Two important laws were passed to govern and guide future planning of the city and protect the environment: the Environmental Protection Act (No V, 1991) and the Environment and Planning Development Act (No 1, 1992). Importantly, the later act, including inventories and protection measures for historic structures and the fortifications (ibid)(Cassar 2013). A later law, the Cultural Heritage Act (No VI, 2002, amended in 2005 and 2010) created three entities, the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage, Heritage Malta, and the Malta Centre for Restoration. Following this law, the Maltese Government reorganized and consolidated a number of agencies related to cultural heritage and outlined the responsibilities of various national organizations. It also created the Committee of Guarantee that was established to ensure and facilitate collaboration between the reorganized agencies and advise the government on a national strategy. This Committee manages a Cultural Heritage Fund which is a separate legal entity that receives funds from the government and other non-government sources to be used for conservation, research, and education. This fund reports directly to the Minister (2010). A later amendment merged the Malta Centre for Restoration into Heritage Malta. The two main remaining agencies, the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage and Heritage Malta are both semi-independent but must adhere to policy measures and

strategies set forth by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth, and Sport (Cassar 2013).

“The Superintendence of Cultural Heritage’s mission is to fulfill the duties of the State in ensuring the protection and accessibility of Malta’s cultural heritage.”(Superintendence of Cultural Heritage 2018)(p 1). While this mandate is quite broad, this small organization of thirteen professionals is tasked with regulations, consultation, and advocacy. In terms of regulations, the Superintendence approves and monitors works that may impact heritage, regulates the import and export of cultural goods, and controls archaeological excavations. In their role as a consultant body, they make recommendations and advise the Malta Planning Authority in regards to development and are responsible for scientific investigations while maintaining archaeological documentation. In May of 2016, an advisory body was created, the Cultural Heritage Advisory Committee (CHAC), which is chaired by the Superintendent of Cultural Heritage. The Superintendence in their capacity as advocates maintain the National Inventory of the Cultural Property of the Maltese Islands and publish guidelines of practice and the code of ethics (ibid).

The second agency, Heritage Malta, is responsible for operations and has a “broad remit and is the national government agency entrusted with the operations, upkeep, and management of national museums and heritage sites including fortifications” (Heritage Malta 2018)(p 1). This agency is oriented with operations - tasked with ensuring accessibility, conservation, immobile heritage, promoting education and operation of heritage sites, buildings, collections, and museums. It is also in charge of the Institute of Conservation and Management of Cultural Heritage which operates academic courses with the University of Malta (ibid). Heritage Malta, in addition to generating its income, also receives funding from the European Union for capital projects such as the conservation and management of Fort St. Angelo¹⁰⁴.

These two agencies are tasked with managing their operating expenditures in such a way that matches their revenue as far as possible. Each agency sets and collects fees and payments as outlined under the act. However, each also receives funding from the state government from a Consolidated Fund for works of infrastructure or large capital

¹⁰⁴ Heritage Malta <https://justice.gov.mt/en/culture/Pages/Culture-.aspx>

expanse that it cannot meet from their ongoing revenue. Should an agency collect excess income, it will be placed in a reserve fund for the future (Lusiani and Zan 2010). However, the salaries of the staff of Heritage Malta are still paid by the central government (Bonello).

This division into two agencies, one for regulations (Superintendence) and one for operations (Heritage Malta), seems straightforward. However, there are a number of other government and independent organizations operating in Malta which deal directly with the fortifications. Two additional bodies, the Culture Directorate and the Restoration Directorate¹⁰⁵, are not semi-independent and report directly to the Permanent Secretary within the Minister for Justice, Culture, and Local Government¹⁰⁶. The Culture Directorate's responsibilities are broad policy and advice related¹⁰⁷, while the Restoration Directorate (RD) manages the physical conservation of heritage. Created in 1997 as the Restoration Unit, it was elevated to the status of Directorate in 2010¹⁰⁸. The work of the Restoration Directorate includes extensive work on the fortifications, execution of projects such as the fortifications surrounding Valletta, Mdina, and Vittoriosa including most bastions, the ditch, and curtain walls. Recent projects have included Saint Peter and Saint Paul Bastions, the masonry revetments and curtain walls along the land fortifications of Valletta. An essential part of the projects beyond restoration was opening and securing spaces otherwise hidden to promoting visitation and the economic potential of the fortifications¹⁰⁹. The Restoration Directorate has also been responsible for creating and managing a museum: The Fortress Builders, a Fortifications Interpretation Centre.

Included in the Cultural Heritage Act is the connection with private foundations such as *Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti* (Maltese Heritage Foundation) and *Fondazzjoni Wirt Artna* (Malta Heritage Trust). These two non-profit organizations conduct their own cultural heritage projects following the government policy to transfer responsibility for some neglected properties to such organizations. They also curate exhibitions of historical and artistic importance. *Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti* deals mainly with

¹⁰⁵ Restoration Directorate website <https://restoration.gov.mt/en/aboutus/Pages/About-Us.aspx>

¹⁰⁶ Cultural Heritage Act does not mention these two directorates

¹⁰⁷ Culture Directorate <https://justice.gov.mt/en/culture/Pages/Culture-.aspx>

¹⁰⁸ Independent Malta, Interview with director Gatt, architect <http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2010-11-08/news/interview-restoring-maltas-historical-heritage-282952/>

¹⁰⁹ <https://restoration.gov.mt/en/ERDFProjects/valletta/Pages/Valletta.aspx>

objects and exhibitions while *Fondazzjoni Wirt Artna* addresses conservation directly and in particular the fortifications (Artna 2018) (Malti 2018). Wirt Artna is responsible for the Lascaris War Rooms, World War II tunnels, Fort Rinella, the Malta War Museum, and the *Notre Dam* Gate in Birgu, and the popular Saluting Battery. They are also responsible for a number of other fortifications in Malta including coastal towers and batteries. They rely on member support with limited government funding (Malta Heritage Trust 2018, Spiteri 2018). There is also an initiative by the Ramblers' Association of Malta to conserve the Victoria Lines and have formed a foundation called Friends of Victoria Lines (Malta 2018).

Figure 58 – the Saluting Battery in Valletta, popular with visitors managed by *Fondazzjoni Wirt Artna* (Eppich, 2018)

5.5.4 Socio-economic benefits

Malta receives substantial economic benefits from tourism. However, Malta is much less dependent on tourism than other islands in the Mediterranean with a more diverse economy, including financial services, trade, and manufacturing, software development, and online gaming. Surprising given its small size. This has reduced, but not eliminated, the pressure to rely on tourism. Thus, Malta has only recently avoided the volatilities associated with the travel sector. Currently, only 14.1% of the gross domestic product based upon tourism, even still, there are large numbers of tourists visiting the island with arrivals exceeded 2.2 million annually in 2017 up by 15.7% over 2016, following a 10.2% over 2015 (Malta 2017). It is estimated that tourism will continue to grow to eventually form a third of the economy by 2027 (Turner and Freiermuth 2017).

In the past, Malta was heavily dependent upon mass packaged tourism and was a sun and sea destination promoted in the 1960s and 70s by the government giving it a high priority as an economic replacement for the departing British armed forces. Tourism increased rapidly until the late 1990s but later stagnated for more than a decade with overall numbers and overnight stays decreasing (Hallam 2003) (Ministry of Tourism). Package tourism was located outside the fortified cities: “leisure and entertainment focus shifted to other parts of the islands, leading to a rapid decline of activity within the Grand Harbour area.” “Areas that were in previous centuries buzzing with life had now become lifeless areas...” (Theuma and Theuma 2011)(p 7). In addition, the residents “began to acknowledge the effects of tourism’s negative impacts as well as of economic losses” (Dodds 2007)(p 50) “... as tourist arrivals topped one million annually, the Maltese began to feel oppressed by the effects of pressure on the social and physical environment. The lack of a strategic plan and widespread abuse of the building regulations resulted in disorderly, unsightly, and often jerry-built construction” (Boissevain and Theuma 1998)(p 97).

Before the turn of the millennium, a strategic plan was formed to address carrying capacity, sustainability, regulate the industry, and importantly, diversify attractions. One important aspect of diversification included “...utilizing the extensive historical and cultural heritage of the islands” thus promote the development of cultural tourism (Theuma 2004)(p 292). Valletta and the Grand Harbour was the main focus as it as

contains numerous built heritage attractions, including baroque palaces, religious structures, and, of course, extensive fortifications. In the past, these were underutilized. “Malta’s shift in emphasis away from being a mass-market destination towards becoming one of cultural heritage follows decades of mass-market tourism...” (Foxell and de Trafford 2010)(p 156). Authorities realized an advantage and launched a series of initiatives to revive Valletta and the historic Grand Harbour area with a variety of cultural activities for both tourists and residents, including conservation of the fortifications.

Events and festivals that are held within or adjacent to the fortifications include the Historical Reenactment Group of Malta which recreates the battle with the French under Napoleon at Fort St. Elmo six times per year. The fortifications and Grand Harbour form the backdrop for the Malta International Fireworks Festival, the St. James Cavalier houses a creative space for theatre, visual arts, and music, and at the base of the fortifications on the docks the Malta Jazz Festival is held for three nights (Kreattivitàa 2018). The Malta International Music Festival is held every spring including a new piece commissioned to commemorate the Great Siege of Valletta. Other events include the changing of the guard accompanied by a parade and the Armed Forces Band of Malta and the Malta International Arts Festival. All of these efforts have resulted in Malta becoming the European Capital of Culture for 2018.

Figure 59 – Valletta fireworks in Grand Harbour celebrating the European Capital of Culture (Eppich 2018)

These events augment visitation to the fortifications themselves and the museums housed within. Recently the Restoration Directorate opened the Fortress Builders Fortifications Interpretation Centre to “communicate and exhibit the history and significance of Malta’s military architectural heritage” which has become one of the most visited museums in Malta (Directorate 2018)(p 1). The Restoration Directorate has followed up on this success with the ongoing Malta International Contemporary Art Space (MICAS) that will be housed in an outlying portion of the fortifications in Floriana known as the *Ospizio* and *Ritirata*. Originally a *polverista* or mill for the manufacture of gunpowder the fortification has had many uses and will now house space for contemporary art. The new director Ruth Bianco calls it “a revival, repurposing, and recycling of what is a forgotten site, a transformation from a war machine to an art machine” (Galea 2018)(section Local News) (Borg 2018). There is also the National War Museum in Fort St. Elmo, the Palace Armoury, Fort St. Angelo, the Malta Maritime Museum all managed by Heritage Malta.

Figure 60 – Ongoing works at the Malta International Contemporary art Space (Independent, 2018)

While tourism is only a fraction of the overall economy, the sheer number of tourists overwhelms the small islands of less than half a million residents. And while economic growth is considered to be one of the main drivers behind an improvement in the quality of life, there are social impacts. From the 1960s until the 1980s most residents welcomed mass tourism given the economic benefits and tolerated the side effects. An early survey in 1993 recorded the positive effects of tourism, with 83% of respondents positively mentioning entertainment, 91% for archaeological sites, Maltese culture, 80.5% (Secretariat for Tourism (1993). "Many respondents in the 1992 survey also considered that the industry was beneficial for their heritage" (Hallam 2003)(p 5). A later survey of residents in 2000 found that 85% of residents mentioned tourism as beneficial to the economy (ibid).

But by the turn of the millennium, there were shifting attitudes. Maltese began to acknowledge the effects of tourism's negative impacts as well as of economic losses once tourism numbers started to decline: "... as tourist arrivals topped one million annually, the Maltese began to feel oppressed by the effects of pressure on the social and physical environment. The lack of a strategic plan and widespread abuse of what building regulations there were ..." (Boissevain & Theuma, 1998:99)(p 90). This situation led the government to focus on quality tourism and additional promotion of cultural tourism. Culture featured prominently in the recent survey of Maltese residents when asked about which assets should be advertised to tourists. "Sun and sea" received the most mentions with 28%, closely followed by the "history of Malta" (27.7%), and "Maltese culture" (23.3%), "Maltese hospitality" (20.3%) and "feasts and folklore" (10%) (CABI 27 September 2006).

5.5.5 Analysis

The Cultural Heritage Act of Malta was intended to consolidate various branches of government that managing and conserve cultural heritage under a single entity, Heritage Malta. However, one critical entity, the Restoration Directorate, was not included in this reorganization, so the restructuring appears only partially complete. The fortifications, being of high cultural value, fall under the remit of Heritage Malta, but since they are part of the national infrastructure, they are also the responsibility of the Restoration Directorate. Heritage Malta has the legal obligation to act as the guardian and is

responsible for the maintenance, management, and interpretation of the fortifications, but Restoration Directorate has the knowledge and expertise to restore and maintain them. “Successive governments have failed to bring the two entities together into one organization” (Vella 2017).

Furthermore, the two entities responsible for the fortifications are completely distinct in their makeup. The Restoration Directorate is directly controlled within the state government and implements, executes, and manages directly, or through tenders, most restoration works. It receives its funding directly from the state for ongoing operations and specific project with some European Union funding for special projects. While Heritage Malta is an example of new public management – an entity established to act semi-autonomously to manage heritage. Heritage Malta has embraced a proactive approach in differentiating increasing and improving activities to meet visitors’ needs. It is expected to manage all its assets within a financially self-sustainable model receiving revenue from ticket receipts, gift shop sales, etc. However, it is not an entirely independent organization still relying on the state reporting any surplus or shortfall¹¹⁰ with staff salaries paid by the state.

Despite this seemingly incomplete reorganization, there are numerous advantages in the establishment of an almost-all-encompassing organization to manage heritage. Heritage Malta is semi-autonomous with a visitor-oriented focus with a mandate to obtain some level of financial independence¹¹¹ and is in control of the revenue gained from the heritage sites including fortifications thus it is incentivized to seek out new revenue sources and carefully manage expenditures - even though this budget must be approved every year by the state. There is an increased emphasis on planning, monitoring strategies, transparency, and empowering employees. In addition, the Cultural Heritage Act recognized that coordination between agencies would be an issue; therefore, it established a Committee of Guarantee established to ensure better interaction, including with the Restoration Directorate. In addition to these advantages, Heritage Malta is also tasked with coordinating private foundations. The reorganization took into account the role of non-profit civil society organizations such as *Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti* and

¹¹⁰ Luca Zan

¹¹¹ The executives of Heritage Malta, the managing director and president come from the private sector with an autonomous board of directors.

Fondazzjoni Wirt Artna. While this may seem as weakening the authority of Heritage Malta, it is an advantage that it enables and incentivizes independent organizations. “While it may seem there are a lot of organizations dealing with the conservation of the fortifications there are a lot of fortifications” (Spiteri 2018).

However, there are also serious disadvantages. The reorganization was not complete with the exclusion of the Restoration Directorate. This has created overlapping responsibilities, parallel functions, and has created limited competition between entities. While the division between the Restoration Directorate and Heritage Malta may seem clear between restoration and management of operations, there are significant overlaps. The Restoration Directorate also views dissemination and promotion of the fortifications within its remit and has established The Fortress Builders, a fortification interpretation center designed to explain the complex defensive network of the Valletta area. But museums and their management fall under the remit of Heritage Malta and this interpretation center will soon be taken over by Heritage Malta, much to the dismay of those within the Restoration Directorate. In addition, the Restoration Directorate is not autonomous and depends fully on the state. Therefore there are no incentives to operate with financial autonomy. The direct state control of the Restoration Directorate also somewhat undercuts the independent nature of Heritage Malta. Other disadvantages include that Heritage Malta is only semi-autonomous, must still submit a budget for approval and may be required to relinquish any surplus revenue or request support for any shortfall. Despite these differences, for the most part, the two entities function well together with numerous joint-projects (Bonello , Borg 2018).

5.5.6 Good practice

There are many good practice in Malta that could be transferred to Famagusta. The model of a semi-independent government agency responsible for managing cultural heritage with a focus on visitors and a goal to seek financial independence can certainly be applauded. This model is akin to the current bi-communal Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage now operating in Cyprus. As will be shown later, this could be a possible evolutionary path for the Committee.

The establishment of a separate government agency tasked with coordinating the various government and non-government agencies is another good practice in Malta. This would be more difficult to transfer to Cyprus as the government is much smaller and could even create unnecessary bureaucratic hurdles.

An exceptional good practice is the establishment of an interpretation center to educate and engage the public, given the complexities and scale of the fortifications of Malta. Fortunately, this interpretation center is located near a major ferry crossing; thus, it receives a large number of visitors. This offers a good practice that should be adopted in Famagusta. Currently, there is no interpretation center or museum that describes the fortifications, their function, conservation, or even the city itself. It will be described later in the section concerning the fortifications in Famagusta that such an interpretation center could be easily installed in the Ravelin / Land Gate. This structure similarly is situated in a high traffic area such as in Valletta at one of the three entrances into Famagusta¹¹².

The use of the numerous fortifications for various social activities in Malta, including the Malta International Contemporary Art Space, The Saint James Cavalier Creative Space, as well as private (appropriate) businesses is also a good practice. There are numerous large spaces within, on top of, and adjacent to the fortifications in Famagusta that are vacant and unused. These include cavaliers, bastions, and the citadel. As it will be shown in the chapter on social development efforts in Famagusta, there have been

¹¹² There are currently limited interpretation panels within the Othello Tower / Citadel however these are somewhat stagnant require improvement.

some initial efforts, but these are often one-off efforts and pale in comparison to the example set by Malta.

Finally, the inclusion and cooperation with a number of civil society organizations responsible for specific aspects related to the fortifications is also a good practice in Malta. This enhances and extends the efforts by the government agencies allowing active participation by the public, a focus on more obscure parts of the fortifications, and a specialization in certain segments in history. There are non-profit societies dedicated to cultural heritage operating in Famagusta, but these have not been engaged and are often marginalized by the state and municipality who view the cultural heritage as their domain. This good practice in Malta offers an enticing way for cooperation between civil society and the government.

Figure 61 – The Fortress Builders an interpretation center developed by the Restoration Directorate to describe the complex defenses of the Valletta area (Eppich, 2018).

Figure 62 – Organizational chart of Malta

6 SUMMARY

Presented earlier are five case studies from different countries with very different governance structures. In each example, the fortifications are being managed and conserved in a variety of ways with varying levels of success.

In the case of Acre, the fortifications are openly and justifiably seen as a tourist attraction. This clear goal has allowed the state to create an organizational structure in the form of semi-independent company to bridge between the shortcomings of official agencies while avoiding local politics and maintaining a long-term vision. This model has been successful in conserving and opening a number of fortification monuments as attractions in partnership with the state heritage authority, and this has increased tourism. But the model has an inherent weakness in the approach toward the local Arab-Muslim community within the walls and continued financial dependence on the state for major projects. Another weakness (simultaneously its strength) is the primary focus on tourism; conservation, interpretation and other cultural heritage activities may become subservient if not carefully managed.

The example of Acre is in stark contrast to the model of Rhodes, where the approach is traditional top-down management by the state cultural ministry with decisions, financial arrangements, and responsibilities decided in distant Athens. Any financial benefits gained from the substantial tourism do not directly contribute to maintenance or conservation but flow to the capital to be dispersed across Greece, including Rhodes. Also, the gap between the state and municipality is seemingly ignored, in part, because of state ownership of the fortifications, but this neglects possible synergies with a parallel local heritage authority and their expertise and dedication. This is surprising in that this came after a successful 20-year joint program between the state and municipality. The top-down approach in Rhodes also seemingly ignores any possible local office incentives for greater protection or enhanced use of the monuments or improved revenue collection.

In Dubrovnik, a unique model exists in the form of a local non-profit Society. The benefits of a focused, self-contained autonomous organization with significant community involvement are evident and have resulted in a sustainable and continuous conservation effort. The exceptional management of the fortifications has allowed the non-profit society to capitalize on the tourism boom and create a financially self-

sustainable model. The excessive revenue has allowed the Society to expand its operations, open additional areas of the fortifications, establish an interpretation center, and work on outlying fortifications outside the city. However, their increasing revenue has attracted the attention of the municipality, which views the fortifications (and its revenue generation) as within their prevue. This highlights a potential vulnerability.

The state government in Malta created, by law, an all-encompassing semi-autonomous government organization intended to manage and conserve cultural heritage including all museums and key elements of the fortifications. But seemingly, this New Public Management type entity must simultaneously rely on and compete with another branch of the government under state control that has greater expertise and financial resources for conservation of the fortifications. This oversight has led to two parallel organizations that have taken on the dual roles of one to manage and one to execute conservation. The state has also created a third agency to coordinate between entities related to culture, but it is unclear if this is functioning properly. Finally, there are also allowances for civil society organizations to take on certain aspects related to interpretation and conservation.

In Istanbul, the municipal government has recognized its daunting task and in response, established a special unit to manage the extensive land wall fortifications. However, this unit is not sufficiently autonomous and may lack the required human, political, or financial resources to fulfill its mission. They are under intense pressure from a rapidly growing metropolis that is hungry for space and fierce criticism from the international heritage community. In addition, should they seek to generate tourist income from their substantial resource for conservation they will most likely draw the attention of the state's all-powerful cultural finance agency responsible for all revenue generated from heritage attractions.

A summary of these findings is presented in the following table.

Case Studies	Acre	Rhodes	Dubrovnik	Malta	Istanbul
Principal organization	Old Acre Development Company	General Directorate of Antiquities	Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities	Heritage Malta/ Restoration Directorate	Special Unit Land Walls
Model	Public Company	Top-down government	Non-profit civil society	Dual semi-public/private organizations	Municipal unit
Governance	Public board with local representation Planning committee	Government Directorate	Supervisory Board, Presidency Membership City and State	Board of Directors / Government	Municipal structure, oversight by State
Oversite	Israel Antiquities Authority	Self-evaluating	private and public, City and State	Third Government Agency	National office, Advisory Board
Autonomy	Semi-auto, 100% state dependent projects	100% state dependent	100% autonomous	Semi-autonomous / dependent	100% municipal dependent
Municipal connection	One board member	None or informal	Advisory member	unknown	Municipal organization connection with state
Local involvement	Locally based but with community issues	Local office of state organization	Local office community based	Local offices	Local office
Incentive mechanisms	strong	none	strong	medium	medium
Success indicators	Tourism numbers	none	Visitor numbers, number of projects	Number of projects, visitor satisfaction	unknown
Strategic planning	Long-term	unknown	Long-term	medium	Medium-term
Business model	Business oriented	Funds delivered to central government	Clean, easy to understand	Government, New Public Management	bureaucratic
Sustainability outlook	good	poor	Very good	acceptable	good
Financial model	State reliant projects, operations independent	State reliant	Self-funding, tourism	On-going operations State reliant	Municipal reliant
Overlapping authority responsibilities	no	Yes with municipality	no	Yes at the state level	Yes with other city agencies and state
Vulnerabilities	Little connection with local community	No synergies with municipal expertise	City requesting financial participation	Dual agencies can be competitive	Bureaucratic, not fully independent from State

Figure 63 – Table summary of the case studies and management models

6.1 Evaluation factors

As described in the previous section, each walled city and its management models are unique; however, it is useful to compare qualitative and quantitative factors in three specific categories as outlined in the Literature Review: sustainable conservation, social/economic development, and management. This section describes these factors across all case studies as introduced at the beginning of Part II.

6.1.1 Sustainable conservation

The evaluation factors consisted of the presence of an office with professionals dedicated to conservation, planning instruments such as a conservation and management plans and the clustering of necessary industry elements including craftspeople skilled in conservation and materials available to successfully execute works¹¹³. This category also included communication and interpretation on-site to inform the public of the necessity of conservation. All case studies had some level of the above-mentioned factors, including a management office within or nearby the city center with the exception of Acre. However, the presence of these qualitative factors alone did not guarantee a high level of sustainable conservation, as seen in the case of Istanbul. One telling quantifiable factor was the number of major executed projects on the fortifications in the past twenty years¹¹⁴. This was most impressive at the smallest of the case studies in Dubrovnik with over 38 major projects planned, executed, and financed by the Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities. This was followed by Valletta with 12 recent large and ambitious projects planned by the Restoration Directorate, executed by independent contractors, and financed by the European Union with co-financing from Maltese Government. The presence of a robust tendering system in Malta and the available capacity able to execute and manage these works testify to sustainable conservation. Rhodes also executed 13 major projects on the fortifications including major restoration work on the Bastion of the Grand Master's Palace which won the Europa Nostra prize in 2017¹¹⁵. Numerous projects were also executed by the Israel Antiquities Authority in Acre including the difficult sea wall along the port which was financed by the state, managed by the Old Acre Development Company, and executed by the Israel Antiquities Authority. Istanbul, the largest of the case studies, trailed with far fewer conservation projects. Nevertheless, Istanbul has recently executed a number of documentation studies and test conservation implementations. In all cases, with the exception of Istanbul, the conservation of the fortifications can, to some extent, be considered sustainable.

¹¹³ At attempt to count the number of staff was attempted but the information proved was inconsistent

¹¹⁴ The budgets for these projects were investigated but did not yield sufficient data to make comparisons.

¹¹⁵ Most of these projects were planned and executed with the former management model

6.1.2 Social development

Although conservation of the fortifications can be considered sustainable at four of the five case studies, the situation for the communities inside the walls is far from sustainable. In all cases, the population has declined at an alarming rate. In Rhodes, the population declined from a high of 27,000 in 1936 to today's population of less than 2,000 – a decline of over 700% (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2019). This is equally disturbing in Valletta with only 5,563 inhabitants remaining while at the same time “vacated property in Valletta almost doubled from 833 in 1995 to 1,363 in 2011. This means that 35% of property in Valletta is empty” (Demicoli 2016, National Statistics Office Malta 2018)¹¹⁶. In Dubrovnik, a mere 1,557 hardy souls remain (Simmons 2017). The precarious situation of these communities has been repeatedly echoed in the popular media: *A Demographic Catastrophe: Fewer and Fewer Residents in Dubrovnik*, (Simmons 2017), *The Changing face of Valletta* (Grima 2019), and web blogs such as *Valletta Old Girl, We're Killing You* (Azzopardi 2019). In addition to the population decline, there are clear indications that the remaining population is also aging with 30% of the population in Dubrovnik over 65¹¹⁷ (Simmons 2017)¹¹⁸. Accordingly, the density of residents within the walls has decreased. All of the case studies had at the beginning of the 20th century, about 20 square meters per resident which has increased to more than 200 square meters per resident in Rhodes in 2017¹¹⁹.

However, the historic cities are far from empty but very crowded. In each case study, the decrease in population was mirrored with a substantial increase in tourism; both Rhodes and Valletta host more than 2 million tourists per year with Dubrovnik not far behind (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2019, Malta Statistics Authority 2019, Statista 2019). The ratio of tourists to residents is alarming. Two indices, the Defert and Defert/Baretje, were used to compare tourists to residents. The Defert index compares the number of tourist beds to residents. This index clearly indicates that Rhodes with a Defert index of 28.55 and Dubrovnik with a Defert index of 15.03 are extremely touristic (Kyriakou, Sourianos et al. 2011). In comparison, Prague, a major tourist destination has a Defert index of 6 which is considered very high (Dumbrovská 2014)(p 16).

¹¹⁶ The Chamber of Architects has been lobbying to allow commercial property to be used for housing

¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, this information is only antidotal and only unverified statistics were available.

¹¹⁸ One interesting aside related to the population is that in two cases, Acre and Famagusta, there was a significant increase in population during conflicts in 1945 and 1974 respectively - ostensibly to shelter within the ancient fortifications and in Valletta there was a corresponding decrease in population to avoid the fortifications during bombing by the Italians in World War Two

¹¹⁹ Residents per square kilometre is the accepted measure of population density, and this is listed in the following tables, but most of the case studies are below a square kilometre so this was determined an unrealistic comparison.

The Defert/Baretje index compares beds to residents but modified for the area. In Rhodes, the Defert/Baretje index is 71.09 and Dubrovnik the index is 114.82¹²⁰. Valletta is a distant third, with a Defert index of 14.69 and a Defert/Baretje index of 20.64. This is due to Valletta's larger size and greater number of higher density, less expensive hotels in the nearby suburbs¹²¹.

What is more difficult to count are the number of day tourists. None of the administrations of the walled cities, save Dubrovnik, collect reliable statistics for the number of daily visitors. Given the number of tourists and increasing local concern, Dubrovnik has recently installed cameras at every entry point into the city that counts the daily number of visitors (Enum Software 2019). For the other case studies estimates were made based on known figures (monthly visitors to the region, overnight stays and hotel beds in the historic center and hotels within walking distance combined with news reports) (@gtpgr 2017). This was compared to reliable statistics from key tourist sites or events such as the number of visitors to Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, the Walls of Dubrovnik, and the Fringe Theatre Festival in Acre where tickets are sold (Agency 2011, Istanbul Visitors Bureau 2015, Acco Festival 2019, Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2019).

The number of tourists to these walled cities on a busy day leads to a striking comparison with the number of residents¹²². The high in Dubrovnik is approximately 24:1 and Rhodes at 18:1, meaning that the remaining residents mostly see strangers on a typical summer day. Valletta is better with a ratio of 5:1 with the tourists distributed more evenly throughout the year and Acre with a ratio of 4:1 with the highest number of tourists visiting for short times during events. Istanbul also has a better ratio at 9:1, but these tourists are concentrated at the Lower Peninsula not near the land walls.

Returning to the calculated area per person, in all case studies the available space per resident was about 20 square meters at the beginning of the 20th century. With this level of tourism, the space available for both residents and tourists on a busy day is approximately 10 square meters per person in Acre and Rhodes with a mere 3 square meters per person in Dubrovnik. Valletta had 20 square meters and Istanbul 30. This clearly indicates that the visitor carrying capacity has been greatly exceeded in both Rhodes and Dubrovnik, essentially turning these walled cities tourist ghettos.

¹²⁰ Prague has a Defert/Baretje index of 150, hotels are larger and more densely concentrated in the center (ibid)

¹²¹ The number of hotel beds for each case study was investigated but did not yield sufficient information, therefore the bed count was made by investigating the webpage of every hotel in the city center and manually counting the number of beds.

¹²² This was estimated based on the highest recent monthly visitor numbers.

Figure 64 – Dubrovnik was busy this summer, 2017 (Reddit post by hectorial85)

Concerns over the number of tourists are frequently featured in the popular media, *Crowds, and cruise ships have 'ruined' Dubrovnik*, (Foster 2017), *The dark side of tourism: Dubrovnik residents use TV to decide when to go out*, (Mašenjka 2017), *A Fight For The Future Of Acre's Old City* (Ben Solomon 2013), and travel advice titled: *OK, so Rhodes is very touristy, but how?* (Trip Advisor 2008). Much of this deluge of tourism can be attributed to cruise ships which can host more than 5,000 guests and when several docks at a historic city it can be overwhelming. “The overall effect is Disneylandish - a sense that you meet no-one but other tourists or ice-cream sellers, tour guides, waiters, reception clerks and buskers who are there to keep the tourist wheels turning” (BBC World 2017).

While some percentage of the decreasing population can be attributed to increasing tourism and the associated rising costs of living, it is also due to decreasing services and difficulties of living within a small community isolated from modern conveniences by a ring of fortifications. Both Acre and Rhodes no longer have schools, community centers, or administrative facilities located within the walls. Neighborhood schools are of particular importance as they serve as barometers of social sustainability – without them, families will soon leave. Dubrovnik and Valletta have both managed to maintain limited government administration within the city (most likely due to their status as national and regional capitals)¹²³.

¹²³ Determined through site visits, interviews, and studies of Google Maps

In all cases, except Istanbul, public transportation within the walled cities is non-existent, but this is less of a factor considering the small size of the cities and the location of major bus stations a short distance outside the walls. Finally, the most inconvenient social service missing is a lack of general markets. The few residents remaining in Dubrovnik, Rhodes, and Acre must travel outside the city walls for most modern essentials. Valletta does have two remaining markets; however, one is oriented toward selling gourmet foods. Both Rhodes and Dubrovnik have weekly farmers' markets, and all cities have small convenience shops (with touristic prices), but these cannot meet most modern basic necessities.

Fortunately, in all case studies, there are two remaining spaces for social interaction - religious establishments and parks. Many mosques, churches, and shrines still continue to serve the community within the walls as well as act as magnets for the greater surrounding community. This is most evident in Acre as it contains Bahá'í shrines of the Prison Cell of Bahá'u'lláh, the House of 'Abdu'lláh Páshá, and the House of 'Abbud. Then there are parks; Istanbul has over 21 public parks, followed by Rhodes with 8, and Valletta with 7, the largest of which, in all cases, are in and around the fortifications¹²⁴. Despite the parks and religious centers, growing tourism, and success in the sustainable conservation of the fortifications, all cities are failing to sustain the communities within the walls.

