

**Postcolonial Ghosts in New Turkish Cinema:
A Deconstructive Politics of Memory in Derviş Zaim's
'The Cyprus Trilogy'**

Cihat Arıncı

**Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Goldsmiths College, University of London
Department of Visual Cultures**

2015

I, Cihat Arınç, declare that the work presented in this thesis is my
own.

Acknowledgments

This Ph.D. thesis, like most research work, is the result of a curious and inquisitive spirit, coupled with plenty of hard work and persistence. I knew from the very beginning that pursuing doctoral study is a difficult and challenging task. Throughout this long journey, I have gained a lot by learning to persevere despite hardship. At the end of my thesis, it is a pleasant task to express my thanks to all those who contributed in many ways to the success of this study and made it an unforgettable and truly life-changing experience for me. I would never have successfully completed this thesis without the support, encouragement and assistance of my family, professors and mentors, colleagues, friends, and various institutions.

First of all, I am extremely grateful to my main supervisor, Dr. Jean Paul Martinon, for all the support and feedback he gave me during the time I spent at Goldsmiths College. We experienced together all the ups and downs of routine research process, the shared happiness of success and the depression of failure when (sometimes) everything went wrong. Jean Paul has given me the freedom to work independently and pursue my own path in this research, which is very important, but whenever I needed it his useful advice was always available to me. In my opinion, this is how an ideal supervisor should be. It was a real pleasure to work and communicate with him. I have learnt a lot from him, especially about Derrida's philosophical heritage and the phenomenological tradition in general. His valuable advice, thought-provoking questions, constructive criticism, useful suggestions, keen eye for detail, frankness and patience were necessary for finishing this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge his native language abilities in French, which were extremely useful, particularly in gaining a deeper understanding of Derrida's writings. I am also indebted to him for kindly encouraging me to contribute to his edited book, *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating* (London, 2013), with an essay.

I was also privileged to work with Prof. Dr. Irit Rogoff, who was my second supervisor. My sincere gratitude is reserved for Irit for her great supervision, invaluable advice, and constant moral support. She has greatly helped me particularly during the first two years and has always been extremely supportive and nice to me. Already at the start, we enjoyed homemade dinners together at Irit's house. I have very fond memories of these dinners, as they immediately made me feel welcome in my new intellectual environment. Actually, I had most difficulties in writing the theoretical chapter of this thesis. In my first year in Ph.D., I was really struggling to combine my research material and its historical, political and cultural contexts with the conceptual framework. At times I even doubted whether I would be able to write a whole Ph.D. thesis. Fortunately, Irit really encouraged my first steps into transdisciplinary research in visual culture, for which I am very grateful. Without her knowledge of cultural theory and critical geography and overview of the research's big picture, her supportive approach, huge academic experience, and the extensive discussions we had had especially during the difficult conceptual development stage, this Ph.D. would not have been achievable. She is an inspiration.

Most of the results described in this thesis would not have been obtained without a close collaboration with the Turkish-Cypriot director himself. I owe a great deal of appreciation and gratitude to Derviş Zaim for generously sharing his time and knowledge in my research on his cinematic trilogy of Cyprus. I remain

amazed that despite his busy schedule, he was willing to meet me at short notice every time for an interview in Istanbul. He has played a major role in making me understand the tragic experiences of the Turkish-Cypriot community through his own personal and family life narratives. I am also indebted to him for providing most of the research material, including the copies of his own writings, early copies of his film scripts, transcriptions of his master-class notes for film festivals, reviews of his films written by various Turkish and non-Turkish film critics, the copies of previous interviews made with him, and the DVDs of his films. He has also kindly given me the opportunity to view his films *Shadows and Faces* and *The Fish (Balk)*, 2014) a couple of months before their release. It was an immense pleasure for me to spend a few days with him in London when he came for a Q&A session following the screening of *Shadows and Faces* at the 17th London Turkish Film Festival in 2011. I will never forget his intellectual and emotional support and his warm and friendly approach.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the members of my Ph.D. oral defense committee, Dr. Rebecca Bryant (LSE, University of London) and Dr. Alexis Rappas (Koç University, Istanbul) for letting my Viva examination be an enjoyable moment, and for their friendly approach, constructive criticisms, brilliant comments and suggestions. I also want to thank them for their helpful career advice and recommendations for publication. Next I am grateful to the members of my Ph.D. upgrade examination committee, Dr. Pasi Väliäho (Film and Screen Studies, Goldsmiths College) and Dr. Nicole Wolf (Visual Cultures, Goldsmiths College), who read early drafts of the chapters and provided horizon-broadening discussions, timely and detailed comments, insightful questions and suggestions that helped shape this research.

I have greatly appreciated the support received through the seminars with the members and guests of Goldsmiths Visual Cultures & Curatorial/Knowledge Research Group during the first phase of my research: Aneta Szyłak, Inês Moreira, Doreen Mende, Joshua Simon, Ji Yoon Moon, Leire Vergara, Roopesh Sitharan. My colleagues in this research group provided a critical space for debate and a very friendly and collaborative atmosphere. I would also like to express my special appreciation and thanks to Prof. Dr. Avery Gordon (University of California, Santa Barbara), Dr. Alan Cholodenko (University of Sydney), and Prof. Dr. Haim Bresheeth (University of East London) for their intellectual contributions. I would like to thank Merve Kütük (SOAS, University of London) and Emre Kâzım (King's College, University of London) for reading my chapters and providing highly useful comments and suggestions on almost every page. I am also grateful to Özlem Köksal (Birkbeck College, University of London) and Sümeyye Parıldar (University of Exeter) for our extensive discussions around my work. I am extremely indebted to Dr. Aneurin John Cynan Ellis-Evans (Faculty of Classics, The Queen's College, University of Oxford) for his generous time in proof reading. I would like to express my special warm thanks to him for doing an enormous job reviewing the English in this thesis. His valuable comments and suggestions improved the manuscript notably.

I have presented different parts of this thesis in a variety of conferences and workshops and received valuable responses, which have shaped and improved this work. I am grateful to Department of Media and Communications, Goldsmiths College, University of London; History of Consciousness Department, University of California, Santa Cruz; Department of Film and Television Studies, University of Warwick; Department of Western Languages

and Literatures, Boğaziçi University; Doctoral School in Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen; School of Humanities, Royal College of Art, London; Film-Philosophy Conference Series; Visible Evidence International Documentary Film Studies Conference Series; and, Goldsmiths College Bodies on Screen Conference for their feedback on earlier drafts of this work. Apart from these conferences and workshops, I was also honoured to be invited by various art institutions as speaker or contributor: British Film Institute (UK), Serpentine Gallery (UK), Iniva - Institute of International Visual Arts (UK), The Showroom Gallery (UK), and Wyspa Institute of Art (Poland). I must also thank several institutions for sharing their archives, libraries, and online databases which I have made use of in my research. The organisations whose sources I have used in this thesis are: The British Film Institute Reuben Library; The Colonial Film Database, Birkbeck College and UCL, University of London; Centre for the Study of Cultural Memory, Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies/Institute of Modern Languages Research, University of London; The British Library; The Senate House Library; The School of Oriental and African Studies Library; The Goldsmiths College Library; The Mithat Alam Film Centre, Boğaziçi University; The Sami Şekeroğlu Cinema-Television Centre, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University; The Library of Cinema-Theatre Museum, Türker İnanoğlu Foundation (TÜRVAK), Istanbul; Centre for Turkish Film Studies (TSA), Foundation for Sciences and Arts, Istanbul. And very special thanks to Barış Saydam from Sinematek for helping me enormously with the task of finding the DVD copies of Yeşilçam films on Cyprus War.

I am also grateful to Prof. Dr. Stephen Voss, Prof. Dr. İlhan İnan, Prof. Dr. Murat Baç, Assist. Prof. Chryssi Sidiropoulou from the Philosophy Department of Boğaziçi University for providing me with the opportunity to work with them during my previous graduate studies. Assist. Prof. Yıldız Silier from the same department was also a wonderful second advisor and collaborator. At this moment of accomplishment, I also have to pay homage to my former university main advisor, the late Professor Zeynep Davran, who passed away on 15 October 2014, just a couple of weeks before my Ph.D. thesis submission. I will forever be thankful to her as she had always been helpful in providing advice during my graduate school career at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. She was and remains my best role model for a mentor and teacher. I still think fondly of my time as a master student in her classroom. I will never forget our intellectually stimulating philosophical discussions during her kind invitations to dinner at her house in Moda, Kadıköy. Zeynep Hoca's enthusiasm and love for teaching was contagious. I would also like to pay homage to the late film historian Rekin Teksoy, who was the source of inspiration for me in my undergraduate days at Istanbul University in the early 2000s. Rekin Hoca has authored several seminal books, including the two-volume *Rekin Teksoy'un Sinema Tarihi* (*Rekin Teksoy's History of Cinema*, Istanbul, 2005) and *Rekin Teksoy'un Türk Sineması* (*Rekin Teksoy's [History of] Turkish Cinema*, Istanbul, 2007; later published in English as *Turkish Cinema*, trans. Martin Thomen and Özde Çeliktemel, Istanbul, 2008), and he taught me many things regarding film history and the art of film's relation to literature and history.

And because life does not revolve around research only, I have to say some words to those who made these years a wonderful and unforgettable human experience. Ph.D. students often talk about loneliness during the course of their study but this is something that I never experienced in London. I shared a lot of

nice evenings and weekends with many friends from all over the world. Together we worked on art projects, had marvelous dinners, attended concerts and film festivals, viewed remarkable exhibitions, visited beautiful places, discovered secret treasures of London, or simply enjoyed our free time together. Getting to know you was a privilege and I am grateful to you all for making the time pass so pleasantly: Halil İbrahim İskender, Philippe Bora Keskiner, Serkan Delice, Nazlı Alimen, Yakup Türkođlu, Kadri Afacan, Mehmet Mehmetođlu, Ahmet Buđra Aydın, Fatih Baha Aydın, Akif Çınar, Emel Söđütkıran Çınar, Umut Kuruüzüm, Zeynep Merve Uygun, Eyüp Togan, Gürkan Aydın, Emre Aydın, Verity Hollywood, Cüneyt Çakırlar, Donat Bayer, Sezai Ozan Zeybek, Hilal Alkan, Feyza Akınerdem, Caner Yelbaşı, Yakoob Ahmed, Enes Erbay, George Matalliotakis, Emre Zengin, Luke Edward Burke, Daniel Matus, Aymeric de Poyen, Janna Graham, Hiwa K, Helene Kazan, Amal Khalaf, Roshi Nasehi, Abbas Nokhasteh, Noura Sanatian, Shimon Sakakibara, Nicolas Vass, Lawrence Abu Hamdan. A very special thanks to all my Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot friends for discussions regarding my project in particular and the Cyprus problem in general, especially Emre Kâzım (King's College, University of London) and Paraskevi Iacovou Koumi (SOAS, University of London).

I am also indebted to my 'old' friends, the ones who were always there, no matter the distance, and who were always so helpful in numerous ways. The geographical barriers were immaterial, and they were always present when I needed them the most. I consider myself so lucky for having them as friends: Göktuđ Taner (Philadelphia, PA, USA), Abdülkerim Tever (New York, NY, USA), Mehmet Fazıl Kanyılmaz (Los Angeles, CA, USA), Mutahhar Ertürk (Istanbul, Turkey), Hilal Turan (Istanbul, Turkey), Yaylagül Ceran (Boston, MA, USA), Mahmut Özdil (Istanbul, Turkey), Emre Gerçek (Evanston, IL, USA), Selim Karlitekin (New York, NY, USA), Faruk Yashçımen (Munich, Germany), Alp Eren Topal (Basel, Switzerland), Ferhat Özden (Istanbul, Turkey), Tevfik Ünal (Istanbul, Turkey). I would also like to extend huge, warm thanks to my landlady, Mrs. Caroline Oakes. Living in her beautiful and large Victorian house in the Whitehall Park area of Archway, designed by R. W. Hill and built between 1889 and 1891, was a privilege and I am grateful to her for providing a peaceful environment, which was very beneficial to the completion of this thesis.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my family. I would like to pay high regards to my parents, Jale and İsmet Arınç, and my elder brothers, Fatih and Cüneyt, my nephews, Ali and Ömer, for their love, encouragement, support, patience, and understanding throughout my research work – they allowed me to spend most of the time on this thesis. I owe everything to them. Besides this, several people have knowingly and unknowingly helped me in the successful completion of this project.

Postcolonial Ghosts in New Turkish Cinema: A Deconstructive Politics of Memory in Derviş Zaim's 'The Cyprus Trilogy'

Abstract

Postcolonial intercommunal violence on Cyprus and its after-effects have been studied extensively in the social sciences and humanities over the past five decades. However, the cinematic representations of the postcolonial condition in Cyprus have not yet received significant critical recognition. This dissertation is a response to the scarcity of scholarship on cinematic representations of the postcolonial history of the island. By analysing cinematically recreated and visualised ghostly matters of interethnic strife and post-conflict situation in Cyprus, I want to contribute to the current debates on the politics of postcolonial memory in Cyprus. My discussion focuses specifically on a film trilogy by the Turkish-Cypriot art house film director Derviş Zaim, 'The Cyprus Trilogy': *Mud* (*Çamur*, 2003), *Parallel Trips* (*Paralel Yolculuklar/ Ta parállila monopátia* [*Ta parállhla monopátia*], co-directed with Panicos Chrysanthou, 2004), and *Shadows and Faces* (*Gölgeler ve Suretler*, 2011). This trilogy is the most remarkable set of critical films about the partition of the island that have been produced in post-Yeşilçam Turkish film history. My analysis of Zaim's film trilogy departs from the assumption of the primacy of the phenomenological experiences of the postcolonial Cypriots over geopolitical and macro-historical explanations. The reading of Derviş Zaim's works about the intercommunal civil wars in postcolonial Cyprus raises the question of the *haunting/hauntedness*. Therefore, this Ph.D. thesis addresses hauntological themes such as disjointed time, memory, historical justice, haunting, visor effect, voice, silence, ghost story, haunted house, haunted body, and the absent other that appear persistently in the films. Throughout this thesis, the spatial/temporal, vocal/narrative, and embodied/disembodied aspects of Zaim's film trilogy are discussed, drawing primarily upon a Derridean hauntology. Building a theoretical bridge between hauntology and postcolonial cinema, the relationship between postcolonial memory, film, and haunting is examined in the context of Cyprus. This thesis concludes by discussing the extent to which Derviş Zaim and his spectral realist films have achieved the deconstruction of postcolonial memory through challenging both the imperialist and nationalist structures imposed by dominant discourses.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 – Introduction: Postcolonial Ghosts in New Turkish Cinema.....	17
1.1. Statement of the Research Problem.....	17
1.2. Aim of the Thesis.....	19
1.3. Scope and Objectives.....	20
1.4. Significance of the Thesis.....	21
1.5. Criteria for the Selection of Films	22
1.6. Research Questions.....	24
1.7. Research Design	26
1.8. Limitations.....	27
1.9. Director’s Short Biography.....	28
1.10. Overview of the Chapters	31
PART I – SPECTERS OF POSTCOLONIAL MEMORY IN CYPRUS.....	33
Chapter 2 – Major Debates on Ghostly Matters and the Politics of Postcolonial Memory in Cyprus	34
2.1. The Postcolonial Subjectivity of the Cypriot.....	37
2.2. The Postcolonial Geography of Cyprus.....	43
2.3. The Postcolonial Histories of Cyprus	50
Chapter 3 – Being with Postcolonial Ghosts: Hauntology, Memory and Film....	62
3.1. Hauntology: Derrida’s Deconstructive Politics and Ethics of Memory	63
3.2. Colonial Legacies: Learning to Live with Postcolonial Ghosts	75
3.3. The Postcolonial Cinematic Specter: Towards a Hauntology of Film	85
Chapter 4 – Specters of Yeşilçam Cinema: Turkish War Films on Cyprus	104
4.1. Cinematic Landscapes: Yeşilçam War Cinema’s Geopolitical Aesthetics	106
4.2. Narrative Conventions: Nationalist Epic Dramas.....	110
4.3. Film Characters: Turkish Heroes versus Greek Villains	115