¹²⁴ *ibid*

6.1.3 Economic development

In all case studies, there are clear indications that the economies of the larger regions surrounding the historic cores are increasing¹²⁵. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the Dubrovnik-Neretva region has grown from a meager half-billion euros per year in 2000 to over 1.3 billion in only fifteen years (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2019). Likewise, Malta's GDP increased by 40% (Malta Statistics Authority 2019), (Cassar, Vella et al. 2017), and Istanbul's by an impressive 14% in 10 years (Institute 2017). The exception was the Island of Rhodes where the economic crisis of 2008 hit particularly hard, yet the economy has made a comeback. Tourism contributes greatly to economic development in all these regions. The economies of these regions based on tourism range from 12% in Istanbul to nearly 70% for the Island of Rhodes (Institute 2017), (Malta Statistics Authority 2019), (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2019), (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2019), (Ministry of Tourism Croatia 2017).

Naturally, as all the cities are on the Mediterranean, this includes other aspects of tourism such as sun and sand, but by most accounts, a large percentage of visitors also visit the culturally rich historic centers (Richards 2018). An estimate of the economy based upon tourism was made within the historic cities by counting the businesses dependent on tourism (hotels, restaurants, ice cream parlors) in comparison to businesses for residents (barber shops, doctor and insurance offices). While only an estimate it was revealing that in Dubrovnik, 98%, and in Rhodes, 95% of all businesses are tourism-oriented.

This dependence on tourism for economic development is verified by the sheer number of hotels and hotel beds¹²⁶ in the historic centers. Rhodes of less than 0.5 square kilometers has approximately 65 hotels with an estimated 571 beds, excluding private rentals. One additional aspect to the growing tourist economy is the Airbnb effect. A comparison was made between the informal rental accommodation inside the city and outside the city. The results were not surprising with the average cost of accommodation within the walls of Dubrovnik nearly 100% higher than outside. This was echoed in all other case studies, with Valletta at 99% higher inside and Rhodes at 43% higher¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ The GDP was not available for the individual cities thus the statistics for the larger region were used.

¹²⁶ An attempt was made to estimate the growing number of hotels over time but the data was unavailable. It is safe to assume the supply of rooms has increased proportionally with the growth in tourism.

¹²⁷ A comparison of rents for residents inside verses outside was also attempted but there were insufficient information available. This is telling in that there are too few apartments available for rent to residents.

The pursuit of economic development based on tourism by the authorities is evident in the growing number of attractions and events that utilize the fortifications as venues. In Valletta, the European Capital of Culture in 2018, there are 25 cultural attractions embedded into the fortifications with 20 major annual events. Similarly, Dubrovnik has 19 attractions with 15 major events and Acre with 6 major events including the popular and acclaimed Fringe Theatre Festival.

But which came first, the tourism or the conservation? Tourism was, in any case, inevitable as these are beautiful cultural places in beautiful natural settings. However, did the conservation of the fortifications lead to greater tourism? In the case of Acre, the answer is easy, the conservation and development of fortifications as attractions came much earlier, tourism second. In Dubrovnik it is the same answer, the Society responsible for conservation began work long before mass tourism. In Rhodes, the development of tourism began during the Italian occupation at the same time as extensive conservation efforts on the fortifications, again long before mass tourism. In Valletta, the tourism began first as sun and sea tourism, and it was only after stagnation and decline of this important industry did authorities turn to what differentiated the islands – cultural heritage including the fortifications. In Istanbul, conservation efforts are being planned on the Land Walls, without any tourists present.

It is clear that these case studies have successfully used their cultural heritage, in particular, the fortifications, to attract a growing number of tourists to promote economic development. But at what cost? Are the fortifications preserved for the community or for tourist-based economic development? It is questionable if the remaining community within the walls has substantially benefited economically.

6.1.4 Management

This final category includes evaluation factors that relate to management. The first factor considered was the political organization of the walled city. In Rhodes, Acre, and Dubrovnik, the administration of the walled city was combined with the larger suburbs to form a greater municipal entity. The same is true for Istanbul, but the historic peninsula contains the sub-organization of the district of Fatih. Valletta maintains its distinct political entity. This combination of the historic city with the larger suburbs most likely contributed to the movement of services and government administration outside the city center; understandable given that most constituents are located outside the city walls. In Rhodes and Acre, there are no longer government administration offices or police headquarters remaining within the walled cities¹²⁸. This combined with the extramural suburbs has resulted in municipal policies which are often insufficiently detailed enough to address the community inside the walls and a lack of specific data.

In all the case studies, there were few successful policies addressed to population loss or supported the remaining community. The newly elected mayor of Dubrovnik has noted the crush of tourism and has plans to restrict tourists to only 8,000 per day¹²⁹. They have also noted the lack of social services and “plan three new kindergartens, a new school, and 40 apartments to be built under an affordable-housing plan to encourage young families to stay. A retirement home is also envisaged...” but it has been admitted this will take time to implement (Matejcic 2018). In 2016, the Valletta administration launched a strategy intending to retain people and encourage families to move back, however, “residents are complaining that two years down the line the strategy has failed in achieving its goal and that the community spirit is being eradicated” meanwhile population continues to decline (Depares 2019). “In the past five years, 10 Master Plans were published for Valletta, and none were implemented” (Demicoli 2016).

In Rhodes, the policy of the Office of the Medieval City aimed “not only to restore the monuments but also to improve living standards, thus providing the inhabitants with a motive to carry on living in the medieval city” (Gerousi and Brouskari 2013)(p 36). To enable this infrastructure works were carried out as well as the renovation of 25 homes and the establishment of a “municipal health centre and centre for old people” (ibid). Measures were also taken to limit the impact of tourism, including a detailed inventory and geographic restrictions of tourism businesses (ibid). But these policies may not be entirely effective, there

¹²⁸ This does not imply a police presence in the walled city but is only used as an indication of government administration

¹²⁹ As the new tourist counting system has shown in mid-2019 this has not yet happened

are reports that still “the Medieval Town is progressively abandoned by its inhabitants due to the lack of modern infrastructure and the noise created by tourists” (Pappas 2011)(p 6) and “...the absence of any obvious Destination Management practices ‘on the ground’ in... Rhodes town” (Eccleston 2019). Fortunately, Rhodes in 2019 began involvement in a European Union-funded Destination Management Program with support from the Chambers of Commerce of Dodecanese.

These same issues are relevant in Acre but with the additional dimensions of the Palestinian / Israel conflict. The stated goals of the Old Acre Development Company are to “To enable high quality residential and living conditions for the population of Old Acre” (Old Acre Development Company 2018). And there have been attempts to conduct pilot housing conservation for existing residents in the old town (Solar 2017). However, there are concerns that the residents are being pushed out to make way for tourism “the wave of gentrification sweeping over the Old City has seen housing prices skyrocket, the local population also struggles with socio-economic difficulties and substandard services”(Nyman 2016). The situation in Istanbul was not nearly the same given the city’s much larger size in both population and area. Nevertheless, there are concerns of overcrowding and community displacement in the lower peninsula, yet this is away from the land walls. There have been numerous new constructions for residents in the upper peninsula, but these have the opposite effect in gentrifying the neighborhoods near the land walls.

The second major factor concerning management was a finance mechanism to fund conservation of the fortifications or other elements of cultural heritage. This management factor was evaluated in terms of user fees, Willingness to Pay studies (WTP), intrinsic and extrinsic opportunities for giving, visitor entry price discrimination resulting in an Optimal Pricing Policy (OPP). A visitor or user fee is the one easily implemented available option to fund conservation. Such a fee simultaneously generates revenue while restricting access to vulnerable areas. Only Dubrovnik and Valletta had entry fees of above 10 euros; all other case studies either had no entry price or a very low entry price. Most of the ramparts of Acre are accessible for free while most of the land walls of Istanbul are not accessible. This wide disparity of pricing demonstrates that the management of the fortifications does not know their potential to generate revenue. One important study, usually connected with access pricing and tourism is the Willingness to Pay (WTP). WTP for access reflects the maximum amount that a visitor thinks an entry fee is worth. WTP “involves surveying visitors to a site to elicit their willingness to pay (WTP) for access, from which it is possible to estimate how they would

respond to a range of admission charges” (Mourato, Ozdemiroglu et al. 2004)(p 9). None of the case studies have conducted a WTP study, implying that potential funds which could be used for conservation are never earned.

WTP is only one component of an Optimal Pricing Policy (OPP). “Optimal pricing can allow more of the area under the demand curve to be ‘captured’ as revenue and returned to the site through entrance fees” (ibid)(p. 7). Part of OPP is visitor entry price discrimination, which segments visitors into those willing to pay more, profits can be maximized. Obtaining the optimal price and thus maximum profit is especially important for extensive, expensive, and difficult to conserve cultural heritage sites such as city wall fortifications. “However, this is a sensitive subject given the cultural, scientific, and educational values of such places. Fortifications belong to the public and should be easily available for their enjoyment, recreation and educational understanding of history. Given this contradiction, it is extremely difficult to achieve a balance between seeking maximum profit while providing access” (Eppich and García Grinda 2015)(p 358). Therefore there must be a balance between OPP and access.

In addition to OPP and WTP, there are other means through which conservation of the fortifications can be financially sustainable. This includes intrinsic, extrinsic, and recurrent opportunities. Intrinsic Opportunities represents the option for visitors to easily voluntarily contribute as they see the value of the place and its conservation – donation boxes, fund drives, annual contributions. Intrinsic motivations arise internally from the visitor, and there is no apparent reward except for the act and joy of giving. Extrinsic Opportunities represents motives based upon a visitor’s cost-benefit assessment. Visitors receive something tangible and external for their contribution, such as a book, discount ticket, map, tax rebate, guide, or recognition of their contribution in a list of donors. Recurrent Opportunities is providing a reason for the local community to visit often, adding value to the experience through activities, lectures, events, and recreational use. Recurrent opportunities differ from extrinsic opportunities in that frequent non-tangible benefits are offered and frequently appeals to the local community. To encourage people to visit more than once, there are membership organizations and interpretation to encourage engagement and thus, financial contributions (ibid).

	WTP € entry	Intrinsic	Extrinsic	Recurrent	Price Discrimination	Membership	Interpretation	Optimum Pricing Policy
Acre	0-10 (limited)	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no
Istanbul	0	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
Rhodes	2 (seasonal)	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
Dubrovnik	11.66	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Valletta	10,00 (selected)	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no
Famagusta	2 (limited)	no	no	no	no	no	no	no

Figure 65 – Sustainable finance factors including Optimum Pricing Policy and Willingness to Pay

Evaluating all the case studies in terms of these elements, only Dubrovnik was successful in putting into place an Optimum Pricing Policy that contained elements of intrinsic, extrinsic, and recurrent opportunities. An important part of Dubrovnik's OPP was resident segmentation – that is residents with their identity card could access the fortifications, and other sites managed by the Society and children could access the fortifications for a reduced price. The other case studies had certain elements of OPP in place but not all.

The final factors concerning the evaluation of management were the existence of planning documents such as recent management plans with a vision, strategy and indicators, visitor management plans with some indication of carrying capacity, and maintenance plans. In all case studies, there was some type of management system or plan as encouraged by the World Heritage Centre. This includes a review of the management documentation and reporting policies to the World Heritage Committee and the World Heritage Centre of UNESCO. This rich source of documentation allowed a fair qualitative evaluation of the management of the fortifications and historic cities. The evaluation included review of the State of Conservation reports, the most recent cycle of the Periodic Reporting, Advisory Mission reports from ICOMOS, World Heritage Committee (WHC) official decisions, and if applicable Reactive Monitoring Mission (RMM) reports. These were taken in aggregate to determine quality of management. Istanbul had a substantial number of RMM reports and negative decision by the WHC and Dubrovnik had several reports with far fewer for Rhodes, Valletta, and Acre.

It is essential to define and analyze the management models, their governance structures and contexts from the case studies in order to determine how they function, if they are sustainable, and meeting their objectives. In some cases, these models were explicitly created to exploit the cultural resources, such as the case of Acre with clearly delineated goals. In other instances, the models grew organically from a community's desire to protect their heritage, such as in Dubrovnik. Others models were not carefully designed, but by came into being from the combination or remains of other organizations, such as the case in Rhodes. It is also essential to understand their vulnerabilities and their long-term prospects. The (financial) success of the model in Dubrovnik has led to keen interest from the municipality. Likewise, in Istanbul, the Special Unit for Land Walls seems hampered to create a revenue-generating venture as the state will take an interest. This analysis of evaluation factors will assist in identifying the circumstances and good practice necessary to design a management model for the principal case study of Famagusta. As with the above case studies, the following tables also list the factors for Famagusta, which will be discussed in the conclusions.

	SUSTAINABLE CONSERVATION						MANAGEMENT									
	Office	Clusters		Projects	Strategy	Interpretation	Authority	WTP			Planning		Visitor planning		Tourism Tax	WH Reporting
		skills	materials	(20 yrs)			autonomy	finance	mech	conservation group	Inside	Mgmt plan	Indicators	Carrying capacity	Maintenance	
Acre	no	yes	yes	8	yes	yes	no	no	no		0	yes		no	yes	0 neutral
																per night 2014 Period R.
Istanbul	yes	yes	no	3	yes	no	yes	no	yes		9	yes	no	no	no	1.50 € negative
																per person WHC decisions
																2014 Period R.
																RMM
Rhodes	yes	yes	yes	13	no	yes	no	yes			0	yes	yes	no	yes	3.00 € positive
																per night 2014 Period R.
																1995 SOC
Dubrovnik	yes	yes	yes	38	yes	yes	no	yes			2	yes	yes	yes	yes	1.36 € neutral
																per night WHC decisions
																2015 RMM
																2017 SOC
Valletta	yes	yes	yes	12	yes	yes	yes	yes			16	yes	yes	yes	yes	0.50 € neutral
																per night WHC decisions
																2014 Period R.
																2009 SOC
Famagusta	no	no	no	5		no	no	no			4	no	no	no	no	0.00 € n/a
																per night

Figure 66 - Sustainable conservation and management factors

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT																		
	Population		year	size s.m.	entire city	Density				tourists+residents	Social opportunities					Accessibility		Civil Soc.
	inside walls	% change				sm/person	sq.k	peo/sq.K	in/out		edu.	worship	parks	comm ctr.	markets	bus	police	
Acre	6,420		1922	163,864		25.52	0.16	39,179		daily high density sm per person	0	9	3	0	2	0	0	0
	7,897		1931			20.75		48,192										
	12,360		1945			13.26		75,428										
	8,000		1999			20.48		48,821										
	3,000	-114%	2018		48,303	54.62		18,308	6.21%		10.92							
Istanbul	741,148		1935	12,769,790		17.23	12.77	58,039		30.09	37	22	21	1	10	1	5	4
	590,842		1985			21.61		46,269										
	463,626		2000			27.54		36,306										
	419,345	-77%	2015		14,600,000	30.45		32,839	2.87%									
Rhodes	16,153		1921	401,612		24.86	0.40	40,220		10.61	0	6	8	0	0	1	0	0
	25,409		1931			15.81		63,268										
	27,466		1936			14.62		68,389										
	4,605		1993			87.21		11,466										
	2,000	-708%	2017		46,489	200.81		4,980	4.30%									
Dubrovnik	7,000		1900	130,889		18.70	0.13	53,481		3.33	1	14	3	2	0	1	0	1
	5,872		1967			22.29		44,863										
	5,000		1991			26.18		38,201										
	2,116		2011			61.86		16,166										
	1,557	-350%	2017		44,149	84.06		11,896	3.53%									
Valletta										21.27								
	23,170		1891	711,695		30.72	0.71	32,556			9	19	7	3	2	1	1	9
	23,833		1911			29.86		33,488										
	22,392		1921			31.78		31,463										
	22,779		1931			31.24		32,007										
	18,666		1957			38.13		26,228										
	5,785		2011			123.02		8,128										
	5,700		2014			124.86		8,009										
Famagusta	5,563	-317%	2019		213,722	127.93		7,817	2.60%									
	871		1901	537,296		616.87	0.54	1,621		2	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	
	1,233		1911			435.76		2,295										
	1,632		1921			329.23		3,037										
	2,438		1931			220.38		4,538										
	15,000		1974			35.82		27,918										
	2,000	56%	2019		40,920	268.65		3,722	4.89%	119.40								

Figure 67 – Social development factors

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT continued							
	Housing			Defert's index	Defert/Baretje	Visitors : residents	tourists:resident
	AirBnB	AirBnB permit	rent control	Tf = N x 100/P	Tf = N x 100/P * 1/S	daily high # visitors	total
Acre	higher rents	yes	yes	N beds	S surface in Km sq.	12,000	
				P residents		4:1	204:1
	33%			7.13	43.53		
Istanbul						Lower peninsula	
	n/a	yes	no			3,700,000	
						9:1	32:1
						Near land walls	
Rhodes				8.58	0.67	5,000	
	43%	yes	yes			35,866	
	160 €					18:1	508:1
	inside						
	112 €						
Dubrovnik	outside			28.55	71.09		
	99%	yes	no			37,800	
	326 €					24:1	745:1
	inside						
	162 €						
Valletta	outside			15.03	114.82		
	91%	yes	yes			27,900	
	190 €					5:1	467:1
	inside						
	99 €						
Famagusta	outside						
				14.69	20.64		
		yes	no			2,500	
						1:1	730:1
						n/a	
				0.75	1.40

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT													
Acre	GDP region		year	increase	Tourism	year	increase	hotels	beds	attractions	events/year	% of economy	national GDP %
	euros				visitors								
	n/a		n/a	North District		2000		13	214	14	6	30%	6%
					462,000	2014							2010
					611,000	2019	24%						Israel
Istanbul													
				Istanbul	2,420,541	2000			36000	7	11	20%	12%
	269.10 billion		2011		4,849,220	2005							2015
	297.80		2012		7,050,748	2008							Turkey
Rhodes	311.89		2017	14%	13,300,000	2018	82%						
	6.29 billion		2004	Entire island	1,250,000	2000		65	571	21	7	95%	30%
	8.18		2008		1,315,479	2009							2010
Dubrovnik	6.40		2015	2%	1,606,843	2012							Greece
					2,337,680	2018	47%						70% Rhodes Island
Valletta	0.57 billion		2000	Dubrovnik-N	228,000	2001		51	234	19	15	98%	14%
	1.26		2010		507,000	2007							2014 Croatia
	1.31		2015	56%	631,000	2011							
					1,160,000	2017	80%						
Famagusta													
	7.91 billion		2010	Malta	1,171,000	2005		48	817	25	20	60%	14%
	10.21		2014		1,300,000	2010							2015
	13.17		2018	40%	2,600,000	2018	55%						Malta
Famagusta													
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Figure 68 – Economic development factors

PART III – FAMAGUSTA

Figure 69 – Panorama of Famagusta from the citadel of Othello with the harbor to the left with the Sea Gate (Unknown, 1902)

7 A SEAPORT IN CYPRUS

7.1 Introduction

Europe wanted what was being delivered via the Levant; high value easily transportable goods such as pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and nutmeg. Rapidly growing cities in Europe also wanted commodities such as wheat from Egypt. Pilgrims were traveling in the opposite direction to the Holy Land. Famagusta, on the east coast of Cyprus, with its natural harbor and close proximity to Asia and Africa, provided a convenient way station. Crusaders were also traveling east and frequently used Cyprus and Famagusta as an external base of operations. After the fall of Acre in 1291, the last crusader foothold in the Holy Land, crusaders and refugees streamed into Famagusta including Armenians, Venetians, Franks, Pisans, Genoese, and Syrian Christians joining previous settlers boosting commercial life (Coureas 2005) (p 128-132). This occurred during the Lusignan Kingdom¹³⁰ before changing rulers many times with eventual annexation by the Venetian Republic in 1498. The city prospered economically, and this was reflected in the building of numerous municipal buildings, palaces, and churches “the surviving fourteenth-century churches serve as a poignant if tangible reminder both of Famagusta’s former grandeur and also of conspicuous consumption directed to pious ends” (ibid, p 338). Fortifications were also constructed as many rivals vied for control of the trade routes and the important port of Famagusta. King Henry II¹³¹ “fortified it and made it like Acre, placing there a market where all the foreigners from the East would come and do business in all kinds of merchandise” (Lusignan 1580)(p 24). The extant three kilometer long fortifications that irregularly wrap around the city include walls, a deep fosse (ditch), caveliers, counterscarps, bastions, and a citadel with a mole extension to control access to the harbor. The earlier medieval citadel and walls were reconstructed and reinforced many times over to improve their defensive capabilities as military technology advanced. But eventually, Cyprus was surrounded by the Ottoman Empire. “After the fall of Rhodes, Cyprus was an anomaly, Christianity’s forward position in a Muslim sea, isolated, fertile, hundreds of sea miles from Venice, both a provocation and a temptation to the sultans in Istanbul – “an island thrust into the mouth of the wolf” (Crowley 2009)(p 204).

¹³⁰ The Lusignans were a noble family from Poitou, a province of western France Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2018). "Lusignan Family | French royal family." from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Lusignan-family>.

¹³¹ Of the Lusignan Dynasty and last crowned King of Jerusalem, 1270-1324

After an intense 11 month siege, the city surrendered to the Ottoman Empire in 1571. Reports of this event and the loss of the remaining easternmost outpost under Christian control were widespread throughout Europe. “Never again would the lion banner of S. Mark float from the fortress towers in Cyprus. Every Venetian grieved over the magnitude of the Republic’s loss and the likely consequence which lay ahead.” (Setton 1976)(p 1027). Cardinal Zaccaria Delfino wrote to Vienna “I cry with your illustrious lordship the loss of Famagusta and the losses that come with it. Praised be God the Blessed to aim for mercy to the calamitous state of Christianity...” (Setton 1976)(p 1027) (Lettere di principi, vol. XXV, fols. 329 letter dated at Waldestorff on Sept. 22, 1571).

The fortifications of Famagusta, built and improved by these successive rulers, are a testament to the history of the eastern Mediterranean, and record of the evolution of defensive architecture. “In the framework of Renaissance military history, Famagusta reflects, from a typological standpoint, the whole transition period: from the medieval defenses (the Genoese, Othello tower) to the smaller flanking round towers (Diocare, Moratto, Pulacazaro, St. Luca...) to the bulwark (Arsenal, Seigneury) and finally the Martinengo Bastion, which was repeatedly used as a model for fortifications throughout Europe and Spanish American until the end of the nineteenth century” (Perbellini 1994)(pp. 16-18, 22-7)(Perbellini 2012).

In order to understand the development of these fortifications and thus propose conservation management solutions it is necessary to describe in greater depth the history of the island of Cyprus, its importance, and the port of Famagusta.

Figure 70 – Map of the Eastern Mediterranean showing Cyprus and its relationship to Asia Minor, Asia and Africa (Rosaccio and Franco 1598)

7.2 Ancient history

The island of Cyprus, positioned at the center of the Eastern Mediterranean, has had a long history intertwined with nearby Africa, Europe, Asia, and Asia Minor. Its proximity to the continents and large size combined with its abundant resources, namely the rich mineral deposits, fertile central plain, and timber made it an important objective and critical link in regional trading networks. It was well-known throughout antiquity as a source of copper with rich ores found at the surface on the slopes of the Troodos Mountains. The island has even given its name to the classical Latin word for copper through the phrase *aes Cyprium*, the metal of Cyprus, later shortened to *Cuprum* (Beekes and Beek 2010) (p 805). Cypriots first worked copper for tools in the fourth millennium, and the significance of this trade is demonstrated in the discovery off Asia Minor of over ten tons of copper from the late 14th century BCE in the Ulu Burun shipwreck (Pulak 1988) (Hemingway 2004). By the second millennium, Cyprus also became known for the production of bronze. Tin, at a ratio of 1:10 to copper, is required for the smelting of bronze but is not easily found in Cyprus, thus had to be imported, further strengthening regional trade (Hemingway 2004).

During the Late Bronze Age (1500 BCE) the island was dominated by Egypt with Pharaoh Thutmose II claiming the island as one of his conquests. Early Phoenician merchants sailing from the continent were quick to realize the geographic importance of the island and established trading routes and small merchant communities on the island connecting to their nearby mainland city-states. By the mid-9th century B.C.E. a Phoenician colony was well established at Kition, near modern-day Larnaca on the southern coast. Greek colonies were established at the beginning of the Iron Age (1100-700 BCE)(Newman 1953). Iron pyrite, gold, and asbestos were also found on the island, and there was significant trade in alloys as well as finished metalwork. The early Cypriots were also experienced, miners and skillful metallurgists. It was sometime during this period that the city of Salamis, just north of present-day Famagusta on the east coast, was established. Salamis was to become an important trading, cultural, and administrative center (Dreghorn 2012). The island was alternatively dominated by various stronger continental neighbors including the Assyrians from 709 BCE, the Persians, and the second period of Egyptian rule from 570 BCE followed by another period of Persian occupation.

Hellenistic hegemony began with Alexander the Great defeating the Persians at the Battle of Issus, and the supportive Greek Cypriot kings were granted autonomy for aiding his successful siege of nearby Tyre. The island of Rhodes also aided Alexander in his conquest of Tyre and reluctantly submitted to his rule in 322 BCE. Upon the death of Alexander, the island was controlled and eventually ruled by Ptolemy I, and the dynasty he established was to last for nearly 250 years until Cleopatra¹³². It was during this time that the individual city-states were first consolidated into one island kingdom (Bagnall 1976).

Cyprus was annexed by Rome in 58 BCE and was to enjoy Pax Romana for centuries with the island being tightly incorporated into the well-established trading routes between Rome, Asia, and Arabia. Trade intensified, and the ports around the island were further developed, including Salamis. The island produced glass, grains, engraved gemstones, timber, and wine, along with copper and bronze. It was during the Roman

¹³² Cleopatra VII who would become Rome's client queen, lover of Julius Caesar and eventually Marc Antony

period that Cyprus gained a reputation for being able to build and equip a ship¹³³ made entirely with local materials (Maier 1968).

Christianity established an early foothold on the island as Joseph the Levite, (St. Barnabas), a prominent apostle of Christ, was from Salamis near present-day Famagusta. Cyprus features prominently Acts of the Apostles, the fifth book of the New Testament, relating their missionary activity on the island. “And when they had fasted and prayed and laid [their] hands on them, they sent [them] away. So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia; and from thence they sailed to Cyprus. And when they were at Salamis, they preached the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they also had John to [their] minister.” (Holy Bible 2004)(Acts, 13:3-13:4). According to tradition, Barnabas and Paul converted the island’s Roman Pro Consul Sergius Paulus in the 1st century thus making Cyprus one of the first Roman territories to be ruled by a Christian (Hackett 1901). “The Acts of Barnabas also relates Barnabas’s alleged martyrdom at Salamis” with the discovery of his tomb (just outside Famagusta) made “just in time to secure the independence of the Cypriot church from Antiochene control in 478” (Tabbernee 2014)(p 261).

¹³³ Including manning a ship

Figure 71 – Remains of the ancient Greco-Roman city wall of Salamis north of Famagusta (Eppich, 2019)(Rosaccio and Franco 1598)

Autocephaly or autonomy of the Cypriot Orthodox church cannot be underestimated and remains strong today “This independence has enabled it to play an important role in the political life of the island. The church was active in the war of independence against the Turks. During the period of British control (1878-1958) the Cypriot church was at the forefront of the movement seeking union with Greece. On attaining independence in 1960, Archbishop Makarios was elected as head of the new republic. The tradition of combining the offices of head of state and head of church continued until the death of Archbishop Makarios in 1977” (University of Cumbria 2018)(p 1).

Upon the division of Rome, Eastern rule was established over the island and the Emperor Constantine’s mother Helena reportedly visited the island in 327 on her return from Jerusalem. However, the largely conflict-free Mare Nostrum of the Eastern Mediterranean would soon end. “There was a tradition of seafaring among Arabs,” “and the Koran (30: 46) tells the faithful that God sent the winds ‘so that the ships may sail at His command and so that you may seek of His bounty’ (Kennedy 2007)(p 325).

Although the island was under rule from Constantinople, it was subjected to nearly constant incursions during the Arab-Muslim expansion. The “peaceful waters of the Levant were to become the theatre for a fierce and destructive naval confrontation” and “thus the island of Cyprus, lying as it does only 100 kilometers from the coast of Syria, was an obvious target” (ibid)(p 326). A large Muslim fleet, by some accounts, of nearly 500 ships with a force of 12,000 soldiers set sail to establish permanent rule in 654. But this was not to last, and the garrison was soon withdrawn. It was during the first Arab raids on Cyprus sometime between 647 and 649, Umm Haram, the aunt of Muhammad, fell off her mule and was buried near Larnaka on the southern coast not far from Famagusta.

In 688, the Emperor Justinian II signed an unusual treaty with the Arab Caliph Abd al-Malik that identified Cyprus as a neutral territory, but by the late 10th-century Byzantine rule over Cyprus was firmly reestablished. Two centuries later, Byzantine power had weakened considerably and the governor of the island, Isaac Comnesus, declared himself Emperor. He resisted repeated attempts from Constantinople to reestablish direct rule (Rogerson 1994). Comnesus’ small island empire was not to last, and his inadequate and inept defense of Cyprus was to prove important for the coming Crusades. This early history demonstrates that Cyprus was a valuable regional resource for raw materials and manufactured products and was well integrated into the trading networks, given its skilled craftsmen and strategic location. It also manifests that Cyprus was continually subjected to invasion and control from more powerful neighbors, a theme that continues today.

7.3 Medieval Cyprus

The First Crusade had been a success with the capture and control, in 1099, of the Holy City of Jerusalem. However, this was largely due to disorganization and rivalries between local Muslim rulers. In 1171, Yusuf ibn Ayyub, who became known as *Salah al-Din* - the goodness of faith or Saladin in the West, united the regional forces and made himself a prominent leader of Islam before launching a sustained campaign to push out the Crusaders. Cyprus was to play a key role during the crusades. Guy de Lusignan, a crusader adventure from western France, had contentiously gained sovereignty as the King of Jerusalem by marrying Sybilla, heir to the throne. In 1187

Saladin lured him and the Crusader army away from Jerusalem and soundly defeated them at the Battle of Hattin in 1187 and Jerusalem capitulated a few months later (Runciman , Setton 1955). After the Crusaders lost the Holy City, only the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli remained. King Guy, having been released as a prisoner of Saladin¹³⁴ and seeking to recapture territory in the Holy Land, laid siege to Acre, an important port. His army was, in turn, sieged by Saladin (Nicolle 2005). This unique double siege was to last for years and have an important impact on Cyprus.

In Western Europe, a third crusade was quickly mounted to respond and assist at Acre and recapture Jerusalem. One of the leaders, Richard the Lion-Hearted, on his way to Acre, was diverted and took refuge in Rhodes. Three of his ships were wrecked on Cyprus with their crews detained by the self-proclaimed Emperor Isaac Comnenus. A fourth ship containing King Richard's sister and bride-to-be, Berengaria of Navvare, also made landfall in Cyprus. King Richard, in supposed retaliation for mistreatment of his party then landed in Cyprus and proceeded to conquer the island (Setton 1955). After the defeat and imprisonment of the former emperor, Richard with the spoils gained from Cyprus, made the short crossing to Acre to continue the crusade and succeeded in the conquest of Acre (Tyerman 2006). Richard's financial gains from Cyprus would fund his expeditions in the Holy Land. Eventually, King Richard sold Cyprus to the Knights Templar who ruled briefly before giving it back. Richard then either gave or sold the island to the deposed King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan (Frodsham and Langdale 2007). King Guy of Jerusalem then ruled Cyprus for several years before his death and established the Lusignan Dynasty which would last until the abdication of Caterina Cornaro in 1489. Subsequent rulers of Cyprus were Kings of Cyprus and continued to be crowned Kings of Jerusalem in the cathedral of Famagusta (Cobham 1895, Green 1914, Maier 1968).

¹³⁴ After he promised to return to Western Europe and not wage war

Figure 72 – the Cathedral of Saint Nicolas, where the Kings of Jerusalem were crowned. Later it became the Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque in Famagusta (Eppich, 2017).

During Lusignan rule, Cyprus continued to be a convenient launching place for raids against the Muslim controlled coasts of the Levant. Assaults were conducted against the Turkish Seljuk, the nearby Syrian and Palestinian coasts as well as Egypt. King Pierre of Cyprus I (1359-1369), taking on the mantle as King of Jerusalem repeatedly renewed calls for crusades. In 1365, the King visited numerous European capitals attempting to rally support for a new campaign to the Holy Land. Departing Europe from Venice, he arrived in Rhodes and in alliance with the Knights of St. John and successfully launched a campaign against the Mamelukes of Egypt sacking the city of Alexandria. The plunder of Alexandria and other raids put the rulers of Cyprus at odds with two groups, principally their Muslim neighbors and secondarily with western merchants. The Sultan in Egypt retaliated against western interests and imprisoned Christian merchants, confiscated their property and banned further trade with the west throughout Egypt and Syria, cutting off lucrative trade routes. Only the Venetians, through intense diplomatic efforts and large payments, were able to retain their trading rights. In addition to the Lusignan Dynasty's problems with Muslim leaders and mercantile city-states, they also had domestic problems. The majority of the population, along with their religious and civic leaders were Orthodox Christian, while the rulers were Latin Catholic. In part, the authority of the Frankish Kings of Cyprus, derived from the Pope and successive waves

of leadership attempted to convert and subvert the local Orthodox leadership (Coureas 2016).