PART II – DERVIŞ ZAİM’S GHOSTLY SCREEN: THE CYPRUS TRILOGY 122

Chapter 5 – Haunted Houses: The Politics of Postcolonial Human Geography in *Shadows and Faces* 123

5.1. Introduction.....	124
5.2. Historical Overview: First Intercommunal Civil War in Postcolonial Cyprus, 1963–1964.....	126
5.3. Theoretical Theme: Guest/ Host/ Ghost, or the Haunted House	144
5.4. Cultural Context: Dwelling in the Turkish-Cypriot’s Haunted House	155
5.5. Film Analysis: <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	161
5.5.1. The Material Fabric of the Haunted House: Security / Fear.....	170
5.5.2. The Social Fabric of the Haunted House: Hospitality / Hostility	185
5.5.3. The Emotional Fabric of the Haunted House: Belonging / Exile	196
5.6. Conclusion	209
5.7. Credits.....	214

Chapter 6 – Autothanatographical Voices: The Politics of Postcolonial Oral History in *Parallel Trips* 215

6.1. Introduction.....	215
6.2. Historical Overview: Second Intercommunal Civil War in Postcolonial Cyprus, 1974.....	217
6.3. Theoretical Theme: Voices of the (Absent) Other in Oral History Documentary Film	225
6.4. Cultural Context: Voices and Silences of Cypriots in Colonialist, Ethno-Nationalist and Cosmopolitanist Documentary Films	235
6.5. Film Analyses	237
6.5.1. Absent Voices of Cypriots in British Colonialist Documentary Film: <i>Cyprus is an Island</i>	237
6.5.2. Absent Voices of Turkish-Cypriots in Hellenic Nationalist Documentary Film: <i>Attila ’74: The Rape of Cyprus</i>	247
6.5.3. Absent Voices of Greek-Cypriots in Turkish Nationalist Documentary Film: <i>The 50 Years of Cyprus</i>	254

6.5.4. The Spectro-politics of Polyvocality in Cypriot Cosmopolitanist Documentary Film: <i>Parallel Trips</i>	262
6.6. Conclusion	275
6.7. Credits	277
Chapter 7 – Haunted Bodies: The Politics of Postcolonial Subjectivity in <i>Mud</i>	279
7.1. Introduction.....	279
7.2. Historical Overview: Post-Conflict Period in a Divided Cyprus, 1974–2004	285
7.3. Theoretical Theme: A Hauntological Analysis of Film Characters	292
7.4. Cultural Context: Haunted Bodies as Colonial Legacy	300
7.5. Film Analysis: <i>Mud</i>	302
7.5.1. The Ghostly Actual Living Present of Ali: The Postcolonial Mute Bodies of Turkish-Cypriots	309
7.5.2. The Ghostly Past Present of Temel: Unburying the Bones of the Absent Other	320
7.5.3. The Ghostly Future Present of Ayşe: Bodies to-come, or Ghosts of the Future	326
7.6. Conclusion	330
7.7. Credits.....	333
Chapter 8 – Conclusion	335
8.1. Introduction.....	335
8.2. Summary and Conclusions	337
8.3. Discussion.....	356
8.4. Suggestions for Further Research.....	369
8.5. Conclusion	371
Bibliography	373

List of Figures

- Figure 1 – Sezercik, a child-soldier. Screenshots from Ertem Göreç’s film *Sezercik the Little Resistance Fighter (Sezercik Küçük Mücahit, 1974)*.112
- Figure 2 – Screenshots from Duygu Sağıroğlu’s film *The Homeland Comes First (Önce Vatan, 1974)*.114
- Figure 3 – Film posters for *The Eagle’s Nest (Kartal Yuvası, Natuk Baytan, 1974)* and *The Commandos are on the Way (Komandolar Geliyor, Nejat Okçugil, 1968)*.116
- Figure 4 – Screenshots from Osman F. Seden’s *The Devoted Martyrs: The Revenge of Eagles (Severek Ölenler: Kartalların Öcü, 1965)*.119
- Figure 5 – A map that shows how Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots were spread over the whole of Cyprus before the 1963–64 Intercommunal Civil War. Source: Polyvios G. Polyviou, *Cyprus: Conflict and Negotiation, 1960–1980* (London: Duckworth, 1980), 238.136
- Figure 6 – An affective shadow map. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.159
- Figure 7 – Film poster for Derviş Zaim’s *Shadows and Faces (Gölgeler ve Suretler, 2011)*.162
- Figure 8 – Ruhsar, her father Karagözcü Salih, and a Greek-Cypriot police officer. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.164
- Figure 9 – A senior Turkish military officer tracing lines across the map of Cyprus with a baton. A screenshot from Osman F. Seden’s film *The Devoted Martyrs: The Revenge of Eagles (Severek Ölenler: Kartalların Öcü, 1965)*.166
- Figure 10 – An affective shadow map. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.168
- Figure 11 – The shadow of a gravedigger, an allegorical image of death that stunningly reflects the specter of intercommunal violence to come. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.171
- Figure 12 – Ruhsar and two uncanny shadow puppets. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.173

Figure 13 – Karagöz and Hacivat, two uncanny shadow puppets as the specters of intercommunal violence to come. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	175
Figure 14 – The dead body of Cevdet, the first victim of intercommunal violence. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	179
Figure 15 – Christo gazing through the window at their Turkish-Cypriot neighbours’s house. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	184
Figure 16 – Anna driving Karagözcü Salih and Ruhsar to the hospital in town with her car. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i> . .	188
Figure 17 – Anna and Veli throwing <i>koliva</i> , a mythical local Cypriot food, over the roofs of the houses to protect them from the haunting of evil demons. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	191
Figure 18 – Anna and Christo expressing their condolences on the loss of Cevdet. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	193
Figure 19 – Turkish-Cypriots fleeing from their homes as a result of Greek-Cypriot armed attacks. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	194
Figure 20 – Photographs and shadow puppets as iconic signs of death and traces of the absent other. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	198
Figure 21 – The unknown absent character, Maria, haunts the photograph in a larger frame with her absence. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	199
Figure 22 – The non-linear continuities of an interpenetrative montage technique emphasise the postcolonial time-lag. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	201
Figure 23 – Ruhsar and Ahmet praying near the mass graves of the Turkish-Cypriots, including their family members. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Shadows and Faces</i>	209
Figure 24 – Screenshots from Ralph Keene’s colonial film travelogue <i>Cyprus is an Island</i> (1946).....	239
Figure 25 – Screenshots from Ralph Keene’s colonial film travelogue <i>Cyprus is an Island</i> (1946).....	243
Figure 26 – Screenshots from Ralph Keene’s colonial film travelogue <i>Cyprus is an Island</i> (1946).....	244
Figure 27 – Film poster for Michael Cacoyannis’s <i>Attila ’74: The Rape of Cyprus</i> (1975).....	247

Figure 28 – Screenshots from Michael Cacoyannis’s documentary film <i>Attila ’74: The Rape of Cyprus</i> (1975).....	249
Figure 29– Screenshots from Michael Cacoyannis’s documentary film <i>Attila ’74: The Rape of Cyprus</i> (1975).....	250
Figure 30 – ‘The Terrible Turk!’ Screenshots from Michael Cacoyannis’s documentary film <i>Attila ’74: The Rape of Cyprus</i> (1975).....	252
Figure 31 – The late Turkish television journalist Mehmet Ali Birand. A screenshot from Mehmet Ali Birand and Rengin Güner’s television documentary film <i>The 50 Years of Cyprus (Kıbrıs’ın 50 Yılı, 1999)</i>	255
Figure 32 – Screenshots from Mehmet Ali Birand and Rengin Güner’s television documentary film <i>The 50 Years of Cyprus (Kıbrıs’ın 50 Yılı, 1999)</i>	257
Figure 33 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film <i>Parallel Trips</i>	263
Figure 34 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film <i>Parallel Trips</i>	266
Figure 35 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film <i>Parallel Trips</i>	267
Figure 36 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film <i>Parallel Trips</i>	269
Figure 37 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film <i>Parallel Trips</i>	272
Figure 38 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film <i>Parallel Trips</i>	273
Figure 39 – Turkish-Cypriots as the ‘ghosts’ of Europe demonstrate in Brussels for their basic rights and freedoms.	281
Figure 40 – Mute protagonist Ali and other disabled side characters. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Mud</i>	301
Figure 41 – Film poster for Derviş Zaim’s <i>Mud (Çamur, 2003)</i>	304
Figure 42 – A striking image where the body of the ‘unknown soldier’ exists as the untouchable body of the State. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Mud</i>	311
Figure 43 – Ali gets wounded by a bullet fired from the Greek side whilst on guard duty near the Green Line. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Mud</i>	315
Figure 44 – Temel turns the filmic medium into a ‘confession room’. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Mud</i>	321

Figure 45 – Temel asks Ahmet, a character who is an amputee, to narrate his own account of what happened in 1974. Screenshots from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Mud</i>	322
Figure 46 – The Greek-Cypriot victim’s ‘watch’ as an uncanny reminder of the intimacy of conflict, an intimacy that larger narratives have suppressed. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Mud</i>	323
Figure 47 – The ghostly encounter with the Greek-Cypriot victim’s decomposed body. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Mud</i>	325
Figure 48 – Ayşe as a character who is obsessed with the specters of ‘the future’, bodies to-come, or the ghosts of future generations. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film <i>Mud</i>	329

A Ghost

Phoenician inscribers of epitaphs were killed
by warriors who were Phoenicians themselves,
because they advocated an end to the war
with the Greeks, and those who remained,
continued to live like ghosts under threat of death.

From a tombstone in Idalion, Cyprus, eighth century BC

Only as a ghost can I now return to my own home,
emerging from blurred mirrors. I haven't much time.
I throw the windows open, in pitch dark, starlight
floods the rooms. I shake the dust off the curtains,
off the linen draped over bookshelves. I must also clean
with moist breath the family pictures in frames.
The avenging angels of this polyglot house, now silenced,
make every one who enters it, promise to write
against wars, against everything jingoist, even tongues.
Sprinkle the antkiller around like enchanted words,
the mothballs. I've wiped the floors clean. I lock the doors,
and I'm off again, no one has even seen me.
I'm a phantom . . . they can't have me killed.

—Mehmet Yashin [Mehmet Yaşın], Turkish-Cypriot poet,
Nicosia/London, 1997.¹

¹ Mehmet Yashin, 'Poems (1979–2004),' trans. Taner Baybars, *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 326–327.

[On the Deconstructive Politics of Memory]

[...] Derrida's understanding of the act of memory cannot be thought in isolation from the ways in which it will not turn its back on the future, even when it seems to face the past through a series of fictions of anteriority. The mnemonic act, thus conceived, resides in an afterness that has as its object the futurity with which it is not yet familiar, a time that remains open and, of necessity, to come. An analysis of the fiction of anteriority as it inflects memory and its various concepts would strive to articulate the ways in which remembrance, recollection, memorialising, and recalling are eminently future-directed – that is, performed not for their own sake, or for the comforting resurrection of an assumed past presence or presenced past, but rather in the name of something else, something that by definition cannot yet have been articulated, cannot yet have assumed the promise and burden of a proper name. The afterness of memory, then, is really the open futurity that our acts of mourning and remembrance so often consider, even with the best of intentions, merely to belong to the presence of the past. Here, in mourning the afterness of the mnemonic 'after,' the ethical implications of a deconstructive politics of memory may begin to assume form: the future of memory and the memory that there is a future – that is, for us.

—Gerhard Richter²

² Gerhard Richter, *Afterness: Figures of Following in Modern Thought and Aesthetics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011), 198.

Chapter 1 – Introduction: Postcolonial Ghosts in New Turkish Cinema

1.1. Statement of the Research Problem

The 1963–74 intercommunal violence on Cyprus and its after-effects or, as usually known, the ‘Cyprus problem’, have been studied from different perspectives over the years, and the knowledge that has developed about the postcolonial condition of the island falls under different theoretical approaches and disciplinary fields, including political anthropology, political psychology, political history, political geography, international relations and diplomacy studies, gender studies, literary studies, cultural memory studies, archaeology, and museum studies. Political anthropologists who study the postcolonial memory and its contested forms in Cyprus in particular have addressed how the interests of global and regional powers, the nationalist discourses of local politicians, official historiographies and singular narratives, national education systems, commemorative rituals, museums and other public or private institutions, and many other factors have reproduced an ethno-nationalist culture on the island and poisoned relations between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities for decades.

Even though the complex phenomenon of the Cyprus problem has been observed from many different angles, it is obvious that each perspective has supplied only partial information about the nature of the problem. In other words, while the research on Cyprus and postcolonial memory is vast, more nuanced research on the postcolonial condition of the island is lacking. What I believe is missing in the literature is a discussion about the cinematic representations of the

colonial/postcolonial history of Cyprus and their role in the construction, or deconstruction, of collective/popular memories. In his 1976 book *Ethnographic Film*, Karl G. Heider emphasises the ethnographic value of motion pictures. He states,

In some sense one could argue that all films are ‘ethnographic’: they are about people. Even films that show only clouds or lizards have been made by people and therefore say something about the culture of the individuals who made them and who use them. Many films that have little pretension to ethnographicness are nevertheless of great interest to the ethnographer. [...] I have [also] suggested [elsewhere] using fiction films that deal with topics of cultural anthropology. As statements (native statements, in fact) about culture, [...] films are important, and they could serve as raw data or documents in certain kinds of ethnographic research. I am tempted to call them more than just ‘raw data’ and to think of them as ‘naive ethnography.’ They have ethnographic import without attempting the science of ethnography. They are good entertainment, but they are also certainly worthy of serious consideration.³

In the context of this research project, postcolonial films on Cyprus are not only remarkable in terms of their visual impact and formal characteristics, but they also have ethnographic value in the sense that they allow us to explore certain ways of seeing, thinking, imagining, remembering, and forgetting the past in a society. In response to the problem that I defined above, this thesis proposes to explore how postcolonial ethnic violence is remembered on the film screen and how Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots have been represented in films as the ghostly other, the embodiment of ethnic difference, the colonial/postcolonial subject, the silenced and disabled subject, the neighbour, the friend, the enemy, or the ground for the creation of ethno-national identity. This study seeks first to

³ Karl G. Heider, *Ethnographic Film*, revised edition (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), 4.

address the gap in the literature by studying the colonial and postcolonial experiences of Cypriots in the context of cinema. Secondly, this study also seeks to explore how the binary opposition of ethno-nationalist Turkish/Greek identities are reinforced or challenged in films, through the examination of both mainstream and critical documentary and narrative films selected mainly from the history of Turkish cinema. Finally, this study seeks to address some of the methodological concerns regarding postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus by using a hauntological approach to understanding the experiences of colonisation and decolonisation and the ways in which Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots reckon with postcolonial ghosts.

1.2. Aim of the Thesis

The purpose of this Ph.D. thesis is to analyse how the figure of the postcolonial cinematic specter, which persistently haunts the cultural present of the spectator, serves certain counter-epistemic and ethical functions for a deconstructive politics of memory. I intend to explore the relationship between the postcolonial ghosts of Cyprus and Turkish cinema, through the use of Derridean hauntology within and beyond film studies. In particular, how the postcolonial ghosts of Cyprus on-screen serve as counter-epistemic frames (i.e., figures of re-memoration, or *non-knowledge*) or ethical gestures (i.e., spectral alterities, or shadows without bodies, that call for justice for the absent others) through the spatial/temporal, vocal/narrative, and embodied/disembodied aspects of their *haunting*. An understanding of postcolonial ghosts and haunting on screen has important implications for understanding the effectiveness of postcolonial cinema mobilising the audience and stimulating social awareness for the necessity of

unlearning what they think they know about the national past and the other. In Derrida's words, 'to learn to live with ghosts, [... namely] this being-with specters, would [... be] a *politics* of memory, of inheritance, and of generations.'⁴ My methodological approach derives from a theoretical relationship between the ghostly matters of postcolonial history and cinema. I extend Jacques Derrida's philosophy of the ghost, Avery F. Gordon's sociology of ghostly matters, Michael F. O'Riley's theory of postcolonial haunting, and Alfred J. López's hauntology of colonial and postcolonial fictions to film studies by seeking to understand a work of postcolonial cinema as a site of persistent haunting, or more specifically a spectral medium, that creates a kind of epistemic and ethical crisis through the apparition of the ghost of the other via spaces, voices, and bodies on screen.

1.3. Scope and Objectives

What I intend to analyse, in this thesis, through a theoretical bridge between the postcolonial history of Cyprus and Turkish cinema, is the dynamics of a deconstructive politics of memory constructed within film production. In this sense, one of the objectives of this research is to examine various dimensions of postcolonial haunting by which the ghostly presence of different Cypriot subjectivities are unfolded, specifically focusing on Turkish-Cypriot art house film director Derviş Zaim's 'The Cyprus Trilogy' (as the director himself called it once in one of our personal interviews),⁵ which stands out as the *sui generis* and unique example of a postcolonial genre, and hence opens up a new niche in new

⁴ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 2006), xvii-xviii.

⁵ Personal interview with Derviş Zaim, Beşiktaş, Istanbul, March 27, 2014.

Turkish cinema. Another objective is to expose the potential of Derviş Zaim's cinematic oeuvre on intercommunal violence in postcolonial Cyprus to deconstruct the narrative conventions of the filmic legacies of British colonialism and Turkish/Greek ethno-nationalisms. As Derrida, as well as Gordon, O'Riley, López and other hauntological theorists, have argued, one way for oppressed subjects to gain their own voice is to conjure up the ghosts of the past. In general, one of the primary concerns of this research is to reappraise the position of Derviş Zaim, who attempts to engage in decolonising and denationalising the film screen by following a deconstructive politics of memory. Although this thesis also aims to shed light on the significance of Derrida's hauntology within film philosophy, it does not intend to offer a generalised theory of the cinematic specter and haunting. Rather, it attempts to propose alternative ways of analysis, which give priority to the particularities and contingencies of the research material and its cultural and historical contexts. To this end, this thesis develops its theoretical agenda through the examination of Derviş Zaim's 'The Cyprus Trilogy': *Shadows and Faces* (*Gölgeler ve Suretler*, 2011), *Parallel Trips* (*Paralel Yolculuklar/ Ta parállila monopátia* [*Ta parállhla monopatía*], co-directed with Panicos Chrysanthou, 2004) and *Mud* (*Çamur*, 2003). Although a philosophical survey of postcolonial cinema in a wider context lies outside the scope of this study, I do not avoid discussing related theoretical themes when necessary.

1.4. Significance of the Thesis

The significance of this thesis is three-fold. Firstly, the study is the first of its kind to be written on the postcolonial ghosts of Turkish new wave cinema. It uses a 'hauntological' approach to examine the unique and *sui generis* examples of a

postcolonial film genre in contemporary Turkish film culture. Secondly, the study responds to gaps in the literatures of Turkish film history, Eastern European film cultures, postcolonial film studies, and Cypriot postcolonial memory studies. Thirdly, the study also brings fresh insights and perceptions to the ongoing debates on the colonial and ethno-nationalist legacies of Cyprus. At a theoretical level, the study seeks to provide an understanding of the postcolonial cinematic specter that haunts the cultural present of the spectator. The study also utilises a deconstructive philosophy of memory which views postcolonial films as sites of persistent haunting, namely sites of ‘re-memoration (or non-knowledge),’ in Derrida’s terms, where ghosts of colonial and postcolonial pasts are conjured up. As discussed in this thesis, the postcolonial violence in Cyprus has its origin in the British colonial era. The policy of divide and rule continues to inform the nature and structure of current relations between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities. Through a close reading of selected films, this study identifies the ghostly matters of the colonial and postcolonial history of the island, which impinge upon the lived experiences of both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. It is hoped that this thesis will invite further research on the subject.

1.5. Criteria for the Selection of Films

I have selected Derviş Zaim’s ‘The Cyprus Trilogy’ because it offers useful examples of the points I want to make. (1) These films are arguably the most representative of the key concerns of this research and the most original, rich, relevant, and challenging ones in Turkish cinema, whose primary narratives focus on the postcolonial condition in Cyprus. (2) The films are perfectly integrated into one another, as each film gives us the opportunity to explore a different moment,

or period, of crisis in the postcolonial history of Cyprus: the 1963–64 first intercommunal civil war in *Shadows and Faces*, the 1974 second intercommunal civil war (Greece-led *coup d'état* and Turkey's military intervention) in *Parallel Trips*, and the post-partition period, from 1974 to 2003, in *Mud*. (3) I have also selected them because of their canonical status. In Turkish new wave cinema, *Shadows and Faces* and *Mud* in particular are generally thought of as defining the quintessence of Cyprus conflict filmography. (4) The name of Derviş Zaim, like those of Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Zeki Demirkubuz, Semih Kaplanoğlu, Reha Erdem, and Yeşim Ustaoglu, carries a representational force in Turkish art house film culture, and for this reason my selection is a strategic one as well. (5) Derviş Zaim is a Turkish-Cypriot who has a direct experience of the postcolonial conflict, and in this sense his film trilogy justly and honestly portrays the marginalised lives of Turkish-Cypriots and their ambivalent and complex relationship with Greek-Cypriots as well as with Turkey. (6) These films provide a critical response to the ultra-nationalist epic war films of the Yeşilçam period about the Cyprus conflict as well as to the filmic legacies of British colonialism and Hellenic nationalism. (7) These films were made in collaboration with Greek-Cypriot filmmakers, producers, actors, actresses, peace activists, and war victims. What is more, I have selected these films because they describe a hope of transition from ethno-nationalisms to trans-communalism or post-nationalism, thus moving from a politics of selective memory to a politics of cosmopolitan memory transcending ethnic and national boundaries, or shifting from the politics of enmity to what Derrida calls 'a politics of friendship.' (8) Apart from their ethnographic value, *Shadows and Faces* and *Mud* also have a unique aesthetic value that contributes a great deal to widening the range of the film genres of postcolonial gothic film and

disability film. Indeed, a careful viewer will notice that Derviş Zaim has invented a certain kind of *spectral realist* film aesthetics in this trilogy as each film's formal characteristics and portrayal of ghostly characters varies according to its cinematic strategies: shadows and haunted space in *Shadows and Faces*, voices and first person ghost stories in *Parallel Trips*, and disabled bodies and haunted subjectivity in *Mud*.

1.6. Research Questions

The main research question of this study is the relationship between the postcolonial ghosts of Cyprus and Turkish new wave cinema: *Given that cinema, as a ghostly medium, disrupts the living present of the spectator by conjuring up sounds and images from other times and places, what is the function of the postcolonial cinematic specters and their hauntings in contemporary Turkish films on the Cyprus problem?* This primary research question is further specified by three sets of auxiliary research questions: (1) What is the function of the 'haunted house' in *Shadows and Faces*? What kind of spatial characteristics do 'home' and other inhabited places possess in this film in terms of material (security), social (hospitality) and emotional (belonging) factors? How can the film's phenomenological descriptions of domestic spaces and dwelling unfold a mode of counter-intelligibility regarding the production of social spaces in Cyprus and the intercommunal relations between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots? (2) What is the function of the 'voice' in the construction of the autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives in *Parallel Trips*? Why is an oral historical approach in postcolonial documentary film practice relevant, even crucial, in forcing viewers to listen to the stories left out of official histories? And how can

such a film offer a ‘contact zone’ between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities for belated encounters? (3) What function do the ‘haunted (disabled) characters’ in Derviş Zaim’s mnemopolitical film *Mud* perform? Each research question is dealt with in one chapter. The relationship between the chapters and the research questions will be presented in the Conclusion chapter.

Additionally, more general questions also arise from the primary research question, which can be outlined as follows: (4) Can the figure of the postcolonial cinematic specter, which particularly appears in Turkish new wave films on Cyprus and persistently haunts the cultural present of the spectator, serve certain counter-epistemic and ethical functions for a deconstructive politics of memory? Recalling Derrida’s hauntology and his understanding of *non-knowledge* as ‘remembrance’, can these films serve as a site of persistent haunting which creates an epistemic crisis, forcing the members of a divided society to unlearn what they think they know about each other and about their common past? (5) If so, can the postcolonial film practice be, in the contexts of Cyprus and Turkish cinema, a deconstructive act to deal with the legacies of colonialism and of competing postcolonial ethno-nationalisms? (6) In particular, can Derviş Zaim’s ‘The Cyprus Trilogy’ be considered as a call for justice for the nameless absent others, which obliges the viewers to question themselves about ethical issues such as their responsibilities towards the other? From a Derridean perspective, can this film trilogy be regarded as a kind of mnemopolitical intervention to reckon with the ghosts of intercommunal violence in postcolonial Cyprus? Can it encourage the Cypriots to learn to live with the ghosts of the victims of a tragic past? Can it serve as a contact zone through which the members of divided Cypriot society could listen to the bitter stories of the other side? Most importantly, can it offer a

‘cinema of mourning,’⁶ in Richard Armstrong’s terms, which encourages the members of both the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities to learn to mourn together for all the absent others, the victims, the dead ones, without any discrimination?

All these general and particular research questions guide the research methodology and strategies for critical film analysis. These questions also guide the theoretical discussions of each thematic chapter by extending hauntology and a deconstructive philosophy of memory to film theory.

1.7. Research Design

The research design of this study has three distinct components. These include: (1) a detailed survey that collected written historical and ethnographic data on the major events of the colonial and postcolonial periods of Cyprus that have had devastating effects upon the lives of hundreds of thousands of Cypriots; (2) a cross-reading of relevant theoretical texts selected from the literatures of cultural theory, critical memory studies, and film studies; (3) a careful examination and analysis of films about postcolonial Cyprus selected from the corpus of Turkish new wave cinema. The survey of historical and ethnographic data on Cyprus, the cross-reading of relevant theoretical texts, and the critical analysis of selected films enabled the project to examine how the figure of the postcolonial cinematic specter, which persistently haunts the cultural present of the spectator, serves certain counter-epistemic and ethical functions for a deconstructive politics of memory.

⁶ Richard Armstrong, *Mourning Films: A Critical Study of Loss and Grieving in Cinema* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012).

1.8. Limitations

This study has a number of limitations that need to be taken into account when interpreting the results. Its most obvious limitation is the small number of films it discussed. A film trilogy is too limited for broad generalisations about the issue of the colonial/postcolonial ghosts of Cyprus and their hauntings in new Turkish cinema. Therefore, the conclusions must be interpreted with caution. Indeed, there are two more films on the Cyprus problem in new Turkish cinema that need to be studied: *Whispers of Dead Zone (Ölü Bölgeden Fısıltılar*, Fırat Çağrı Beyaz, 2012) is a noteworthy film that explores the frustrating atmosphere of the post-Annan Plan referendum period in northern Cyprus, while *Code Name Venus (Kod Adı Venüs*, Tamer Garip, 2012) focuses on the rise of ethno-nationalisms on the island during the late colonial period of the 1950s. The film-historic limitations beyond Turkish cinema must also be emphasised, since the findings about postcolonial cinematic specters may not be generalisable to Greek and Greek-Cypriot film cultures. Limitations also exist regarding the analysis and interpretation of the films. In spite of the numerous related publications on Derviş Zaim's cinema in general, and on his cinematic trilogy of Cyprus in particular, only very few of them are used in this thesis because the conceptual frameworks of those books and articles mostly have a weaker resonance for my own theoretical approach.⁷ Finally, it must be noted that another limitation of the study

⁷ Aslıhan Doğan Topçu, ed., *Derviş Zaim Sineması: Toplumsalın Eleştirisinden Geleneğin Estetiğine Yolculuk [The Cinema of Derviş Zaim: A Journey from Social Critique to Traditional Aesthetics]* (Ankara: De Ki, 2010); Ayşe Pay, ed., *Yönetmen Sineması: Derviş Zaim [The Director's Cinema: Derviş Zaim]* (Istanbul: Küre, 2010); Serpil Kirel and Aylin Ç. Duyal, *Derviş Zaim* (Adana: Altın Koza Festival Merkezi, 2011); Zahit Atam, *Yakın Plan Yeni Türkiye Sineması: Dört Kurucu Yönetmen: [The New Wave Cinema of Turkey in Close-Up: Four Founding Film Directors:] Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Yeşim Ustaoglu, Zeki Demirkubuz, Derviş Zaimağaoğlu* (Istanbul: Cadde, 2011).

arises from the modular structure of the thesis. In particular, the monographic design of the chapters and the strictly categorical organisation of their subdivisions, make the results difficult to compare.

1.9. Director's Short Biography

Derviş Zaim was born in the southern Cypriot coastal town of Limassol in 1964.⁸ He was raised in a relatively peaceful environment even though he spent his childhood, from 1964 to 1974, in Turkish-Cypriot ghettos under the threat of being massacred by the Greek-Cypriot nationalists. After the partition of the island in 1974, he and his family were forced to flee to Famagusta. He studied economics at the University of Bosphorus in Istanbul where he became involved in cinema. After graduating in 1988, he attended a course in independent film production in London. He then received a masters degree in Cultural Studies from the University of Warwick in 1994. As a Turkish-Cypriot director, his 'split identity' of being both a Turkish-Cypriot and a Turkish citizen, his experience of displacement from his native Limassol during the early years of his childhood, and his critical reflections on the Kemalist cultural politics of *redd-i miras* (disinheritance, or the rejection of the Ottoman cultural heritage) have been some of the main motives for Zaim in his filmmaking career.

In 1996, Zaim made his neorealist feature debut *Somersault in a Coffin* (*Tabutta Rövaşata*), a tragicomic drama based on the modified life story of a real person. The film received considerable attention in Turkish film circles in the

⁸ For more detailed biographies of the director: Cihat Arınç, 'Derviş Zaim,' in *Directory of World Cinema: Turkey*, ed. Eylem Atakav (Bristol: Intellect, 2013), 33–36; Gönül Dönmez-Colin, 'Derviş Zaim(oğlu),' in Gönül Dönmez-Colin, *The Routledge Dictionary of Turkish Cinema* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 362–363.

mid-1990s with its portrayal of a docile, gentle, and homeless character, Mahsun Süpertiz (Ahmet Uğurlu), who is notorious for stealing cars at night to shelter from the cold winter. Ever since, the film has been widely regarded as a milestone in Turkish cinema.⁹ Zaim subsequently worked on *Via Beirut*, another feature about his own experience of displacement from southern Cyprus. However, the film was not completed due to political reasons. After deciding to postpone his aim of making a political film on the Cyprus problem, Zaim delved into making *Elephants and Grass (Filler ve Çimen)* in 2000. This was a whodunit film based on a highly complex story about the criminal organisation within the Turkish state, which is usually identified as the ‘deep state.’ In this film, the director used the Turkish art of water marbling, an art form depending on chance and coincidence, as a metaphor for the lives of the characters.

In 2003, he made his first film on the Cyprus problem, *Mud*, which will be discussed in Chapter 6 of this thesis. *Mud* was followed by the 2004 oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*, which was co-directed with Greek-Cypriot filmmaker Panicos Chrysanthou. As will be analysed in Chapter 5, this documentary explores the massacres committed by Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots on both sides of the island during the 1974 conflict and the traumatic legacy that remains today from the survivors’ viewpoint. Zaim later became the producer of Panicos Chrysanthou’s feature debut *Akamas* (2006), a cross-cultural, interracial romance between a Turkish-Cypriot man, Omeris, and a Greek-Cypriot woman, Rhodou, during the mid-1950s, a period of social disintegration on the

⁹ Cihat Arınç, ‘Somersault in a Coffin (Tabutta Rövaşata, 1996),’ in *World Film Locations: Istanbul*, ed. Özlem Köksal (London: Intellect, 2012), 52–53.

island.¹⁰ Zaim's last film on the Cyprus problem, *Shadows and Faces*, was released in 2011. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the film visualises the first postcolonial intercommunal conflict on the island that took place in 1963–64.