The three-way conflict between the rulers of Cyprus against nearby Muslim rulers, western commercial interests, principally Venice and Genoa, and their local Orthodox population was to define Cyprus throughout the medieval period.

“The merchants of Famagusta were renowned for their wealth. They continued to run forbidden cargoes of military contraband to Alexandria and Damietta in exchange for the merchandise of the East. This contraband trade was kept in check by the galleys of Rhodes and Cyprus, so that the Lusignans, in carrying out the policy of the Pope, were brought into conflict with the aims of Venice and Genoa. This led to enmity between the maritime republics and the kingdom of Cyprus, and eventually to the fall of the Lusignan dynasty. So long as the Pope was able to direct the policy of Europe, the kingdom of Cyprus was supported by the Western Powers in the interests of the crusades, but when the crusading spirit could no longer be aroused in Europe, the Lusignans had no defense against the commercial aims of Genoa and Venice” (Newman 1953)(pp. 54-55)

The tension with the merchant states became an open conflict when during the coronation of the King of Cyprus, Pierre II, a brawl broke out between Genoese and Venetians in Famagusta. This escalated and resulted in Genoa invading Cyprus and easily taking control of the cities of Nicosia and Famagusta and made the young king a prisoner. This was to have direct implications on Famagusta as Genoa retained control over the city for nearly 100 years. The Genoese continued to use the city as a base of operations in the Levant and added to the fortifications begun under the Lusignans. It was not until the end of the Lusignan Dynasty that the Frankish rulers managed to regain control of Famagusta (Luke 1965) (Özkutlu 2015). “The Genoese maintained their hold of the only important port of Cyprus until the complete collapse of the Lusignan dynasty...”. After the disputed succession of Queen Charlotte in 1460, her bastard brother, James II, with the aid of the Caliph of Egypt drove out the Genoese and legitimate Lusignan Kings(Jeffery 1908)(p 628). The help of the Caliph came at a

cost and henceforth a tribute was paid, which was to continue after Venice controlled Cyprus, and the Ottoman Empire controlled Egypt.

The domestic problems were also a constant threat. The Orthodox Christians were suppressed by their Latin Catholic rulers. The policy of the Lusignans was to subordinate the Orthodox to the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope. The Roman Catholic Sees were endowed with property taken from the Orthodox Bishops and a series of acts of oppression culminated in 1260 with the issue by Pope Alexander IV in the Bulla Cypria which made the Latin Archbishop supreme over both the Orthodox bishops and people. In addition, all tithes were given control over by Latin clergy, and the Orthodox bishops were sent to rural communities. The Orthodox priests were compelled to take an oath of obedience to Latin bishops (Luke 1921). There were numerous uprisings, minor revolts and local disturbances by the majority Orthodox villagers and at the time the Lusignans only maintaining control of the larger cities (ibid).

In 1425, the Mamelukes of Egypt, after continued harassment of coastal settlements by Cypriot galley, finally took action. They first defeated the Cypriot navy before invading Cyprus and defeating the army of King Janus, taking him prisoner. After a ransom and promise of an annual tribute to Egypt and recognition of the dominion of the Sultan over Cyprus, the King was released. This annual tribute was to continue for the remainder of the Lusignan Dynasty and into later Venetian governance of the island. This recognition of dominion was to prove critical in the coming centuries, and it was for this reason that after the Ottoman's capture of Egypt, they lay claim to Cyprus (Coureas 2016).

7.4 Famagusta

Salamis, the ancient capital, located on the east coast just to the north of Famagusta, was in the path of the rapid Arab expansion in the late 7th century. These frequent raids combined with the silting up of the harbor brought about the destruction of the city with many refugees fleeing south to establish the settlement of *Ammokhostos*. *Ammokhostos* in Greek means buried in the sand and is a reference to the silted mouth of the Pedieos River¹³⁵. This name was later corrupted in Latin to Famagusta (Newman 1953).

It was during the medieval period that Famagusta came into prominence, particularly after the fall of Acre. “The collapse of the Frankish states in 1291 generated a shift in the economic orientation and commercial function of Cyprus within the eastern Mediterranean trading system. While fulfilling a marginal role in that respect until then, it operated in the following period on a large scale as commercial intermediary, transit and transshipment station...” including “Rhodes, several ports of Asia Minor, Crete, and other regions of the eastern Mediterranean” (Jacoby 2012) (p 97).

Famagusta was in many ways better suited to becoming a trading city than its ancient predecessor Salamis as it possessed a natural deep harbor with shallow breakwater protection just off the coast and an ample supply of building stone with fertile fields to the south. “Famagusta, started to witness immigration from Salamis since 648 and gained importance after the 11th century with the crusades” (Tümer 2012)(p 220), “the population reached 10,000, and the city was densely built” (Arbel 1995)(p 26)(Papadopoulos 1968).

¹³⁵ Ammochostus, Al Magoussa, Famagouste, Magusa, Famagusta

Figure 73 – Roman amphitheater in Salamis (Eppich, 2019)

Famagusta was to maintain a low profile until the fall of Acre in 1291. The Crusaders and many refugees found safe haven in the city, and with them the city assumed the role of a regional marketplace. Eventually, it became the center for trade in the Levant between the east and west. The city “took on the role of entrepot for east-west trade” and thrived (Edbury 1999)(p 338). Trade with Muslim countries was difficult and often banned by the Pope. Therefore, Christian merchants needed a secure, somewhat neutral city to establish their headquarters. After the fall of Acre and the other Christian ports of the Levant, the merchants of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Marseilles, and Aragon established bases of operation in Famagusta, which became one of the greatest trading cities in the Eastern Mediterranean (Newman 1953). By the middle of the 14th century, Famagusta was the World’s richest city. ”Walking Famagusta’s bustling streets in those days one could hear merchants and traders bartering in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Italian” (Frodsham and Langdale 2007).

Figure 74 – Aerial view of the Ravelin Land Gate at the southwest corner of Famagusta (Eppich, 2018)

Figure 75 – The Sea Wall within the eastern side of the city. “Close up detail to show the tops of the arches just above present ground level underneath the second pair of stairs on the interior of the Lusignan sea wall. The three different building periods are apparent. The original Lusignan work is at ground level and includes an arched embrasure/passage (?) that was blocked during that same period. Above a row of corbels or supports for a platform or chemin de rotide are clearly seen. The smaller masonry above might perhaps suggest a later building period altogether, and it is tempting then to question if this is Genoese work. At the level of the second upper storey, the characteristically large blockwork of the Venetians is apparent along with a series of square holes to carry the beams for their parapet platform” (Petre 2010) (pp 186-187)(Eppich, 2014)

7.5 Venetian domination

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, Italian city-states exploited the decline of Byzantium and disorganization of the Islamic world during the period of the Crusades. This decline allowed for the rigorous development of commercial activities (Hess 1973). Beginning in the 13th century, Venice became a growing power built upon trade between the East and Europe. Their strategy was unique in that they did not wish to control large territories or people but conduct trade. The Republic of Venice's power was not the control of land armies but on political flexibility, superior naval technology, and commercial profitability. These merchants needed safe fortified stopovers located at strategic points along the trading routes between Europe and the Levant.

The Republic established an extensive trading network from Venice at the connection to Europe along the Adriatic Sea to as far as the Crimea in the Black Sea building cities, warehouses, and offices. They established and maintained representatives in every major port of the eastern Mediterranean, including Muslim controlled regions. The nodes of this network were a series of fortified coastal cities and islands which supplied goods but more importantly serviced and provisioned their fleet. In Famagusta, in order to support economic development, "many privileges were given to Latin communities to facilitate their commercial activities in Famagusta. The Genoese, who had their colonies in Pera and Chios then became the first to obtain commercial privileges in 1218 and 1232" (Otten-Froux 2001) (p 200).

The Great Council of Venice recognized the importance of Cyprus and its proximity to the Levant as a base of operations. Venetian merchants had operated in Famagusta for hundreds of years as it was only located 100 kilometers from Beirut. Their rivals, Genoa, had controlled Famagusta for nearly 100 years, and they had long desired control over the island (Newman 1953).

Venice's opportunity came in 1460 when the disputed ruler of Cyprus, Jacques II, came to the throne. He ascended under controversial circumstances displacing his half-sister Queen Charlotte with the help of the Sultan of Egypt and 80 Egyptian galleys. Jacques II sought legitimacy from the Pope, but as this was not granted, he sought to solidify his position and form an alliance with Venice. Therefore he proposed marriage to Caterina Coronaro, daughter of a Venetian noble family. Shortly thereafter, King Jacques II died

in Famagusta under a mysterious illness, and Caterina became Queen until the birth of their son, Jacques III (Mariti and Cobham 1895)(pp. 105-106). The son lived only one year, and Caterina became the sole ruler. Upon the death of the last male ruler, Venetian commanders and troops disembarked, and the principal offices of the kingdom passed into the control of Venice. Queen Caterina remained for another 15 years but only as a figurehead. Eventually, she returns to Venice and Cyprus came under the protection of the Republic. Venice quickly sent an ambassador to the Sultan in Cairo to declare that they had taken possession of Cyprus and solicited an agreement with Egypt.

The Venetian period witnessed the greatest additions and amplifications to the fortifications and other structures¹³⁶ given the close proximity, impending threat, and rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire. For over 80 years the Venetians enlarged the surrounding city walls creating bastions, a ravelin, and land gate, counterscarp revetments, palisades, cavaliers and deepened the fosse. The city had a ready supply of easily cut sandstone, and the excavation for the fosse served as a convenient quarry. One element of these fortifications was the citadel that protected the entrance to the port. Originally built in the earlier Lusignan period it consisted of high square towers and walls and a tall corner donjon. The Venetian modifications were necessary due to the evolution of cannon warfare (Dreghorn 2012). They cut the height of the Lusignan towers, widened the walls, created four squat round towers thus encasing the original citadel (Jeffery 1918)(pp. 105-106)

¹³⁶ There was a great increase in building during the Venetian period Papacostas, T. (2016). "Building activity and material culture in Venetian Cyprus, an evaluation of the evidence " Journal of Cyprus Research Centre(38): 191-207.

Figure 76 – Lion of Venice after conservation above the gate of the citadel, later known as Othello's Tower. Not the open book under the right paw of the lion, rumored to indicate the island had willingly accepted rule by Venice. Also note the front paws are on land, signifying Venice's land power and the rear paws are on water signifying their sea power (Eppich, 2014)

Figure 77 – Orthophoto of the wooden model of Famagusta in Venice at the Arsenal Museum (Almagro, 2019)

Figure 78 – Bombard cannon in Famagusta (Eppich, 2019)

Figure 79 – Firing positions of the Ottoman siege outside the counterscarp opposite the Ravelin / Land Gate. The miners excavated up to the counterscarp and used it as a defensive wall (Eppich, 2019)

Figure 80 – Iron cannonball embedded into the land side of the sea walls would have been fired from across the city over 2 kilometers away – note the conservation around the ashlar which would have been done in the early 20th century (Eppich, 2015)

7.6 Ottoman backwater

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Empire began to consolidate their power through the stabilization of their eastern and southern borders and an increasing focus on the Mediterranean. This period began to see significant attention paid to the development of the empire into a naval power through the construction of hundreds of galleys and the recruitment of experienced captains. The late 15th century saw frequent border wars with the Mamlukes in Syria, and it was this time that the Ottomans requested the use of the port at Famagusta in order to supply their troops from the sea, the Venetians, who controlled the island, refused and instead dispatched their own fleet to Cyprus (Hess 1973)(p. 178). The Ottoman expansion brought them into ever more direct conflicts with the Venetians. The new rulers of Constantinople realized the commercial interests the Venetians with their trading outposts along with other mercantile city-states were an indirect threat, especially in Egypt. By the turn of the 16th century, the ever-growing and experienced Ottoman navy tipped the balance of power from Christian mercantile city-states to the Ottoman Empire. In May of 1499, they defeated the Venetians in the open sea for the first time (ibid).

This coincided with the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean that put pressure on two fronts to the Mamluk Empire in Egypt (Çelebi 1831) (pp 19-24). By this time, the Ottomans had sufficient experience to aid the Mamelukes in the Red Sea. However, in order to further consolidate their border with the Ottomans, to increase their influence in the Muslim world and improve their economy, they quickly conquered Egypt in early 1517 easily supplied by their navy. “With the establishment of Ottoman rule in Egypt, the last of the major trading routes in the Levant fell into their hands giving them additional opportunity to tax the commerce that passed” (Hess 1973)(p 55).The annex of Egypt contributed substantially, essentially doubling the economy of the Ottoman Empire, and providing needed fuel for the military expansion throughout the rest of the 16th century. Cyprus, which was under tribute to the Sultan of Cairo since 1426 (after King Ianos’ defeat by the Mameluk of Egypt), so the Venetians were forced to accept this obligation and began paying the annual tribute to Constantinople (Mikropoulos). This made the Ottomans masters of the Eastern Mediterranean. “The seizure of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia not only catapulted the Ottomans into a position of leadership within the vast Muslim community, but it also gave the Istanbul regime resources sufficient to

project its power..." (Hess 1973)(p 65). This was soon followed by the siege, conquest, and expulsion of the Knights of Saint John from Rhodes in 1522.

Figure 81 – Siege of Famagusta (Bertelli 1573)

Figure 82 – The siege of Famagusta by Stephano Gibellino, showing the exact locations of the monuments and buildings of the city as well as the position of the enemy both on land and at sea. 1571 (Camocio 1571).

These events left Cyprus isolated as the easternmost outpost of Christianity in the Mediterranean. The Ottoman Sultans had frequent plans to conquer Cyprus throughout the early part of the 16th century, but other more pressing issues including external conflicts and suppression of internal disputes delayed action. Any military operation against Venetian Cyprus was also delayed due to the continuation of Venice's annual tribute.

However, in 1566, Sultan Selim II came to power in the shadow of his father Suleiman the Magnificent who had led many successful military campaigns. Selim II decided finally to end the Venetian rule of the island and began a campaign charging the vizier Lala Mustapha Pasha with the conquest. Most of the island fell quickly but Famagusta, being well defended with its state-of-the-art fortifications and determined defenders, withheld a siege of 11 months; eventually surrendering on August 1, 1571, having exhausted its supplies of food and water. The fall of Cyprus was possible as there was no cooperative organizational defense between the evolving and internal fighting between European states which presented no contest for the well-organized Ottoman Empire. However, a coalition of Mediterranean Catholic maritime states and the subsequent naval defeat of the Ottoman fleet at the Battle of Lepanto (Konstam, 2003) (Konstam 2003).

Soon after the capture of Famagusta the city declined rapidly for several reasons the rise of the competing port of Larnaca, the downgrading in rank of government status, a series of natural disasters including earthquakes and the flooding of marshes, a series of plagues, and the silting up of the harbor (Tumer 2015)(p 107). In addition, “the Christians inside Nicosia Castle and Famagusta castle are ordered to leave the castle, with the exception of the artists, and to live in the outskirts (*berosh*) of these cities...” (Cevikel 2000)(p 29). The population in 1831 was estimated at “only 316 Muslims” and “Famagusta was one of the most underpopulated towns at this point in time” (Tumer 2015)(p 111)(Tomkinson 2014). However the Ottoman administration still valued the city, and its fortifications: “An important document showing the continuity of the repairs done on the walls during the Ottoman Period was written in 1798” (Tumer 2015) (p122)(Stewart 1908, Jennings 1993). This document goes on to state that “1,000 local janissaries responsible for repairs and reinforcements to the island's castles,” including Famagusta (ibid)(Gazioglu 1990). Despite the repairs and significance of Famagusta

and its fortifications, the city and island were described as a backwater by the late 18th-century traveler Edward Clarke (Ulbrich and Kiely 2012) (p 309).

“After the capture of Famagusta by the Turks I 1571, this celebrated fortress, even now on of the finest examples of mediaeval military architecture that survive, fell rapidly from its previous splendor, The fortifications remain, and still remain, intact; but the city within the walls, which once rivaled Venice in wealth and magnificence, dwindled to the condition of a Turkish village...” Letter from Pietro Brunoni to the Cyprus Council, at Famagusta, Cyprus, Nov. 20, 1843 (Luke 1921)(p 179).

7.7 British interests

Trade in the eastern Mediterranean from the 16th century on became increasingly less important as routes shifted away from the Levant around Africa. In 1501 the first ship from Lisbon loaded with Asian spices arrived in Antwerp (Van der Wee 1990, Degryse 1995). The Portuguese began establishing trading outposts and fortifications near the Red Sea and frequently using military means to prevent the flow of spices along traditional routes. Although there was an increasing demand in Europe and relative peace in the region after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, an alternative competitive route had been discovered around the middlemen. The Portuguese were soon followed by the Dutch and then the English in the early 17th century decreasing dramatically the volume of trade moving through the Eastern Mediterranean (Van der Wee 1990). Thus Cyprus and Famagusta were largely forgotten and became a backwater of the Ottoman Empire.

The mid-19th century brought about renewed interest in Cyprus. In 1869 engineers from *Compagnie Universelle du canal maritime de Suez* broke through the 164 kilometer stretch of desert that separated the Red Sea from the Mediterranean to create the Suez Canal. This created a nearly 9,000-kilometre shortcut in the trade route between London to India, a valuable British possession. The British wanted Cyprus and the port of Famagusta for the same reason as the Genoese and Venetians, as a trading hub to the east (Adams 1971). The British, like others before, established a string of bases throughout the Mediterranean, beginning with Gibraltar and Malta, and finally Famagusta, to access and protect their route to the Suez Canal and on to India (Morgan 2010). Famagusta was once again important. In 1878, just after the canal opened, the Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) ceded control of Cyprus to the British to exercise administration in cooperation for their support in the event of war with Russia. The Ottomans theoretical retained sovereignty until the onset of the 1st World War when the British officially annexed Cyprus¹³⁷ (Demetriou 2012). The silted-up harbor of Famagusta was dredged, new port facilities were constructed, and a railroad built linking to the inland capital city of Nicosia. Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Secretary from 1878 to 1880, wrote “the most important strategic object was to restore

¹³⁷ Demetriou, E., 2011: “British and American Travel Accounts of “Pilgrimages” to Cyprus during the British Occupation” Collapsing Representations: Crisis in History, Literature and Thinking, *Modern Greek Studies, Australia & New Zealand A Journal for Greek Letters* Vol. 15 (pp220 – 236)

the port at Famagusta, on the eastern coast facing the Levant. Cyprus thus would become the best strategically placed link in Britain's chain of Mediterranean possessions with Gibraltar and Malta" (Hook 2009)(p 32).

New openings in the walls were made to connect the port to the city. Although the importance of Cyprus diminished once, the British were firmly in control of Egypt. Nevertheless, they continued to jealously govern the island¹³⁸ (Orr 1918, Tümer 2012, Kondylis 2013).

Figure 83 – Map of route from India to London via the Suez Canal or around Africa (Quara, 2016)

¹³⁸ Ege Tülmer add full ref.

Figure 84 – Postcard of the British operations dredging Famagusta Harbor (unknown, 1903)

Figure 85 – A postcard of the harbor of Famagusta with a tower of Othello in the foreground, the middle distance the Seagate and beyond the Canbulat/Arsenal bastion (unknown, 1905)

Although the British rule in Famagusta witnessed the destruction of many monuments by the early 20th century, there was an increase in visitation and interest in the island along with an overall greater trend and awareness of the value of antiquities and the need for their protection. This period would prove to be “extremely important for the medieval and renaissance monuments” (Tümer 2012)(p 217). Archaeological excavations and restorations were initiated with the first protection law on antiquities enacted: the Antiquities Law of 1905 followed by the Antiquities Law of 1935¹³⁹ (Department of Antiquities 2015).

Figure 86 – Further development of the port with the addition of the railway to the capital of Nicosia. The fortifications can be seen to the upper left, (unknown, 1910)

In the early twentieth century concern for the conservation of Famagusta’s monuments reached an international scale with projects funded from revenues left over from the Locust Destruction Fund, (Chacalli 1902)(pp 147-148) from the Carnegie Corporation in America, and the Mersey Committee for Cyprus Monuments Fund from the United Kingdom (Department of Antiquities 1939)(p 171). An important development during this time was the appointment of Theophilus Mogabgab as architect and officer of the Department of Antiquities in Famagusta, who proceeded to undertake decades of restorations. “Mogabgab’s remarkable concern for the environmental conditions, as well

¹³⁹ The Antiquities Law, Famagusta District, Second Schedule of Law 41,1935

as for the integrity of the monuments with their socio-historical context, ensured that individual projects were subsumed within a wider urban rehabilitation and conservation scheme” (Tümer 2012)(p 57). Between 1935 and 1956 Mogabgab undertook no less than 56 projects on separate buildings including excavations, removal of later additions, restorations, and stabilizations. Among these were many interventions on the fortifications, including the Citadel, Martinengo Bastion, Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion, the sea walls, and Land Gate. Most of the manual work, such as excavation, was carried out by prisoners with a slowdown of work during the Second World War (Department of Antiquities 1951)(181-190). After the war, there was an increase in activity to remove gun emplacements and temporary structures, repair bomb damage, and continue the conservation works. While Mogabgab conducted many essential works, unfortunately, the records and only consist of photographs with descriptive notes. Not only were these efforts necessary to stabilize the monuments but they also opened them for civic uses. The citadel was opened for a multi-functional hall for cultural activities, including plays by Shakespeare (Tümer 2012) and the island began to receive a substantial number of tourists (Cook 1950).

Figure 87 – Theophilus Mogabgab as Architect and officer of the Department of Antiquities in Famagusta (Mogabgab 1951)

7.8 The Republic of Cyprus

The relationship between Cyprus and Great Britain was tumultuous during the first half of the 20th century. During the First World War, Britain offered to cede Cyprus to Greece for their cooperation in the Balkans, which was rejected. After the war and dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, Cyprus was proclaimed a Crown Colony. However, by the 1930s many Greek Cypriots increasingly felt that they should be allowed enosis, or union with Greece, following other islands of the Eastern Mediterranean. There were demonstrations and a limited revolt that led to the destruction of government property. This movement was suppressed with many harsh measures, including limitations on public demonstrations and the prohibition of trade unions. However, during the Second World War, Cypriots overwhelmingly supported Britain. After the war, the calls for enosis were renewed with petitions from both Greece and Cyprus. In the 1950s the issue became international when the United Nations accepted a petition from Greece concerning Cyprus.

The 1950s were marked by a rise in terrorism and violence against the colonial power, but the strategic importance of the island was critical. The British withdrawal from Egypt in 1952 made Cyprus essential to their continued presence in the eastern Mediterranean within proximity to the Suez Canal. Violence escalated with the creation of EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* or National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) a Greek Cypriot terrorist group which targeted British police stations and government personnel. Turkish Cypriots became concerned they would find themselves part of Greece thus responded by calling for the partition of the island or *taksim*. Violence dangerously developed between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Turkey became involved and desired to influence any outcome.

Following the Suez Crisis in 1957, the government in London decided that bases on Cyprus were better than Cyprus as a base and in 1959, without the input of Cyprus, Greece or Turkey, drafted a constitution for an independent country that prevented both *enosis* and *taksim*¹⁴⁰. It also permitted Britain to permanently retain military bases on the island (Varnava 2010). This constitution was accepted by all and followed by the Treaty of Guarantee between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey (Yiangou and

¹⁴⁰ Enosis, union with Greece and Taksim partition of Cyprus

Heraclidou 2017). This treaty required that the parties ensure the independence of Cyprus and importantly, it also gave each of the three powers the "right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs." (1960)(p 2).

This clause was to prove tragic just fourteen years later.

7.9 Division, Invasion, and Current Dilemma

"Rightly or wrongly, the Turks are convinced that the Greeks want to achieve *enosis*, and the Greeks on their part are convinced that the desire of the Turks is to ensure *taksim* – partition" (Henn 2004) (p 161).

After gaining independence from Great Britain in 1960, the Republic of Cyprus¹⁴¹ was saddled with a complex constitution, one that explicitly identifies and defines the Greek and Turkish communities¹⁴² yet guaranteed set representation for both at various levels of government. Article 62 of the constitution states: "Out of the number of Representatives provided in paragraph 1 of this Article seventy per centum shall be elected by the Greek Community and thirty per centum by the Turkish Community separately from amongst their members respectively..." (1960)(p 24).

The constitution was crafted in such a way "that would prevent the numerically much smaller Turkish Cypriot population from being sidelined by Greek Cypriots" (Ker-Lindsay 2011)(p 25). The president would be elected by the Greek Cypriots and the vice-president by the Turkish Cypriots, and each would have veto power. However, given its complexity and the power of legislative veto by both sides, it quickly proved unworkable and resulted in a frozen government (Ker-Lindsay 2011). In 1963, the president, Archbishop Makarios II, unilaterally sought to change the constitution. "The president's proposals would have, among other things, abolished the veto power of the president and vice-president..." (UNFICYP 2015)(p 1). After his proposal, violence broke out between the two communities, and the power-sharing government collapsed. The inter-communal conflicts turned the walled city of Famagusta into a Turkish Cypriot enclave (Ker-Lindsay 2011) (Ker-Lindsay, 2004). A joint peacekeeping force under British command with forces from Britain, Greece, and Turkey was formed and

¹⁴¹ On August 16, 1960 and one month later Cyprus became a Member of the United Nations

¹⁴² Although it generally ignored minor communities such as the Armenian or Maronite

accepted by the Cypriot government with a neutral zone created – the infamous green line. During a United Nations Security Council meeting, Cyprus insisted that a peacekeeping force is placed under the control of the United Nations which resulted in UNFICYP - which remains to present day (UNFICYP 2015).

Either through intimidation by the Greek Cypriots, fear of violence, political party pressure, or through a deliberate protest boycott by Turkish Cypriots the Turkish Cypriot representation in the government withdrew (Ker-Lindsay 2011). This eventually led to the recognition by the international community of the Greek Cypriot government as the legitimate government of the Republic of Cyprus. As a result, the Greek Cypriot Republic of Cyprus is today the internationally recognized authority over the cultural heritage of the island, including the fortifications of Famagusta.

In 1974 Greek Officers, wishing *enosis* with the Greek government led a coup against the independent Cypriot government. This, in turn, led to an intervention by Turkey five days later, ostensibly to protect the Turkish minority.

“The hot July morning had dawned clear and free from haze, and from Blue Beret Camp¹⁴³ Turkish airstrikes on nearby targets were clearly visible, as were transport aircraft spilling out parachute troops...” “The first airstrikes, carried out by F85 Thunderflash, F100 Super Sabre and F104 Starfighter aircraft using a mixture of 750lb bombs, 2.75in rockets, 20mm cannon, and napalm, took place soon after 0500hrs and continued for about one hour” (Henn 2004)(p 254).

It was during this period that the Turkish Cypriot population sheltered within the ancient walls of Famagusta and there were ongoing defensive measures erected by the Turkish Cypriot defense forces. Othello Tower citadel was used by the United Nations UNFICYP forces as an observation post while the pilot tower at the end of the mole extension into the harbor was manned by Greek Cypriot civil defense (Henn 2004). The United Nations peace-keeping force played a key role during the invasion attempting to protect civilian communities on both sides, evacuating civilians and negotiate a cease-fire. There is still ample evidence on and around the fortifications of this period including firing ports for light arms, concrete slabs, and earthen mounds.

¹⁴³ UNFICYP camp in Nicosia

Figure 88 – a gun shelter on top of Martinengo constructed in the mid-1970s undergoing conservation (Eppich, 2016)

The invasion effectively separated the island into northern and southern zones, with Famagusta falling into the north. The north became a separately administered Turkish Cypriot area with the Turkish army continuing to occupy bases in the north of the island. Until as recently as 2012, Martinengo Bastion in Famagusta was maintained as a Turkish army base (Dodd 1993). The port in Famagusta continues to serve the military and access to the sea walls of Famagusta is prohibited. This invasion by Turkey was condemned by the United Nations General Assembly in resolution 207 that called upon all States to “respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and refrain from any intervention directed against it.” (1974) In 1983, the Turkish Authority declared independence as the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus. This declaration of independence was deemed by the United Nations to be “illegally invalid” (1983), (1984). “The Council called on all countries of the world not to recognize the declaration” (Bernstein 1983)(p 1006). Only Turkey has recognized the independence of this new state.

The histories of widespread destruction of cultural heritage in Cyprus during and after the years of conflict are disturbing. Many accounts and statistics are available for the harm done to cultural heritage associated with either Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot sites. Religious sites, cemeteries as well as entire villages were reportedly destroyed.¹⁴⁴¹⁴⁵ This resulted in a deep lack of trust regarding most aspects concerning cultural heritage (Zapheiriou and Miltiadou).

¹⁴⁴ United Nations Human Rights Council 34th session March 2017

¹⁴⁵ Evaluation Committee for the Cultural Assets in North and South Cyprus, *Destroyed Turkish Villages in South Cyprus* (2009), which details claims of destruction of predominantly Turkish Cypriot villages and cultural heritage

Following this, in 1990, Cyprus applied for European Union membership and was successfully admitted in 2003. It was through that the EU's involvement would have a beneficial impact on the division resolve the decades-long crisis. EU accession was also seen as a defense against further Turkish aggression as Turkey also had ambitions to join the Union. In an effort to build confidence, the Turkish Cypriot government announced an easing of border restrictions and in 2003 the first border crossings between the north and south portions of the island were opened after 30 years. In 2004 the Turkish Cypriots largely voted for reunification based upon the United Nations' Annan Plan, but Greek Cypriots rejected the plan (Kyriz 2013). Largely due to security issues and the continued presence of the Turkish military. This created a difficult situation as the nation of Cyprus was admitted as a divided country. The European Union has recently attempted to reduce the isolation of the Turkish Cypriots.

sites, primarily between the 1950s and 1970s; and A. Papageorgiou, *Christian Art in the Turkish-occupied Part of Cyprus* (the Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, January 2010), in which the author alleges systematic destruction of Orthodox Christian churches "after the Turkish invasion in July 1974". See also Miltos Miltiadou and others, "The loss of a civilization. Destruction of cultural heritage in occupied Cyprus" (2012) on Orthodox, Maronite and Armenian churches and monasteries, cemeteries and archeological sites.

8 FORTIFICATIONS

8.1 Description

We alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the land. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrions, responding to one another, these walles did the Venetians make. John Locke, English pilgrim, 1553 (Hakluyt 1907)(p 13)

The fortifications of Famagusta were constructed over many centuries as the city grew, changed rulers, and were adapted as offensive warfare technology evolved. Because the city was strategically located in the center of the eastern Mediterranean trade and pilgrim routes, possessed a natural harbor, and was surrounded by potentially hostile neighbors, there was an ever-present need to protect it. Most elements of the walls were constructed in phases with each element serving a different purpose and designed to function within a defensive network. “It is important to appreciate that Famagusta’s defences were extensive, inasmuch as they constituted not just town walls and castle, but also maritime defences that were built on and indeed exploited the natural features of its coastline” (Petre 2010)(p 157). The main element of this network were the walls which form an irregular rectangle approximately 3 kilometers long and up to 18 meters high. One side of this rectangle faces the port and sea while the other three sides face inland. Earlier portions of the walls near the port were constructed in the medieval period and were initially relatively thin but later as cannon began to be used the walls were reinforced with a thick earth backing or terreplein designed to absorb the impact of cannon fire. Upon this thickened wall ramparts were constructed including a wide passageway around the entire wall with frequent ramps into the city that allowed for the rapid deployment of a limited number of defenders. Other defensive elements were also construction on the ramparts including cannon firing platforms and a heightened parapet with embrasure and openings to shield the defenders. The walls “display the whole course of early artillery fortifications science, belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the changed condition of warfare imposed by the Turkish advance on Europe (Jeffery 1908)(p 4).

The inland walls are separated from the countryside by a fosse or ditch excavated directly into the natural sandstone bedrock. The excavation of this fosse served as a convenient quarry for the ashlar facing of the walls. This dry fosse most likely existed in the earlier periods but was later deepened and widened. The side of the fosse opposite the walls, the counterscarp, was also faced with ashlars to form an additional vertical barrier, in many places over 10 meters high. Within the counterscarp are also galleries or small excavations designed to hide a limited number of defenders that could sally out behind any attackers that gained access into the fosse. Access to the fosse was only possible in three locations, where it met the sea and small stairways to connect to the fields beyond. Beyond the fosse sloping down and away from the counterscarp are wide open fields or glacis. These were designed to provide the defenders along the walls an uninterrupted view into the countryside with no protection for attackers. Famagusta is unique among fortified cities in that this glacis partially exists to the south, west, and north. Urban pressures in many cities long consumed these open, undeveloped areas near city centers. The open glacis, fosse, and walls created a formidable barrier that was only interrupted by two original gates, a small circular interior domed Sea Gate that controlled access to the port quay and the larger, more massive Land Gate at the southwest of the fortifications. The Land Gate was originally an independent triangular-shaped ravelin but was later integrated into the main walls as a gate. It was designed as a double access gate approachable from two directions, but there is little evidence that the second entry was used. Access into the city was strictly controlled with those wishing to enter crossing a narrow wooden bridge over the fosse and drawbridge before entering the gate. Within the gate, there was another smaller fosse and second drawbridge. At the center of the gate was an elevated tower that could observe the surrounding countryside, entry approach, bridges, and interior. The Land Gate also served another purpose, to bolster the vulnerable southwest corner of the fortifications.