In his trilogy of Ottoman classical arts, *Waiting for Heaven* (*Cenneti Beklerken*, 2006), *Dot* (*Nokta*, 2008) and *Shadows and Faces*, Zaim reinvents the Ottoman miniature, calligraphy, and shadow play in film as 'philosophical diagrams' that, he believes, will enable one to produce new trajectories of thought about the issue of cultural heritage in Turkey. He says that the reconsideration of displaced aesthetic forms allowed him to develop a new logic of film editing and thereby to redefine cinema as a spatiotemporal openness through which re-integrating 'divided spaces' and 'disjointed times' in an imaginative way becomes possible. He deals with the theme of a 'divided island,' namely the emergence of a *de facto* border, the Green Line, in his *Shadows and Faces*, while the main theme of *Waiting for Heaven* is the 'disjointed time' in which the main character Eflatun is haunted by the messianic ghost of the future. The prolific director's recent film trilogy on ecological degradation and environmental ethics, *Cycle* (*Devir*, 2012), *Fish* (*Balık*, 2014) and *Kıtmir* (2015), aims to generate a debate on the ecological crisis the world faces today which he sees as a profound moral crisis. The films clearly describe how the director considers our damaged relationship with nature as the heart of our social problems.

Zaim published his first novel *Ares Harikalar Diyarında* (*Ares in Wonderland*) in 1995, which was awarded the prestigious Yunus Nadi Literary

¹⁰ Nathan Southern of *New York Times* wrote, 'Infuriated by the content of this film, Greek-Cypriot government cautioned Chrysanthou to pull his feature from the 2006 Venice Film Festival; the director adamantly refused.' See Nathan Southern, 'Akamas (2006),' *New York Times*, accessed September 18, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/movies/movie/358745/Akamas/overview>.

Prize in Turkey. Latterly, he has also published several remarkable articles on Turkish cinema, including ‘Your Focus is Your Truth: Turkish Cinema, “Alluvionic” Filmmakers and International Acceptance.’¹¹ He has taught film direction and screenplay writing courses at Boğaziçi University, İstanbul Bilgi University, Bahçeşehir University, İstanbul Şehir University, and Eastern Mediterranean University in northern Cyprus.

1.10. Overview of the Chapters

Following on from these introductory pages, I will continue with a critical review of the literature in Chapter 2. Given the abundance of publications on postcolonial Cyprus, this review will inevitably be very focused on primarily important books and monographs and also important articles that are relevant to my research. In this chapter, I will give an overview of the primary sources on the politics of postcolonial memory in Cyprus under the rubrics of postcolonial subjectivity, postcolonial geography and postcolonial history. In Chapter 3, I will outline the conceptual framework and related theories my research was based on, namely, a hauntological and postcolonial perspective grounded mainly in Jacques Derrida’s philosophy of the ghost, and secondarily in Avery F. Gordon’s sociology of ghostly matters, Michael F. O’Riley’s theory of postcolonial haunting, and Alfred J. López’s hauntology of colonial and postcolonial fictions. The theoretical literature on Derridean and post-Derridean hauntologies and postcolonial theories of haunting, and on specters of cinema in film studies will be covered in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I will lay out the film-historical background of the research

¹¹ Derviş Zaim, ‘Your Focus is Your Truth: Turkish Cinema, “Alluvionic” Filmmakers and International Acceptance,’ in *Shifting Landscapes: Film and Media in European Context*, ed. Miyase Christensen and Nezih Erdoğan (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), 86–108.

problem and concentrate on Turkish war films on Cyprus that were made during the Yeşilçam period between the late 1950s and mid-1970s. In so doing, I aim to illustrate the mainstream filmography to which my research material gives a critical response. I will examine these films in terms of their cinematic landscapes, narrative structures and character formations. Chapters 5–7 form the main content and heart of this Ph.D. thesis. In these three chapters I will concentrate on my research material, namely Derviş Zaim's Cyprus trilogy, focusing on the following main themes in the critical analysis of these three films: the haunted house as the metaphorical image of the postcolonial human geography of Cyprus and its uncanny and claustrophobic atmosphere in *Shadows and Faces*; the spectral voice that plays a vitally important role in the narrative construction of postcolonial documentary films on Cyprus, focusing mainly on *Parallel Trips*; and lastly, the figure of the haunted (disabled) body as the mark of the damaged historicity of the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subject and its wounded consciousness in *Mud*. Finally, I will round up the dissertation in Chapter 8 (Conclusion) by providing a critical summary, suggestions for future research, and a brief discussion of the main concerns identified in this thesis and their social and political implications.

**PART I – SPECTERS OF POSTCOLONIAL MEMORY
IN CYPRUS**

Chapter 2 – Major Debates on Ghostly Matters and the Politics of Postcolonial Memory in Cyprus

A sizeable body of literature has been produced on different aspects of the colonial and postcolonial legacies of Cyprus, but the existing academic sources focusing on the postcolonial film culture of the island are surprisingly limited. It is interesting to note how Turkish memory-films on Cyprus, one of the most strategically significant British colonies, are largely ignored in the literatures of Cypriot postcolonial memory studies, global postcolonial film studies, Eastern European film studies and Turkish film studies. From a Derridean film-philosophical perspective, this thesis aims to contribute to the recent discussions in the newly emerged field of postcolonial memory studies on Cyprus. In this chapter, I will deal with major debates, arguments, and issues over the politics of postcolonial memory and the ‘ghostly matters’ of the postcolonial condition in Cyprus, which have a seminal influence on my thesis. I will also review complementary texts that have been highly influential to the formulation of my research questions and the development of my arguments. The literature can be outlined under three main categories: postcolonial subjectivity, postcolonial geography, and postcolonial history. In the following paragraphs, I will evaluate the relevant sources by classifying them according to these categories.

To begin with, a special issue of the internationally acclaimed journal *Postcolonial Studies*, edited by Yiannis Papadakis, covers a range of topics relevant to postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus.¹² The collection

¹² *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006).

of articles in this special issue provides a broad and thorough overview of various facets of colonial and postcolonial legacies as well as contested memories. These include investigations into: Aphrodite as the most complex symbol of Cyprus, a gendered mnemonic figure that describes the complexity and contradictions of the postcolonial condition, oscillating between the colonial gaze of the British and the self-orientalisation of the Cypriots;¹³ the ghostly subject positions of sexuality and ethnicity in postcolonial Cyprus;¹⁴ specters of the Left that oppose all colonial and postcolonial forms of uneven power relations, offering an emancipatory potential for social change in Cyprus;¹⁵ the affective dimension of the Turkish-Cypriot community's living like 'ghosts' in a haunted postcolonial geography under the rule of a 'make-believe state,' or the unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus;¹⁶ the ambivalent political situation of Cyprus, namely its 'quasi-stateness', or its sovereignty's being haunted by the specters of external powers and irredentist politics;¹⁷ and finally, contested narratives and selective memories of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities about the postcolonial intercommunal violence in Cyprus.¹⁸ This special issue also contains several

¹³ Yiannis Papadakis, 'Aphrodite Delights,' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 237–250.

¹⁴ Stavros Stavrou Karayanni, 'Moving Identity: Dance in the Negotiation of Sexuality and Ethnicity in Cyprus,' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 251–266.

¹⁵ Andreas Panayiotou, 'Lenin in the Coffee-Shop: The Communist Alternative and Forms of Non-Western Modernity,' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 267–280.

¹⁶ Yael Navaro-Yashin, 'Affect in the Civil Service: A Study of a Modern State-System,' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 281–294.

¹⁷ Marios Constantinou, 'Reasons of State and the Constitutional Logic of Quasi-Stateness: The Post-Colonial Contradictions of Cyprus's Integration in the European Confederation,' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 295–310.

¹⁸ Rebecca Bryant, 'Betrayals of the Past,' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 311–324.

poems by the famous Turkish-Cypriot poet Mehmet Yashin [Mehmet Yaşın], which were written between 1979 and 2004, and translated from Turkish into English by Taner Baybars: ‘A Bitter Loss,’ ‘The Gloves,’ ‘The Suitcase,’ ‘A Ghost,’ ‘A Tale of Our Street,’ ‘Wartime,’ and ‘The Candelabrum.’¹⁹

In their ‘Forward: Thinking with Cyprus,’ Christopher Connery and Vanita Seth, editors of *Postcolonial Studies*, argue that the postcolonial condition of Cyprus and Cypriots is determined by particular and unique circumstances, and thinking about the historical contingency of the island’s postcolonial condition allows us to imagine colonial and postcolonial categories in unprecedented and novel ways.²⁰ In their own words,

Cyprus offers to our thinking a full spectrum of colonial and postcolonial problematics: race, religion, ethnicity, nationhood, sub-nationhood, socialist politics, finance capital, imperialism, militarisation, and regional overdetermination are formative in every thorough analysis of its past, present, and future trajectory. Yet all of these elements appear in a distinctive and localised modality; thinking with Cyprus means imagining colonial and postcolonial categories in new ways, coming to terms with what can at times seem like an ungeneralisable particularity.²¹

In his ‘Introduction’ to the special issue on Cyprus, Yiannis Papadakis makes an argument for the existence of multiple forms of colonialism and postcolonialism in the history of the island, then concludes that ‘postcoloniality’ is an unprecedentedly ambiguous and perplexing term in the context of Cyprus because it does not refer to a period of independent nation-state formation but to a period which has evolved from a desire to unite with imagined motherlands

¹⁹ Mehmet Yashin, ‘Poems (1979–2004),’ trans. Taner Baybars, *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 325–328.

²⁰ Christopher Connery and Vanita Seth, ‘Forward: Thinking with Cyprus,’ *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 227–229.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 227.

(*enosis* and *taksim*) to a desire to lose state sovereignty through incorporation into the legal structures of European Union.²² He develops his argument further, claiming that,

The political predicaments of Cyprus are a stark illustration of the multiple forms colonialism and postcolonialism may assume. After all, decolonisation from the British was hardly a struggle by either of the two local actors to create an independent state, but mostly one for incorporation into a ‘motherland’. Ironically, the unsavoury effects of the 1974 interventions by the two ‘motherlands’, together with the rising joint desire to enter into the EU, led some people from both sides to casually allude to the civilising effects of British colonialism when striving to present themselves as more western than Greeks or Turks who ‘lacked’ such a historical experience. Turkish-Cypriots were initially pleased to be placed under the virtual political, military and economic control of Turkey, only for some to later castigate it as another form of colonialism. The joint desire to enter the EU, thus surrendering significant aspects of sovereignty, was later deemed by both as a move towards emancipation by facilitating a solution to the Cyprus Problem. Various oppressed groups within each side – minorities defined along gender lines, for example – eagerly welcomed the loss of state sovereignty resulting from incorporation into EU legal structures.²³

2.1. The Postcolonial Subjectivity of the Cypriot

The first major debate on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus is focused on the formation of postcolonial subjectivity. The texts discussed in this section have helped me develop my arguments, especially that on haunted subjectivity in Chapter 7. In her article ‘On the Condition of Postcoloniality in Cyprus,’ Rebecca Bryant also investigates the condition of ‘postcoloniality’ on the island, with specific attention to the effects of colonial rule on the formation of postcolonial subjectivity, namely on how Cypriots live and what Cypriots have

²² Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Introduction,’ *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 231–235.

²³ *Ibid.*, 234-5.

become.²⁴ She argues that the experience of British colonialism radically transformed the self-perception of Cypriots and the perception of the ethnic other. Bryant's article is one of the most seminal pieces ever written on the issue of postcolonial subjectivity in Cyprus. For her, 'postcoloniality' has remained an unprecedentedly ambiguous and perplexing term in the context of Cyprus because Cypriots have failed to produce critical responses to the British colonial legacy and 'engage in debate over their own postcolonial condition.'²⁵ According to her, this has occurred for two related reasons. The first is that Cypriots have recognised the 'symbolic domination' of the British by co-opting 'many of the ideologies and dichotomies that underpinned colonial power' such as the Western idea of modernisation, culturally specific, nationalised understandings of civilisation (i.e., *politismos* and *medeniyet*), and the binary opposite terms which were rooted in nineteenth-century European sociological theories (i.e., civilised/barbaric, progress/backwardness, etc.); in other words, the British empire maintained its hegemony over the Cypriots 'not only because of its own efforts but, more importantly, because of others' recognition of its dominance.'²⁶ The second reason for 'the failure of postcoloniality,' she goes on to say, was 'what Ashis Nandy calls the "colonisation of mind"²⁷ that resulted from colonial rule,' which explains the Cypriots' admission of 'defeat in the game of symbolic

²⁴ Rebecca Bryant, 'On the Condition of Postcoloniality in Cyprus,' in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, ed. Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 47–65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁷ Rebecca Bryant's footnote: Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

domination [with the British].²⁸ Bryant elaborates her argument by first underlining ‘the unusual character of British colonial rule in Cyprus,’ and then explaining how the ‘colonisation of mind’ was implemented in the Cypriot case.²⁹

That is,

If we discuss British rule only as *realpolitik*, only as a game of strategy in which everyone tries to play their advantages, then British rule in Cyprus is not really like British rule in Egypt or India or Africa but is more like the diplomatic games that the British were always trying to play with the Russians and the Ottomans. Especially in the context of European Union integration, it doesn't pay to discuss one's possible subalternity. However, the case of Cyprus, while different, may still be usefully understood within the context of that ‘colonisation of mind’ of which Nandy writes. Clearly, the case of Cyprus is different at least in the sense that the Greek Orthodox majority in the island claimed not only to possess European ancestry but even that they were the real ancestors of Europe. The Muslim minority, on the other hand, first laid claims to a counter-ideology rooted in Ottoman imperial rule and later claimed to have participated in a project of national modernisation that explicitly aimed at bridging East and West. [...] Both, then, presented themselves as ‘civilised’ in contrast to the ‘Asiatics or Africans,’ one by claiming a primordial European identity and the other by claiming an identity constituted by its challenge to Europe. Where, in this, to find the locus of Cypriots' postcolonial condition? One indeed finds it here, in the emerging equation of nationalism with civilisation. In other words, it appeared to Cypriots that nationalisms were not just ideologies of liberation but were ideologically liberating, extracting them from the realm of primitive ‘Asiatics or Africans.’ [...] In particular, I argue that when change is popularly conceptualised in a discourse of progress, popular notions of ‘civilisation’ acquire a liberating quality that is also a struggle for overcoming. It was possible for this particular form of dominance to occur because of the wedding of local notions of ‘the civilised’ with nineteenth-century sociological theories of moral progress. The demand in Cyprus and elsewhere for a ‘progress both moral and material’ arose from widely diffused ‘scientific’ notions of the evolutionary progress of societies. The language of social evolution, and its incorporation into a civilising of the citizen, made the very conception of the

²⁸ Bryant, ‘On the Condition of Postcoloniality in Cyprus,’ 48.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

nation one that is forever trapped in a unilinear directionality leading toward ‘the modern,’ ‘the West.’³⁰

In the following sections of her article, Bryant carefully examines ‘the ways in which a civilising of the citizen was undertaken through nationalist education,’ and admirably discusses how particular discourses of civilisation ‘were defined by civilisation’s Other – in the Greek case, a barbarous Other at the gates, and in the Turkish case, a backward Other within the communal self.’³¹ As she accurately describes, mutually exclusive, binary, opposing postcolonial identities on the island were constructed by the discourses of civilisation, and more importantly, ‘these discourses were clearly appropriated from the “motherlands” – the centres of civilisation – but took particular forms in Cyprus both because of colonial rule and because of the manner in which colonial rule incorporated the two communities into a situation of structural inequality.’³² After all, she concludes,

In Cyprus, a favourite explanation for the triumph of Greek and Turkish nationalisms on the island remains Britain’s notorious divide-and-rule strategy, which supposedly pitted Christian and Muslim Cypriots against each other. But a more complex way in which one might view the effects of colonialism and its role in the rupture between the communities would see British colonialism not only as a method of force but, more important, as a complex of ideas in which Cypriots participated and which they negotiated with, rejected, or adapted to. Timothy Mitchell argues that the study of modernity should be concerned not simply ‘with a new stage of history but with how history itself is staged.’³³ What I have suggested here is that the specter of the West that haunts colonial narratives may also be linked to the figure of the modern

³⁰ Ibid., 48-9.