Figure 89 – Plan of the fortifications of Famagusta, showing the main elements of the defensive network. It should be noted that the glacis at the south, west, and north of the city remain along with most of the terreplein within

Figure 90 – Top, land walls, bastions, and fosse of Famagusta from 1914 looking north from the tower of the Ravelin / Land Gate toward the Martinengo Bastion. Figure 91 – Below, the same view taken in 2014 (Eppich, 2014)

The walls are reinforced along their length with a series of ten rounded bastions and one *bastionette* that project into the fosse. These bastions provided additional protection for the defenders and allowed them to view and fire along the length of the fosse. The internal and external cannon firing ports are specifically calculated to provide the maximum protection while also giving clear angles of view. Behind the bastions on top of the ramparts are raised platforms or cavaliers that elevated the cannons to fire beyond the fortifications. These cavaliers were accessed via wide ramps that allowed defenders to move men and supplies quickly between the cannon positions.

Figure 92 – Section sketch through the Ravelin Land Gate (Eppich, 2016)

Along most of this defensive circuit, the Venetians adapted, modified and improved the preexisting fortifications. However, at the northwest corner, they determined that this was a particularly vulnerable point. Corners are usually the weakest point of fortifications as they restrict the number of defenders and severely limit visibility. Therefore they constructed a new, arrow-shaped state-of-the-art bastion. Giovanni Girolamo Sanmicheli, nephew of the famous fortification architect, Michele Sanmicheli of Verona, Italy arrived in Cyprus in 1550 to oversee the improvement of Famagusta's fortifications. After approximately nine years of design and construction, a new bastion at the northwest corner was completed. It was named after Hiernino Martinengo, a popular Venetian commander, who was sent to Famagusta to reinforce the city but perished before arriving. Martinengo Bastion was designed and built following the latest advancements in fortification technology. Its low profile was built slightly higher than the opposite side of the surrounding fosse to present a small target to cannon fire

while its arrow shape was designed to deflect a direct impact by cannonballs. The massive bastion provided a defensive bulk to absorb impacts and provide protection for defenders and gunpowder inside and contained two *orecchie* or ears with two cannons each that could protect the approaches to the walls on either side within the fosse. There were two access points from inside the bastion down to the fosse and at the base of the southern *orecchio* there was a secret passage under the fosse that led to the counterscarp and stair to the glacis beyond. This allowed defenders to sally forth unseen, attack the enemy, and return to the bastion without accessing the Land Gate. This bastion was admired by many in the following centuries.

For the solid beauty of its construction, the skillful understanding of the flanks, the skillful staging of the fire, all the resources which the science and the zeal of the engineers of Venice had prepared - in vain, alas - for the heroic supreme resistance of Bragadino (Diehl 1905)(p 215).

In the framework of Renaissance military history, Famagusta reflects, from a typological standpoint, the whole transition period: from the medieval defenses (the Genoese, Othello tower) to the smaller flanking round towers (Diocare, Moratto, Pulacazaro, St. Luca...) to the bulwark (Arsenal, Seigneury) and finally the Martinengo Bastion, which was repeatedly used as a model for fortifications throughout Europe and Spanish American until the end of the nineteenth century (Perbellini 1994)(pp. 16-18, 22-7).

Figure 93 – A map dating from the British period from the early 20th century. It shows the relationship of the Martinengo Bastion to the City, walls, Fosse, Cavaliers, and very importantly quarries outside the walls to the north. North is to the left of the image.

Figure 94 – An aerial view of the conserved Martinengo Bastion looking toward the south showing the Renaissance arrow shape with its Orecchie designed to provide cannon fire down both directions of the fosse. Also to the right is a view of the entire Glacis (UNDP Photo/Flycam Aerial Photography And Filming Ltd, 2016).

As opposed to Martinengo, the citadel that guards the entry to the harbor was not new construction but a heavily modified previous structure (Dreghorn 2012). Originally built in the earlier Lusignan period it consisted of high square towers and walls and a tall corner donjon. The Venetian cut the height of the Lusignan towers and donjon, constructed a new sloped wall and four squat round corner bastions around the original citadel and filled the space between with rubble and earth, thus encasing and preserving the original structure. This was done to reinforce the structure against cannon. Most likely they also dredged the existing moat and reconnected it to the sea, thus creating a water separation between the walls of Famagusta and the citadel. They also enhanced the mole extension that protrudes from the citadel to the northeast, which controls the mouth of the harbor. From this mole, there was a chain that was slung across the mouth of the harbor to block unwanted access by ship (Jeffery 1918)

Figure 95 – Aerial view of the citadel guarding the mouth of the harbor – also known as Othello's Citadel (UNDP Photo/Flycam Aerial Photography And Filming Ltd, 2015)

Figure 96 – Elevation drawings depicting how the Lusignan fortification with large square towers was adapted to gunpowder artillery with the lower round Venetian towers constructed outside (Eppich, 2016 after Jeffery, 1918).

Figure 97 – Plan of both fortifications imposed upon one another. The darker interior fortifications are Lusignan while the outer round towers are Venetian after (Jeffery 1918)

Figure 98 –Aerial image (before conservation) showing the evolution of defensive architecture at Othello Tower / Citadel. The later round outer southwest Venetian tower encloses the earlier square Lusignan tower with thinner walls which was reduced in height (Eppich, 2012)

It was this citadel that, in the early 20th century, acquired the name Othello from the famous 16th-century play by William Shakespeare. While Shakespeare did set his play at a seaport in Cyprus, he did not specifically mention Famagusta (Shakespeare). However, when the British acquired Cyprus and visitation to the island and Holy Land increased, early writers and tourism promoters fixed the name Othello to the citadel. In the guidebook, *An Enchanted Island*, W. H. Mallock, writes: “for in this castle is a tower still named by tradition *Torre del Moro*, from having once been the lodging of one of the Venetian Generals, Christofero Moro, the original of the Othello of Shakespeare” (Mallock 1892)(p 280). A well-known author, Sir H. Rider Haggard, of *King Solomon's Mines* fame, in 1900 wrote: “The tower, where according to ancient tradition Desdemona was actually stifled by Othello, is an odd place for picnics...” (Haggard 1901)(p 153). And A.O. Green in his extensive *Cyprus, A Short History to 1915* (from notes chiefly taken in 1896), mentions Shakespeare’s Othello where “unfortunate Desdemona is supposed to have met her fate” and the “curtain wall south of Othello’s Tower”(Green 1914)(pp 100, 101).

While the connection with Shakespeare is inaccurate, nevertheless, the citadel became the number one tourist attraction before the unrest of the early-1960s. At the beginning of the civil unrest, in 1963, the citadel served as a United Nations observation post until the Turkish invasion of 1974.

Figure 99 –Left, travel poster advertising Famagusta with Othello's Tower in the foreground, 1933(Lloyds Service Tours 1933)

Figure 100 –Right, a postcard dated from between 1915-1919 labeled Othello's Tower

One unique aspect of Famagusta is the completeness of this defensive system, not only including the circuit of walls and their ramparts but a complete fosse, bastions, cavaliers, port mole, counter ramparts, scarps, and counter scarps and even secret tunnels. One remarkable aspect is the preservation of the glacis or open areas beyond the fortifications as well as the terreplein within the city. These two elements of the fortifications are often the first to be removed due to urban development pressures. In addition, there are still places where the quarried stone in the fosse to construct the walls can be seen as well as excavations in the face of the counterscarp to launch counterattacks should an attacker gain access to the fosse. The historic quarries also exist outside the walls. The entire defensive system is not only intact but also the port that it was built to defend.

Finally, another bastion which requires a more in-depth description is the Canbulat or Arsenal Bastion at the southeast corner of the fortifications. This bastion guards one of the weakest points in the defensive network of Famagusta where the land walls meet the seawalls. The land walls were massive, separated from any attackers by a deep ditch and counterscarp, while the seawalls were less heavily defended. The sea walls were constructed lighter was because it was more difficult to attack from ships that could not consistently maintain their position and were unable to carry heavy, more powerful cannon. Therefore Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion was an important defensive node at this corner of the city. Most likely, an early bastion existed at this corner, but the Venetians constructed a new corner bastion tower during their tenure. They built on top of and next to existing fortified walls interlocking this new bastion into the existing fortifications. It was built round to deflect incoming cannon fire and was protected from an adjunct bastion to the west. On top of the bastion, a massive and higher Cavalier was constructed with three guns. This bastion played an important role until the final surrender with the historical record indicated that most of the bombardment occurred on from the land side toward the southeast and southwest at the Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion. After the surrender, the Ottomans would have utilized the Bastion in much the same way, and there is a second parapet that could have been added after the Ottomans gained control of Famagusta. Their parapet is lighter and designed to defend against infantry, not cannons. There is also evidence of tombs and a graveyard just to the west of the bastion. According to popular history, the Venetians surrendered from

this tower waving a white flag; thus, the name Akkule (white tower). The other story is that the Canbulat commander in charge of the Ottoman army raised the Ottoman flag hereafter the siege (Pittas 2017). The Ottoman tomb/shrine within is of Canbulat Pashas' who the tower is now named after. A table listing all structures, a short description, and their state of conservation is listed below. The list begins with the Ravelin / Land Gate moving clockwise around the city walls. Cavaliers listed separately and given the name of the bastion below.

Name	Description	State of Conservation
(Rivettina) Bastion / Ravelin Land Gate	Principle entry into the city. Contains various levels of archaeology and is frequently visited. No longer the entry as a new gate and bridge were constructed to the east	Recently completed conservation including the inner fosse. Sustained substantial damage during the Ottoman siege.
Diocare Bastion	Half rounded bastion in line with the walls just north of the Land Gate	Stable but requires study and stabilization of various portions of the embrasures
Moratto Bastion	Half rounded bastion in line with the walls but with a cavalier above	Stable but requires study. The cavalier is in poor condition and requires stabilization
Moratto Cavalier	High platform above the bastion	Poor state of conservation
Pulacazara Bastion	Half round bastion. Difficult access along the top as this was once closed.	Stable but requires study
San Luca Bastion	Quarter round bastion near Martinengo.	Poor condition on top with undercuts in the bedrock below
Martinengo Bastion	Prototype arrow-shaped Bastion that protects the previously weak most northwesterly corner of Famagusta. This bastion was inside a Turkish Army military base until very recently	In a very good state of conservation as it was not a target of the Ottoman siege. Has recently undergone a conservation project
Martinengo Cavalier South	Higher built-up areas above the Bastion	Poor state of conservation. Some areas were consolidated as a result of the nearby Martinengo Bastion project, but other areas remain unstable
Martinengo Cavalier North	Higher built-up areas above the Bastion. Houses a memorial from the 1974 war.	Stable areas with some walls unstable due to erosion but requires conservation
NORTH from Martinengo to Othello Tower / Citadel		
Del Mezzo Bastion	Requires further study	Poor state of condition Requires further study
Del Mezzo Cavalier		Very poor state of condition. Requires attention.
Arched Gate	One of only three entrances into the old city it is interesting to note that it was opened during the British period and that it is still possible to pass over the road above the arch although somewhat difficult due to the barbed wire remaining over this portion.	Stable but the parapet above the road requires stabilization

Diamantino Bastion	The is the only bastion that contains original Lusignan exterior stone ashlars. This forms the turning point of the walls from the north to the walls facing the sea. It is easily accessible from the top but from the outside nearly impossible due to thick vegetation.	Its state of conservation is very poor on the seaside as it is exposed to the elements and the Lusignan exterior ashlars are older than the adjacent Venetian ashlars. There have been some collapses on this exterior wall.
Diamantino Cavalier	This is the cavalier above the bastion. Access is very easy and from this point there is a crossing of the street below	Poor state of conservation as many of the ashlars have fallen.
Signoria Bastion	A semi-round bastion facing the port and sea. It abuts the football pitch on one side and the customs area of the port on the other.	Very poor. The outer layer of ashlars has detached from the core. The parapet is severely deteriorated
(Othello) Citadel / Tower		
Citadel Mole	This is the thin portion of Othello that projects out into the harbor. It is currently used as security for the port and as a lighthouse	VERY poor as it is a very thin element and extremely exposed to the elements.
EAST from Othello to Arsenal		
Sea Gate	The main entry into the city from the port. Currently closed with no access	Good condition, exterior as it has been recently conserved. Poor condition internally and on the side facing the port
Arsenal Gate	Gate and bastion on the corner of the city – currently houses a museum	Good condition
Arsenal Bastion (Canbulat)	Detailed study and assessment undertaken concerning the condition of the Bastion in 2017. Drawings, specifications, and bills of quantity were submitted for a conservation project that should begin in 2019	Poor condition of the ashlars, drainage and interior. New structures built within and on top of the bastion are also in poor condition.
Arsenal Cavalier	A large three gun placement cavalier above the Arsenal Bastion and behind the main ramparts. This area contains graves that have not been studied that date from the Ottoman siege	Poor condition as some elements have collapsed. The situation for visitors is dangerous. The scope of the project for the Arsenal Bastion was extended to include this cavalier. The rear of the cavalier has collapsed
SOUTH from Arsenal to the Ravelin		
Camposanto Bastion	This bastion is semicircular projecting from the southern ramparts. This is where there is easy access for conservation works as well as tourists but very few visit this portion of the fortifications.	The condition is fair to poor. Some ashlars on the ditch side have collapsed.
Camposanto Cavalier	This small cavalier is behind the bastion and affords good views toward the south.	Poor condition as there are numerous collapses due to poor drainage and no maintenance. In addition the plants are uncontrolled.
Andruzzi Bastion	This and the following bastions are similar to the Camposanto Bastion. Requires further study	Requires further study
Andruzzi Cavalier	Requires further study	Requires further study
Santa Napa Bastion	Requires further study	Poor – the earth backing has been

		removed from this area for a parking lot. This has led to some instability in the wall and has set a bad precedent should the city need more space. It is critically important that this backfilling not be removed
Santa Napa Cavalier	Requires further study	Requires further study
Ottoman Gate	main entry into the city	Fair
Ottoman Bridge	This is one of the 3 main entries into the city for both pedestrians and vehicles. It is currently dangerous for pedestrians as it is narrow and the passage is shared with vehicles	fair

Figure 101 – Table of the significant elements of the fortifications of Famagusta including condition assessment

Figure 102 – The sea walls with the port built during the British period to the left. The Sea Gate in the lower-left conservation works are underway on the wall to the south of the Sea Gate to improve drainage and consolidate the masonry. (UNDP Photo/Flycam Aerial Photography And Filming LtdP, 2017).

Figure 103 – Ravelin / Land Gate during investigations but before conservation works began (Eppich, 2016)

Figure 104 – The Arsenal Gate and walls after conservation as seen from the Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion Cavalier (Eppich, 2017)

Figure 105 – The Ravelin / Land Gate after conservation. The gate can be seen in the center and was accessed via a wooden bridge and drawbridge across the fosse (UNDP Photo/Flycam Aerial Photography And Filming Ltd, 2018).

Figure 106 – The Ravelin / Land Gate upon completion of conservation works (UNDP Photo/Flycam Aerial Photography And Filming Ltd, 2018)

8.2 Values

A discussion on values, authenticity, and significance are important topics to explore in order to understand and evaluate the fortifications of Famagusta. Such an investigation should begin with the values as they are the basic underpinnings that guide what is important and set priorities for conservation. Values include historic, scientific, natural, aesthetic, and economic; and if the fortifications of Famagusta are to be successfully conserved and managed, then the values must be identified and protected.

Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage. Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity (ICOMOS 1994).

Setting priorities for conservation of the fortifications of Famagusta was initially easy as the values and significance were evident, even if not fully explored. Thus, an obvious choice for investigations and work began first in Famagusta at the Othello Tower / Citadel. The monument's tendinous connection with Shakespeare¹⁴⁶, its pre1974 popular tourist status, poor condition, and age combined with calls from the media made it an easy selection. Likewise, the second choice was easy as the work proceeded at Martinengo Bastion, the Ravelin / Land Gate, and later at the Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion. As the corners of the fortifications and prominent structures, these choices were also evident. However, as these first priorities were addressed, choices have become more difficult. How should work proceed? At a more deteriorated portion or at a more eye-catching bastion? Without a full exploration of the values that are embodied within these structures, future successful management and conservation decisions are impeded.

The assessment of values usually begins using a typology, which is used as a basis for identifying what is important and to whom. Different value typologies have been

¹⁴⁶ Shakespeare does not specifically mention Famagusta in his masterwork Othello and only refers to a seaport in Cyprus Shakespeare, W. *Othello, the Moor of Venice. A tragedy. By Mr. William Shakespear..* 1604: *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* Act II Scene I A Sea-port Town in Cyprus

developed over the last twenty years and can be used as a starting point (English Heritage 2008, Lipe 1984, Demas 2002). These typologies provide a way for understanding a site, addressing the concerns of stakeholders, and informing any intervention or conservation plan. One way that the complex and overlapping significance can be investigated and described is through a grid that summarizes the values, the criterion, and indicators. One successful such analysis is the Nara Grid methodology developed by Koen van Balen (Van Balen 2008). Following is an interpretation of the Nara Grid that seeks to describe the values succinctly for the fortifications of Famagusta.

Values	Criterion / Indicators
Historic	The walls are witness to historically important times in history, including the expansion of the Venetian empire as well as that of the Ottoman Empire expansion. It was in part after the siege of Famagusta that the historically important battle of Lepanto took place.
Architectural	They are very important as the development of these walls traces the evolution of response to cannon warfare in both the Othello towers (originally square to round) to the Martinengo Bastion – the state of the art when constructed
Scientific	Scientific values include geography, historical, and natural. There are numerous threatened species that inhabit the Fosse and areas.
Aesthetic	The walls when viewed from many different angles are beautifully constructed and offer vantage points of the city as well as other points of the walls. The shape of the Martinengo bastion is that of an arrow while at a smaller scale are the beautifully carved Venetian lion bas reliefs.
Social	Portions of the walls are important meeting places – such as the Ravelin / Land Gate. Numerous cafes are around this area. At the other end of the city, the Sea Gate serves as a meeting place for visitors and residents.
Symbolic	The walls are particularly symbolic as they represent the last evidence of Venetian rule and the beginning of Ottoman rule. They also symbolize a critical moment in the more recent inner communal conflicts of 1974
Spiritual	While the walls have no significant spiritual value, there are numerous churches both inside and outside the walls that exist in the 'buffer' zones. These are very spiritually important.
Natural	Cracks and voids in the walls and the Fosse are habitats to numerous flora and fauna endemic to Cyprus. In addition, the Fosse contains numerous trees, and near the port, a portion could be considered a wetland for migrating birds.
Economic / Use	Economic uses are unlimited as there are numerous open and unused spaces for both the communities and visitors. Events could be held, nature walks, etc.
Educational	It is a living classroom that could benefit as an example of history, defensive architecture, construction, and conservation. The walls could become a living laboratory for conservation practice.

Figure 107 – Table of values of the fortifications of Famagusta

Although these values can be listed within a grid, the weight of each is rarely agreed upon. Alois Riegl wrote in the early twentieth century in his essay *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin* that a focus on further defining these values and their conflicts: historic value, newness value, contemporary value, use value, art value, and age value defines the theoretical aspects of conservation. For age value, he intended to define the values of incompleteness, flaws, maturity, acts of nature, and, importantly, patina. He stated that the treatment of historic buildings must depend on these values (Riegl 1996). Riegl wrote at a time when the practice of architectural preservation was based on the idea of an amalgamation of newness and historic values, with the aim to remove traces of natural decay and to restore all building elements in order to achieve an appearance of an integrated whole. He stated that newness value, which traditionally has always had the strong support of the people, is, in fact, the most formidable opponent of age value. At this time, people had just begun to value age in historic architecture, so a conflict arose between age value and newness value—a conflict that still exists today. This was especially striking in cases where monuments had not been preserved in their original forms but had undergone stylistic alterations over time since the historic value was considered to depend largely on clear recognition of the original condition (Jokilehto 2007).

Figure 108 – Left, inappropriate conservation of a portion of the sea wall near Arsenal Gatte (Eppich, 2011)

Figure 109 – Right, inappropriate interventions in the ditch at the base of Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion. The municipality began the works without a full understanding of the values, particularly the age and use-values.

The conflict between the newness, age, and even use values has important ramifications in the conservation of the fortifications. While the community within the walls may hold dear their fortifications, they may not fully comprehend the nuances, differences, and conflict between values. The same holds true for the municipality; they wish to act and use the fortifications but have not fully explored the values. These conflicts became evident in mismanagement and inappropriate interventions along the seawall, at the counterscarp at the Ravelin / Land Gate, and within the ditch where new and inappropriate construction are taking place. Clearly, the use and newness values are in conflict with the age value that cannot be resolved without understanding authenticity.

8.3 Authenticity and Integrity

Values, from a historical, aesthetic, scientific, ethnological, or anthropological perspective, highlight the need to establish authenticity.

Authenticity, considered in this way and affirmed in the Charter of Venice, appears as the essential qualifying factor concerning values. The understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in all scientific studies of the cultural heritage, in conservation and restoration planning, as well as within the inscription procedures used for the World Heritage Convention and other cultural heritage inventories (ICOMOS 1994).

As characterized by the Nara Charter, authenticity is the essential qualifying factor concerning values. Architectural heritage may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if its cultural values are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes including: form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language, and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors. Furthermore, authenticity is a “measure of the degree to which the values of a heritage property may be understood to be truthfully, genuinely and credibly, expressed by the attributes carrying the values” (Jokilehto 2006, Stovel 2008). Thus authenticity can only be conserved if the values are understood (Jokilehto 2007). The Nara Document builds upon the Venice Charter to expand the range of cultural heritage concerns. It focuses on the need for a more comprehensive understanding of the diversity of heritage related to conservation and underscores the ability to make different conservation choices (Stovel 2008). This idea of authenticity is often confused with integrity. Many address “integrity/ authenticity treating the two concepts as if they were one; and many of those who have realized that the two concepts are different have displayed very little clear understanding of what the differences might involve” (Jokilehto 2006)(pp 22, 23). “Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property: a) includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value; b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the

property's significance; c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect" (UNESCO 2005)(Paragraph 88). Jokilehto continues that two basic ideas concerning integrity are "Wholeness (are all the elements necessary to tell fully the story of the site? Is the property of sufficient size to hold all features and processes necessary to convey significance?), and Intactness (asking about the condition of the property in relation to the threats to its existence, and any risks in the environment surrounding the property)" (Jokilehto 2006)(p 25).

In relationship to the above definitions of authenticity and integrity, the fortifications of Famagusta can be considered to meet both. They are authentic in that they retain a number of attributes including the original form, design, materials and workmanship, and layers of alterations. They also retain their settings and location, with a few exceptions. The fortifications also have that rather elusive quality of authenticity in the spirit and feeling of the place and the values embodied within may be understood to be truthfully, genuinely, and credibly. Famagusta's fortifications also have integrity. They are whole and encompass all the defensive elements from the citadel and mole protecting the harbor, to the working harbor itself - the ditch, counterscarp and most vulnerable of all the glacis on three sides and the inner terreplein. Both the authenticity and integrity are largely due to the fact that the fortifications have been mostly ignored, with the exception of the interventions in the mid-20th century. There have been very few modifications or inappropriate alterations since repairs after the Ottoman conquest. However, this authenticity is at risk as there are currently works underway in and along the ditch and portions of the fortifications are finally failing due to inadequate maintenance. The inner terreplein has been removed in one location for parking and in another for archaeological investigations during the British period. The glacis is slowing being encroached upon by back gardens to the west as well as a new access road. Authenticity and integrity were essential to establish the significance of the fortifications.

8.4 Significance

As discussed in the 1964 Venice Charter, values, authenticity, and the question of why to conserve can be focused on significance (ICOMOS 1964). An understanding of the values and authenticity of the fortifications of Famagusta are important in order to evaluate their significance. "Significance is a collective term for the sum or all the heritage values attached to a place. It is an extraordinary level of meaning that elevates the ordinary and identifies it as a thing that is worthy of preservation" (Heritage Branch 2013)(p 12). "The value of a heritage asset to this and future generations because of its heritage interest. Significance derives not only from a heritage asset's physical presence but also from its setting"(Historic England 2018)(p S).

Significance is also a critical topic in the 1979 Burra Charter (revised in 1999 and 2013) (Australia ICOMOS 2000). This can be answered through an assessment of cultural significance, which is determined by a holistic and integrated analysis of previously discussed values that people attribute to the fortifications. The Burra Charter further defines cultural significance as "the aesthetic, historic, scientific and social values 'embedded' in the fabric, setting, use, associations, and meanings, related places, and objects" (Article 1.2, Australia ICOMOS 1999).

Such an investigation into significance usually results in a statement that consolidates the architectural, historic, archaeological, traditional, aesthetic values, authenticity and integrity, and thus outlines elements of high significance, where change should be minimized as well as elements or areas of lower significance which may be able to accommodate greater change where the overall significance is not affected (Parks Canada 2006). Such a summary must be applied to the fortifications of Famagusta that describes the relationship between the structures and their features or elements within their environment. It is an assessment of what is important about a place, why it is important, and how important it is, at multiple levels (ibid).

The Walls of Famagusta are significant not only for their large size but also for their complete, intact defensive system and circuit around the city. They contain all the architectural elements of both medieval and renaissance military defensive architecture including a complete fosse or ditch, inner fosse in some portions, revetments, escarps, counterscarps, bastions, citadels, mole and ravelin. The architecture is aesthetically

important because it is complete with few if any, modern interventions or alterations. It is also aesthetically significant as it offers views of the old city of Famagusta and its churches but also the port and sea.

Historically, the fortifications are significant, not only because it is complete from one time period, but for many time periods from early medieval to renaissance with one-period building on top of or around earlier defensive measures. The defenses are also important as it represented the last stronghold of Venice in the eastern Mediterranean and strengthened resolve for the western coalition of the Holy League and the eventual epic sea battle of Lepanto where the Ottoman forces lost their navy. “The loss of Cyprus in 1571 was one of the most important and earliest stages in the decline of Venetian power... “ with the only remains the “the old fortresses seem designed to mark historic epochs.” “the memorial emblems and inscriptions, the dates engraved upon their walls, make them monumental in every sense of the word; they also represent the last phase of what is now the obsolete art of military architecture” (Jeffery 1908)(p632). The defenses of Famagusta, also represent the apogee of the arch-rivals of Venice, the Ottoman Empire. The capture of the city marked the apex of their expansion as the island was their last major conquest, as their victory was soon overshadowed by the loss of their fleet at Lepanto.

The fortifications are also significant recently as the walls played a part in the conflicts of 1974, a yet to be explored dimension of significance. In addition, to architectural and historic significance there is also a natural significance which derives from the fosse as an open green space that collects water and is a habitat to numerous endemic species of Cyprus including the endangered whip snake, near threatened bent-wing bat and the endangered Schreiber's Fringe-fingered Lizard. All of these contribute to the significance of the fortifications of Famagusta. They are physical, tangible (quite large) evidence of history that can educate future generations. It can also prove to be a source of the economic benefit to the communities as others from outside Cyprus will wish to learn and visit the Walls of Famagusta.

The architecture, fortifications, and urbanism of multiple cultures, built over many centuries, lend the Walled City a richness of surviving assets rivaled in few places. The existing built environment projects a vivid combination

of medieval urbanism wrapped by intact Renaissance fortifications, all situated on a beautiful and strategic stretch of the Mediterranean coast. The wholeness of the Walled City in these three aspects—fabric, fortification, and site—is remarkable. The city’s centrality as a port, entrepôt, and cultural center distinguish it in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Walled City’s site and situation, and the legibility of its remaining historical layers render it extraordinarily valuable as a heritage site—a once-prosperous place, later conquered and left as a backwater. Individual monuments bear a great deal of significance in themselves and take greater meaning from their geographical and urban context as part of a strategically located, intact walled city. These include the churches as well as the fortifications. The fortifications are extraordinary in their extent and completeness—the walls, gates, moat, and glacis are intact and readily experienced. Famagusta is extraordinary with regard to the significance and integrity as a multi-layered walled city (Mason, Tumer et al. 2014)(p 29).

While the above statement of significance was centered upon the city of Famagusta as a whole, nevertheless it also applies to the fortifications.

8.5 Conservation Issues

Through an understanding of the significance based upon values in order to protect the authenticity and integrity of the fortifications, it is possible to improve management. However, comprehension of these attributes is inadequate, as knowledge of conservation issues is also essential. The fortifications are facing a number of issues, primarily of three distinct threats: material and original construction techniques exacerbated by the environment, informal and sanctioned encroachment from the city, and a lack of management and conservation expertise.

Material issues center on the soft sandstone that composes the fortifications as it is extremely friable and easily subjected to erosion. Many of the ashlar used for construction were already seriously deteriorated when cut from the quarry. The builders of fortifications are usually building structures in haste and not overly particular of their raw materials. This inherently weak material is exacerbated by the same sandstone

bedrock foundation upon which the fortifications were built. While relatively stable the bedrock does contain natural cavities and fissures that are subject to erosion and thus transfer their faults to the walls and bastions above. This is aggravated by the location of Famagusta, adjacent to the sea with its high salt content brackish groundwater, constant salt-laden winds, and uncontrolled drainage. The fortifications are only located a meter or more above the groundwater, and capillary action is a serious problem. The porous stone wicks up the moisture, which then evaporates and erodes the stone from within. A key reason the fortifications have survived is that they are massive; however, the older portions have been exposed longer to the elements and are located at the base of the walls and structures thus have suffered greater deterioration and have transferred their faults upward. In addition, many portions of the base of the structures which were previously buried during the Venetian construction of the terreplein were exposed after the archaeological excavations during the British period. The last issues related to materials are previous interventions, begun in the British period, that are incompatible with the soft sandstone. The principal is that the harder mortar forces any moisture within the walls through the stone, thus provoking erosion through the historic fabric. “The walls facing the sea are in critical condition including Diamante Bastion” (Tümer and Uluca 2018)

Figure 110 – Core sample extracted from Othello Tower / Citadel in 2015 shows that serious deterioration has occurred within a seemingly solid stone ashlar (Eppich, 2015)

Figure 111 – Detail of the weathering of the stone at Othello Tower / Citadel known as alveolarization erosion or the formation of small surface cavities. (Eppich, 2015)(ICOMOS International Scientific Committee for Stone 2008)

Figure 112 – Erosion within the bedrock below Martinengo Bastion (Eppich, 2016)

While Famagusta presents a complete fortified network, the open areas are increasingly facing encroachment. The more vulnerable yet less visibly significant open areas of the glacis, fosse, and terreplein. This is most evident near Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion and in the ditch where the municipality has begun the construction of pavilions within the fosse and trenched for the installation of infrastructure including paths, lighting, benches, and toilet structures with the support of the Republic of Turkey Development and Economic Cooperation Office¹⁴⁷ (Haber 2017).

It is also present, yet less noticeable, at the west in the glacis where residential structures have begun encroachment and at the north where industrial port activities have also encroached. There is also encroachment from the numerous restaurants located near the port and along the seawall with some establishing informal seating areas. Also at risk are the inner areas of terreplein where some have been removed for parking, most notably near the Ravelin / Land Gate. It would be tempting for the municipality to remove more of this earthen backing not realizing the significance and protection it provides to the walls. At great risk are the historic quarries that while do not hold limited significant values historically or scientifically but are essential to the conservation of the fortifications as a source of compatible replacement material.

¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, these works have removed archaeological remains near the Ravelin / Land Gate and the new infrastructure was underwater with several failures of the foundations near Martinengo Bastion.

Figure 113 – Excavation for defensive countermeasures (Counterscarp Galleries) seen in the Fosse as well as partially quarried stone. This must be studied in more detail.