³¹ Ibid., 49.

³² Ibid., 49.

³³ Rebecca Bryant’s footnote: Timothy Mitchell, ‘The Stage of Modernity,’ in *Questions of Modernity*, ed. Timothy Mitchell (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 1.

through culturally specific notions of what a civilising progress might mean. [...] It is precisely here that one can locate the failure of postcoloniality in Cyprus: The West becomes both the goal of history and the ground upon which history is staged. Narratives of the self as ‘always already’ Western or as ‘really,’ radically Western are not just claims to modernity but are, perhaps even more important, claims that that self is participating in the playing field of the ‘civilised’ – that is, Western – world.³⁴

Yiannis Papadakis also discusses the impact of colonial experience on the self-perception of the Cypriots in his article ‘Aphrodite Delights.’³⁵ He argues that, in the postcolonial period, the ancient Cypriot goddess Aphrodite has evolved into a figure of self-orientalisation – that is, tourism has appeared as a domain of damaged self-consciousness through which postcolonial Cypriot subjects can auto-orientalise and auto-exoticise themselves, thereby giving international, mostly European, tourists what they expect. The self-perception of postcolonial Cypriots is manifested and becomes observable through stereotypical, commodified representations of Aphrodite as well as the binary pairs Turkish *lokum* (Turkish delight) and Greek *loukkoumia* (which is known in the south as ‘Cyprus’ delight, or ‘Aphrodite’ delight), *Türk hamamı* (Turkish bath) and *Ellinikó loutro* (Greek bath), and *Türk kahvesi* (Turkish coffee) and *kaffé Ellinikó* (Greek coffee). In Papadakis’s own words, ‘Orientalism, it appears, can now demand its financial payback from the tourism industry of Cyprus.’³⁶ In his ‘Introduction’ to the edited book *Step-mothertongue*, Turkish-Cypriot poet and cultural critic Mehmet Yashin [Mehmet Yaşın] deepens this discussion by emphasising that any debate over postcolonial consciousness and subjectivity in

³⁴ Ibid., 49.

³⁵ Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Aphrodite Delights,’ *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 237–250.

³⁶ Ibid., 248.

Cyprus that overlooks its intellectual background, or the multicultural and positive potentials of hybrid and intangible pre-colonial heritages of the island, will be doomed to being inadequate, one-dimensional, and possibly misleading.³⁷ In his *Bodies of Evidence*, an ethnographic study on the memory of loss and absent others, Paul Sant Cassia brings another aspect to the table, investigating how the postcolonial Cypriot consciousness is perpetually haunted by the specters of dead and missing persons.³⁸ Finally, Cynthia Cockburn, in her book *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus*, and Maria Hadjipavlou, in *Women and Change in Cyprus: Feminisms and Gender in Conflict*, discuss the gender dimension of the issue, arguing that postcolonial subjectivity in Cyprus has not only been constructed by complex processes of colonial experience but has also been haunted by the specters of competing masculinities of anti-colonial and ethno-nationalist movements.³⁹ Both authors in their seminal ethnographic works try to explore and discuss how Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot women, on the one hand, have dealt with the gender order on their own sides in the postcolonial period, and how, on the other hand, they have also united their forces to resist the conflictual paradigm of masculinist politics in favour of a peaceful solution to the intercommunal problem. The inspiration of these debates has enabled me to strengthen my arguments.

³⁷ Mehmet Yashin, 'Introducing Step-Mothertongue,' in *Step-Mothertongue: From Nationalism to Multiculturalism: Literatures of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, ed. Mehmet Yashin (London: Middlesex University Press, 2000), 1–21.

³⁸ Paul Sant Cassia, *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005).

³⁹ Cynthia Cockburn, *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus* (London: Zed Books, 2004); Maria Hadjipavlou, *Women and Change in Cyprus: Feminisms and Gender in Conflict* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).

2.2. The Postcolonial Geography of Cyprus

The second major debate on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus revolves around postcolonial geography, or the spatial aspect of postcoloniality. In particular, I have benefited from the following publications to develop my research question and argument in Chapter 5. In his article entitled ‘Cyprus, Violent Cartography and the Distribution of Ethnic Identity,’ Costas M. Constantinou opens a debate on the violent cartography and ethno-centric territorial order in postcolonial Cyprus, which is guided by a critique of ‘the postcolonial aesthetic of domination.’⁴⁰ In his article, he discusses how the current ethnographic map in Cyprus has produced dominant imaginaries that ‘seek to determine what ethnicities exist [on the island] and where they must be located.’⁴¹ In the first part of his argument, he emphasises how the ‘quintessentially and inescapably hyphenated’ nature of postcolonial Cypriot subjectivity creates an *aporia*, ambivalence or a crisis, in defining *who* is a Cypriot. He claims that the regulation of mutually exclusive, binary ethno-religious identities in postcolonial Cyprus enables only certain politicised routes and discursive possibilities, and marginalises or disables others:

The most disturbing thing about being a Cypriot is that one can only be a Greek- or a Turkish-Cypriot. Postcolonial Cypriot identity is quintessentially and inescapably hyphenated; and hyphenated across a fixed Greek-Turkish axis. Being simply and singly Cypriot is a constitutional impossibility (Republic of Cyprus (RoC) Constitution, Article 2). Who is Turk or Greek has been decided on the basis of religious beliefs and less, or not at all, on

⁴⁰ Costas M. Constantinou, ‘Cyprus, Violent Cartography and the Distribution of Ethnic Identity,’ in *The New Violent Cartography: Geo-Analysis after the Aesthetic Turn*, ed. Sam Okoth Opondo and Michael J. Shapiro (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 195–213. Also see: Costas M. Constantinou, ‘Aporias of Identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the “Cyprus Problem”,’ *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 42:3 (2007): 247–270.

⁴¹ Constantinou, ‘Cyprus, Violent Cartography and the Distribution of Ethnic Identity,’ 196.

the basis of language or other cultural markers. Maronites, Latins and Armenians had, collectively, to choose at independence to be members of either the Greek-Cypriot or the Turkish-Cypriot community. Gypsies did not bother to choose, so ‘Muslim’ Gypsies were officially branded Turks and ‘Christian’ Gypsies Greek, despite their religious practices often being ambiguous. Naturalised Cypriots of whatever national origin also had (and have), formally, to become Turks or Greeks; to this effect, they are given up to three months following the act of nationalisation to make up their mind as to their ethnicity. Cypriots who married across the Muslim-Christian divide before the advent of the civil marriage had to change their religion (almost always the women) and, in addition, were required by the state to change their ethnicity. Even today, the RoC constitution does not allow a married Cypriot woman to belong to a different ethnic community to that of her husband (it is possible for her to belong to a different nationality but not ethnicity). Citizens of the unilaterally declared Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) are, or are formally assumed to be, Turkish-Cypriots (TRNC Constitution, Preamble). Cypriot ethno-religious ‘minorities’ in the north, such as the Maronites of Kormakiti and the Greek-Cypriots of Karpasia, come under the administrative responsibility of the TRNC Ministry of Foreign Affairs; they are not Turkish-Cypriot ‘natives’ but north Cypriot ‘foreigners’ with only limited rights. All of which means that Rauf Denktaş’s terrible aphorism that only the island’s donkeys are genuine Cypriot nationals caricatures, but sadly also captures, a legal reality.⁴²

In the second part of his argument, Constantinou strategically attempts to reconsider the transgressive ‘ghostly’ figure of the *Linobambakos*: throughout the rest of his article, he carefully examines the complex identity structures of the ‘Muslim-Christian sect’ of the *Linobambakoi*, a hybrid religious community, or a genuinely syncretistic sect, who are notorious in the history of Cyprus with the tactical uses of religious identity ‘to avoid acts of religious persecution, or the payment of tax, or faith-based inheritance laws, or military conscription, during the Ottoman empire.’⁴³ Constantinou argues that the ‘unusual’ postcolonial

⁴² Ibid., 196-7.

⁴³ Constantinou, ‘Aporias of Identity,’ 251.

identity of the *Linobambakoi* offers us alternative ways of thinking about the postcolonial geography, which will help us to deconstruct the haunted cartography and ethno-centric territorial order in postcolonial Cyprus. In the current conditions of a divided island, he goes on to say that,

[...] it is pertinent to reinvent the *Linobambakoi* – the cross-religious and cross-ethnic Cypriots – who are not just a historical and now extinct community. The *Linobambakos*, following from how Derrida reconfigures the Marrano in *Aporias*, can be: ‘[...] anyone who remains faithful to a secret that he has not chosen, in the very place where he lives, in the home of the inhabitant or of the occupant, in the home of the first or the second coming, in the very place where he stays without saying no but without identifying himself as belonging to.’⁴⁴ Today, the *Linobambakoi* are all those who live in Cyprus, yet without identifying with the monumental nationalist histories propagated by the local regimes of power. They are those who remain faithful to the secret that their identity exceeds imperial categories and limits, exceeds the conventional representations of political discourse. They are those who counterfeit the political currency, and so corrupt the purity of ethno-religious identity. Under aporetic conditions, to be a *Linobambakos* is not a choice but a destiny. In these extreme bicomunal times, one is tempted to say that the only ‘true Cypriot’, the only genuinely postcolonial Cypriot, is the *Linobambakos*.⁴⁵

In his article ‘Locating the Cyprus Problem: Ethnic Conflict and the Politics of Space,’ Yiannis Papadakis focuses on the ghostly aspects of locating Cyprus on the map; he discusses how the spatial politics of anti-colonialism ironically resulted in the geopolitical identification of Cyprus with Europe and the West, despite the fact that the island cannot easily be fitted into the regional categories such as Europe, Asia, Africa and Near/Middle East.⁴⁶ As he explains,

⁴⁴ Costas M. Constantinou’s footnote: Jacques Derrida, *Aporias: Dying–Awaiting (One Another at) the ‘Limits of Truth,’* trans. Thomas Dutoit (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 81.

⁴⁵ Constantinou, ‘Cyprus, Violent Cartography and the Distribution of Ethnic Identity,’ 210.

⁴⁶ Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Locating the Cyprus Problem: Ethnic Conflict and the Politics of Space,’ *Macalester International* 15 (2005): 81–98.

The precise geopolitical location of Cyprus has been intensely disputed throughout the course of the Cyprus Problem. The standard map used in Greek-Cypriot classrooms for decades was that of Greece, with *Kypros* appearing in a cut-out to the right of Crete. Cyprus was thus geologically attached to Greece, in line with the Greek-Cypriot demand of *Enosis* – union with ‘motherland Greece.’ Politically, however, the map rather favoured Turkish-Cypriots who spoke instead of ‘motherland Turkey.’ No need for them to cut and paste; they only needed to extend the standard map of Turkey a little bit to the south in order to include *Kıbrıs* in the south of their motherland. In opposition to *Enosis*, Turkish-Cypriots voiced their own demand for *Taksim*, partition. Divided as the two sides stood in terms of their geopolitical identification with different motherlands, they were united in the view that they firmly belonged in Europe and ‘the West.’ Maps of Cyprus’ general area, employed by both sides, were always cut so as to present Cyprus in the east of *Europe*, never in the north of *Africa* or the west of the *Middle East*.⁴⁷

Lisa Dikomitis’s book *Cyprus and Its Places of Desire* is an ethnography of two groups of Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot refugees and their postcolonial experiences of displacement in Cyprus.⁴⁸ The book shows us how these groups of displaced persons are emotionally linked by their histories of forced migration to a single ‘place of desire’, Larnakas tis Lapithou, a small mountainous village located in the northern side of the island that was renamed after 1974 as Kozan (in Turkish). Dikomitis’s informative and thought-provoking work provides a foundation for greater understanding of the complexities of the refugee experience in postcolonial Cyprus, raising crucially important questions about the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots’ attachment to place and sense of belonging. The book considers the postcolonial geography of displacement as both a constructed network of social relationships and a domain of two seemingly

⁴⁷ Ibid., 81.

⁴⁸ Lisa Dikomitis, *Cyprus and Its Places of Desire: Cultures of Displacement Among Greek and Turkish Cypriot Refugees* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

conflicting, irreconcilable desires. The Greek-Cypriot inhabitants of the village, who were forced to flee to the south of the island, are filled with a desire to return to the village and recreate the network of relationships that was shattered by the 1974 conflict, while the Turkish-Cypriot inhabitants, who migrated from the south of the island to the north, desire to remain in the village and maintain the network of relationships that was constructed since the 1974 conflict. Both groups of refugees demand justice and recognition of their suffering, although this creates an aporia within the very concept of justice: for Greek-Cypriots, justice means the right to return, whereas, for Turkish-Cypriots, it means the right to stay.⁴⁹

Rebecca Bryant's *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* is another ethnographic work that focuses on the major difference between the Greek-Cypriots' and Turkish-Cypriots' place attachments and sense of belonging in the postcolonial geography of displacement and loss.⁵⁰ Her ethnographic study explores 'why the momentous event of the opening of the checkpoints [on 23 April 2003] has not led the island any closer to reunification, indeed in many ways has driven the two communities farther apart.'⁵¹ The book also revolves around the questions of what it means to become a stranger in one's own homeland, and what it means to live in a house that is perpetually haunted by the

⁴⁹ Cf. Salahi Ramadan Sonyel, *Settlers and Refugees in Cyprus* (London: Cyprus Turkish Association Publications, 1991); Rebecca Bryant, *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife - Report 2: Life Stories: Turkish-Cypriot Community* (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2012); Peter Loizos, *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Peter Loizos, *Iron in the Soul: Displacement, Livelihood and Health in Cyprus*, Studies in Forced Migration, vol. 23 (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008); Socio-Psychological Research Group, *A Representative Research Among the 200,000 Refugees of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Takis Evdokas, 1976); Hatice Kurtuluş and Semra Purkıs, *Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Türkiyeli Göçmenler [Immigrants from Turkey in Northern Cyprus]* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014).

⁵⁰ Rebecca Bryant, *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* (Philadelphia, PN: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

ghost of its ex-owner. Bryant's work examines 'the relationship between *care* and *belonging*, or between the transformation of the material world and an ethical relationship to place' in her informants' narratives.⁵² The study points to the gaps in the political expectations across the divide in the post-referendum period, using data from interviews with informants from both sides. The book shows us how Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot refugees have developed different feelings about the homes they were forced to leave in 1974 and the ones they have lived in since then. We are also allowed to see that their feelings are closely associated with public political debates on the right to property, the right to freedom of movement, the right to return, and the right to stay. Throughout the book, Bryant carefully analyses the opposing discourses on 'rights' in detail and places them in conversation with one another, so that the reader may grasp the complex relationship between memory and postcolonial geography in the context of Cyprus.

In *The Make-Believe Space*, Yael Navaro-Yashin develops further Dikomitis's and Bryant's arguments about the attachment to a 'haunted' place through an ethnographic and theoretical discussion on the ruins of war and the spectrality of postwar geography on Cyprus, or 'the phantoms that remained in the territory of northern Cyprus in the shape of the materialities left behind by its former inhabitants.'⁵³ She argues that northern Cyprus is 'a phantomic space, [... where] the objects left behind (homes, fields, trees, and personal belongings) continued to be associated with members of the [Greek-Cypriot] community who

⁵² Ibid., 31.

⁵³ Yael Navaro-Yashin, *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 14.

had fled to the other side. [...] In other words, northern Cyprus is a space where the spectral is visible and tangible.⁵⁴ She goes on to say that,

The specter is not just a figment of the imagination, an illusion, or a superstition. In the ethnographic space and time in hand, phantoms or ghosts appear or linger in a slice of territory in the form of ‘non-human objects’. Although northern Cyprus was carved out as a territory for the separate habitation of ‘Turks,’ the Greek-Cypriots remained there, not physically, but through their material objects, their dwellings, and their fields. The Greek-Cypriots exert a phantomic presence in northern Cyprus. In spite of their bodily absence, the Greek-Cypriots have had an enduring affective presence in the spaces where the Turkish-Cypriots have lived or settled since 1974 through the things they could not carry with them to the south and through the imaginations of the Turkish-Cypriots about them. Turkish-Cypriots have been living for decades now in (or in close proximity to) spaces evacuated by the Greek-Cypriots and with properties they left behind. These materialities have exerted a force over life (including politics, law, and the economy) in northern Cyprus through their very presence.⁵⁵

In addition to the phantomic element in materialities, Navaro-Yashin also investigates the institutional ambiguities of ‘belonging’ in northern Cyprus to explore the phantasmatic element in all state practices. In her study, she questions what it means to belong to the Turkish-Cypriot political community, whose basic rights and freedoms have been violated for decades by the international community, and what the affective dimensions of being a citizen of a ‘make-believe’ state are:

[...] an administrative practice akin to a state system has existed amongst the Turkish-Cypriots since the period of enclaves. Before the declaration of the TRNC as a separate state in 1983, the Turkish-Cypriot administration in the enclaves and in northern Cyprus was given other names: the General Committee (from

⁵⁴ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 13-4.

1963), the Provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration (from 1967), the Turkish Cypriot Administration (from 1971), and the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (from 1975). These series of administrations in practice among the Turkish-Cypriots have had only de facto statuses. [...] The make-believe can be read as a play on the notion of the de facto: something that exists, but not really; an entity that has been crafted and erected phantasmatically, that has been believed through the making or materialised in the imagining. What, then, does it mean to be a 'citizen' of a de facto state whose documents are not properly recognised anywhere in the world outside northern Cyprus? I explore how the make-believe seeps into the everyday, how the phantasmatic is rendered ordinary, how it is normalised.⁵⁶

2.3. The Postcolonial Histories of Cyprus

The third major debate on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus is a debate over postcolonial history, or the narrative aspect of postcoloniality. In addition to the publications on postcolonial subjectivity and postcolonial geography, there are a number of influential texts that emphasise the power of historiography in creating contested forms of remembering. I have also found these sources significant in helping me develop my argument on the politics of postcolonial oral history in Chapter 6. Cyprus has not only been geographically divided, but the writing of the history of the island has also been one of the most divisive elements of the Cyprus problem.⁵⁷ Both communities have used and even

⁵⁶ Ibid., 27-8.

⁵⁷ Yiannis Papadakis, in his report *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the 'History of Cyprus'* (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2008), provides a detailed list of relevant sources on the writing of the history of Cyprus. For general critiques of the British and Greek-Cypriot approaches to the history of Cyprus: Michael Given, 'Symbols, Power and the Construction of City-Kingdoms of Archaic and Classical Cyprus' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1991); Michael Given, 'Star of the Parthenon, Cypriot Melange: Education and Representation in Colonial Cyprus,' *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 7:1 (1997): 59–82; Yiannis Papadakis, 'Perceptions of History and Collective Identity: A Study of Contemporary Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Nationalism' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1993), 25–51. For general critiques of Greek-Cypriot schoolbooks on the history of Cyprus: Loris Koullapis, 'Ideologikoi Prosanatolismoi tis Ellinokypriakis Ekpaidevsis me Emphasi sto Mathima tis Istorias [Ideological Orientations of Greek Cypriot Education with Emphasis on the Lesson of History],' *Syghrona Themata* 68–69–70 (1998–1999): 276–296; Loris Koullapis, 'The Subject of History in the Greek Cypriot Educational

abused history to justify and explain their own notions of justice. While Greek-Cypriot historians start the history of Cyprus with ancient Greece, Turkish-Cypriot historians start the history of the island with the Ottoman conquest of 1571. Similarly, the Greek-Cypriot historiography focuses on the periods of 1955–1960 and 1974, while the Turkish-Cypriot historiography mainly focuses on the period of 1963–1967. In their co-written article ‘A Critical Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Official Historiographies (1940s to the Present),’ Mete Hatay and Yiannis Papadakis deal with the official historical paradigms embraced by Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot historians since the 1940s.⁵⁸ The article shows that the colonial and postcolonial histories of Cyprus were written from different positions, by different authors and during different periods; however, these historical texts were implicitly or explicitly shaped by the authors’ political goals and ideological motivations. The politics of selective memory that dominates the official and singular narratives of both sides views the writing of history as a means of continuing the battle between the two communities. Therefore, historiography on Cyprus has turned into an obstacle to

System: A Subset of the Greek Nation,’ in Christina Koullouri, ed., *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education* (Thessaloniki, 2002), 406–422; AKTI Project and Research Centre, *Ekthesi gia ta Vivlia Istorias kai Logotechnias tis Ektis Dimotikou se Schesi me tin Proothisi tis Vias kai tou Ethnikismou [Report on History and Literature Books of 6th Grade Primary Schools in Relation to Issues of Violence and Nationalism]* (Nicosia, 2004). For general critiques of Turkish-Cypriot approaches to history and of schoolbooks: Niyazi Kızılyürek, ‘National Memory and Turkish Cypriot Textbooks,’ in Christina Koullouri, ed., *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education* (Thessaloniki, 2002), 431–442; POST Research Institute, *Pilot Application for the History and Literature Books of the 5th Grade of the Elementary School* (Nicosia, 2004); POST Research Institute, *Textual and Visual Analyses of Lower Secondary School History Textbooks: Comparative Analysis of the Old and the New Textbooks* (Nicosia, 2007).

⁵⁸ Mete Hatay and Yiannis Papadakis, ‘A Critical Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Official Historiographies (1940s to the Present),’ in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, ed. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (New York, NY: I.B.Tauris, 2012), 27–50.

reconciliation and resolution. As Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis⁵⁹ have lucidly explained in their ‘Introduction’ to the book *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*,

In Cyprus, history has become the primary actor in battles fought on legal and diplomatic terrains; as a result, narratives of the conflict represent a continuation of the conflict. Some of these narratives have been employed to justify or contest decisions of the United Nations Security Council regarding the conflict. More recently, history has been employed in legal disputes over property initiated by dispossessed owners in both local and transnational courts. In all cases, the actors are aware of the necessity to shape and employ particular narratives that will resonate both domestically and internationally, narratives that will in turn shape the course of the conflict. A common remark by foreign diplomats visiting the island is how, upon first meeting any leader, they were subjected to the ‘history lesson’ ordeal.⁶⁰

Cyprus and the Politics of Memory is one of the most remarkable books on the politics of memory in the context of Cyprus.⁶¹ The book, which contains seminal articles on contested memories written by different scholars, challenges conventional modes of history-writing about Cyprus, redefines the role of history in this debate by suggesting a shift from being a tool of division to being a form of dialogue, and examines the conditions for possible peace and the resolution of the conflict in the region. *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict*, edited by Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz, is another challenging work on the Cyprus problem that attempts to revise the dominant modes of history-writing and of remembering the past based on a

⁵⁹ Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Introduction: Modalities of Time, History and Memory in Ethnonational Conflicts,’ in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, ed. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 1–26.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶¹ Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, eds., *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

victimised ethnic Self/Other.⁶² The book offers alternative ways of conceptualising the colonial/postcolonial legacy and modernity. Different authors illuminate a variety of aspects of the Cyprus problem, including modernity, ethno-nationalisms and intercommunal relations, membership in the European Union, migration, and tourism. The colonial and postcolonial legacies of the island have also been problematised in critical histories of colonisation and decolonisation in Cyprus.⁶³

In his article ‘The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in Cyprus,’ political anthropologist Yiannis Papadakis focuses on the problem of selective memory in the context of the Cyprus problem and argues that both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities choose to emphasise certain events of their collective history and to ignore others in order to justify their claims through the past.⁶⁴ Papadakis elaborates his argument in his *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide*, the first monograph on the Cyprus problem that unfolds the author’s extensive and comparative ethnographic research on the modes of remembering and forgetting in the context of the histories of

⁶² Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz, eds., *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006).

⁶³ Heinz A. Richter, *A Concise History of Modern Cyprus, 1878–2009* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010); Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis, ed., *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878–2006* (Mannheim and Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006); Alexis Rappas, *Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014); Emiliou Solomou and Hubert Faustmann, eds., *Colonial Cyprus, 1878–1960: Selected Readings* (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010); Hubert Faustmann and Emiliou Solomou, eds., *Independent Cyprus 1960–2010: Selected Readings* (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2011); Clement Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Stavros Panteli, *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: East-West Publications, 1984); Ioannis D. Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem* (London: Hurst and Company, 1999).

⁶⁴ Yiannis Papadakis, ‘The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in Cyprus,’ *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3:1 (1993): 139–154.

colonisation and interethnic strife on the island.⁶⁵ The book brings to our attention an anthropology of Cypriot nationalist divisions that revolves around the questions of how Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots understand their own colonial and postcolonial histories, and how the negative heritage of these tragic histories came into being. Papadakis argues that although Greek-Cypriots continue to repeat the slogan ‘I don’t forget’ (*Δεν Ξεχνώ, Den Xechnó*) to their ‘enemies’, and Turkish-Cypriots respond with ‘We won’t forget’ (*Unutmayacağız*), the collective memories of both sides are marked by oblivion, obliteration, and reinvention. As the author states, the problem was never the ‘presence of many histories and identities’ on Cyprus, ‘but that they were so divided by Dead Zones, with little possibility of dialogue between them.’⁶⁶ The author also shares with the readers his own experience of ‘unlearning’ the anti-Turkish discourse that dominates Greek-Cypriot nationalist historiography, through the ethnographic research process. Papadakis concludes that lack of dialogue between the two communities reinforces the self-righteous attitudes of both sides over the problem and blocks any attempt to engage in a re-appraisal of the island’s darkest pasts. In her article ‘Betrayals of the Past,’ Rebecca Bryant adeptly illustrates how betrayals of a tragic postcolonial past have their traces in the cultural present of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, leading to new, invisible mental borders and dead zones between them. Her article demonstrates that a real solution to the Cyprus problem will necessitate a better understanding

⁶⁵ Yiannis Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 234.

of how to remove these mental borders and dead zones that have become more obvious with the opening of the Green Line.⁶⁷

In her article ‘The Fractures of a Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting Erenköy,’ Rebecca Bryant deals with the symbolic battle of Erenköy (Kokkina), which acquired the status of a legend – an ‘originary’ event – for the Turkish-Cypriot community.⁶⁸ She argues that forgetting is as essential as remembering in the construction of Turkish-Cypriot ethno-national identity. She shows us how a politics of selective memory may function as a mode of myth-making, focusing on the creation of a contested mythology around the battle of Erenköy. Bryant, in her article, meticulously examines ‘processes of forgetting and remembering in Turkish-Cypriot national myth-making,’ as well as ‘the roles played by those processes in constructing new senses of community;’ in so doing, she follows a discussion on ‘the selective creation of a particular national myth’ and questions ‘what this tells us about struggles over identity within a particular community.’⁶⁹ The argument on the mode of selective remembering is also supported by the findings of various scholars about museological practices in Cyprus. Yiannis Papadakis,⁷⁰ Alexandra Bounia and Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert,⁷¹ and Costas M.

⁶⁷ Rebecca Bryant, ‘Betrayals of the Past,’ *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, ed. Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 311–324; a revised edition of the article was also reprinted in Rebecca Bryant, *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* (Philadelphia, PN: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 182–193.

⁶⁸ Rebecca Bryant, ‘The Fractures of a Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting Erenköy,’ in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, ed. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 168–194.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁷⁰ Yiannis Papadakis, ‘The National Struggle Museums of a Divided City,’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17:3 (1994): 400–419.

⁷¹ Alexandra Bounia and Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert, ‘National Museums in Cyprus: A Story of Heritage and Conflict,’ in *Building National Museums in Europe, 1750-2010* [Conference Proceedings from European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna, April 28-30, 2011], ed. Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius

Constantinou and Mete Hatay⁷² comparatively explore the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot national struggle museums in their articles. They argue that the politics of selective memory is not solely based on the experiences and imaginings of the two ethnic communities, but also that the nation-states, both the Republic of Cyprus and the internationally unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, are the central actors in the construction of ‘one-sided collective memories.’⁷³

In his article ‘Nation, Narrative and Commemoration: Political Ritual in Divided Cyprus,’ Yiannis Papadakis deals with the issue of commemoration on both the northern and southern sides of Cyprus as a significant aspect of the state-sponsored politics of selective memory.⁷⁴ By examining commemorative rituals on both sides, Papadakis demonstrates how Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot political actors stage commemorations of different historical events to construct contesting historical narratives and mutually exclusive collective memories. He suggests a hauntological framework for the study of ritual in contemporary nation-states and argues that we can discover the ghostly aspects of commemorative rituals only if we treat them as components (‘events’) building a national ghost narrative that articulates a certain story (‘a history’). In other words, he argues that when we begin to examine the relationship between

(Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2011), 165–201, accessed February 9, 2014, http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064.

⁷² Costas M. Constantinou and Mete Hatay, ‘Cyprus, Ethnic Conflict and Conflicted Heritage,’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33:9 (2010): 1600–1619.

⁷³ Cf. Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* (Oxford: Berg, 2007); Richard Sandell, *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007).

⁷⁴ Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Nation, Narrative and Commemoration: Political Ritual in Divided Cyprus,’ *History and Anthropology* 14:3 (2003): 253–270.

commemorative rituals, we realise that ‘death consequently emerges as the salient factor in the construction of identity and “otherness”: who kills whom and who is killed by whom.’⁷⁵ He suggests that ‘the boundaries of the “imagined community” of the living are delineated by the communities of the morally relevant dead constructed through ritual commemorations.’⁷⁶

Another aspect of the state-sponsored politics of selective memory appears in national education systems, which also needs attention. Rebecca Bryant,⁷⁷ Yiannis Papadakis,⁷⁸ Miranda Christou,⁷⁹ and other scholars⁸⁰ who study the relationship between collective memory and national education in Cyprus argue that the histories of postcolonial violence in Cyprus are often promoted through national education and enter into popular discourse. These authors explain in their articles from various perspectives that the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot historical narratives in textbooks, developed after the partition of the island, are both selective in nature, carefully organised to give an account of the position of the

⁷⁵ Ibid., 254.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 254.

⁷⁷ Rebecca Bryant, ‘Educating Ethnicity’ (Chapter 5) and ‘An Education in Honor’ (Chapter 6) in Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 123–184.

⁷⁸ Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the “History of Cyprus,”’ *History & Memory* 20:2 (2008): 128–148. Also see: Yiannis Papadakis, *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the ‘History of Cyprus’* (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2008).

⁷⁹ Miranda Christou, ‘A Double Imagination: Memory and Education in Cyprus,’ *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 24:2 (2006): 285–306.

⁸⁰ Stavroula Philippou, ‘Beyond the History Textbook Debate: Official Histories in Greek-Cypriot Geography and Civics Curricula,’ in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, ed. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 51–70; Hakan Karahassan and Michalinos Zembylas, ‘The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in History Textbooks: Towards a Pedagogy of Reconciliation and Peace in Divided Cyprus,’ in *Citizenship Education: Europe and the World*, ed. Alistair Ross (London: CiCe, 2006), 701–712; Michalinos Zembylas, ‘Children’s Construction and Experience of Racism and Nationalism in Greek-Cypriot Primary Schools,’ *Childhood* 17:3 (2010): 312–328.

self and the other, and follow an ethno-nationalist politics of memory. Their studies show us how historical narratives in textbooks construct two mutually exclusive collective memories on the island, creating a stigmatised ‘other’, which is crucial for self-identity formation and belonging to an ethnic community.