Figure 114 – Left, discover and subsequent reutilization of the Venetian water collection system on the ramparts of Othello (Eppich, 2014)

Figure 115 – Right, the collection cistern within the ramparts (UNDP, 2014)

Figure 116 – Historic map from a British survey identified the historic quarries, but these are now within the Freeport area (British Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus, approximately 1938)

Figure 117 – Historic quarry within the Freeport area. Stone analysis proved that this was a major quarry for the construction of Famagusta. Unfortunately, it is not active for conservation works (Eppich, 2012)

Figure 118 – Image of the Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion at the southeast corner of the city where the seawalls meet the land walls. There have been works in the ditch, paid for by the Turkish government, directed by the Municipality but seemingly without approval (Eppich, 2017)

Figure 119 – Ongoing works in the south fosse conducted by the municipality (Eppich, 2017)

Figure 120 – Construction within the ditch near Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion (Eppich, 2019)

While the above-mentioned material and encroachment problems are seemingly overwhelming, they could be addressed with improved management. This last threat to the fortifications is evident in the encroachments, inappropriate interventions, poor execution of conservation works, and a general lack of essential maintenance. These are made worse by inadequate funding. With proper maintenance, many of the risks mentioned above could be significantly reduced or eliminated. While there is an Antiquities Department, they are not properly funded or adequately staffed. Thus the focus of this thesis. Within the next section, the management organization context, structure, and issues will be discussed.

Figure 121 – Industrial and residential encroachment into the glacis near Martinengo Bastion at the northwest corner of Famagusta (Eppich, 2013)

Figure 122 – Restaurant encroachment near the Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion, such informal encroachment is occurring in numerous places around the fortifications (Eppich, 2013)

Figure 123 – Large horizontal displacements and subsequent repairs at the Ravelin (Pittas, 2014)

Figure 124 – Above, horizontal restrictions shown during a structural analysis of the tunnel within the Ravelin/Land Gate near the horizontal displacements (Pittas, 2014)

Figure 125 – Below, vertical and shear stresses backfill+ seismic stress analysis on a section of the wall at the suspected collapse during the siege (Pittas, 2014)

9 MANAGEMENT ORGANIZATION

9.1 Governance Structure and Institutional Context

Because of the current division of the island, it is necessary to describe the organization and management of cultural heritage and the fortifications in three parts: the Turkish Cypriot Authorities, the Republic of Cyprus, and international efforts to bridge these two entities through the protection of cultural heritage.

9.2 Turkish Cypriot Authorities

Since the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey in 1974, the island has remained divided with the northern third initially governed by the Turkish Federated State of North Cyprus. However, in 1983 the authority unilaterally declared independence as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)¹⁴⁸. The governing body from the TRNC includes all aspects related to cultural heritage, including the fortifications of Famagusta under a Ministry of Tourism and Environment (Deputy Prime Ministry TRNC 2018).

Within this Ministry is the Department of Antiquities and Museums, with “the main head office is in Nicosia with three branches, one in Famagusta, Kyrenia, and in Morphou” (Reis 2017). The branch office in Famagusta is responsible for the conservation of movable and immovable cultural heritage, including museums, archaeological sites, and historic structures. With the establishment of the “Right of Antiquities Law 60/94, the High Council of Monuments was established to ensure the conservation of non-movable cultural heritage and natural assets according to the scientific principles” (ibid). The decisions given by the council are compulsory, and it approves conservation projects, the designation of sites and registers buildings for protection, outlines conservation areas and approves any interventions in designated sites. This High Council is led by the same head of the Department of Antiquities and Museums. It is made up of 11 members from various related associations (Reis 2017). The duties of the High Council are:

- Approve registration of non-moveable ancient monuments, buildings, natural sites
- Approve the designation of archeological/urban/natural sites for conservation

¹⁴⁸ This was rejected by the United Nations and the Republic of Cyprus and is covered in more detail under the section devoted to history

- Approve the principles necessary for the maintenance, restoration, rehabilitation, and re-use of the non-moveable ancient monuments
- Make decisions and give scientific opinions for those subjects that are brought before the council.
- Give scientific opinions and approve conservation projects which are prepared by the related associations or private offices

The same Right of Antiquities Law (60/94) established the Department of Antiquities and Museum which created the Conservation of Ancient Monuments Fund which is directed by a board of directors of five people with its head the same as the head of the antiquities department (Reis 2017). The income of the fund is from the tickets money of the museums and archeological sites, the budget that is given every year from the government, donations and contributions, earnings from the photography and film taking in museums and archeological sites, publication incomes, income from the replication of movable ancient monuments, rent incomes from the buildings belonging to the department and event incomes. However, this fund has been absorbed into the general budget of the government (Dagli 2017), the fund “was voted out two or three years ago when the law was changed, and the cultural community only learned after it passed” (Tümer and Uluca 2018). The importance of this cannot be understated as the other cultural heritage attractions in the north of Cyprus, such as Salamis, Bellapais, and the Castle in Kyrenia, are popular and when busy can host up to 1000 people per day at 30 Turkish Lira per day for an entry ticket (ibid). This could result in a loss of funds to support sustainable conservation of over 3 million euros per year.

Projects, including planned interventions in historic areas, are also reviewed by the professional organization of the Union of the Chambers of Cyprus Turkish Engineers and Architects. They are classified as a public institution that provides services for the benefit of the public. They are the professional body of engineers, architects, and city planners with authority to govern practice and profession. However, this Chamber, most often only reviews documents for compliance with the law with no other dimensions of conservation considered (Union of the Chamber of Cyprus Turkish Engineers and Architects 2018).

The monuments of Cyprus are also impacted by the charitable organization EVKAF. Vakif or Evkaf (plural) is a pious foundation established during the conquest of Cyprus in 1571 to function for the public benefit, allocate resources for social, economic, and cultural needs of society and exercise jurisdiction over all foundations (EVKAF Cyprus 2018). They own large amounts of property and use the benefits for education, historic, and cultural preservation, economic, and social development and religion. “Funds are generated internally from economic activities of EVKAF namely, real estate, tourism, banking, agriculture, and through donations” (Vudali 2018)(p 1). Military buildings were the primary concern of the Ottoman Porte and the city walls in Nicosia and Famagusta were restored and fortified while new ones in Paphos, Larnaca, and Limassol were constructed in the early 17th century. However, recent claims by EVKAF state the castles and fortresses built during the Ottoman period are their properties (Yıldız 2009) (Vudali 2018) (Altan 1986).

The municipality of Famagusta (Gazimağusa)¹⁴⁹ also has an impact on the fortifications. While the fortifications are under the authority of the Department of Antiquities and Museums, the city often carries out work on or within the fortifications including the areas adjacent to the citadel and infrastructure works within the fosse. They have recently been granted funds from Turkey to execute works within the fosse¹⁵⁰. The municipality is key in the protection of cultural heritage even if they are not ultimately responsible as they are considered the legitimate local governing body by the Turkish Cypriot administration, the Republic of Cyprus, and the European Union¹⁵¹. “The Famagusta municipality is legal as it pre-dates independence. It was established in the 1950s” thus it is a recognized entity and “even the position of mayor is uncontested” (Walsh 2019). It was for this reason that Walsh and the World Monuments Fund were able to conduct numerous conservation projects and urban studies in Famagusta.

¹⁴⁹ Famagusta in Turkish is Mağusa, with Gazi added before which means veteran. This honorific title was awarded after the war in 1974

¹⁵⁰ These works are somewhat misguided as sufficient studies were not conducted prior and resulted in the disturbance of archaeological remains near the Ravelin / Land Gate.

¹⁵¹ This refers to the Municipality of Famagusta proper not the extended regional governing body which included the now off limit suburb of Varosha.

In addition to the government, there is a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation, the Mağusa Walled City Association (MASDER) (Famagusta Walled City 2018). This organization is focused on efforts and initiatives to advocate for the protection and promote tourism and is apolitical. It has received technical assistance and support from the Economic Development and Growth for Enterprises as well as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (ibid). MASDER wishes to establish a museum concerning the heritage of Famagusta. Finally, there is the non-profit associations the Famagusta Initiative and *Eski Arkadaşlar* (Old Friends) who meet monthly on Saturdays for breakfast and have often led campaigns to clean the moat (Tümer and Uluca 2018).

In conclusion, there are a number of organizations in the north of the island that are responsible for and involved with the walls of Famagusta. This includes government bodies, the Department of Antiquities and Museum that derives their authorization from the Turkish Cypriot Authority and the municipality of Famagusta/Gazimağusa which is conducting projects in and around the fortifications. There is also the EVKAF foundation, professional oversight groups, and the non-profit MASDER. Despite a large number of organizations, the fortifications themselves have, over the decades, largely been neglected, mainly due to a lack of financial resources and political willpower but complicated by the political and economic isolation of the north and limited management and conservation expertise. This management structure is made even more complex given the authority claimed by the Republic of Cyprus in the south and other international actors, including the United Nations and European Union. The position from the Republic of Cyprus is that “Since the ‘TRNC’ is not recognized, its ‘Department of Antiquities’ is not recognized either and cannot constitute a competent national authority” (Hadjisavvas 2015) (p 139). From the other side, the TRNC “does not consider itself to be an occupier at all...” therefore, “they perceive themselves as a legitimate state...” (McCarthy 2015)(p 149).

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Figure 126 – Organizational chart of the Turkish Cypriot Authorities

Figure 127 – Organizational chart of the Republic of Cyprus Government

Figure 128 – Organizational chart of the linking attempts

9.3 Republic of Cyprus

The Republic of Cyprus is recognized internationally as being the *de jure* government of the entire island¹⁵² including the management and conservation of cultural heritage, including the fortifications of Famagusta. However, the self-declared *de facto* Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) administers the north and the cultural heritage contained within. This situation is considered by the Republic of Cyprus to be illegal and occupation of part of their state, specifically by the Turkish army. The occupation is viewed as illegal under international law and has been condemned by numerous United Nations resolutions. Resolution 360 from 1974 the Security Council records its formal disapproval of military action “Recalling its resolutions of 353 (1974), of 20 July, 354 (1974) of 23 July, 355 (1974) of 1 August, 357 (1974) of 14 August and 358 (1974) of 15 August 1974 Noting that all States have declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus” (1974)(p 1). This was followed by a General Assembly resolution 3212 of December 13, 1974, endorsing previous Security Council resolutions that were adopted unanimously. Since the admission of Cyprus (the entire island) into the European Union in 2004, this has made for a more complex situation as essentially is seen as an illegal occupation of a European Union member’s territory.

Therefore, the Department of Antiquities under the Ministry of Transport, Communications, and Works claims legal management authority over the cultural heritage resources in the northern third of the island, including the fortifications of Famagusta. The Department was initially established during the British Colonial period in 1935 as a result of the enactment/refinement of an earlier 1905 Antiquities Law (Department of Antiquities 2015, Ministry of Transport 2018).

Since 1935 the Department of Antiquities directs and controls all the archaeological activities in Cyprus and has jurisdiction the management of the archaeological heritage including the fortifications of Famagusta. Its main responsibilities include the conducting of excavations and archaeological surveys, the operation, organization and foundation of archaeological museums, as well as the conservation, rehabilitation, protection, and promotion of the ancient monuments, archaeological sites, and monuments of traditional architecture. The Department of Antiquities sees its responsibility extending to the northern third of the island and have made frequent

¹⁵² Except the British Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia

international requests and protests regarding the condition of this heritage (Theodoulou Charalambous 2014). This situation has led to a number of difficulties, particularly in relation to archaeology (Sevketogul, Tuncel et al. 2015).

Finally, another interesting aspect of government is the duplication of municipal governments. There exists a parallel city government of Famagusta operating in exile. However, this parallel municipal government is largely a symbolic protest government without effective power related to conservation or management of heritage.

The Republic of Cyprus and the Department of Antiquities are seen internationally as the state and agency responsible for the care and preservation of the fortifications of Famagusta. However, the Turkish Cypriot Authority and the municipality of Famagusta are in control. This had led to a decades-long stalemate in the conservation of the fortifications. The Republic of Cyprus, Department of Antiquities, while chronically underfunded, nevertheless could allocate the funds and expertise to care for the walls, but cannot be seen to do so within the current political climate. In addition, the Turkish Cypriot Authority also does not wish to be seen relying on the government of the south for the heritage that lies within their zone of control. This has been the stalemate situation since 1974.

As this thesis will explain later, there have been significant international efforts to improve these circumstances.

9.4 Barriers

The long political, social, and physical divisions, with essentially two separate government entities¹⁵³ responsible for cultural heritage, has created a significant number of barriers to the conservation and management of the fortifications in Famagusta. The principle barrier for the Greek Cypriot, Republic of Cyprus government, is political; how to access, first of all, then conserve cultural heritage sites in the north, or at least render technical assistance, while not explicitly recognizing or supporting the authority of the Turkish Cypriot government. The Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus must strictly conform to the official government policy and not appear to provide recognition or support for the Turkish Cypriot authorities. This has manifested itself in several ways from official and frequent protests to the United Nations and European Union concerning the treatment of cultural heritage in the north (Kasoulides 2001). As early as September 17, 1974, a few weeks after the invasion, a letter from the Cypriot Ambassador to the United Nations mentions the destruction of “even priceless ancient monuments” (Rossides 1974) (p 1).

Professionals within the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus have a very high level of conservation expertise and experience, yet they are politically prevented from engaging or openly assisting (Gannon 2017). “Interfering with or preventing access to money, materials, education/training, and support, the cultural embargo has threatened not just the contemporary condition of cultural heritage in northern Cyprus, but the very capacity of cultural heritage workers in northern Cyprus to be able to conserve or restore historic buildings” (Hardy 2008)(p 77). The Department of Antiquities is also overburdened with the responsibility of numerous sites and limited budgets under their direct jurisdiction, including World Heritage properties.

This situation has also resulted in the ostracization of Cypriot or international professionals that assist or work in the north as it is implied they are recognizing the authority and accept the *de facto* government. A “common nationalist discourse” discourages crossing into the north because “crossing means recognizing the illegal” government (Dikomitis 2005)(p 8). And “refugee communities are exceptionally active in pressuring others not to cross.” (Hardy 2008)(p 85). While this environment has somewhat softened in recent years, it is still an ongoing concern. “The message [from

¹⁵³ Legal or not there are *de facto* two entities responsible for the walls of Famagusta

the Republic of Cyprus], especially for international heritage professionals, is that any work in the occupied territory requiring government permission is forbidden. Even the perception of violating this rule can have dire consequences for a researcher” Furthermore, “Without any internationally accepted means of legal protection for scholars, many choose to avoid dealing with any heritage in the occupied territory at all” (Borowiec 2000)(150). There is also ongoing rhetoric of denouncing the Turkish Cypriot authorities concerning the management and treatment of cultural heritage, justifiably, after the destruction caused by the 1974 invasion and continuing division of the island including a lack of maintenance at many heritage sites. (Morris 2002, Hardy 2008, Kambas 2014). “...another dominant factor that has hindered the protection and preservation of cultural heritage on Cyprus has been the distrust felt by both sides, fueled by constant accusations and counter-accusations concerning the destruction of cultural heritage” (p 143) (Sevketogul, Tuncel et al. 2015).

Finally, another barrier is within the Republic of Cyprus government itself. The simplicity of the organizational structure is deceiving. The Department of Antiquities reports to the Ministry of Transport, Communications, and Works and not the Ministry of Education and Culture. This has led to some internal divisions:

In the Republic of Cyprus, many institutions defend and promote culture and cultural heritage. However, the divide made between the Department of Antiquities (Ministry of Transport, Communications and Works), and the Cultural Services (Ministry of Education and Culture) risks jeopardizing a cohesive cultural policy by separating cultural heritage and cultural life and minimizing the human dimension of cultural heritage (Bennoune 2017)(p 23).

Given the division of the island, internal reorganization in the south is not deemed possible. “Due to the political situation, any kind of further reform is avoided as this could be regarded as a breach of the Constitution. As a result, cultural governance structures remained to a great extent static since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus” (Theodoulou Charalambous 2014)(p 2).

The barriers for the Turkish Cypriot authorities in the north are multiple and include lack of sufficient budget, managerial oversight, limited communication, and coordination between central and municipal governments. Another significant limitation is the overall complexity and opaqueness in their organizational structure with many departments seemingly not functioning with gaps between responsibilities or

functioning below the minimum required level. In addition, most of the budget for ongoing government operations is supplied monthly and comes directly from Ankara while subjected to currency fluctuations. “North Cypriots are heavily dependent on transfers from the Turkish government. Under the 2003-06 economic protocol, Ankara plans to provide around \$550 million to the TRNC” (Institute of Island Studies 2007)(p 1).

Therefore, they must also comply with the wishes, stated or unstated, of Turkey. While there are professional conservators, architects, and others with a high level of expertise, they are often too few to deal with the numerous issues and are frequently drained away by the much stronger economy of mainland Turkey or even to the south where the salaries are up to three times higher. The Turkish Cypriot authorities must also contend with the large Turkish army which has occupied, until recently, major portions of the fortifications including Martinengo Bastion (as well as other cultural heritage sites) and control the port which directly abuts the seawalls of Famagusta¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵⁴ In 2016 access to inspect the harbor side of the seawalls was extremely difficult and relied on pressure from the UNDP. Even then the access team was escorted and limited to only two days of inspection. This difficulty led, in part, to a decision to abandon conservation plans and only the city side of the seawalls were conserved.

9.5 Linking Attempts

While this level of complexity and decades-old barriers may seem unworkable, it has opened up a number of unique opportunities that have begun to be exploited. One of the main drivers for cooperation is international pressure and funding. Cyprus is a stumbling block for Turkey to join the European Union; simply put, one EU country cannot occupy the territory of another. While Turkey's accession into the EU has faded with the current administration in Ankara, nevertheless it could be revived in the future. The European Union is also seeking to reduce the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot as technically, they are Republic of Cyprus citizens, and in 2004 voted in favor of reuniting the island and joining the Union.

The Turkish Cypriot community has expressed their clear desire for a future within the European Union. The Council is determined to put an end to the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community and to facilitate the reunification of Cyprus by encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community. The Council invited the Commission to bring forward comprehensive proposals to this end with a particular emphasis on the economic integration of the island and on improving contact between the two communities and with the EU.¹⁵⁵ (European Commission 2016)(p 1).

The EU, through various initiatives and program objectives, is seeking to promote the social and economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community, including funding the conservation of cultural heritage.

There are also United Nations initiatives in Cyprus, principally the peacekeeping force (in place since 1963) but also through political channels, Committee on Missing Persons, Office for Refugees, and the United Nations Development Programme¹⁵⁶.

9.6 Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage

On March 21, 2008, an agreement, under the auspices of the United Nations, was reached between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriot leaders leading to the reopening of the Ledra Street Crossing and the launch of working groups and the creation of Technical Committees that would prepare the ground for negotiations.

“The peace talks have allowed for the creation of Technical Committees, tasked with building trust, facilitating cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and creating a conducive environment for the talks” (Cyprus 2018)(p 1).

This agreement established the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage, which is dedicated to the recognition, promotion, and protection of the rich and diverse cultural heritage of the island. The Committee is supported in its work by an advisory board composed of archaeologists, architects, art historians and town planners from both communities. All its programmatic decisions are taken in line with the agreed principles and the task attributed by the two leaders.

“The Cultural Heritage Technical Committee believes that it is the primary responsibility of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots to protect the endangered cultural heritage of the island, and that it is important for these monuments to be preserved not only because they are important symbols for the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots, and for humanity, but also because they have intrinsic values in themselves” (Heritage 2018).

The Committee works to provide a mutually acceptable mechanism for the proper preservation, physical protection, and restoration of the diverse immovable cultural heritage of Cyprus. It promotes and applies a holistic and bi-communal approach when selecting the monuments to be protected. In doing so, it complements the regular work conducted by the authorities (Benboune 2017). “The work of the TCCH has clearly shown that a collaborative approach involving experts from both communities and the successful isolation of the protection of cultural heritage from the ongoing political problems can yield positive results.” “...the scope of the work of the Committee has now been expanded with the inclusion of the conservation of the walls of Famagusta...”(Tuncay 2016)(p 493).

Figure 129 – The Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage Cyprus, UNDP and the architect in front of Othello's Tower during conservation, 2014 (UNDP, 2014)

However, the TCCH is not a technical committee, *per se*, but a political body with members appointed by their respective authorities, thus future priorities could be (mis)construed as meeting political aims. To resolve the technical issues, an Advisory Board, made up of conservation professionals, architects, and engineers, was created to advise members of the Committee (Tümer and Uluca 2018). But coordination for both entities is difficult as they serve on a voluntary basis without reimbursement. There are also issues as projects which not subjected to a strict evaluation criterion, there is an insufficient discussion of values, and self-evaluation is difficult given the sensitivity of working in a bi-communal Committee and Advisory Board (ibid). There have also been severe criticisms “In my personal and professional experience [the Bi-communal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage] is a political front from the two sides of the island, not reliable technically, and reluctant to engage in contemporary discussions on economics, management or any form of alternative governance for Cultural Heritage that could represent a risk for sovereignty...” (p 164). And “the technical aspects of the work is not assessed or endorsed by the independency of expertise outside the conflict.” (Jaramillo 2014)(p 201).

While some of these critiques may be true, others are less so. The TCCH is operating in a delicate and difficult environment where sensitivities run high, yet, with the support of their partners and international consultants, have successfully conducted a number of important conservation projects, particularly on the fortifications of Famagusta. The Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage in Cyprus does not represent a “dead end” to management as stated by Jaramillo but possibly a promising beginning (ibid)(p 204). “The work of the TCCH is considered a success story, especially in light of the absolute failure of all efforts to solve the Cypriot territorial conflict” (Hadjisavvas 2015)(p 135). Despite being successful, as Hadjisavvas states not a single archaeological site was included in their projects and political and economic concerns creep onto their agenda “the same department [Department of Antiquities, north Cyprus] was happy with the restoration of the Othello Tower and the fortifications of Famagusta, though listed in the Antiquities Law of the Republic of Cyprus, as they form part of their established road map for the promotion of cultural tourism” (ibid, p 137.). Nevertheless, the TCCH has been recognized by international organizations based in Cyprus, the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute. “feels that bi-communal bodies, such as the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH), are best suited to provide an umbrella of support for certain kinds of heritage projects on both sides...” (McCarthy 2015)(p 151).

This committee has also resolved a difficult conundrum: “Due to the ongoing political situation on the island and the isolation imposed by the Greek-Cypriot administration, the international community is reluctant to provide direct financial contributions to Turkish-Cypriot institutions which are dealing with the protection of cultural heritage monuments in the TRNC. Thus the TCCH has also become a useful mechanism by which those who are interested can make a contribution towards the protection of the cultural heritage monuments in the Turkish Cypriot side” (Tuncay 2016)(p 493).

9.7 United Nations Development Programme

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has been involved in the conservation of cultural heritage in Cyprus for nearly 20 years. From 2001, with the support of the United States Agency for International Development, the UNDP supported the work of both communities on the conservation of the Venetian walls surrounding Nicosia as well as other historic properties (Kassinis 2015). The UNDP-PFF (Partnership for the Future) programme, supported by the European Union, “aims at contributing to the peace-building process in Cyprus through urban infrastructure rehabilitation and community development, cultural heritage preservation, private sector development, operational support to the Committee of Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP), as well as implementing bi-communal projects”. The more recent activities are funded by the European Union under the Aid Programme for the Turkish Cypriot Community (UNDP 2018)(p 1).

Since 1966 UNDP has partnered with people at all levels of society to help build nations that can withstand crisis, and drive and sustain the kind of growth that improves the quality of life for everyone. On the ground, in more than 170 countries and territories, we offer a global perspective and local insight to help empower lives and build resilient nations. We focus on helping countries build and share solutions in four main areas:

- Poverty Reduction and Achievement of the MDGs
- Democratic Governance
- Crisis Prevention and Recovery
- Environment and Energy for Sustainable Development

In all our activities, we encourage the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women, minorities, and the poorest and most vulnerable.(UNDP 2018). Since the formation of the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage, the UNDP office in Nicosia has actively managed conservation projects beginning with an island-wide inventory and identification of sites at risk. One of the sites identified early was the Othello Tower/Citadel and other elements of the fortifications of Famagusta. Importantly, the UNDP office also receives and manages the budget received from the European Union.

9.8 European Union

Since its launch in 2006, the EU Aid Programme for the Turkish Cypriot community has brought tangible benefits to the Turkish Cypriots. It has been a catalyst in bringing the Turkish Cypriot community closer to the EU. In 2006, the EU approved aid regulation 389/2006 to end the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community and to help prepare for reunification. €259 million was allocated for a 5-year programme to be implemented by the Commission (DG Enlargement). Programme objectives:

- Promote social and economic development in the Turkish Cypriot community (particularly rural, human-resources and regional development)
- Develop and refurbish infrastructure (particularly energy, transport, environment, telecommunications, and water supply)
- Foster reconciliation, build confidence and support civil society
- Bring the Turkish Cypriot community closer to the EU, through information and contacts between Turkish Cypriots and other EU citizens
- Help the Turkish Cypriot community prepare for the implementation of EU law once a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus issue is agreed.

An ongoing programme is upgrading cultural heritage and the infrastructure in towns and villages in the northern part of Cyprus. The programme is jointly managed with the United Nations Development Programme - Partnership for the Future (European Commission 2016, EU Commission 2018).

Figure 130 – Europa Nostra holding a meeting in the Martinengo Bastion (Eppich, 2018)

9.9 Other International Institutions

There are also other international institutions concerned with the conservation of the fortifications of Famagusta from non-profit organizations such as the World Monuments Fund and Global Heritage Fund to international professional organizations including the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the European Walled Town Association. Europa Nostra, a professional advocacy organization, has also played a role in advising the European Union as well as the United Nations concerning the importance of the fortifications. They held international conferences that resulted in several publications and advocated for conservation funding. Several scientific experts from this organization, namely, Perbellini, first brought attention to the significance of the fortifications to the attention of the European Union nearly 20 years ago and have sent several missions to study and report on the situation in Famagusta. (Europa Nostra 2018).

One of the earliest catalysts in drawing attention to the significance of Famagusta was provided by Nanyang Technological University Singapore in cooperation with the World Monuments Fund and the Famagusta Municipality. The three-way equal cooperation was groundbreaking in that it was simultaneously local and global and brought together numerous experts to address and call attention to the heritage of the city. This consortium was able to raise awareness of the plight of the city and it was subsequently placed on the World Monument Fund's Watch List. They conducted a number of significant projects including investigations, documentation, and exploratory conservation efforts with the remaining fresco wall paintings, ground-penetrating radar surveys of the archaeological area around Martinengo Bastion, structural analysis of several of the masonry churches, and have begun to "model the heritage sites digitally with an emphasis on 4D interactive spaces" (Walsh 2019).

Finally, the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, the only foreign institute of its kind in Cyprus serves the needs of scholars studying history, archaeology, and culture. While mainly passive and one of support and advice rather than activity, they offer aid and advice to professionals dedicated to the cultural heritage of Cyprus (McCarthy 2015).

10 SOCIO-ECONOMIC BENEFITS

10.1 Current situation

Given the long stalemate between the north and the south of the island, general lack of attention, and an absence of initiative, the fortifications, and surrounding spaces are providing very few socio-economic benefits. The impressive bastions, gates, and ditch are ignored by the remaining families and businesses within the walls as well as the majority of the population who live outside in the new suburbs. This is evidenced by the poor condition of the fortifications, no maintenance, lack of access, and a dearth of social events which utilize the spaces. There is no ongoing or planned conservation or maintenance works apart from international cooperation projects¹⁵⁷. Tourists only visit briefly, and there is no interpretation or mechanisms to use the fortifications for socio-economic development. It is not that the communities do not care but have possibly resigned themselves to the *status quo*.

Ironically, the walls the city along the port and land sides are working in reverse. This includes the genesis of the city, its natural harbor. The walls have sealed the city, its residents, and visitors from the port and the Mediterranean. Authorities have used the walls along the port to control access and create a quasi-military zone and secure customs holding area making it nearly impossible to access the harbor without prior authorization. The historic (and decaying) Sea Gate has been locked from both the land and sea sides for decades. The Global Heritage Fund, an international conservation organization, committed over 100,000 US dollars for the conservation of the Sea Gate with the condition that 50% of the funding comes from the city. This was never matched, and the foundation withdrew the funds due to a lack of cooperation (Global Heritage Fund 2009, Walsh 2016). The three arches opened during the British period in the wall near the port to permit easier access have been closed since 1974. A significant conservation project by the UNDP with full EU funding to conserve both sides of the sea walls from Othello to Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion was stymied due to lack of access on the port side, and strangely, only the city side was conserved leaving the more vulnerable harbor facing masonry untreated. The only place to see the port from within

¹⁵⁷ There are, however, efforts to improve some areas surrounding the conservation projects such as the new park installed near Othello Tower / Citadel. But this project was ill planned and informed and has resulted in damage to the historic fabric through the irrigation system

the city is on the ramparts of the Sea Gate¹⁵⁸, Othello Tower, and Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion.

Wider afield to the immediate north of the city a limited access free port zone was established with an adjacent Turkish military base. To the south, the ghost suburb of Varosha exists which has been closed and controlled by the Turkish military since 1974¹⁵⁹.

These factors have resulted in the near-complete isolation of the community within the walled city. There are only three access points into the walled city, near the Land Gate, a gate opened during the British period to the northwest and the historic Arsenal Gate¹⁶⁰. The fortifications, originally designed to protect a population within, are working in reverse, slowly asphyxiating the community given the difficulty of access, restricted size, and lack of infrastructure. The walled city is “...disconnected, physically, visually, and socially from important assets: the waterfront, the growing parts of the city...” (Mason, Tumer et al. 2014` 2008-2012)(p 10).

Figure 131 – Left / Closed arch on the city side between the city and the port from the Desdemona Park funded by USAID. Note the preserved makeshift barrier to the left from the 1974 conflict (Eppich, 2014)

Figure 132 – Right, Same closed arch on the port side. The port is closed off with the spaces around the fortifications used for port activities or storage (Eppich, 2014)

¹⁵⁸ The city facing portion of the Sea Gate and access to the ramparts was conserved under a previous project.

¹⁵⁹ Varosha, while an interesting topic, is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is mentioned because it restricts growth to the northwest and further isolates the walled city.

¹⁶⁰ The Arsenal Gate was reopened during the British period and a new opening made in the ramparts to the northwest.

Figure 133 – Closed port side of the seawalls with no public access, thus shutting off the city of Famagusta from its original purpose and providing few or no social-economic benefits (Eppich, 2014)

Figure 134 – Port side of the Seagate of Famagusta, closed for decades (Eppich, 2014)

10.2 Social development

Nearly all aspects of social development, such as education, cultural activities, and recreation, have moved outside to the new suburbs, largely constructed since 1974. A majority of the inhabitants, approximately 36,000, reside beyond the walls with less than 2,000 inhabitants remaining within the fortifications (Mason, Tumer et al. 2014` 2008-2012)¹⁶¹. At one time, the population within the walls was recorded at a high of 15,000 (ibid). The Eastern Mediterranean University, established in 1979, is a large institution of higher learning and acts as a hub of social activity to the northwest of the historic center. The university is not alone as a majority of the city's elementary and high schools are also located to the northwest with only two remaining primary schools and a daycare facility located within the walls. There are current plans by the non-profit Mağusa Walled City Association (MASDER) to convert the Gazi Primary School into a museum. "Under new proposals, the nearby primary school, which is the town's oldest and dates back to the 1940s..." "...will be included in the scheme." (Isik 2018)(p 2). While a notable social/cultural initiative, its focus is tourism and not the community and thus its implementation would close Famagusta's oldest school. Most of the cultural activities such as concerts or festivals are also located outside the walls with a new Culture, and Congress Center recently constructed five kilometers north of Famagusta (EMU and University 2016).

Figure 135 – The Rauf Faif Denktas Culture and Congress Center, inaugurated in February 2013 (Almagro, 2019)

¹⁶¹ There are no official statistics, but currently estimated at less than 2000 given this report is several years old and first-hand observations

Two additional sources of social interaction are commercial shopping districts and cafes or bars. A majority of these are also located outside the city walls along the axis leading from the fortified city to the university along Ismet Inönü Boulevard and along the highway leading west to the capital of Nicosia. While there are open, park-like spaces within the walls, recreation, an important aspect of social development, is mostly dispersed outside the city. Most parks are located near the population outside the walls with the university campus serving as a major park. There is one football pitch adjacent to the walls at the northwest portion of the city, and this is the sole remaining recreational activity within the walls.

Not only are the social attractions drawing life outside the city walls the city is also restricted given the political situation and geography. The only access to the seafront is to the south or far north¹⁶² of the city center, an important consideration in a hot and humid location to enjoy the sea breezes. Both to the north and south of the walled city are off-limits military installations surrounded by marshlands. The ditches of the fortifications, planted with shade trees during the British period, offer park space, but there are only three access points into the ditch, near the Canbulat /Arsenal Bastion and the northwest gate with limited pedestrian access at the Ravelin Land Gate¹⁶³. Social functions do occur within the fortifications such as a summer street festival, an annual music venue near Lala Mustafa Pasa Kamisi Mosque / St. Nicholas (Saydam 2017). One successful social event, the International Famagusta Arts & Culture Festival, does, in part, take place within the walled city, usually held near the Venetian Palace¹⁶⁴. This festival has also recently begun to use the courtyard of Othello's Tower / Citadel for lectures, small music venues, and a fashion show (T-vine 2018). However, most social activities in Famagusta largely ignore the fortifications¹⁶⁵, and when the fortifications are used, there is no fee charged for their use. The main social-cultural events, such as the weeklong EMU Spring Fest, and the International Cyprus Theatre Festival along with numerous other minor events are all held outside the city center.