In her ‘In the Ruins of Memory,’ chapter five of *The Past in Pieces*, Rebecca Bryant also focuses on the state-sponsored politics of selective memory on both sides.⁸¹ She discusses how Turkish-Cypriots adopt a politics of forgetting, claiming that ‘it is time to put the past behind us.’ As she explains, in the Turkish-Cypriot narratives,

[...] the arrival of Turkish troops appeared to be the end of history, the beginning of a new history in which Turkish-Cypriots had been ‘liberated,’ in which their migration to the north was an *özgürlük göçü*, a ‘freedom migration.’ But as Turkish-Cypriots began to feel more and more that they lived not in freedom but in what they began to call an ‘open-air prison,’ as they began more and more to see that the past was not finished but in fact threatened to return.⁸²

She also points out that the institutions of memory on the Greek-Cypriot side, as opposed to the Turkish-Cypriot politics of forgetting, aim to maintain the past as an open wound, preventing its closure, and pursue a politics of exile to create a sense of the temporary. This Greek-Cypriot politics of exile, she goes on to say,

[...] insists that the present is a false one, that their ‘real’ lives will be returned to them only with a return to a past that it is their duty to preserve intact. Moreover, in Greek-Cypriot depictions, wrongs are made visible as a wound that cannot heal, a wound worn on the body politic much as stigmata are born by Christian saints. In Greek a *stigma* is simply a mark or a sign, but stigmata are the wounds that appear on blessed martyrs, those who attempt to

⁸¹ Rebecca Bryant, ‘In the Ruins of Memory,’ in Rebecca Bryant, *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* (Philadelphia, PN: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 101–133.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 128-9.

imitate Christ. The wound is a witness, but to a truth that is not visible and a future whose time is not known. Some representations evoke this directly, such as the large black cross next to the Ledra Palace checkpoint on which hangs a black map of Cyprus with three points that drip blood, representing the hand and chest wound of Christ. The wound that cannot be healed witnesses a wrong that cannot be righted, one that will disappear only at the end of time, when all will be rectified, and everything will return to its pure state, the way it once was.⁸³

Bryant concludes, ‘remembrance is selective, [...] forgetting requires recall, and [...] absence is not loss but rather the specter of that which may yet return.’⁸⁴ Bryant develops further her argument in another article, ‘Partitions of Memory: Wounds and Witnessing in Cyprus,’ investigating how images of wounded bodies are used in post-conflict Cyprus as icons of suffering, or signifiers of wounded postcolonial consciousness, namely of postcolonial identity crisis.⁸⁵ In her article ‘Nationalisms and Embodied Memory in Northern Cyprus,’ Moira Killoran similarly deals with the corporeal modes of remembering in northern Cyprus to explore the identity crisis of Turkish-Cypriots in the aftermath of the island’s partition in 1974, examining the relationship between the idea of homeland and the metaphors of body and disembodiment in both Turkish-Cypriot *nationalist*⁸⁶ poetry and Turkish-Cypriot *oppositional*⁸⁷ poetry.⁸⁸ She argues that

⁸³ Ibid., 112.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 133.

⁸⁵ Rebecca Bryant, ‘Partitions of Memory: Wounds and Witnessing in Cyprus,’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54:2 (2012): 332–360.

⁸⁶ Gülgün Serdar, *1571’den 1964’e Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı’nda Gazavatnâme, Destan, Efsane, Kahramanlık Şiiri [Warlords’ Chronicles, Epic Stories, Legends and Heroic Poems in the Literature of Cyprus Turks: from 1571 to 1964]* (Nicosia: Ulus, 1986).

⁸⁷ Aydın Mehmet Ali, ed., *Edebiyatta Kıbrıslı Türk Kimliği [The Turkish-Cypriot Identity in Literature]* (Istanbul: Varlık, 1988).

⁸⁸ Moira Killoran, ‘Nationalisms and Embodied Memory in Northern Cyprus,’ in *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*, ed. Vangelis Calotychos (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), 159–170.

‘the imagining of the social body through the rhetorical device of the embodiment of memory physicalises a sense of self continuous with a physical territory.’⁸⁹

In their 2008 article ‘The Jasmine Scent of Nicosia: Of Returns, Revolutions, and the Longing for Forbidden Pasts,’ Mete Hatay and Rebecca Bryant tell us the recent story of the jasmine flower, namely how it has become in the past decade the symbol of the divided capital of Nicosia, then of a period when Turkish-Cypriots lived in enclaves, and finally of a new Turkish-Cypriot opposition movement (the *Yasemin Devrimi*, the Jasmine Revolution) that promoted rebellion against a cultural present which they saw as haunted and corrupted by the provincial nationalisms and Turkey’s purported colonisation of the island.⁹⁰

In his article ‘The Ideological Contest between Greek-Cypriot Nationalism and Cypriotism, 1974–1995: Politics, Social Memory and Identity,’ Caesar V. Mavratsas draws our attention to the fact that the battles over memory in Cyprus is not limited to the one that has been taking place between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots.⁹¹ He argues that there is also another battle over memory, one that has been going on within the Greek-Cypriot community between the supporters of Greek-Cypriot nationalism and the supporters of Cypriotism⁹² since

⁸⁹ Ibid., 159.

⁹⁰ Mete Hatay and Rebecca Bryant, ‘The Jasmine Scent of Nicosia: Of Returns, Revolutions, and the Longing for Forbidden Pasts,’ *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2008): 423–449.

⁹¹ Caesar V. Mavratsasa, ‘The Ideological Contest between Greek-Cypriot Nationalism and Cypriotism, 1974–1995: Politics, Social Memory and Identity,’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20:4 (1997): 717–737.

⁹² In his article, Mavratsasa defines Cypriotism as a ‘de-ethnicised’ political ideology, as a term which ‘refers to the idea that Cyprus has its own *sui generis* character and, thus, must be viewed as an entity which is independent from both the motherlands of the two main communities of the island, that is, Greece and Turkey. This, of course, contrasts sharply with the view that dominates nationalist ideology (Greek- or Turkish-Cypriot) and views Cyprus as an extension of Greece and Turkey. For the Cypriotist, the independence or autonomy of Cyprus is manifest at different levels

the mid-1980s: an ideological dispute on the national past and identity issues. In his article ‘Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity: Nationalism as a Contested Process,’ Yiannis Papadakis also further develops Mavratsas’s argument on the battle over memory by investigating the internally contested nature of nationalism and grand historical narratives in the context of the Greek-Cypriot community.⁹³ Lastly, in his Ph.D. thesis ‘Memories of Violence in Cyprus: Conflicting Perspectives and Dynamics of Reconciliation,’ Paul Griffiths contributes to the debate over contested memories, thinking about the potentials of postcolonial memory in Cyprus. He argues that memories of postcolonial violence in Cyprus may not necessarily end up in a battle over memory between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots; such memories could also lay the ground for reconciliation between the two communities, encouraging a sense of ‘collective victimhood.’⁹⁴ Having outlined the contours of the literature on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus, in the next chapter I will provide the conceptual framework and methodology of this project, dissecting the roots of Derrida’s hauntology and deconstructive philosophy of memory in detail.

– history, politics, social structure, culture – but it rarely (and only in its more extreme expression) takes the form of a complete disengagement from Greece and Turkey. Thus, Cypriotism does not deny the Greek or Turkish ethnicity of the inhabitants of the island; it stresses, however, that their ethnic identity – and, thus, on a more general level, their culture – has also acquired *sui generis* features which not only differentiate the Greek- and the Turkish-Cypriots from the Greeks and the Turks but also create some common ground between the two communities of the island.’ See Mavratsasa, ‘The Ideological Contest,’ 721.

⁹³ Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity: Nationalism as a Contested Process,’ *American Ethnologist* 25:2 (1998): 149–165.

⁹⁴ Paul Griffiths, ‘Memories of Violence in Cyprus: Conflicting Perspectives and Dynamics of Reconciliation’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter, 2011).

Chapter 3 – Being with Postcolonial Ghosts: Hauntology, Memory and Film

In this chapter, I will give an outline of the conceptual framework and methodology of the thesis. A research project that sets out to look for the postcolonial ghosts of Cyprus and to trace their cinematic hauntings in contemporary Turkish film culture must use certain methodological tools. This thesis explores how Derviş Zaim's 'The Cyprus Trilogy' deals with the questions of how the present time of Cypriot society is haunted by the persistence of colonial and postcolonial histories and by the ghosts of past conflicts, and why the Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot communities never manage to bury the dead completely. The research that informs this thesis, therefore, needs a primarily hauntological approach, a comprehensive study of ghosts and haunting, which has an affinity to a critical politics and ethics of postcolonial memory. It is according to this purpose of developing a reading strategy for my research material that I seek to engage with the French philosopher Jacques Derrida's hauntology,⁹⁵ as well as Avery F. Gordon's sociology of ghostly matters,⁹⁶ Michael F. O'Riley's theory of postcolonial haunting,⁹⁷ and Alfred J. López's hauntology of colonial

⁹⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 2006).

⁹⁶ Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

⁹⁷ Michael F. O'Riley, 'Postcolonial Haunting: Anxiety, Affect, and the Situated Encounter,' *Postcolonial Text* 3:4 (2007): 1–15; Michael F. O'Riley, *Postcolonial Haunting and Victimization: Assia Djebar's New Novels* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2007).

and postcolonial fictions.⁹⁸

3.1. Hauntology: Derrida's Deconstructive Politics and Ethics of Memory

Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno were the precursors of spectrological research with their two-page note, appended to *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*, entitled 'On the Theory of Ghosts' (1944).⁹⁹ Despairing at the loss of historical perspective, at our 'disturbed relationship with the dead – forgotten and embalmed,'¹⁰⁰ Adorno and Horkheimer dreamed of a kind of theory of ghosts that would allow us to mourn modernity's 'wound in civilisation,'¹⁰¹ and also be able to eliminate the devastating forces that open up over and over again: 'Only the conscious horror of destruction creates the correct relationship with the dead: unity with them because we, like them, are the victims of the same condition and the same disappointed hope.'¹⁰² The roots of their project, on the other hand, trace back to Walter Benjamin's essay 'Theses on the Philosophy of History' (1940), in which the author offers a hauntological concept of history that deals with the history of ghosts, or 'the tradition of the oppressed,' with a messianic implication.¹⁰³ Indeed, Benjamin's 'materialistic historiography' can be read as an early form of hauntology that provides an unprecedented approach to deconstruct

⁹⁸ Alfred J. López, *Posts and Pasts: A Theory of Postcolonialism* (Albany, NY: State University Press of New York, 2001).

⁹⁹ Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, 'On the Theory of Ghosts,' in Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (London: Verso, 1997), 215–217.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 216.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁰³ Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History,' in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, NY: Schocken, 1969), 259.

the already constructed historical narratives by virtue of a messianic haunting, or by ‘giving those configurations a shock.’¹⁰⁴ That ghostly shock, or messianic haunting, disjoins the linear and progressive configurations of historical time, and in so doing, it ‘crystallises’ a historical subject ‘into a monad,’ or into a unique ghostly matter.¹⁰⁵ ‘A historical materialist [or the early hauntologist],’ Benjamin goes on to say, ‘approaches a historical subject only where he encounters it as a monad [namely, as a unique ghostly matter]. In this structure he recognises [...] a revolutionary chance [or a promise] in the fight for the oppressed past.’¹⁰⁶ Benjamin is also one of the early thinkers who wrote a germinal essay that examines the spectral nature of film with a specific attention to the ‘reproducibility’ without an original.¹⁰⁷

Jacques Derrida, however, was the first thinker who meticulously problematised the issue of being-with-ghosts, or the predicament of ghostly entailment. In his book *Specters of Marx* (1993), a key text in deconstructive ethics and politics, Derrida proposes the term ‘hauntology,’ in its French form *hantologie*, which blurs the binary opposition of presence and absence, being and non-being, actuality and inactuality, life and death. Hauntology is the study of absent others, or a ‘phenomenology of the specter,’¹⁰⁸ which explores ‘the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 262.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 262-3.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 263.

¹⁰⁷ Walter Benjamin, ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,’ in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, NY: Schocken, 1969), 211–244; for further discussion of the spectral nature of film in relation to history and memory in Benjamin’s philosophy of film: Cihat Arınç, ‘Against Historicism and Aestheticism: Walter Benjamin’s Critical Philosophy of Film’ (M.A. thesis, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, 2008).

¹⁰⁸ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 167.

persistence of a present past'¹⁰⁹ and spectrality that conditions all life. Derrida's major argument is that 'a ghost never dies, it remains always to come and to come-back.'¹¹⁰ Rather than assuming the subjectivity, ego, or self as simply given, or self-present, hauntology affirms the fact that the ghostly other is always inside us, that memory, identity, culture, history, and public space are always haunted and disturbed from within. Therefore, Derrida claims that to be is to be haunted by a ghostly other.

Derrida explains that the specter, in ontological terms, 'is a paradoxical incorporation, the becoming-body, a certain phenomenal and carnal form of the spirit. It becomes, rather, some "thing" that remains difficult to name: neither soul nor body, and both one and the other.'¹¹¹ That is, a ghost is 'the tangible intangibility of a proper body without flesh, but still the body of *someone* as *someone other*.'¹¹² In spatial terms, the ghost is neither *present* nor *absent*; in temporal terms, it neither *was* or *will be*, nor fully *is*. It is a 'non-object,' 'non-present present,' or 'being-there of an absent.'¹¹³ Therefore, for Derrida, ghosts are neither paranormal entities roaming outside the world, as occultists and spiritualists assume, nor are they psychological illusions or alien, irrational, spectral presences inside our heads, as Freud and his successors in the psychoanalytic tradition believed. In his own words, they are 'neither in the head nor outside the head.'¹¹⁴ Rather, they are *social* entities that can never be reduced

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 126.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 123.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 5.

¹¹² Ibid., 6.

¹¹³ Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 216.

to a crude dialectic of mental/material and that insist on invisibly haunting our web of relations with the world.

Derrida also defines the specter, in epistemological terms, as a figure of non-knowledge, or ‘not-knowing;’¹¹⁵ namely, it is a troubling figure, ‘an unnameable or almost unnameable thing,’ that ‘no longer belongs to knowledge,’ or ‘at least no longer to that which one thinks one knows by the name of knowledge.’¹¹⁶ The figure of the ghost, in this sense, is the groundless ground of deconstructive epistemology that offers an ‘opening’ to the future:

No progress of knowledge could saturate an opening that must have nothing to do with knowing. Nor therefore with ignorance. The opening must preserve this heterogeneity as the only chance of an affirmed or rather reaffirmed future. It is the future itself, it comes from there. The future is its memory.¹¹⁷

The ghost as a figure of non-knowledge and its relation to critical politics of memory also find their roots in Derrida’s interesting distinction between ‘knowledge as memory and non-knowledge as re-memoration [or memory to-come], between two forms and two moments of repetition,’ in his deconstructive reading of Plato’s *Phaedrus*.¹¹⁸ The ghost is a troubling figure of non-knowledge in the sense that it is unintelligible: firstly, it shatters coherence, unity, and identity in space and time through its spectral omnipresence (which renders redundant and inoperative the logical and ontological principle called ‘the identity of indiscernibles’); secondly, its in-betweenness creates discontinuities in space and its repetitions of coming or coming back dispel the tense logic, disjuncting the

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 45.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 45.

¹¹⁸ Jacques Derrida, *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson (London: Continuum, 2008), 136.

‘now’ of the past, present, and future; and lastly, it resists all forms of rationalisation, blurring the binary oppositions (of presence and absence, being and non-being, actuality and inactuality, life and death) that constitute the foundations of *epistémê*. As Davis elucidates,

Derrida’s spectre is a deconstructive figure hovering between life and death, presence and absence, and making established certainties vacillate. It does not return to deliver a message as such; nevertheless Derrida calls on us to endeavour to speak and listen to the spectre, despite the reluctance inherited from our intellectual traditions and because of the challenge it may pose to them: ‘So what seems almost impossible is always to speak *of the* spectre, to speak *to the* spectre, to speak with it, therefore most of all *to make or to let* a spirit *speak*.’¹¹⁹ Conversing with spectres is not undertaken in the expectation that they will reveal some secret, shameful or otherwise. Rather, it may open us up to the experience of secrecy as such: *an essential unknowing which underlies and may undermine what we think we know*.¹²⁰

So ‘ghost’ is a concept for ‘unlearning’ which should not be confused with skepticism or with solipsism because it is not an epistemological or ontological position based on the hypothesis that the knowledge of G is impossible or that knowledge of anything outside the mind is unjustified. What is at stake for Derrida is not the possibility of knowing what a ghost is, but rather how we can learn by virtue of ghosts that we do not know what we think we know. As Davis lucidly explains,

In *Spectres de Marx*, Derrida calls on us to attend to ghosts, to unlearn what we thought we knew for certain in order to learn what we still cannot formulate or imagine. This does not entail believing in ghosts in any straightforward sense, since the ghost is precisely that of which the existence consists in its not quite existing. The point is to explore the *presence* of what no longer exists or does not yet exist, in order to understand and to experience how it

¹¹⁹ Davis’s footnote: Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 2006), 11.