¹⁶² Eight kilometers to the north and 1.5 kilometers to the south

¹⁶³ This one pedestrian access point is unsafe and not maintained

¹⁶⁴ These events also make use of the archaeological amphitheater in nearby Salamis

¹⁶⁵ The exception being that many football fans use the walls as a good vantage point to watch the games, however this is dangerous as there have been collapses on the sea side and the city was advised to block access.

Finally, the social development of Famagusta is somewhat subdued for four additional reasons, one, a modern four-lane highway permits easy access to the more socially (and economically) developed capital of Nicosia, thus allowing a large number of professionals to commute to work in Famagusta. Secondly, a large percentage of the population in Famagusta are foreign university students. There are an estimated 5,500 international students at Eastern Mediterranean University alone out of a total population of 35,000 or over 15%. And this does not count the other smaller private universities. An additional estimated 20-40% of the university students hail from mainland Turkey (Güsten 2014). Students have little time to invest socially in the old city. Third, an unknown number of inhabitants within the walls are recent immigrants from mainland Turkey with few social ties or connections to the old city. Finally, any social centers that do exist within the fortifications have begun to turn toward tourism for economic survival.

Figure 136 – Density development patterns in Famagusta with the walled city located in the center-right. The closed suburb of Varosha is identified in red with the Green Line located just to the south. While the city center is classified as medium density, this is in dispute and should be reclassified as low density (Oktay and Conteh 2007, Kara 2013)

Figure 137 – Tourist advertisement in a London subway that features the fortifications of Kyrenia. There have been recent calls to ban such advertisements in 2004 and 2016 (Oakes 2016)

Figure 138 – The football pitch near the walls provides the sole social, recreational activity (Eppich, 2019)

10.3 Economic development

In addition to the movement of the social activities to outside the center, the local commercial activities have also moved outside the walls following the population and market, with easier access for automobiles and more available, easily buildable open spaces. This includes grocery and clothing stores, restaurants, gas stations, offices, hospitals, and banks. In 2017, a major bank within the walls closed its main office¹⁶⁶. This closure was soon followed by a number of professional offices. This loss of business activity has resulted in a number of empty commercial buildings in the very heart of Famagusta resulting in little or no economic activity within the walls, with two exceptions, a street of jewelry shops, and tourism.

Figure 139 – Numerous empty retail and office buildings in the center (Eppich, 2019)

The presence of a jewelry cluster, oddly prospering, is an indication that there is hope for commercial activity within the walls. Tourism, however, is the base of the economy in the historic city. Statistics are difficult to obtain but estimates for Cyprus range between “two million visitors annually” (Köprülü 2019) with just under a million international visitors in 2017 (the balance of approximately 900,000 are from mainland Turkey)(Saydam 2017). By some estimates, tourism accounts for nearly 50% of the economy in northern Cyprus and is growing (ibid).

¹⁶⁶ There are two remaining banks within the walls but with restricted hours

In a recent 2017 visitor survey conducted by Saydam in Famagusta, most visitors (80%) were visiting for the first time, spending between 1-3 days (60%) with the vast majority coming for relaxation (60%), and similar numbers (64%) visiting family or relatives. The remainder were on tour groups or with friends with very few individuals or independent travel (Saydam 2017)(pp 46-53). However, beyond these reasons for visiting cultural heritage, many were drawn to Famagusta for “historical places” (ibid)(p 53)¹⁶⁷. This included the fortifications (including the more recent conflicts): “a history of warfare, it seems, can make for excellent sightseeing” (Smith 2019)(p 2).

Tourism supports a handful of businesses including T-shirt and souvenir shops,¹⁶⁸ restaurants and cafes. However, this economic activity is limited to only the three major streets which connect the Ravelin / Land Gate to the Cathedral / Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque and Othello Tower (Istiklal, Liman Yolu, and Mehmet Celebi streets). One half-block off these mainly pedestrian avenues there is no commercial activity whatsoever. And unfortunately, even the current levels of tourism seem insufficient as in late 2018 a popular local restaurant D & B, directly opposite the medieval cathedral / mosque, closed after over 20 years of operations¹⁶⁹.

The economic benefits that could be gained from the fortifications through tourism, the most obvious source of revenue, are vastly under-realized. Visits are short and confined to day trips. Buses leave from Nicosia, Larnaca, or Kyrenia, travel to Famagusta and stop at the Ravelin / Land Gate and Othello’s Tower / Citadel for approximately an hour before continuing on to Salamis. Many of them then serve beverages or lunch on the return trip. This is due to a number of factors including control by the tour operators and no easy alternative transportation¹⁷⁰. But the main reason most tourists visit only briefly is because of poor interpretation of the fortifications¹⁷¹, difficult access, and dangerous conditions for visitors, including prohibited entry to many areas¹⁷². The Ravelin / Land Gate at the entrance to the city and impressive Martinengo Bastion are both closed to visitation despite being recently conserved. During one busy weekend in 2019 within the space of an hour, over forty tourists were turned away from entry into the Ravelin /

¹⁶⁷ Interestingly, in Saydam’s study the only single element of the fortifications featured in the survey was Othello Tower. Tellingly the study neglected the largest single cultural heritage element in Famagusta – its fortifications.

¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately most souvenir shops sell items made from abroad

¹⁶⁹ D & B still has some limited home delivery operations

¹⁷⁰ There are bus services from Nicosia and other cities but this is difficult for a casual tourist. There is also car rental but many are dissuaded from driving on the left.

¹⁷¹ There is some interpretative panels at the recently conserved portions of the fortifications including Martinengo, Ravelin but these are closed. The panels in Othello are excellent.

¹⁷² There is no interpretation as to the role of the fortifications during the 1974 invasion

Land Gate. Fortunately, The Othello Tower / Citadel is open on the weekends but charges only two euros per visit. While the entry ticket states “Preservation of Cultural and Heritage Fund,” it is known through interviews that this fund has been absorbed into the general budget.

Figure 140 – Martinengo Bastion closed soon after conservation (Eppich, 2019)

Figure 141 – Left, ticket prices and a ticket into Othello Tower / Citadel (Eppich, 2019)

Figure 142 – Right, note that Othello or the fortifications are not featured and the ticket states “Preservation of Cultural and Heritage Fund” it is known through interviews that this fund is defunct.

There is little to hold a visitor for very long. There are also no hotels within the walls¹⁷³. Two hotels exist just outside the walls, but they are substandard and located at some distance from the entries. A few beach hotels exist to the south, and other hotels exist 10 kilometers to the north, but these are dedicated to beach tourism and gambling. Any economic benefit from the port as an attraction is also non-existent as it is closed to visitors. In the previously mentioned tourism study, Saydam concluded that there must be more attention paid to “historical and cultural attractions, availability of accommodations, festivals, exhibitions, transportation, and different touristic activities. These items are weaknesses of Famagusta Walled City” (Saydam 2017)(p 59). In addition, he concludes that “there isn’t any authority that deals with Famagusta Walled city. There are some clashes among authorities such as Municipality, Tourism Ministry, Department of Antiquities, Pious Foundations, and Military” and that “citizens and stakeholders have not understood the value of Famagusta Walled City” (ibid)(p 60).

One frequently cited reason for this is the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot northern part of the island with the Greek Cypriot government actively discouraging tourism. The

¹⁷³ Personal experience and observation although a new bed and breakfast opened in late 2018.

Republic of Cyprus has, on numerous occasions, has taken action to prevent international promotion or advertisement for tourism in the north part of the island.

But there are other, possibly larger, unrealized economic benefits related to the fortifications in Famagusta. To reiterate from the justification for this thesis in Section I, any possible positive economic impact from an investment in conservation is unrealized.

A prerequisite for an investment having a net positive effect for a local economy is that it stimulates base industries. These industries mainly sell their products outside the local economy or sell products to the community that otherwise would have been imported. This will raise exports or reduce imports to the region, thus stimulating the local economy. (Bowitz and Ibenholt 2009)(p 3)

This includes the direct effects such as increased local employment of workers as well as the derived effects such as the export of skilled craftspersons trained in traditional building techniques. Skilled crafts persons who could export their talent to other areas of Cyprus as well as the larger eastern Mediterranean. Highly trained, locally based workers could also translate their skills beyond conservation to new high-value construction. An important consideration as the conservation market in Cyprus is most likely not large enough to support the majority of full-time workers. In addition, if inputs, such as raw and finished materials were made locally, there would be a net positive impact on the local economy through exports and reduced reliance on imports.

Regrettably, the local quarry is idle, and conservation building material, such as the lime mortar¹⁷⁴, sand, gravel, and finished products¹⁷⁵ are imported either from Turkey, Italy or secondary imports from other parts of Cyprus¹⁷⁶. Also, while, the managing contractors are from Cyprus, most of the skilled masons and most laborers are from mainland Turkey or further afield¹⁷⁷. They travel to Cyprus for the work and return home when finished or continue on to another job, thus having only a very minor temporary impact on the local economy. In addition, with this temporary project-based

¹⁷⁴ Currently used in the ongoing conservation works

¹⁷⁵ Wrought iron hinges are made locally and this was a never ending source of pride for the local craftsman, however he is currently in his 80s and this component too may have to be imported

¹⁷⁶ Currently this quarry is closed and the stone is imported thus providing no positive economic effects, stone used in current conservation projects is left over from buildings removed from the city center some time ago.

¹⁷⁷ Direct conservations with masons in the field with some masons hailing from Armenia

collection of skills and importing raw and finished materials, there is no sustained cluster effect of groups of skilled workers, companies, or material suppliers. Clusters are “geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries, and associated institutions.” (Porter 1998)(p 78). If an economic development approach were taken toward the conservation of the fortifications, there could be the creation of an industry with co-dependent elements thus promoting greater sustainability. A critical mass to aid in sustaining conservation (Laurie 2008). However, currently, there is only a temporary combination to execute a single, one-off project, and when it is complete, the connections are lost with minimal economic benefit.

Finally, there is no gravitational effect. A beautiful environment, including historic structures, usually attracts businesses and entrepreneurial people with a higher education who would appreciate the ancient city and its walls (Bowitz and Ibenholt 2009). Fortifications, as an essential part of the environment and identity, are a major factor in attracting and retaining creative people, a driving force in the economy. Robert Putnam, in the *Social Functions of Neighborhoods*, associates economic growth with “tight-knit communities where people (and firms) form and share strong ties” in attractive environments (Putnam 1993)(p 35).

Unfortunately, these dimensions of economic development and their link with conservation are not well understood. And although the economy factors prominently into the rhetoric of local politicians, they have not been persuaded to allocate sufficient resources for conservation and management of the fortifications.

Figure 143 – Numerous buses line up near Othello Tower / Citadel however key portions such as the Sea Gate, Martinengo Bastion, and the Ravelin / Land Gate remain closed (Eppich, 2019)

11 ANALYSIS

The history of Cyprus is resplendent in cultural heritage, given its key geographic location at the juncture of three continents. The island and its key ports existed along principal trade routes for millennium as goods and people moved between Asia, Africa, and Europe. Ideas, ideology, and technology also spread along these same routes. Cyprus was at the center of it all and from the 13th to the 16th centuries, and so was Famagusta.

Devotion, trade, and excess resources led to the creation of beautiful religious, civic, and residential structures in Famagusta. Fortifications were constructed to protect the merchants, inhabitants, and their rulers and are significant, not only because of the numerous layers of history, but also because they were constructed before, during, and after the transition to gunpowder artillery. This technological change had a major impact on the form, structure, and function of defensive architecture, particularly in regards to cities such as Famagusta. The later layers of fortifications also represent a moment in history when small merchant city-states, particularly Genoa and Venice, which were built solely upon commerce, set about to create economically balanced defensive architecture in opposition to the growing power of an expanding modern nation-state, the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was large enough and well organized to financially support a continuous war-making machine through the casting of every increasingly large cannon, a standing army, and an advanced navy. The fortifications of Famagusta have integrity unlike many other fortified cities in the eastern Mediterranean as most key elements are extant and remain largely unaltered since the Ottoman conquest of 1571. The extensive walls, bastions, and ditch are some of the few remaining built witnesses of a time when the eastern Mediterranean was a very violent place – and should be preserved.

However, retaining these vestiges of the past is proving difficult as the history of the island, its geopolitical importance, and its past conflicts have echoes today. A few short years after independence from Great Britain in 1960, the inter-ethnic conflict led to an invasion by Turkey in 1974, and the island was subsequently divided between the Turkish Cypriot north and the Greek Cypriot south. The northern portion of the island remains politically and economically isolated in stark contrast to its renowned international role in the 15th century. This situation has greatly reduced tourism, curtailed economic and social development, and hampered proper management. The

decades of division have taken their toll on the cultural heritage of the island, particularly the fortifications of Famagusta. The spaces in and surrounding the ancient defenses are not utilized for social or economic activities and have thus stymied conservation. The fortifications were largely ignored by the community of Famagusta as the city expanded into the suburbs, and the impressive ramparts, bastions, cavaliers, ditches, scarps, and counterscarps have been left to decay.

11.1 Sustainable Conservation

The situation concerning the state of the fortifications is currently being addressed through efforts led by the bi-communal Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage of Cyprus with managerial and technical support from the United Nations Development Programme and financial backing from the European Union. One of the primary goals of the Technical Committee, composed of dedicated and concerned political appointees, is to work together in order to conserve the cultural heritage of the island with a specific focus on Famagusta while building trust between the two communities. They have conducted numerous conservation projects in Famagusta including the Othello Citadel, Martinengo Bastion, the Ravelin/Land Gate, and the Canbulat/Arsenal Bastion - all four corners of the city.

However, it is questionable if these efforts are sustainable. These conservation projects are initiated from outside the local community, dependant on direct funding from the European Union, and reliant upon managerial and technical expertise from the UNDP. There is a three-way co-dependence between the political authority of the Technical Committee¹⁷⁸, the skilled professionals of the UNDP, and funding from the EU.

The lack of sustainable financing is a major problem for the Technical Committee. Without funding the Technical Committee would most likely survive as it is endorsed by both governments and encouraged by international institutions, but it would probably be unable to conduct the ambitious scale of conservation projects necessary for the fortifications. In addition, both the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot authority already have their own conservation agencies and do not contribute financially to the Technical Committee. Another weakness of the Technical Committee is that they are direct appointees and are functioning with the permission of their respective

¹⁷⁸ With tacit approval of the respective conservation agencies on both sides of the island.

authorities. Should relations between the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot authority deteriorate, the Technical Committee could be used as a pawn and their respective members barred from participating. Just such an event occurred in the summer of 2017 with reports that the Technical Committee¹⁷⁹ operations were frozen by the Republic of Cyprus, “Instructions issued to the Greek-Cypriot co-chairs of bi-communal technical committees to freeze their operations and meetings, aimed at avoid turning their work into a substitute for a solution to the Cyprus problem.” The Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage currently functions under the remit of the chief negotiator’s office and was allowed to “continue to operate as normal” (Cyprus Mail 2017)(p 4). These instructions were issued following the failure of negotiations at the International Conference at Crans-Montana, Switzerland in 2017. Although this was later denied by the Republic of Cyprus and the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage continued operations, it, nevertheless, highlights a weakness in the organizational dependency of the Committee on political leaders and their continued goodwill¹⁸⁰. A final inherent weakness of the Technical Committee is that the members are operating on a voluntary basis and have only a few members with in-depth technical experience. An attempt to resolve this was though the creation of an Advisory Board, but this too is made up of unpaid volunteers¹⁸¹. This has resulted in some difficulties and conflicts for the members. Therefore, the Technical Committee and their voluntary Advisory Board are heavily reliant on the expertise and coordination of the UNDP.

The UNDP¹⁸² before the establishment of the Technical Committee successfully conducted a series of award-winning architectural conservation projects with various international funding sources¹⁸³. However, recently, their projects have accelerated and expanded under the authority of and cooperation with the Technical Committee and, significantly, with the ample EU funding. Should this funding cease, be reduced, or international support is withdrawn, the UNDP office in Cyprus would likely survive but also at a greatly reduced role. An international disengagement or increased apathy toward Cyprus, including the withdrawal of funding, is not an unlikely scenario. Frequently referred to as the World’s longest-running peace operation, the international

¹⁷⁹ Technical Committees as a whole not only the TCCH

¹⁸⁰ Members of the Technical Committee are directly appointed by the head authorities from both sides. While the members of the Advisory Board (AB) are selected by the Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot authority.

¹⁸¹ Volunteers are often inadequately reimbursed for their expenses

¹⁸² Since 2017 the UNDP Partnership for the Future office has since been referred to simply as the UNDP

¹⁸³ In 2003 the UNDP won the coveted Europa Nostra prize for the restoration and re-use of the Bedestan (St. Nicholas Church.

community, neighboring nations, or Cypriots themselves, may finally tire of the problem and settle for the *status quo*. Despite frequent negotiations “there seems to be little appetite in both sides of the Aegean for a substantive discussion and subsequent negotiation for the full normalization of Greek-Turkish relations...” in regard to Cyprus (Dokos, Tocci et al. 2018)(p 2). “We’re tired of Cyprus as a problem” said Selim Yenel, the Turkish ambassador to the European Union (Murray 2016)(p 1). “We know that, if we don’t have a deal on Cyprus, we will not be able to move on the accession process [to the EU]” (@cyprusmail 2016). When the latest round of talks¹⁸⁴ between both sides failed, all sides were warned “this is your best and last chance” and these talks may be the “last serious effort by the UN to mediate a solution.” This was followed by another precaution that “the UN will have other, bigger claims on its resources and the UN Peacekeeping force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) mission may be wound down” (de Waal 2017)(p 1). A UN official was also quoted as saying “we won’t do beach-keeping” (ibid). Indeed, there are many other nearby active conflicts that also involve the destruction of cultural heritage including Syria and Libya. All sides involved in the negotiations were reminded that if President Trump followed through on his reduction in UN contributions, the mission in Cyprus would be in jeopardy. As the United States is the largest donor to the United Nations (of up to one fifth of the entire budget) and the “largest regular resource contributor” to the UNDP at nearly 80 million annually as well the number one donor in total contributions of 365 million annually, this would have a big impact on Cyprus. “The Arrival of the Trump administration, however, has raised questions about how much the United States will continue to contribute” (Shendruk 2019)(p. 1). Already there has been a reduction in funding to a number of other United Nations agencies, the U.S. had withdrawn from UNESCO and eliminated funding to direct U.S. aid agencies; thus the administration is generally considered to be hostile to international development.

This risk extends to the major financial sponsor of conservation in Famagusta and support of the Technical Committee and UNDP - the European Union. An obvious driver of creating a solution to the Cyprus Problem is the relationship between the European Union and Turkey. “The allure of Turkey joining the European Union has been a powerful impetus for Ankara backing reunification efforts of the island. With the Greek Cypriot side already an EU member and holding a veto over Turkey's

¹⁸⁴ At the Swiss resort of Crans-Montana in the summer of 2017

membership bid, Brussels says the island has to be reunified if Ankara's bid is to succeed” (Jones 2018). As recently as mid-2018, Turkish President Erdogan stated that Turkey still seeks to gain “full membership” in the EU and Mr. Erdogan said, “he would urge the EU to remove political and artificial hurdles against Turkey’s membership and revive stalled accession negotiations” (Batchelor 2018)(sec Europe). Yet, Mr. Erdogan also stated that Turkey no longer had a “need” for EU membership (ibid) that most Turks “did not want the EU any more” (BBC World 2018). Mr. Erdogan has also stated that “Turkey will be in Cyprus forever” (Cummings-Bruce 2017). From the European Union side, German Chancellor Merkel stated it was clear that Turkey should not join the EU and entry talks should end and French President Macron stated “As far as the relationship with the European Union is concerned, it is clear that recent developments and choices do not allow any progression of the process in which we are engaged” (BBC World 2018). Either the European Union or Turkey may eventually give up on the process, thus diminishing the need to find a solution to the problem in Cyprus. The EU, seeking to resolve the division of the island and end the isolation of the north, may decide that its mission is complete - successful or not. In any case, indefinite funding is not guaranteed from the EU for continuation of conservation projects in Famagusta. Nevertheless, this triad of funding – expertise – and authority has, to date, functioned extremely well. Projects are conceived, approved, and overseen by the Technical Committee, funded by the EU and executed by the UNDP¹⁸⁵. Importantly, this includes the fortifications of Famagusta which would have otherwise not received any attention. These conservation efforts have garnered international accolades with delegates visiting from other post-conflict areas, including Serbia/Kosovo and Moldova/Transnistria. They have come to see the arrangement in Cyprus as a model for post-conflict resolution with a focus on the conservation of cultural heritage (particularly with the management conducted by the UNDP and funding from the EU)(UNDP Kosovo 2019). The work of these three partners has improved as they have overseen and taken on a number of increasingly complex projects which, critically, include social development in Famagusta.

¹⁸⁵ With tacit permission of both the Department of Antiquities from the Republic of Cyprus and the Department of Antiquities and Museums under in the Turkish Cypriot authority’s control.

Figure 144 – UNDP Moldova visited Othello Tower, Cyprus to “learn of the strong partnership between the EU, the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage and the UNDP” (Cyprus 2019)

The summary at the end of Part II compared the five case studies with a list of evaluation factors. Several qualitative and quantitative factors including a number of conservation projects, population over time, schools and other social services were researched in order to make comparisons in three categories, sustainable conservation, social and economic development, and management. These factors are included for ease of comparison in the tables in Part II but explained in more detail below.

In conclusion, the conservation of the fortifications is not sustainable in Famagusta. While there is a local conservation office, they do not have sufficient budget, expertise, or initiative to conduct the large scale conservation projects required. The five recently executed projects, as described in Part III on Famagusta, were initiated and executed by outside entities – the UNDP with financing by the European Union. The Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage, which was also involved, could be argued to be local, but as discussed above the organization is not sustainable without the other two entities. Although a proto-management plan and master plan were developed by outside entities, the city of Famagusta has not fully adopted these plans. Finally, most of the fortifications are closed, and there is a total absence of interpretation for visitors. This is in stark contrast to all the other case studies which have many areas open with interpretation and some form of guiding management documents.

11.2 Social development

The triad of the Technical Committee, the UNDP and EU have also made significant efforts to utilize the fortifications for social development. Beginning with the conservation of Othello Tower / Citadel, they have encouraged visitation and sponsored a bi-communal theatre troupe in 2015 to perform Othello in Othello (Makris 2015). They have also promoted visitation to elements of the fortifications with lectures during the ICOMOS¹⁸⁶ International Day for Monuments and Sites held every spring. They also sponsored the first art exhibitions within Martinengo Bastion and held a jazz concert on the roof for the completion of its conservation (Cyprus 2017). Desdemona Park has been redesigned and replanted in a USAID / UNDP initiative. The UNDP has also been involved in a number of additional infrastructure improvements in the form of paving and drainage along major and minor walking streets and most notably along the walls within the city near the port including the refurbishment of lights.

Figure 145 – Art exhibition held in Martinengo Bastion, 2017 (UNDP / Ufuk Akengin)

¹⁸⁶ International Council on Monuments and Sites

These social development initiatives have encouraged others. Eastern Mediterranean University has also been promoting the use of Othello Tower / Citadel as a lecture space, and venue recently held a lecture by internationally known designer Karim Rashid (EMU and University 2018). The municipality has also taken an interest and has developed some infrastructure in the form of electricity, paths, and building footings within the ditch and the installation of a garden near Othello Tower¹⁸⁷. For the most part, these recent social development efforts are noteworthy have set the initial precedent to use the fortifications for community activities. Once the spaces are used, attention will focus on the state of conservation and a desire to make these places safe and open so the community can benefit socially (and eventually economically). The drawback is that most of the events and activities were initiated by outside entities and are sporadic, thus raising questions concerning sustainability. Already there have been worrying signs including fewer events scheduled in the fall of 2017 and the summer of 2018 including irregular opening hours.

Figure 146 – Renowned designer Karim Rashid lecturing in Othello Tower / Citadel (EMU, Department of Architecture, 2017)

¹⁸⁷ Som of these effort are misguided and have resulted in the possible destruction of archaeology and may result in inappropriate construction within the moat.

The situation in the case studies regarding social development in the other case studies can be seen as a warning for Famagusta. While the population in Famagusta has also declined since 1974 its current population remains slightly above the levels seen at the beginning of the 20th century. This is due in part to the large open areas within the walled city and immigration from mainland Turkey. The levels of tourism remain very low in comparison to all the other case studies. An estimated ratio of visitors to residents is only 1:1 on the busiest summer day. This gives an impression of authenticity that Dubrovnik, Rhodes, Acre, and Valletta are currently lacking. It is still possible to see more residents than tourists. This has resulted in less pressure to completely convert the city into a museum or tourist ghetto such as Rhodes or Dubrovnik. It is understandable that the authorities and municipality of Famagusta wish to increase tourism for economic development, but they should be warned not to follow the path of these other cities, however tempting. They have time, and if carefully managed, they can put in place safeguards to protect and maintain the existing community. Fortunately, two schools still exist in Famagusta, and this can be seen as positive. However, there are movements to develop one of the schools into a city museum, ostensibly to cater to tourists, as described in Part III. Unfortunately, there is still a lack of social services in the city center, including the absence of a general market. In this category, Famagusta can be considered doing better than Dubrovnik, Rhodes, Valletta, and Acre.

11.3 Economic Development

Unfortunately, the social development activities are not connected in any way to local economic development. There is simply no lasting economic spillover benefits to current conservation efforts or social activities. This is regrettable as the community within the walls continues to dwindle, infrastructure such as schools are under threat, and banks and shops close. The local micro-economy within the walls is failing. There is no development of an economic base model or native industry to continue future projects, either related to conservation or not, as most materials and workers are imported. There is also no gravitational effect to attract creative industries or professionals to establish themselves within the walls.

While the economy within the walls shrinks the larger economy in north Cyprus has been growing, yet hindered, for better or worse, by the larger political situation of the divided island. The economy is also closely tied to that of mainland Turkey (including currency fluctuations). Tourism is a substantial part of the economy with estimates placing it at or near 15% of GDP. Tourism is not, however, a major part of the economy of Famagusta. As stated earlier in Part III on Famagusta, access to the port is closed, beach access is difficult, and large portions of the fortifications are closed, so most tourists only visit for a day. While in the short term this is negative, it can be taken advantage of in order to carefully plan for the improvement of tourism infrastructure and put in place safeguards for the current residents. As described in Part III on Famagusta, there are several streets that have been converted to tourist shops, but some bright spots remain, a jewelry shop cluster of approximately 10 shops, 5 restaurants which cater to local residents, and 5 doctor and attorney offices. These businesses draw in residents from the suburbs and must be maintained. In economic terms, Famagusta is far behind all of the other case studies, however, given its location and cultural heritage it could better utilize its assets to improve the local economy – provided safeguards are in place to protect the local businesses.

Tourism does exist and is growing as the walls, particularly to Othello's Tower, and other cultural heritage sites within Famagusta are worthy of attention. But this tourism contributes virtually nothing to the local economy as visits are brief. There are no hotels to retain visitors for longer, and many of the remaining shops have been converted to focus on tourism with most items for sale manufactured abroad.

Figure 147 – Day bus tours to Famagusta (Viator, 2019)

In addition, the UNDP is especially wary of promoting the economy of a non-recognized state with an area disputed by a European Union member. With the strong connection between cultural heritage and tourism, this has introduced a serious dilemma – any work toward conservation implicitly implies a promotion of tourism that could then improve the economy. Thus, economic development, especially tourism, is not a topic of discussion. Encouragingly, after the conservation of Othello Tower, the local authority did raise the entry ticket prices from one euro to two euros, but these receipts go into a general fund, which unfortunately is not earmarked for future sustainable conservation. One project in Famagusta by the UNDP, the Bandedbulya Market, unfortunately, had a negative economic impact. The historic market, while in poor physical condition, was thriving until the long process of renovation. This “realigned its commercial activity to things people did not want results in a sterile, virtually unused structure” (Walsh 2019).

However, the authorities in the north are interested in economic development in Famagusta and the possibilities of cultural tourism, even if currently mismanaged. As mentioned earlier: “The [Department of Antiquities in the north]¹⁸⁸ was happy with the restoration of the Othello Tower and fortifications of Famagusta...” because “they form part of their established road map for the promotion of cultural tourism” (Hadjisavvas

¹⁸⁸ Of North Cyprus

2015)(pp 135-137). But most importantly, local economic development is stymied because the relationship between the conservation of cultural heritage, social development, and the local economy is not well understood. Local examples are ignored, and good practice from other fortified cities are unknown, and there is a deficit of imagination on how to properly utilize the fortifications¹⁸⁹. The economic potential of the fortifications is unrealized.

Figure 148 and Figure 149 – Empty workshops and houses abound in the city center (Eppich, 2019)

Figure 150 and Figure 151 – The closed, open-air theatre and empty inner block commercial centers (Eppich, 2019)

¹⁸⁹ Or for that matter other historic structures. Monk's Inn Bar is a living example of a successful private investment in an historic building that combines, architecture, art, and the history of the city while giving visitors and residents something they want. Unfortunately, this example is not fully appreciated.

11.4 Management - Future conservation

Given the complex situation in Cyprus with seemingly insurmountable political barriers, the current efforts of the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage, the United Nations Development Programme, and the European Union must be applauded and celebrated. However, there are limits given finite funding, co-dependency between the actors, management limitations, and no clear path forward for sustainable conservation.

This is understandable given that the primary goal of the Technical Committee, UNDP, and EU is peace and confidence-building and the conservation, while very important, is a vehicle to these ends. Naturally, those involved are deeply concerned and dedicated to the preservation of the heritage of the island; however, their initiatives are on a project-by-project basis with limited social development and an absence of economic development. The one exception is that the UNDP and Technical Committee have recently embarked upon an island-wide preventive conservation program to inspect, maintain and train others in the maintenance of past projects including the fortifications of Famagusta. Unfortunately, this is not yet a sustainable management model.

In addition, there must also be increased cooperation with the local actors in Famagusta, including the municipality, the port, university, and civil society. Without strong local involvement, even for a small island such as Cyprus – the initiative is still from outside and thus less sustainable. From the municipality's works in and around the fortifications, however misguided, it appears that they desire to enhance the use of these spaces for the greater community and particularly tourism¹⁹⁰. Other small infrastructure works and social activities also suggest that they wish to improve the situation within the walled city. The port is another matter as it is seen as a security concern. However, the small craft harbor, directly across from the Arsenal Gate and Canbulat / Arsenal Bastion is open but behind a fence and guard thus unwelcoming and unknown to visitors¹⁹¹. A small design pilot project in making this area more accessible and welcoming, while still respecting the security of the main port, would show the potential of opening up the remaining portions of the port along the Sea Walls. In addition, it would allow the restaurants currently adjacent to the Arsenal Gate to move and cease defacement of the walls.

¹⁹⁰ Given the new bust of Shakespeare facing away from the Citadel

¹⁹¹ There is an excellent fish restaurant in this small harbor area but only for locals as the fence, guard and convoluted access dissuade any tourists from entering.

Fortunately, the Eastern Mediterranean University has been engaged to some extent with the triumvirate of the UNDP/Technical Committee/EU. Several professors of architectural conservation on the faculty are engaged either in projects or to serve on the Advisory Board including Özlem Olgaç Türker and Ege Uluca Tümer. In the case of Dr. Türker, classes have toured ongoing conservation works at Martinengo Bastion and Othello Tower / Citadel.

But, there must be thoughts to the next stage and evolution of the actors as there remain over 3 kilometers of walls (12 kilometers counting the counterscarps and inside ramparts), 11 bastions, and 10 cavaliers that desperately require consolidation and conservation. A change in the structure of the management of these fortifications must occur in order to develop their full social and economic potential while funding sustainable conservation. The Technical Committee must seek ways to become more autonomous, politically, managerially, technically, and financially. It is possible that eventually the Technical Committee could evolve into an autonomous organization or proto-government agency of a unified federated state, but not in the short term. The Technical Committee must move beyond their current confidence-building role and toward a more sustainable management model for continual conservation.

Famagusta is similar to Rhodes, Dubrovnik, and Acre in that the walled city has been merged with the suburbs to create a larger municipality. This has moved the administrative center, focus, and services away from the old center. As in the other case studies, there are few if any, specific policies to address the declining population within the walls. While there have been infrastructure improvements including new sidewalks and paving but these, have been initiated by outside entities. New parks have been developed including a new tribute to Shakespeare near the Othello Tower and new inappropriate installations in the ditch, but these are intended to cater to tourists. There is no finance mechanism to fund conservation with many areas of the fortifications and port closed. The portions of fortifications that are open are freely accessible when the municipality removes the vegetation. The larger authority of North Cyprus did have a cultural heritage fund, but as described in Part III this has been eliminated. Seemingly, Famagusta is following the other case studies in the pursuit of economic development based upon tourism at the sacrifice of social development.

“The walled city finds itself suspended in a state of half-neglect, abeyance, lack of development...” and “needs strengthening-by combining conservation and development to increase the social and economic well-being of the place and support the continuing conservation...” (Mason, Tumer et al. 2014` 2008-2012)(p 10). The “liveliness of the Walled City will be at a critical stage,” yet there are “still a considerable amount of owner residents who are deeply attached to their houses and to the Walled City” (Doratli, Onal et al. 2001) (p 75). What is the next phase?

The final part of this thesis explores this question and compares and contrasts Famagusta to the previous case studies.

11.5 World Heritage?

One idea discussed frequently concerning Famagusta, economic and social development and the future of its monuments is a World Heritage nomination. This was supported by Jarmillo in his thesis on Famagusta and is frequently mentioned among heritage professionals within the city (Jaramillo 2018). Certainly, Famagusta does possess some characteristics of Outstanding Universal Value and could possibly qualify. According to the World Heritage Convention, at least one of ten criteria (six cultural, four natural) must be met. The criteria which would be most applicable: “(iv) an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) a significant(s) in human history”, and possibly: “(vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The World Heritage Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)” (Centre 2019). The fortifications and their role in history contribute to both of these criteria, as mentioned in Part III, values, authenticity, integrity and significance.

Certainly, there are other near precedents, including the case studies in this thesis: Acre, Rhodes, Dubrovnik, Valletta, and Istanbul, all of which are World Heritage properties and discussed in detail. The nomination files and descriptions of Outstanding Universal Value specifically mention the city fortifications. Also, all these cities are deeply connected through history and geography to Famagusta. In addition, there is the recently successful (2017), and well written, World Heritage property transnational serial nomination, Venetian Works of Defence between the 16th and 17th centuries: Stato da Terra – Western Stato da Mar¹⁹² (Centre 2019). Explicitly mentioned within this nomination is the possibility of extending this World Heritage property to include other Venetian fortified cities. It was an initial critique of the early nomination file that the fortifications were a network of Venice and that a selection of fortifications in only the Adriatic Sea was a partial nomination.

There is also the tentative connection of William Shakespeare and Othello’s Tower. While Shakespeare never mentioned Famagusta in his masterpiece, and the assignment of the name is largely to promote tourism in the early 20th century; nevertheless, there is a literary connection (Shakespeare , Eppich 2015). This may seem farfetched, but the

¹⁹² For which the author of this thesis was a reviewer.

nomination file for the World Heritage property of Kronborg Castle on the coast of Denmark specifically mentioned the connection to Hamlet, another of Shakespeare's masterpieces: "It is world-renowned as Elsinore, the setting of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*" and it has "important associative value, since it was the setting for Shakespeare's *Hamlet*" (Denmark 2000)(pp 1, 81). However, "there is no 'Kronborg Castle' mentioned in *Hamlet*," but the town is called Elsinore and this "has proved more than sufficient to establish a Shakespearean location where fiction and reality continue to (con)fuse..." (Refskou 2017)(pp 121, 122)(Shakespeare) As in *Othello*, Shakespeare was very vague about the location of *Hamlet*, but the literary connection remains an important value of both.

Indeed, there are some advantages in nominating Famagusta to the World Heritage List including heightened international recognition and assistance, increased tourism even during the nomination process, a possible bridge for political division, and most importantly, a goal for the city to work toward. However, there are many problems with nominating Famagusta to the World Heritage List. First of which is the division of the island and the non-recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. "Only countries that have signed the World Heritage Convention, pledging to protect their natural and cultural heritage, can submit nomination proposals for properties on their territory to be considered for inclusion in UNESCO's World Heritage List" (Centre 2019)(p 1). The difficulties of a non-state nominating a site to a supra-state institution is an issue pointed out by Jarmillo (Jaramillo 2015). There is one example, that of the city of Jerusalem, which was nominated by Jordan, while Israel was in *de facto* control (Gfeller 2013). But this is a notable exception given its values to three World religions and has created numerous problems for UNESCO. "The 1997 nomination of Central Karakorum by Pakistan in the disputed region of Kashmir was rejected as a listing could signal that Kashmir belongs to Pakistan"(Aa 2005) (p 128). It is unlikely that a nomination dossier for Famagusta would be favorably received in the same way as Jerusalem by the World Heritage Committee. Even should all concerned parties in Cyprus agree to nominate the Famagusta there are still significant hurdles. Unlike thirty years ago, today, a nomination file for World Heritage is a momentous undertaking and must be prepared by a well-educated, dedicated team working over several years, ostensibly by local professionals with minimal guidance by international experts. Such professionals do exist in Cyprus but, most likely, they cannot spend several years as

they probably already fully engaged. The second hurdle is the cost and political connections, which are both prohibitive, and ill-borne by local authorities: “the preparation of the nomination dossier, which can easily reach more than one million US dollars for financial costs and four years (on average) of intense lobbying and foreign relations from national and local governments..” (Jaramillo 2018)(p 173). The third obstacle is that successful management and conservation practice, including a management plan and successful projects, must have already been in place for a number of years. The desk and field evaluations by international experts and reviews by the Advisory Body (ICOMOS) are exhaustive and would quickly identify the lack of management and the poor state of conservation as major reasons for rejection. The World Heritage Committee is thorough in their evaluation and particularly wary of accepting nominations for sites not prepare to protect proposed Outstanding Universal Value. Finally, World Heritage status is no panacea for the problems facing the city, its community, or its cultural heritage. Such a strategy would, at least, distract attention and resources away from critical problems and give false hope, and, at worst, would introduce new problems, including tourism and the onerous reporting process, that which the administration is ill-equipped to manage. World Heritage listing is not a substitute for good conservation and management practice (Aa 2005, Frey and Steiner 2010, Maurel 2017).

PART IV – CONCLUSIONS

Figure 152 – Panorama of the interior of Othello's Citadel, Famagusta after a performance of Shakespeare's Othello

12 HYPOTHESIS, IMPLICATIONS, CONTRIBUTION

12.1 Introduction

As stated throughout this thesis, extensive fortifications which surround cities are difficult to conserve and maintain. Yet, such built vestiges must be preserved to maintain a connection with the past, remind us of violent conflicts, and allow us to reflect on our own time and future. These architectural remnants - walls, bastions, and gates are also defining features and symbols of identity for the communities within. Until the 17th century, most major coastal settlements in the Mediterranean had fortifications, now few remain.

In Famagusta, the fortifications were studied over a period of seven years during the conservation of key elements - Othello Citadel/Tower, Martinengo Bastion, and the Ravelin/Land Gate. Despite this work, the state of the ancient defenses is alarming with no maintenance, limited access, and frequent collapses¹⁹³. A lack of financial resources is usually the first reason cited for the state of the fortifications, followed by other pretexts such as more pressing obligations, a lack of expertise, or frequently, the Island's division. Also, the fortifications are massive, durable, and unadorned; therefore, it is taken for granted they will survive. These excuses are barriers that prevent exploration of other reasons why the fortifications are not conserved. Initially, this thesis focused on physical remains and how to pay for continued conservation. It then evolved into how to manage better this rich cultural resource and share with others. However, what soon became evident was the precarious state of the community within the walls and their relationship to the fortifications. There was a tangible sense of belonging and place, yet, it was observed over time that there were fewer businesses, and worse, fewer residents.

The investigation naturally led to how other cities were managing and conserving their fortifications. Case studies were carefully selected to be representative and similar to Famagusta yet provide a wide range of management models. The results were initially positive¹⁹⁴, others' fortifications were better preserved, management was good, and the economies were stronger. Visits to these cities revealed a level of care far superior to that in Famagusta with ongoing conservation and active management with interpretation. In addition, the fortifications were being used in innovative ways as spaces for social and cultural events, venues for concerts, and open green spaces.

¹⁹³ Despite the major conservation works supported by the European Union and guided by the bi-communal Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage and the UNDP

¹⁹⁴ With the exception of Istanbul, yet this case study does exhibit good practice

However, what was not promising in all cases is the impending loss of communities within the walls. The population in all cases has rapidly decreased while tourism has exponentially increased. The economy and employment became overwhelmingly dependent upon tourism, housing within the walls has been converted to hotels and Airbnb rentals, and small local shops have become dedicated to selling cheap souvenirs. The remaining communities are isolated from their larger dominating suburbs, and most have insufficient essential services or modern conveniences. An important realization during the development of this thesis is that the *small communities inside the walls are just as much a part of the cities as the fortifications - both must be preserved together*. Ironically, well-preserved fortifications are no longer defending their citizens but aiding in attracting tourists (and tourist-related enterprises) which often displace them.

Nevertheless, these case studies offer many good examples for Famagusta, *as well as pitfalls to avoid*. Reasons for the plight of both the fortifications and the community in Famagusta are complex but include inadequate management, undefined responsibilities, lack of awareness, and a deficit of imagination. An attempt to address this situation became this thesis:

Although extensive works of fortifications are expensive and difficult to conserve and maintain, their preservation is essential for our understanding and interpretation of history. Such cultural heritage assets are also a fundamental component of the identity of local communities and should be utilized for their survival and socio-economic development.

This led to the following hypothesis:

Through improved management, the conservation of historic fortifications around cities is sustainable and can be used for the survival and socio-economic development of the community within.

The thesis underwent numerous revisions during the research in an attempt to prove the hypothesis, but remained consistent with four key aspects:

- 1) **Values, significance, integrity, authenticity, and state of conservation** of the fortifications of Famagusta and the threats to this legacy.
- 2) **Difficulties in creating and implementing a model** for managing sustained conservation of extensive fortifications
- 3) **Vulnerability of communities within fortified cities** and the need to ensure their survival and improve their social and economic development
- 4) **Political and cultural division of the island of Cyprus** and the overall impact of relations between Turkey and the European Union

The methodology followed to investigate the problem and prove the hypothesis was straightforward and included the development of a theoretical framework which was qualitative in nature given the human-designed organizations and interactions yet with the inclusion of quantitative data. This framework incorporated the formation of a pragmatic research paradigm due to the need to answer pressing questions with practical answers. And the research design included a continual reexamination of the problem, collection of data from both primary and secondary sources that combined site visits with in-depth, open-ended interviews, analysis, evaluation, and finally, validation of the collected information. The site visits to each case study were invaluable to observe first-hand the wide range of states of condition, in place conservation measures, any socio/economic benefits, the state of the remaining communities, level of tourism, and management on the ground. Secondary research was conducted through the literature review along with three main themes: sustainability of conservation and communities; social and economic development, and management as the means to achieve and combine both. Two additional themes were also included, the conservation and management of fortifications and Famagusta, as the principal case study.

The research followed with a preliminary search of fortified cities throughout the Mediterranean searching for suitable comparative case studies. Well-known fortified cities such as Avila and Ceuta in Spain; Carcassonne, France; Elvas, Portugal; and Lucca, Italy, among others, were briefly investigated. While these walled cities are well managed and offered numerous good practice examples, they were not connected historically or geographically with Famagusta. Thus, the focus was narrowed to the eastern Mediterranean and the historic divides *and connections* between east and west.

Five case studies were selected for in-depth investigations: Istanbul, Acre, Rhodes, Dubrovnik, and Valletta. These places were chosen as they had similar physical characteristics, were established as seaports, became important in the spread of religion, were deeply intertwined with the history of Famagusta, and importantly, all contained a surviving yet under threat community. Each selected case study also has an extent and intact fortification network with all the major elements: walls, bastions, glacis, and ditches. An additional characteristic was World Heritage property status with the fortifications specifically mentioned in the official nomination dossier. At the beginning of this thesis, these were the only fortified seaports in the eastern Mediterranean on the World Heritage List.

The case studies were also chosen because they are all in different nation-states and managed with entirely different approaches and with distinct strategies for conservation and management. The selected cities also present a wide range of challenges from excessive tourism to dwindling populations. Finally, they were chosen as the architectural defensive measures represent the state of the art of a span of history from the Late Antiquity/Medieval, in the case of Istanbul (Constantinople), to the Renaissance/Modernity in the case of Valletta, as well as everything in between. Each case study was approached and evaluated with the same research problem statement and additional questions. How were these cities conserving and managing their character-defining fortifications? What was the state of the community within? Were they using the fortifications for socio-economic benefits? Is the conservation of the fortifications and community sustainable? Additional questions included how are the fortifications managed? What are the governance and organizational structures? Results?

This final part of the thesis will present summarize the management models and the good practice that could be adopted in Famagusta, including the circumstances necessary for such practice to flourish. This is followed by a proof/disproof of the hypothesis and the significance and implications of this with a section on derived social development good practice. Finally, this thesis concludes with a contribution of the thesis in recommendations for Famagusta, avenues for future research, and a self-appraisal.

12.2 Management Models, Good Practice

The investigations into the five case studies, framed by the literature review, demonstrate that it is possible to develop management models for sustained conservation of fortifications. This is evident in the cases of Dubrovnik, Rhodes, Valletta, and Acre where the fortifications, along with their context, are generating substantial economic benefits mainly through tourism for the larger surrounding city and state governments. What was less evident was the sustainability of the communities within. In these same cases, there is ample evidence that the fortifications will survive, but the communities are facing their last century. Nevertheless, these case studies can offer Famagusta management models and good practice for sustainable conservation and economic development.

While the results of each case study are explained in detail in Part II, they are summarised in this section to offer a comparison for this conclusion in an attempt to answer the initial problem statement and prove the hypothesis. Each case study was different - in size, age, complexity, challenges, and forms of governance. The cities studied had distinct conservation approaches with different management models to conserve their fortifications along with various methods to address their communities. There are various levels of success with no perfect model that could be easily transferred to Famagusta, but through analysis and dissection of their management, it is possible to extract numerous good practice – as well as practice to be avoided.

Using the European Union Regional Development definition of good practice as outlined in Part I, a good practice is an initiative, project, or process that has already proven successful elsewhere and provided tangible and measurable results in achieving a specific objective.

Istanbul has been struggling for decades with the ancient, enormous, and complex Theodosian Land Walls. The surrounding city has been growing rapidly with intense urban development pressure to utilize the areas adjacent to the fortifications. The Land Walls and the surrounding areas cross numerous local administrations and are simultaneously seen as both the responsibility and burden of the greater municipality of Istanbul with oversight from the state. There are very few venues or social events held in the spaces surrounding the fortifications with the limited social benefits coming from the open park space and vegetable gardens. The economic benefits of the fortifications are similarly undervalued with virtually no tourism due to other more well-known attractions, difficult transportation, a reputation for unsafe neighborhoods along with a lack of promotion, and interpretation. This is exacerbated by the closure and inaccessibility of key defensive elements such as recently (over) restored Blachernae Palace and the (unrestored and unsafe) Yedikule Fortress. In addition, the population of the historic peninsula is declining while tourism is increasing in the lower peninsula without any benefits flowing to the conservation of the land walls.

After a series of criticized conservation efforts and the need for a city-wide management plan, a special local government office, The Special Unit for Land Walls, was formed. This office is searching for ways to improve conservation and ensure sustainability while providing better access and interpretation. Importantly, they are also seeking ways to improve social and economic development, but have not yet succeeded. The initial stages of this initiative are promising; however, the previous decades of neglect, inattention, or inappropriate restoration has resulted in a difficult task. Fortunately, there is a renewed effort with a new management plan for the entire historic Istanbul peninsula. While this unit is seemingly endowed with some autonomy, both the state and municipality reserve the right to oversee policy, decisions, and exercises their authority by the appointment of key individuals within or supervision the unit. The budgetary responsibility, important for taking advantage of any possible tourism revenue, is also overseen by a central state agency which has subcontracted management and receipt collection of the popular cultural tourist attractions to a private commercial operator. The Special Unit is seeking greater financial autonomy to enhance its role; this has yet to be granted. This is a strong disincentive given the role of the state in managing (the profitable) financial aspects of cultural heritage sites. While well-intentioned, the Special Unit is limited in its ability to make meaningful change.

The model in Istanbul can best be described as a municipal agency with a defined task overseen by the state. The good practice can be extracted from this model:

- **Creation, funding, and staffing of a special unit** whose sole focus is conservation, planning, and management for the land walls. While this unit is has been recently established and operates within a complex hybrid municipal-state governance structure, nevertheless, it's very existence is recognition of the difficult task of conserving and managing many kilometers of fortifications and their adjacent areas. The unit is staffed and financed by the municipal government and maintains separate offices including a small training center a short distance from the land walls.
- **Acknowledgment of past issues and lack of coordination between agencies** was recognized with a direction to improve conservation and management. The formation of this unit, although overseen by an onus number of government and non-government bodies, demonstrates a willingness to improve and focus on the fortifications. The unit has also sought out both national and international consultation on a number of occasions, has held special conferences concerning conservation, and finally has carried out extensive documentation including mapping, aerial drone photogrammetry, condition surveys, and material analysis.
- **Promising initiatives to attract visitors, improve interpretation and access** is planned by the Special Unit for Land Walls with the support of the municipality. These include promoting visitation at more popular locations, creating paid bicycle trails, and they are investigated ways to reopen certain portions of the fortifications, including the Yedikule Fortress as a social venue.
- **Seeking greater financial sustainability** through the creation of a revolving fund for conservation. However, this is a difficult task with the state, through a private concession, controlling the receipts and concessions from all popular cultural heritage sites, a considerable disincentive.

Acre, with fortifications of a much more modest scale, a successful conservation model has been developed although through a completely different top-down state government-led approach. A quasi-independent entity, the Old Acre Development Company, was established specifically to develop tourism. Conservation and promotion of the fortifications have been a key strategy as they form the largest and most significant elements of cultural heritage in Acre, and they are famous through their connection with the Crusades. Since this company began in earnest some decades ago, many key elements of the fortifications have been excavated, conserved, opened, and promoted as destinations and event venues. This model cuts through local municipal politics and frequent changes in both local and state government, thus can focus on long-term objectives. The model relies on expert input, oversight, and specific project financing from the state conservation agency, the Israel Antiquities Authority. Other specific sources of conservation financing come from other state agencies and from revenue-generating activities of the Company. While this may seem to divide responsibilities or create conflicts, nevertheless, it has managed to work as Acre is attracting regional visitors as well as international tourists through visits to the Crusader and Ottoman-era fortifications and through numerous cultural events. This is providing substantial socio-economic benefits to the greater surrounding city. However, this model is not directly targeted at the majority Arab-Palestinian community within the walls, and questions remain if the activities of the Company directly benefit or sustain them. The Company, along with the Israel Antiquities Authority had created a training program that was intended to contribute to sustainable conservation, but unfortunately this program has been suspended or closed. The model in Acre has been successful in that numerous conservation projects have been carried on the fortifications and regional and international visitation has increased. The Company is financially independent for ongoing operations¹⁹⁵ and they are expanding their management model to another nearby historic city.

This approach can best be described as a top-down state-initiated semi-autonomous company model focused on tourism for economic development.

¹⁹⁵ Financially independent for ongoing operations but not including conservation projects which are still funded by the state.

The model at use in Acre has some good practice that can be extracted:

- **Autonomous company model that has achieved financial sustainability** in its daily operations through ticket sales, management of attractions, and corporate sponsorship. However, the company is not autonomous concerning the conservation of the fortifications and must depend upon the state for specific project funding.
- **Cooperation with the state authority for conservation.** The company model knows its limits and thus is, by charter, dependent upon the approval, cooperation, and technical advice of the state authority to carry out conservation. The company model thus cooperates with the government conservation agency in a partner/client/supervision arrangement which could potentially create a conflict of interest.
- **Focus on the long term and avoidance local politics** because the company derives its authority from the state thus is independent of the frequently changing local municipal politics. As long as economic development through tourism is a high priority for the state, the management model will be stable. The model has so far been deemed successful, and the company is expanding to other historic cities
- **A singular focus on tourism, including associated economic development,** has allowed the company to petition the state government for funds to conserve significant portions of the fortifications as attractions. These spaces are used for museums, and music and theatrical venues and have greatly increased regional and international visitation to the city. The greater city has benefitted both economically and socially, but this may come at the expense of the social development of the minority community within the walls.

Rhodes was managed by a municipal / state government model which was created that operated between government agencies both horizontally and vertically. This semi-autonomous model, The Office for the Conservation of Medieval Monuments in the Old Town, fused together the state and municipal conservation agencies which successfully promoted and conserved the fortifications of Rhodes for twenty years. The functioning of this model proved that cooperation between government entities is possible in order to carry out extensive long-term conservation efforts. This agency was also concerned about the social condition of the population inside the walls with several projects designed to improving housing and infrastructure. Unfortunately, the case of Rhodes also demonstrates that even successful models are fragile and can be easily disrupted. Due to government reorganizations, the contract between the municipality and state was not renewed, and the staff and responsibilities were subsequently divided. A portion of the responsibilities for the fortifications was taken up by the Supervision Committee of the Monuments of the Medieval City of Rhodes which received limited funding. However, this committee was also discontinued. Today, the situation in Rhodes is a standard top-down government model with a local dependent branch office. Receipts collected from the entrance and use fees are sent to Athens, which then determines priorities and redistributes nationally. This central organization and loss of local autonomy have resulted in a decline of use fees even with visitation increasing.

The model of Rhodes is central government top-down management with limited autonomy of a local office.

Despite the abandonment of an innovative local/state working management model in favor a more conventional top-down approach, Rhodes has been successful in conserving and using their fortifications for socio-economic development, essential as the island is economically dependent upon tourism. They have conserved a number of the fortification elements and open spaces for social events and museums. Conservation of the fortifications continues although these organizational changes and have resulted in the completion of the Bastion of the Grand Master's Palace which was recently awarded the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage.

From these two models, a number of good practice can be gleaned.

- **Well conserved, documented, interpreted, and visited fortifications**, despite the recent dramatic organizational changes and management difficulties. Visitation is increasing, and there are additional spaces open as venues and museums.
- **The fortifications are actively used for economic and social development.** Numerous events are planned, not only for tourists but also for the local community. However, while tourism has been increasing, revenue at venues has been decreasing, given the gaps between state and local management. In the past, these spaces generated considerable income.
- **Greater integrity as conservation is not only focused on the monumental** fortified elements but also less significant elements. There are also numerous efforts to conserve the historic homes that abut and are within the walls to retain and sustain the communities within.
- **Retained identity of the local communities** - While economically dependent upon tourism, the local community has accepted tourism for its economic survival yet has managed to retain its identity through social events held for the community.
- **Reestablishment historic connections.** Social events, while tourists, as well as the performers, have been held in both Rhodes and Malta, thus re-establishing historic connections.

Dubrovnik's fortifications are managed by a bottom-up non-profit entity, Society of Friends of Dubrovnik Antiquities, which has been carrying out continuous conservation efforts for over 60 years¹⁹⁶. This organization developed organically as a membership organization over concerns for the fortifications and their state of conservation. Two surprising aspects of this model was, one, it was established during the presidency of Josip Broz Tito's restrictive centrally controlled state of Yugoslavia, and two, the Society survived the transition to democracy in an independent Croatia. These facts alone are evidence that an overbearing government or even lack of a government is no excuse for the neglect of a community's cultural heritage. The survival and success of the Society during extreme political situations and changes attests to the necessity of local community-led approaches. While today this model is financially dependent upon tourism, it maintains a strong locally-based membership with numerous international members which offers the organization long-term resilience. The Society provides numerous social benefits to residents including a path to participate in conservation and decision making, open access, changing exhibitions and events, and, most importantly, a sense of pride from the community in the level of care taken for their heritage. The city of Dubrovnik and outlying cities also hold numerous events in and around the fortifications conserved through the work of the Society. These activities contribute to the social life of the communities and contribute to the economy through tourism. This management model also provides sustained economic opportunities in employment through conservation works, locally produced materials, tour guides, design and production of changing exhibits, small business concessions, and ticket sales.

This management model can be characterized as a bottom-up, autonomous, non-profit civil society organization.

Dubrovnik is continually conserving their fortifications through both weekly maintenance programs to larger conservation works. The projects are planned in house, and since the non-profit responsible for the walls has been operating for 60 years, there is a deep understanding of the walls and conservation practice. For the implementation of the projects maintenance and smaller works are carried out in-house while the larger works are advertised for public tender. This has been occurring for the past 60 years, and the results are impressive. Dubrovnik is utilizing a single autonomous non-profit

¹⁹⁶ This model is financially independent providing for ongoing operations and continual conservation works. The Society even contribute half of all revenues back to the city.

organization. The good practice parsed from this is that the community has an avenue for involvement and are directly responsible for everything related to the conservation - from revenue, to access, interpretation, conservation, and expenditures. This endows a level of ownership and responsibility back to the community.

While this level of success may only be possible given Dubrovnik's small size, history of independence, and a strong voluntary spirit, nevertheless the model offers a number of good practice.

- **A fully autonomous membership-driven non-profit association** is responsible for the conservation of the fortifications that have led to continual maintenance and a deep commitment and understanding of the site. This model allows citizens an avenue to actively participate as well as international members.
- **Financial sustainability and independence** was originally achieved through their broad local and international membership but have since become reliant on tourism ticket sales to continue operations. Nevertheless, society has recognized this as a vulnerability and are investigating steps to diminish the vagaries of tourism. Their financial success, however, has attracted the attention of the local municipality which has requested half of their revenue, thus demonstrating that this model is not without its weaknesses.
- **Expanding to conserve adjacent areas and outlying fortifications** - The Society has expanded out from the immediate walls surrounding Dubrovnik to other fortifications that were important to the Republic of Ragusa. They are also expanding the offerings available to visitors opening new portions of the fortifications previously never opened. This allows them to tell the entire story of the fortifications and how they were essential to the survival and independence of the city.

Valletta mirrors the good practice of Dubrovnik to some extent, although at a larger scale. Several non-profit organizations are operating in Malta. Interestingly, they are related in their makeup with similar goals yet seemingly with greater international involvement. However, the involvement of these nonprofits differs in that the size of the fortifications in Malta is an order of magnitude larger than in Dubrovnik. The sheer size of the fortifications in Malta allows for room for both non-profit organizations and government agencies to work without significant overlap. These two non-profit civil society organizations, namely, *Din I-Art Helwa* and *Fondazzjoni Wirt Artna*, which also work to conserve fortified heritage. These autonomous organizations are recognized by the government and tasked with the management, promotion, interpretation, and conservation of defined elements of the fortifications. While this number of state and independent actors may seem to create overlapping responsibilities or conflicts, it is necessary considering the extensive fortifications of Malta. But this proves that the Dubrovnik model is transferable to different size cities.

For the more significant and substantial fortifications, a semi-autonomous organization, Heritage Malta, has been tasked with the management, development, interpretation, and promotion¹⁹⁷. However, there is another agency, the Restoration Directorate that exists within the government which is responsible for the restoration and maintenance of all the fortifications. Both of these entities operate to promote visitation, appreciation, and protection of the islands' fortified heritage. While the responsibilities of these two organizations overlap, nevertheless, it manages to work with the extensive fortifications in Malta. Malta also offers good practice in coordination between semi-autonomous, internal government agencies, and non-profit organizations.

Considering social development, a number of the spaces within and alongside the fortifications serve as event venues, museums, and parks; most notably the St. James Cavalier creative space for theatre, visual arts, and music, the fortress Builders Fortification Interpretation Centre, and the Malta International Contemporary Art Space. The cultural events and fortifications also serve to enhance the economy through tourism. A specific focus on cultural tourism, of which the character-defining fortifications are a significant part, is important as in the past Malta was only known as a destination for sun and sand. This emphasis on the unique cultural aspects of the islands have paid off as higher quality, longer staying tourism has increased, and

¹⁹⁷ Heritage Malta is also tasked with numerous other cultural heritage sites

Valletta was named the European Capital of Culture of 2018. The model in Malta illustrates that even with extensive fortifications and a number of organizations involved, with good management and defined responsibilities that sustainable conservation for socio-economic development is possible.

The model in Malta can be characterized as a three-way divided hierarchy between the state for conservation, an autonomous agency for management, and civil society organizations for the remainder.

The good practice that can be derived from Malta are:

- **Active participation of non-governmental, civil society organizations** to participate in the conservation, management, and interpretation of elements of the fortifications. The key to this good practice is their defined role and responsibilities and coordination by a government agency. The model has allowed individual members the communities to become involved.
- **Establishment of the semi-autonomous Heritage Malta** that operates and promotes key elements of the fortifications and is charged with becoming financially self-sufficient. However, this is tempered with the continued existence of the Restoration Directorate, which is responsible for the conservation of the fortifications. Seemingly these two agencies work well together; however, there are some conflicts and overlapping responsibilities.
- **Creative adaptive reuse for social development** of numerous portions of the fortifications including the St. James Cavalier, The Fortress Builders Interpretation Centre, the Malta International Contemporary art Space, and including private galleries such as the Valletta Contemporary has significantly enhanced social development and contributed to economic development.
- **Successful realignment to cultural tourism** from sun and sand tourism, of which the fortifications play a major part as a competitive advantage. The fortifications played a major part as venues or backdrops for major cultural events. In 2018 Valletta was the European Capital of Culture. Quality tourism has increased from a low during the turn of the 20th century with longer overnight stays and more money spent per tourist. However, this has its drawbacks as many historic residences within the walled city of Valletta have been purchased and converted to hotels.

12.2.1 Necessary circumstances

In order for this good practice to flourish, the case studies were analyzed for certain conditions or circumstances that must exist for management to be successful. Such circumstances were either external or internal to the administrative body directly responsible for management. External context included the larger political structure or policy, economic situation, legal framework, or cultural contexts. While external context changes may be difficult, they were not impossible as evidenced by the national-level changes in Malta or local changes in Rhodes and Dubrovnik. Internal context, such as staff, working environment, education, and leadership are entirely within the organization and therefore possible for the local management to implement change. Either way, the following circumstances were evaluated for both internal and external context to understand how good practice was created. The five circumstances identified from the case studies that are critical for management to contribute toward greater sustainable conservation and economic development are:

- 1) Conducive, open planning environment
- 2) Knowledge and education concerning improving management
- 3) Positive perceptions and acknowledgment of the importance of management
- 4) Local autonomy in making decisions, particularly control of finance
- 5) Public interest in the fortifications

The first circumstance identified as essential for management was an environment that encouraged planning. The Operational Guidelines to the World Heritage Convention require a management plan or system, and from the case studies, all five had some form of plan¹⁹⁸. However, the existence of a plan did not guarantee better management or create an environment conducive for planning. At one case study, there was the notion that it was only to satisfy World Heritage requirements and not absolutely necessary. It is the environment to encourage future planning, that is an important circumstance leading to greater sustainability. This was exhibited in the planning for the fortifications of Dubrovnik with short, medium, and long-term plans to conserve and open additional portions of the fortifications, conserve outlying fortifications, open exhibition spaces, and purchase adjacent property to prevent future inappropriate development. This was also the case with Acre with the plans made 30 years ago for the conservation of the

¹⁹⁸ As all the case studies are World Heritage properties, management plans are required. They were dated or limited in scope but all did have some management planning component.

fortifications. In addition, the existence of a long term plan was a strong motivating, and unifying factor in the cases studied.

Knowledge and education concerning management was the second circumstance deemed necessary to improve sustainability and socio-economic development. During interviews and site visits, it became apparent that most managers were well-informed about their individual fortifications; their history, conservation problems, and international standards. They were also aware of specific budgets for single projects. At three of the case studies, Ragusa, Malta, and Acre, managers were well aware of the number of visitors by season, break-even visitation, and contribution percentages of the overall revenue of various activities such as entry ticket prices or other extrinsic opportunities. They were also knowledgeable about current and future expenditures and were actively seeking new revenue opportunities including grants, private tours, or opening up new areas of the fortifications for visitation. However, more advanced topics such as accounting reports, pricing access, income diversification, willingness to pay studies or financial vulnerabilities were largely unknown.

A third circumstance required is a positive perception of management. During the course of the research, the aspect of management often carried negative connotations and was associated with profit-making or economic exploitation. Financial arrangements or income-generating activities such as cafés, concessions, gift shops, or multi-tiered entry pricing was often seen as contrary to the goals of conservation, access, and education. This attitude is somewhat understandable, given that it is often difficult to balance income-generating activities with important cultural, scientific, and educational values of heritage - values that should override financial considerations. There are numerous inappropriate examples where commercialism has overwhelmed all other values thus those responsible are justifiably wary of degrading heritage as profitability can quickly lead to exploitation and over commodification. But the more financially sustainable of the case studies, Dubrovnik and Rhodes were very aware of the importance of management and these income-generating activities.

Autonomy in decision making and managerial/financial independence over staff and external contracts at the local level is the fourth fundamental circumstance. In the more successful case studies, such as Malta and Dubrovnik, the administration was largely autonomous. Most managerial and financial decisions were made on-site and not at another higher level of governance. Most importantly, financial flows from the

fortifications, such as entry ticket sales, concessions, and donations, were held locally and thus contributed directly to conservation. The opposite was true at Rhodes and Istanbul as many decisions are made in Athens or Ankara, respectfully, with locally collected revenues delivered to a central budget. This may indicate that those in other higher levels of governance are aware of local limitations concerning financial skills or it may simply be the administrative tradition of centralized accounting. In Rhodes, local autonomy existed for some decades at the end of the 20th century, and it seemed to function well before being terminated. In Istanbul, this seemed to be a particular barrier to collecting any funds from the land walls that could then be used for conservation.

Finally, the remaining circumstance deemed necessary to foster better management greater sustainability is public interest to visit the fortifications combined with a concern for conservation. Early on in the research, it was determined that public interest was equated with tourism, in particular, international tourism. Tourism was also commonly seen by those interviewed as the answer to financial problems, thus more sustained conservation. Undoubtedly, revenue generated from tourism is frequently beneficial; however, without proper management, this is not a solution. In addition, although tourism is one of the most important revenue streams for cultural heritage sites, this singular focus often ignores the community, their frequent use, contributions through taxes, and local involvement. In the end, it is the local community that will sustain and care for the fortifications.

Conversely, tourism often had a negative connotation or was viewed as an unpleasant necessity, conjuring up images of large foreign groups with tour guides or inexpensive souvenir shops. Therefore a more inclusive concept, public interest, must be adopted to include both tourists and local participation. Dubrovnik set a good practice example in the Society of Friends in that it is an active membership and volunteer organization originally organized by the community, yet welcomes international members. Malta also had a good example in that the targeted audiences for cultural venues within the fortifications are specifically designed for both visitors and the local community. The implications are that public interest has a positive correlation with other aspects of improved sustainability while generating social benefits.

With the case studies, Dubrovnik, has all five circumstances, there is an environment conducive for planning¹⁹⁹, there is a high level of knowledge concerning management, with positive perceptions of its importance, the Society of Friends is fully autonomous, and there is very strong local and visitor interest. At the other end of the spectrum, Istanbul has only certain factors of the circumstances necessary. While the Special Unit Land Walls may seem autonomous, in fact, they are very much dependent and managed by the municipal government with somewhat burdensome oversight and state bodies. In addition, there is very little general public interest, either local or international in the Land Walls. However, Istanbul has been making changes, and there are positive perceptions of management and an open planning environment; indeed, the Special Unit has short-term and long-term plans to improve conservation. In the case of Acre, the Company Model has most of the circumstances necessary but are not fully autonomous to fund and carry out conservation projects. Rhodes, with its central, top-down model, also has only a few of the criteria. While there is a high level of conservation and use of the fortifications, there is no local autonomy and receipts earned by the venues are not dedicated to conservation efforts.

Case Study	Planning environment	Knowledge and Education	Positive perceptions	Local Autonomy	Public Interest
Istanbul	somewhat	yes	no	no	no
Acre	yes	somewhat	yes	somewhat	yes
Rhodes	yes	yes	no	no	yes
Dubrovnik	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Malta	yes	yes	yes	somewhat	yes
Famagusta	no	no	no	no	somewhat

Figure 153 – Summary table of the circumstances required for the case study good practice to flourish

¹⁹⁹ Although the official management plan for the city was not complete until 2017 the environment was one of encouraging planning.

The absence of four out of five of these criteria is evident in the Famagusta with the fifth criteria concerning public interest questionable. There is no planning environment given the absence of any rudimentary management system or plan, and there is a dearth of any tangible plan to implement maintenance or improve interpretation. Knowledge and positive perceptions concerning management are also absent with the closure of major elements of recently conserved fortifications and closure of most other elements oblivious to increasing tourism. This is also reflected in the absurdly low entry ticket prices. While there is some attempt at autonomy from the initiative from the municipality, this is misplaced, as it should be the responsibility of the antiquities authority. The one criteria that are evident, and by no means universal, is the public interest. There is public interest as evidenced by the number of attendees at multiple Heritage Day tours of the fortifications, frequent newspaper articles, and common interactions within the city. There is also public interest given the number of tourists visiting the Othello Tower / Citadel and attempted to visit other parts of the fortifications. But this alone does not translate into better conservation. The critical absence of the other four thus implies that current management is not adequately informed, undertrained, underfunded, or simply uninspired. Worse, it implies that management is not free to fully control the site or feel their hands are tied by larger political bodies.

As stated earlier, the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage, with technical and managerial assistance from the United Nations Development Programme and funding from the European Union are attempting to address this situation. Their management of specific conservation projects is commendable, and they have recently been granted additional funds to address preventative conservation and longer-term maintenance. They have also had success in promoting the conserved portions of the fortifications for social development, but their authority is strictly limited in regard to economic development.

With these criteria in mind, it is useful to relate this analysis and results back to the Literature Review to locate the findings in a broader context in relation to the review and how the findings fit into the literature, theory, and practice. This will present and critique the results against the literature and will answer questions such as how does this research differ and how does it conform. The following section will describe the future proposals.

12.3 Proving/Disproving the Hypothesis

The analysis of the case studies, their good practice, including necessary circumstances, and evaluation of their management models proves the first half of the hypothesis; that through conscientious management the conservation of historic fortifications is sustainable. Four of the five case studies demonstrate that as a consequence of diligent management, numerous significant conservation projects were successfully accomplished and to some extent self-financed. Is there room for improvement? Of course, in each case study, a number of improvements or adjustments must be made to ensure continued conservation, but four of the five cases exhibit a level of conservation and management which greatly surpasses the current situation in Famagusta.

The evaluation also partially proves the second half of the hypothesis that the fortifications can be used for economic development. The local economy in all cases improved over the same time period – mainly due to tourism but also through the act of conservation itself. Clusters of trades were created, skills developed, artisans and architects employed, and value chains supported, which are beneficial to the economy beyond conservation. While the fortifications or their state of conservation cannot solely be credited with increasing tourism, they and the venues they contain are undoubtedly the largest, and in most cases the most popular cultural attractions²⁰⁰. The fortifications are featured prominently in tourism marketing in four of five case studies. There are few tourists who do not take a selfie in front of the gates of Rhodes or Dubrovnik.

However, the portion of the hypothesis regarding social development and survival of the community has been disproven. While many of the spaces in and around the fortifications have been innovatively adapted to serve as social venues and cultural spaces, these largely serve outsiders. The population in all cases continues to decline, and social development has stagnated. Unfortunately, economic development through tourism has come at the expense of the local community. The authorities of these cities are aware of this social crisis, and there have been attempts to regulate and limit tourism while improving social services, but the evidence shows that these efforts have largely been ineffective and too little - too late. While there are some good social development policies, these must be improved or adapted for the survival of the communities.

²⁰⁰ This is evident in the case of Dubrovnik, Rhodes, and Acre but again, Istanbul is the exception

12.4 Significance and Implications

The significance of the proven aspects of the hypothesis implies that many good practice, as described earlier in Part II and in the conclusions, can be adopted in Famagusta. Regardless of the level of success or model of management, all of the case studies offer good practice examples which hold promise for Famagusta – for sustainable conservation, economic development, and management. These cases demonstrate that sustainable conservation is possible and that the use of the fortifications can result in significant economic benefits with the essential link provided through improved management.

However, the significance of the partly disproven aspect of the hypothesis implies a direct conflict between economic development and social development. The economic development based upon tourism is an easy proposition for those managing the conservation of the fortifications. More tourists, more revenue, more conservation projects (even if the route of the funding is convoluted or inefficient). The tourist arrivals, economic data, and employment numbers also are more quantifiable and therefore, easier political goals. But the social development and survival of a small community is much harder and could be seen as distracting from economic development. The communities inside the walls are isolated, have limited political power, and require a larger portion of any social development program budget per person — more services for fewer people. Finally, many of the social development issues are external to those managing cultural heritage and conservation. The social development solutions often involve many other areas of government policy, including schools and community centers as well as the private sector, markets, and doctors' offices. The implication is that social development is much more difficult and ignored.

Social and economic development are mentioned in the same phrase and should be developed together in an attempt to achieve a balance, but they are often in conflict. These two aspects of development are also seen as equal, but it is clear that economic development takes precedence, often with the vague hope that social development will follow. It is clear from the case studies that the social development of the community within the walls has been sacrificed for the economic development of the larger city or region outside the walls. Thus, an alignment or rebalance must be found between the economic development and the social development for the survival of the communities - that none of the case studies currently have.

12.5 Social development derived good practice

Initially, the case studies were scrutinized for good management practice that pertained to sustaining conservation and promoting economic development. The good practice carried out in all the case studies regarding these themes were, by varying degrees, straightforward to identify and have been described and analyzed. However, as stated in the proof of the hypothesis, social development good practice were much more difficult to uncover because they were either absent, ineffective, or given much less priority. In addition, social development involves larger policy issues beyond management of heritage and conservation. The social aspects which were more easily identified placed emphasis on using the fortifications for social functions, venues, creative spaces, and museums - regardless of the intended audience. On the surface, this is social development, but upon closer inspection, it was evident that the social functions result in promoting visitation for economic development and are less targeted for the community within the walls. Of course, a certain percentage of the users of these spaces are from the local community and they do benefit substantially, the majority of these users are from outside. Admirable as these reuse projects may be, they assume social development will follow or worse disregarded the local community. Therefore, the case studies and literature were assessed again to identify pitfalls that Famagusta could avoid and to recognize social development policy or actions that the case studies are attempting to put into place yet may not be entirely successful²⁰¹. This was done in order to derive good practice for social development. This section of the conclusions will briefly summarize these findings.

The first obvious derived good practice is rigorous tourism management. It seems clear from the case studies that tourism for economic development has been, to varying degrees, detrimental to the local communities²⁰². Therefore a visitor plan must be integrated into management, including a critical carrying capacity study. Such a study determines the balance between numbers of tourists and residents; critical in a closed environment such as a walled city. As was shown in Part II, this balance is not in equilibrium in either Rhodes or Dubrovnik with Valletta close behind. These cities have, by all indications, exceed their carrying capacity. Importantly, limiting the number of tourists does not necessarily mean reducing economic development as it is

²⁰¹ By the definition used in this thesis, these unsuccessful or unproven social development policies are thus not good practice and cannot be transferred.

²⁰² Although as the studies in Rhodes and Malta, as described in Part II, have shown that the local residents realize that without the tourists the economy would not be sustainable and thus have accepted some level of tourism.

not a zero-sum gain. If managed well, it could result in additional revenue rather than less and could be viewed as a trade-off for quality over quantity. This is beginning to emerge in recent initiatives by Dubrovnik in using camera technology to count and limit the number of tourists who enter the walled city – although at the date of this thesis the numbers have still not been reduced. This limit is also accompanied by a new campaign to improve tourism quality known as Respect the City. This is somewhat echoed in the decision by Rhodes to be included in a recent 2019 European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) program to initiate sustainable tourism. In Valletta, Malta's Tourism Management Plan designates specific tourism zones for special management. Such visitor management plans are also useful for deciding upon the capacity of cruise ships (important for historic coastal cities), retaining and improving day tourism, and dispersing tourists to less-visited areas. Such a plan also helps focus interpretation efforts. Unfortunately, these plans have yet bear results in the case studies, and the enforcement is far from rigorous. Fortunately, walled cities, unlike other historic cities, can carefully restrict the visitors at the gates with the inflow of tourists much easier to control. A tourism plan to manage, much less restrict, the tourism numbers in the city of Famagusta is a difficult proposition given such low levels of tourism combined with a failing economy, but such a policy must be put into place before problems arise as demonstrated by the case studies. The cities in the case studies may have acted too late to control tourism and thus protect their communities.

The second derived social development good practice is to protect, improve, support, and increase resident housing. This includes carrying out conservation projects on historic housing, improving housing to meet modern standards, thus improving living conditions, and converting non-traditional buildings into housing. This has been advocated for by the Architect Council in Malta for Valletta – a changing of the zoning rules to allow easier conversion of second floor and above offices into apartments. This also was evident to some extent in Rhodes where 25 historic homes were conserved for residents and to a lesser extent in Acre with a few residential buildings renovated. But these efforts must go much further. Such a housing policy should, to some extent, include financial incentives, such as property tax cuts or reduction, tax elimination for conservation materials and services, and subsidizing of rent or mortgages in historic homes. Support for housing even extends to the construction of new sensitively designed housing in keeping with the scale, materials, and spirit of the historic centers.

While the case studies in this thesis may not have sufficient area to develop new housing, there is ample room within Famagusta to construct new housing, provided safeguards are put into place concerning design and protection of archaeological remains. There are also other factors to support housing, including restricting the conversion of private residences to hotels or the limiting or elimination of informal visitor accommodations such as Airbnb. Currently, all of the case studies allow informal accommodation, but there are recent calls for this to end. It is also essential for the policy to support housing to be fair and openly administered. It is nearly impossible to convert fortifications into housing; there is little fenestration and ventilation with many areas damp and unsuitable for habitation. But the fortifications can be used to restrict access to certain neighborhoods. One innovative idea promoted in Rhodes is the creation of exclusion zones for residents. But it is essential that such enclaves do not serve as zoos for visiting tourists.

Such housing policies would fail without the necessary services to support modern life in a walled city. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure that there is at least one market, a pharmacy, doctor's office, and other non-tourist related services. While businesses cannot be forced into conducting unprofitable business, they can be encouraged through tax incentives, direct subsidies, or reduced rent. One absolute prerequisite for supporting the community is an elementary school. While the class size may be small and expensive for a municipality, such a service is essential, and it has been proven that the presence of children brings special aspects to life in historic cities. Like housing, the spaces inside ancient defenses are difficult to convert into businesses beyond tourism, but it is possible to use such spaces for special school functions and events.

Infrastructure is also important to make modern life bearable. This includes conveniences such as proper drainage, sewerage systems, fresh drinking water, and reliable electricity. Much of this infrastructure is present in the case studies, but still, there are challenges. Dubrovnik has notable problems with their sewage system when heavy rains coincide with the high tourist season. In Acre, such improvements are seen with suspicion to improve tourism and not for local residents. There is no municipal sewer system in Famagusta; the ancient wells under each house are used, often ineffectively. And the storm water drainage is woefully inadequate passing through only two places, at one of the British gates and under the seawall near the Sea Gate eroding the foundations.

Transportation, always a key part of infrastructure, is less important in such small walkable city centers, but authorities must be aware that minibuses are an option and necessity for the elderly or persons with reduced mobility. In addition, the authorities must support and retain main bus stations just outside the city walls. Another often overlooked element to promote residents is sensitively designed resident parking outside the walls and limited time for automobile or service truck access within the walls. Although this seems difficult, the case studies have shown that this is one of the easier elements to implement. Dubrovnik is currently car-free, but this is augmented by a nearby newly constructed large subterranean parking structure. In Acre, parking occurs in the fortification ditch, not ideal, but functional. Currently, in Famagusta, there are few, if any, restrictions on parking with many residents parking adjacent to the fortifications. The Arsenal gate bears many scars of truck that did not quite fit underneath. While visitor parking is not currently a major problem it could easily develop into one with a threefold increase in tourism. Bus access and parking has already become an unaddressed problem.

Perhaps the most useful social development aspect of the fortifications is to serve as parks, meeting places, and social venues. This is already happening in the cities used as case studies with bastions converted to museums and ditches to theatres, but the focus has shifted to tourist use. One key social meeting aspect that must be maintained is the social gathering places on both sides of the gates. As the gates restrict access, it naturally becomes a place for residents to meet as they arrive and depart. Therefore these spaces must be reserved and dedicated to a local community's use with restrictions on tourist use. These informal gathering places have been observed in Famagusta near the Ravelin/Land Gate and at the Arsenal Gate. This has been recognized by enterprising restaurant and café owners and they have capitalized on this phenomena. However, such spaces can be easily disturbed by tourism and thus must be recognized and protected.

These social development policies can improve the quality of life and can encourage existing residents to stay within the walls while attracting new residents, particularly families. These policies can also entice residents from the suburbs to return and thus create a dynamic urban space that allows people spontaneously to meet, exchange ideas, conduct business, and socialize. The presence of local people will bring local businesses which are non-tourist related. Well planned and enforced tourism policies can ease animosity between residents and visitors while accommodating both, as long as a balance is maintained. Difficult, but not impossible. The presence of a living thriving community within the walled cities also adds benefits to those visiting. They can experience an authentic place, a lost dimension in Dubrovnik and Rhodes.

This can be summed up in a quote inspired by noted urbanist William Whyte “It takes a place to create a community and a community to create a place” (LeGates and Stout 2015)(p 559). Famagusta has the unique opportunity to develop this balance as they are not yet dependent upon tourism.

12.6 Contributions of the thesis

Contributions of the thesis are three-fold:

- a) Demonstration through the case studies that as a consequence of good management sustainable conservation of extensive fortifications is possible and results in economic development
- b) Recognition of the shortcomings of the very same case studies pertaining to the sustainability of the communities within the walls and derived good social development practice
- c) Identification of good management practice for pragmatic implementation in Famagusta including critical social development aspects

12.6.1 Good management

As stated at the beginning of this thesis, in contributions to the field, conservation is a multidisciplinary effort, yet many projects do not include this important aspect. This was the situation during the conservation of key elements of the fortifications in Famagusta. Management, particularly discussions about how to pay for and thus sustain conservation are often forgotten, or worse viewed negatively. This is understandable because it is difficult to discuss such mundane and vulgar topics as money, entry tickets, and tourism when dealing with priceless and irreplaceable cultural heritage. Also, the sheer endeavor to initiate, plan, and execute the conservation of extensive monuments such as fortifications is overwhelming enough without thinking of finance – surely the government will pay. Such monuments have historic, cultural, scientific, and educational values far above economic values – from the viewpoint of those striving to conserve cultural heritage. But, the economic situation is what most concerns the politicians, business operators, and many community members. Employment, education, taxes, and healthcare with other social services are at the top of a long list of concerns. How to pay for repairs to five-hundred-year-old walls is at the bottom of the list. This highlights an important gap.

Yet, this thesis has demonstrated, through the case studies of Dubrovnik, Rhodes, Acre, and Valletta, it is possible to close this gap. The evidence presented in this thesis shows that there are substantial long-term economic benefits to be gained from the conservation and reuse of fortifications. These cases exhibit that if the fortifications are properly and carefully managed that over time, they can generate sufficient income,

which in turn can be used for sustaining the conservation. Economic development then follows, mainly through tourism, hopefully through cultural tourism, as in the case of Valletta. But economic development also occurs through the reuse of these spaces for social and cultural venues and the fostering of skills, creation of industry clusters or value chains which extend beyond conservation. While it is admitted that the conservation may not be 100% fully self-funding, as demonstrated in Dubrovnik, it can come close. Management and specifically how to pay for the sustained conservation of the fortifications was not a taboo topic when investigating the success of these case studies. The management of these cities' cultural heritage took a prominent role in promoting and utilizing the fortifications. This is in stark contrast to the case of Famagusta where there is no active management, thus no sustainable conservation, and no economic development²⁰³. There is a palatable hesitation to discuss the finances. The first tentatively given answer is that municipal government of Famagusta or the Turkish Cypriot authorities do not have the funds - the government cannot pay. But as the case studies have shown, good management can lead to income for conservation without pilfering the tax coffers.

12.6.2 Shortcomings

The second contribution of this thesis is uncovering the conflict between economic development and social development. The seemingly successful case studies, while offering a number of good practice, are flawed. The welfare of the vulnerable communities within their small closed spaces has been compromised for the economic development of the larger community based on tourism. When tourism is pursued, as shown in the case studies, it can be overly detrimental to the community. As stated earlier, the community is just as much a part of these cities as the fortifications, and their loss means a significant loss of authenticity. Should Famagusta follow blindly the examples set by Dubrovnik, Rhodes, or even Acre and Valletta, tourism will most likely displace the community. Recognition of these shortcomings and the subservient role of social development to economic development and development of possible remedies through derived good social development practice is a meaningful contribution.

These new approaches and derived good practice, such as outlined in the previous section on social development, must be strongly incorporated into future plans for Famagusta in order to retain the authenticity of the still remaining community.

²⁰³ And to a limited extent this is mirrored in Istanbul, however the scale is vastly different

12.6.3 Pragmatic recommendations

The primary reason for this thesis began as investigations to continue the conservation of the fortifications. It then evolved to uncover management models and ways of sustaining the community both economically and socially. Through the investigations into five other fortified cities, many good practice have been uncovered or deduced. These good practice are mentioned in Part II at the end of each case study but are discussed here specifically for implementation in Famagusta. This thesis would be incomplete without offering pragmatic proposals given its pragmatic beginnings. These recommendations are grouped in three parts as per the rest of this thesis - sustainable conservation, social and economic development, and management.

Sustainable conservation

- The Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage (TCCH) and staff of the UNDP, along with representatives from Famagusta and the Republic of Cyprus must visit the fortified cities studied in this thesis to see first-hand the impacts of good management, conservation, and a possible vision for the city. They should conduct interviews with managers, city officials, local leaders, and non-profits.
- A conservation plan must be written for Famagusta and the fortifications. This includes mapping all the fortifications inclusive of hidden areas, prioritizing interventions, outlining emergency works and a maintenance regime, while putting into place immediate protection measures which can be enforced for the outlying more vulnerable elements such as the glacis, counterscarp, and ditch.
- Training programs for conservation should begin to build the capacity of those working in the municipality and the Turkish Cypriot Department of Antiquities.
- The historic quarry must be opened and equipped in order to provide a supply of compatible stone for the conservation of the fortifications and other structures.
- As the TCCH and UNDP work to reconnect Famagusta and northern Cyprus to the whole of Cyprus, they must also reconnect the city to their historic neighbors in other parts of the eastern Mediterranean. Invitations should be extended to the other cities in this thesis to visit, offer advice, and assist in future conservation efforts.

Social development

- Social development policy must be created in cooperation with the municipality, Turkish Cypriot authorities, and the University. This includes studies to understand the social problems and demographics, including reliable statistics of residents, their needs, existing services, and housing. Important parts of social development policy are listed below.
- Housing must be improved including the renovation of historic buildings, improvements in non-historic structures, creating guidelines for new construction, possible building a prototype new infill home, but also subsidies and tax incentives to retain and attract new residents, particularly families and university students.
- The two remaining schools must remain open in their current locations and not replaced with a museum. The museum should be placed in the fortifications. Eastern Mediterranean University must be encouraged to hold courses on a regular basis in the city; Martinengo Bastion would serve such a purpose.
- Businesses (non-tourism related) must be encouraged to remain or relocate in the walled city through subsidies, tax incentives, or reduced rent. The existing cluster of jewellery shops should be studied in order to ensure their survival.
- The general market must be reopened on a daily basis to serve the residents as well as tourists.
- The current social events, festivals, and concerts should be expanded while new events are planned and concentrated in the walled city. The fortifications, such as Martinengo Bastion and Othello Tower can serve as venues as well as the ditch and other areas of the fortifications.
- Infrastructure improvements must continue. There have been limited projects to improve roads, sidewalks, lighting, and drainage; this must continue and should include better drainage and a working sewer system.
- Churches serve to draw in people from outside the city, and while there has been permission for Greek Cypriots to celebrate their Orthodox traditions in Famagusta, this should be expanded and allowed on a regular basis.
- A tourism policy must also be in place to permit, but limit, the conversion of homes into hotels or informal accommodations such as Airbnb.

Economic development

- An economic development plan, including tourism, must be drafted. The tourism component must include a carrying capacity study, willingness to pay survey, and investigations into sustainable tourism to prevent disruption of the existing social fabric. Policies to encourage bus day tourists to stay longer must be put in place including interpretation of the fortifications and their significance.
- The recently conserved spaces such as the Othello Tower and Ravelin/Land Gate must remain open for visitation, and other spaces such as the Martinengo Bastion reopened with a well-organized mechanism for ticket sales. Preferably a combined ticketing system. Additional spaces in the fortifications such as the Sea Gate must be reopened and most importantly a complete circuit path along the ramparts cleared, maintained, and promoted with interpretative didactics.
- Any new conservation works must seek to build economic clusters centered around conservation, but that can be useful for other types of construction. This must include the development of the entire value chain from the production of raw materials to finished materials, labor, management, and professional services. This could be an adaptation from the existing construction industry but should seek to build capacity in conservation. One critical part of this is the opening of the historic quarry to supply reasonably priced stone, for conservation purposes as well as limited use in new construction.
- The historic port and the openings from the British Period in the fortification must be reopened, and a plan developed to conserve and reuse the industrial structures outside the seawalls. Access to the historic port from within the city is essential but must be carefully planned.
- The existing museum inside the Arsenal/Canbulat Bastion must be renovated, and a new city museum opened in one of the bastions of the fortifications.
- A mobility plan, including parking for residents and visitors, bus access, routes, and drop-off points, must be created.
- A research archive and documentation center should be established and made available including the important Mogabgab archives. These archives must also be scanned and catalogued along with all other original material.

Management

- The municipality or the cultural heritage authority in Famagusta is not currently capable of maintaining existing spaces, initiating new projects, or sustaining conservation of the fortifications. Therefore their capacity could be improved or, preferably, an autonomous non-profit foundation must be created to care for the walls, bastions, and other elements of the fortifications. This could be a future version or offshoot of the TCCH, an existing entity in Famagusta such as MASDER, or an entirely new entity. But this entity must also be given autonomy to raise funding, administer those funds, implementation conservation, and maintenance works, and control most aspects of management, including exclusive ticket sales and tours of the walls. A monopoly for any tours of the walls, while difficult to enforce, would be crucial in preventing the entrant of low-cost non-authorized, or worse uninformed competitors.
- The responsibilities of day-to-day management must pass to this new entity in order to reduce reliance on the UNDP and EU. There should be extensive conservation and management training for managers with an established organization and structure. Bylaws and bi-communal oversight, similar to what the TCCH has currently have, must also be applied.
- A fund must be created that is independent of other government agencies and for the exclusive use of the autonomous foundation for sustainable conservation. While oversight and accounting must be established (preferably by both the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot authority), such a fund would ensure continued maintenance and ongoing conservation.
- A management plan must be written along with the conservation plan in cooperation with the TCCH and UNDP as well as the appropriate authorities. Such a plan will include the above-mentioned elements and contain an action plan with priorities for the short, medium, and long term including a budget. It should be adopted officially by the municipality to ensure enforcement.
- A hotel and/or bus tax must be levied along with an increase in ticket prices to cultural heritage sites including the fortifications to raise funds. Studies such as willingness to pay or willingness to contribute must be conducted to determine the optimum pricing policies and such policies put into place to ensure revenue.

12.7 Future research

There are many possible directions to continue this research, not only to strengthen and reinforce this thesis, but to offer more options for organizations dealing with similar issues of sustainable conservation, fortifications, and socio-economic development. The first avenue which requires in-depth investigation is additional quantitative research in willingness to pay for conservation and sources of financial income available for conservation away from the typical reliance on tourism. One area requiring investigation is a qualitative study of the visitor experience in fortifications, which brings out the values to the typical visitor, how complicated and extensive constructions such as fortifications are interpreted. Another avenue of research within the same theme but beyond fortifications applies to other large and difficult to conserve cultural heritage places, including industrial sites or agricultural landscapes – both of which also exist in Famagusta. Many of the same theories, principles, and ideas apply.

Then there are the fortifications of Famagusta. The main thrust of this thesis was on management models not on the history or construction of the fortifications themselves. The limited site research provided a tempting tangent as numerous questions remain as to the layers and periods of construction, materials, and quarries and the condition of the interiors of the bastions and walls. Many hidden areas within the fortifications remain hidden, buried, and secret. Their stories are waiting to be told.

Regarding the community, much more research must be done on how to balance social development with economic development with the latter seemingly always taking priority over the former. Intertwined with the development balance question is that of sustainable tourism - how much is too much? Critically, more in-depth social research must be conducted with the community in Famagusta as well as other communities behind walls. Finally, how can the survival and viability of a small community within a walled city be ensured without the inhabitants feeling they are within a zoo?

12.8 Thesis appraisal

This section offers a self-critical evaluation of the thesis and an assessment of the results and limitations of the research. Both the primary and secondary research materials for Famagusta were abundant and often overwhelming, and this is one of the strengths of the research. This is a result of many years of work in the city before and during the gestation of this thesis. In addition, many months were spent living within the walled city, listening to everyday people, merchants, waiters, and taxi drivers in addition to academics and architects, while also disparaging about the situation and simply searching for a grocery market. This contrasted when compared with the case studies. There was not the same in-depth information given the short, although multiple, visits, and reliance on interviews with experts. This led to lopsided comparisons and contrasts, and thus, assumptions had to be made, a serious limitation. However, no comparison is ever equal given the great differences between sites, people, and challenges. In addition, the case study of Istanbul was not easily comparable with Famagusta or other cases. Istanbul is far larger with more complex issues and proved different to compare. Nevertheless, it was a useful investigation given the political and cultural proximity to Famagusta. One strength of the thesis was the inside experience of working on the conservation of the fortifications of Famagusta. The individuals interviewed have been known for years, and there is trust and a level of confidence not obtainable from an outsider. There were critical insights and opinions offered as well as frustrations expressed toward the political situation, management structures, and island division. There was also hope for reconciliation and cooperation, ironically while working on fortifications designed and used for war. Inversely, at the other case studies, there was a lack of this in-depth knowledge along with a general reluctance of those interviewed to discuss management, organizational problems, and finances. An outside observer, even only for research purposes, there was difficulty in obtaining direct answers. A formal interview questionnaire, which would have made the data more quantifiable, was attempted in the early stages of the research; however, this quickly proved impossible given the hesitation in answering openly. Therefore a more open, informal interview process was adopted. Nevertheless, such a survey would have provided quantifiable information. Also, in the other case studies, there were similar frustrations as in Famagusta expressed as to the state of conservation of the fortifications. However this perception was relative and, with the exception of Istanbul, the other case studies exhibited better conservation and management.

12.9 Final comments

This thesis began with a quote that accurately sums up the reasons for this thesis:

“Visiting old battle sites and venerable cities of the Mediterranean world, with a view to understanding what happened there long ago, adds a sense of place that can only deepen appreciation of a distant time” (O'Shea 2006)(p 9).

Fortified cities are the most extensive and complex form of ancient architecture. Their walls, bastions, ditches, and outlying defenses tell a story of a difficult life of suspicion, mistrust, and attempts to protect the inhabitants. This form of architecture reached an apogee between the 15th to 18th centuries with most of these defensive vestiges rendered obsolete by the 19th century. It is astonishing that any fortified cities still exist. Such monuments must be preserved in order for us to have any notion of humanity's extremely violent past. We live in an age of remote control warfare conducted by drones with images beamed to our telephones – which at any time can be turned off. We have no true inkling of what it is like to cower behind walls for months at a time hungry, afraid, and under bombardment.

Another quote is also necessary to close this thesis:

“The past is integral to our sense of identity; ‘the sureness of “I was” is a necessary component of the sureness of “I am” (Wyatt 1963)(p 319).

There is a tangible feeling of separateness with communities who live and work within fortifications. In every city investigated and visited, there were distinctions between those who belong inside and those outside. Individuals, families, and communities are defined by the physical limitations of these historic walls. This feeling is also perceived by visitors. Yet, the communities within are under threat, from rampant tourism that seeks to displace them as in Dubrovnik, Rhodes, Valletta, and Acre to a lack of infrastructure and institutional support such as in Famagusta or Istanbul. Key components of the identities of these communities are their ancient barriers – the fortifications. In Famagusta, these are under threat from neglect, insufficient maintenance, inappropriate alterations or use, but most of all, from inadequate management.

The case studies investigated are in many ways better off than Famagusta. They have World Heritage status, high levels of tourism, growing economies, and the dedication of numerous skilled and talented individuals. These case studies offer many good ideas that should be cross-fertilized, shared, and adopted in Famagusta but also beyond. But the case studies should also come with a warning. Rhodes, Dubrovnik, Valletta, and Acre in dedicating themselves to tourism have disregarded social development and in this sense are worse off than Famagusta.

There are good things happening in Famagusta, including the conservation of all four corners of the walled city by the Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage in cooperation with the UNDP and European Union and these organizations must be commended. But the pieces have not yet been connected together. The current conservation initiatives are funded 100% by the European Union, and when this ceases, there will most likely be no further large conservation projects. These initiatives have greater goals of peace and cooperation to mend both sides of a divided island – and thus have been tremendously successful.

In terms of sustainable conservation for the social and economic development of the city of Famagusta, there remains much work.

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ON THE OCCASION OF THE REOPENING OF THE OTHELLO TOWER/CITADEL
IN FAMAGUSTA, THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL HERITAGE, THE
EUROPEAN COMMISSION AND UNDP INVITE YOU TO

OTHELLO

03-04 JULY 2015
OTHELLO TOWER/CITADEL
FAMAGUSTA

Email: registry.pff.cy@undp.org
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Figure 155 – Reopening announcement of Othello Tower with a performance of Shakespeare's Othello