¹²⁰ Colin Davis, *Haunted Subjects: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis and the Return of the Dead* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 11 [emphasis added].

dislocates the *self-presence* of the subject and its contingent realities.¹²¹

Or, as again Davis puts elsewhere:

For Derrida the ghost's secret is not a puzzle to be solved; it is the structural openness or address directed towards the living by the voices of the past or the not-yet formulated possibilities of the future. The secret is not unspeakable because it is taboo, but because it cannot (yet) be articulated in the languages available to us. The ghost pushes at the boundaries of language and thought. The interest here, then, is not in secrets, understood as puzzles to be resolved, but in secrecy, now elevated to what Castricano calls 'the structural enigma which inaugurates the scene of writing'.¹²²

Hauntology replaces ontology with a post-metaphysical philosophy of being-with-ghosts, or an investigation of the spectral inspection. Derrida coins the term 'hauntology' to offer a *spectral analytic*, or a post-phenomenological understanding of intersubjectivity and being-in-the-world, focusing on the question of what it means to be with the ghostly others of past and future: 'No *being-with* the other, no *socius* without this *with* that makes *being-with* in general more enigmatic than ever for us.'¹²³ In *Specters of Marx*, Derrida's reflections on the limits of ontology and epistemology in explaining ghosts is followed by a discussion of the ethical dimensions of being-with-ghosts; namely, the relationship between spectral intersubjectivity, memory and justice: 'And this being-with specters would also be, not only but also, a *politics* of memory, of inheritance, and of generations.'¹²⁴ Derrida argues that justice would not be possible without learning to live with ghosts, and that justice for the absent other

¹²¹ Ibid., 19.

¹²² Ibid., 13.

¹²³ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, xviii.

¹²⁴ Ibid., xviii.

is justice to-come:

If I am getting ready to speak at length about ghosts, inheritance, and generations of ghosts, which is to say about certain others who are not present, nor presently living, either to us, in us, or outside us, it is in the name of *justice*. Of justice where it is not yet, not yet *there*, where it is no longer, let us understand where it is no longer *present*, and where it will never be, no more than the law, reducible to laws or rights.¹²⁵

He goes on to say that ethics and politics becomes possible if and only if we are aware of our *responsibility* for the absent others:

It is necessary to speak *of the ghost*, indeed *to the ghost* and *with it*, from the moment that no ethics, no politics, whether revolutionary or not, seems possible and thinkable and *just* that does not recognise in its principle the respect for those others who are no longer or for those others who are not yet *there*, presently living, whether they are already dead or not yet born.¹²⁶

But, who are those absent others that we are responsible for? Who are they that disadjust, disarray, disjoint our living present? Derrida says that they are ‘the ghosts of those who are not yet born or who are already dead, be they victims of wars, political or other kinds of violence, nationalist, racist, colonialist, sexist, or other kinds of exterminations, victims of the oppressions of capitalist imperialism or any of the forms of totalitarianism.’¹²⁷ Therefore, for Derrida, hauntology means nothing more than an ‘ethics’ of mourning and memory that urges us ‘to learn to live *with* ghosts, in the upkeep, the conversation, the company, or the companionship, in the commerce without commerce of ghosts.’¹²⁸ Hauntology teaches us how ‘to live otherwise, and better; no, not better, but more justly, but

¹²⁵ Ibid., xviii.

¹²⁶ Ibid., xviii.

¹²⁷ Ibid., xviii.

¹²⁸ Ibid., xvii-xviii.

with them [ghosts].'¹²⁹ To sum up, Derrida reminds us of our responsibility to respect the memory of the ghostly others, our obligation to open our homes, our laws, and our identities to their call. He defends the view that the very possibility of hospitality and justice depends on our ability to speak with ghosts. Ghosts, for Derrida, are either revenants from the past or arrivants from the future 'to whom a hospitable memory or promise must offer welcome.'¹³⁰

Derrida argues that 'there will be no future without memory.'¹³¹ His philosophical reflections on hauntology are closely associated with the 'haunting of memory,'¹³² 'a troubling effect of "déjà vu",'¹³³ and 'the temptation of memory.'¹³⁴ In this sense, hauntology as an ethics of mourning and memory can be read in relation to the works of contemporary philosophers of memory, including Paul Ricoeur,¹³⁵ Avishai Margalit,¹³⁶ Tzvetan Todorov,¹³⁷ Jeffrey Blustein,¹³⁸ and Miroslav Volf.¹³⁹ As Elisabeth Weber points out in her 'Introduction' to *Living Together: Jacques Derrida's Communities of Violence*

¹²⁹ Ibid., xviii.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 220.

¹³¹ Ibid., 14.

¹³² Ibid., 20.

¹³³ Ibid., 15.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 14.

¹³⁵ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹³⁶ Avishai Margalit, *The Ethics of Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

¹³⁷ Tzvetan Todorov, *Memory as a Remedy for Evil*, trans. Gila Walker (London: Seagull Books, 2010).

¹³⁸ Jeffrey Blustein, *The Moral Demands of Memory* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹³⁹ Miroslav Volf, *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006).

and Peace, ‘one locus of a particularly complicated interlacement visited by Derrida over and over again is the question of memory, as memory of the ghost.’¹⁴⁰ She argues that ‘Mourning is, for Derrida, inseparable from his intense and reiterated preoccupation with the figure of the “specter” or “spirit,” which can also manifest itself as a “phantom” or “ghost” that comes to pass as a condition of possibility of any “community.” The necessity of welcoming the “memory of the ghost” marks Derrida’s commitment to justice in its entirety.’¹⁴¹

In *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, Avery F. Gordon, in a way very similar to Derrida’s, offers a cultural hauntology that examines the relationship between social reality and specters of unacknowledged history. She writes, ‘The ghost is alive, so to speak. We are in relation to it and it has designs on us such that we must reckon with it graciously, attempting to offer it a hospitable memory *out of a concern for justice*. Out of a concern for justice would be the only reason one would bother.’¹⁴² Gordon’s understanding of haunting describes the cultural present as a time that is out of joint, and public space as a place that is haunted by the specters of social history. She points out, ‘Haunting raises specters, and it alters the experience of being in time, the way we separate the past, the present, and the future.’¹⁴³ The ghost Gordon cares about here is not a psychological illusion, a hallucination, or merely a dead person but a social figure that enigmatically represents past violence and injustice:

¹⁴⁰ Elisabeth Weber, ‘Introduction: Pleading Irreconcilable Differences,’ in *Living Together: Jacques Derrida’s Communities of Violence and Peace*, ed. Elisabeth Weber (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2013), 10.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁴² Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 64.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, xvi.

The ghost is not simply a dead or a missing person, but a social figure, and investigating it can lead to that dense site where history and subjectivity make social life. The ghost or the apparition is one form by which something lost, or barely visible, or seemingly not there to our supposedly well-trained eyes, makes itself known or apparent to us, in its own way, of course. The way of the ghost is haunting, and haunting is a very particular way of knowing what has happened or is happening.¹⁴⁴

In Gordon's sociology of ghostly matters, haunting is not defined as a supernatural occurrence but rather the unexamined irregularity of everyday life 'in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known, sometimes very directly, sometimes more obliquely.'¹⁴⁵ In this sense, haunting prompts us to consider the impact of what is missing or ignored in our prevalent modes of inquiry; it is 'a constituent element of modern social life. It is neither pre-modern superstition nor individual psychosis; it is a generalisable social phenomenon of great import. To study social life one must confront the ghostly aspects of it. This confrontation requires (or produces) a fundamental change in the way we know and make knowledge, in our mode of production.'¹⁴⁶ According to Gordon's definition, 'the ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing. It gives notice not only to itself but also to what it represents. What it represents is usually a loss, sometimes of life, sometimes of a path not taken. From a certain vantage point the ghost also simultaneously represents a future possibility, a hope.'¹⁴⁷ In this sense, she suggests that the ghost as a persistent and troubling figure should not be considered an 'object' of knowledge; on the contrary, for her,

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 8.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., xvi.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 7.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 63-4.

the ghost is the agent that marks the crisis in our conventional epistemologies and forms of knowing the social past and that highlights ‘the limitations of many of our prevalent modes of inquiry and the assumptions they make about the social world, the people who inhabit these worlds, and what is required to study them.’¹⁴⁸ Gordon argues that the unexpected gesture of the ghost is a significant departure for an act of unlearning that draws us affectively into a strange and uncanny experience; it is not a way to ‘cold knowledge,’ but instead to ‘a transformative recognition.’¹⁴⁹ This transformative recognition or illumination makes us aware not only of the existence and persistent impacts of some tragic events that happened in the past (regardless of making us able to fully know their nature), but also of how those unresolved matters of the past invisibly persist in affecting our current socio-political conditions.

* * *

In a hauntological research project on postcolonial historical films, a serious difficulty arises from the fact that I use certain terms and concepts which have different meanings within different contexts. This is especially striking with regard to the concepts of ghost, specter, spectrality, ghostliness, and haunting. To begin with, in this thesis I generally use the terms ‘ghost’ and ‘specter’ interchangeably. However, it might be more precise to say that the meaning of the terms differs from one context to another. Specter, or ghost, is used in at least two important ways, one more related to the history of Cyprus in a very broad sense and one related to the film narratives of Zaim’s trilogy in a more narrow sense. Thus, specter, or ghost, in a historical context

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 8.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 8.

should be understood as merely referring to the spirit of the dead, or the revenant, and the persistence of the past in the present. In a narrative context, however, the term covers a broader temporal scope. It refers either to the shadows of the dead and the persistence of the past in the narrative present, as we see in *Mud* and *Parallel Trips*, or to the foreshadows of the not-yet-born and the signal of the coming future, namely the portent of the not-yet-occurred in the narrative present, as is the case in *Mud* and *Shadows and Faces*.

The use of the term ‘spectrality’, or ‘ghostliness’, also differs from one field of knowledge to another. The notion, in ethnographic terms, refers to the fact that places and the objects in them can have certain uncanny aspects that go beyond their materialities. The spectrality of places or objects evokes a turbulent power that we are not in control of, a dark force that weighs heavy upon, and in, the present. The spectrality of postcolonial cinema, in film historical terms, however, means that a film is not only an archive of the past but also belongs to a future, the promise that returns to haunt the cultural present.

Finally, the meaning of the term ‘haunting’ in the historical context includes a double temporality as it refers not only to the active presence, or presence-ing, of the effaced or forgotten past and the absent others, but also to the apparitions of the future and the generations to come. In other words, the postcolonial living present is non-contemporaneous in the sense that it is always haunted by the specters of the past and the future. In a narrative context, on the other hand, the term haunting may refer either to the apparitions of the coming future, as it occurs in *Shadows and Faces*, or to the images of possible and canceled futures (hope and despair), as is the case especially in *Mud*.

3.2. Colonial Legacies: Learning to Live with Postcolonial Ghosts

‘Postcoloniality’ is a key concept which runs throughout this thesis, therefore a brief explanation and clarification of the meaning and use of the term is needed. Postcoloniality can be defined broadly as a concept referring to the cultural, economic, social, and political conditions that emerge or exist in the aftermath of colonialism; but, more importantly, it also means looking critically into the contradictory process of the historical formation of the colonised subject’s self-consciousness in the modern period. One should be careful when using the term ‘postcolonial’ as it comes with a number of potential pitfalls. Perhaps the most serious entanglement is that the prefix *post* in postcoloniality might easily be interpreted to mean a historical stage that comes after, and thus transcends colonialism, thereby effacing crucial continuities between colonial pasts and postcolonial presents.¹⁵⁰ In other words, emphasising the ‘post’ in postcolonialism and using the term as merely a chronological or temporal marker risks deflecting attention from colonial and neocolonial power relations in the present.¹⁵¹

Another difficulty arises from the concept’s universal application. References to ‘the’ postcolonial condition seem to assume an abstract, ahistorical category that collapses multiple histories into a flattened condition. However, one should not ignore the fact that colonialisms and their aftermaths are ungeneralisable, contingent and local in their effects and practices, even though they originate in universalising discourses (modernity, civilisation, reason,

¹⁵⁰ Anne McClintock, ‘The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term Post-colonialism,’ *Social Text* 31/32 (1992): 84–98; Ella Shohat, ‘Notes on the “Post-colonial,”’ *Social Text* 31/32 (1992): 99–113.

¹⁵¹ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995); Jane Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (London: Routledge, 1996).

progress, backwardness). Stuart Hall notes that in a global capitalist world where new forms of domination continue to operate and where structural inequalities continue to be reified, it is obvious '[that] "the colonial" is not dead, since it lives on in its "after-effects".'¹⁵² However, the 'after-effects' of colonialisms vary from place to place. Not only British, French, and Spanish colonialisms were remarkably different, but also each form of colonisation was geographically differentiated. One should not forget the fact that British colonialism in India was implemented by very different means, and had very different effects, than it did in the Middle East, South Africa, North America, or Australia. Even though colonialism has everywhere been built on the institution of racial, political, epistemic, and economic systems that benefited colonial regimes (both in Europe and among elites within European colonies), this hardly happened in the same way twice.

If we are to describe Cyprus as postcolonial, then, we must do so cautiously, and by emphasising its particularity. The prefix *post-* in the term 'postcolonial' does not refer to a finished period because Cyprus has not been 'fully' de-colonised yet. The ghost of the British Empire still haunts the island – that is, Cyprus is a semi-colonial island, as Britain still has two Sovereign Base Areas on its territory (Akrotiri and Dhekelia). The British have never had any intention of leaving Cyprus, as was stated uncompromisingly by Henry Hopkinson, the Churchill government's Minister of State for the Colonies, in his famous speech in the House of Commons on 28 July 1954: 'It had always been understood and agreed that there are certain territories in the Commonwealth

¹⁵² Stuart Hall, 'When was the "Post-colonial"? Thinking at the Limit,' in *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, ed. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (London: Routledge, 1996), 248.

which, owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent.’¹⁵³

Moreover, we must also recognise that postcoloniality is experienced differentially within the island. For both the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities, for instance, postcoloniality is not experienced as the heroes of independence but as the victims of Greece’s and Turkey’s geopolitical imaginaries and attempted colonialisms. For Cypriots, postcoloniality is about displacement and living a tripled existence between ‘here’ (northern or southern Cyprus) and ‘there’ (Britain, Greece, Turkey, or the other side of Cyprus), along with the renegotiations of cultural and national identity that come with this unique form of ‘in-betweenness.’ It is about ‘hybridity,’ to some extent, for those Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots who left the island mainly for Britain. But more importantly, in the context of northern Cypriots, the ‘postcolony’ means the Turkish-Cypriot community’s ambivalent experience and politically subordinate minority position after independence from the British colonial power. It is about ‘isolation’ and ‘disintegration’ for the Turkish-Cypriot community still living on the island; in other words, it is that state in which the former master, Britain, has not entirely left, and the irredentist politics of a new foreign power, the European Union, has taken on new forms of domination. The Turkish-Cypriot community’s struggle for freedom and equality thus continues, not so much by the withdrawal of the British colonial power, but in redefining the social structures that continue to promote inequality and subordination, which colonialism has donated to the new nation as an unimaginable community.

¹⁵³ Cited in Clement Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 17.

In this thesis, postcoloniality is used in three ways: (1) historically, it means a period subsequent to formal British colonialism and the legacy of the colonial period, particularly as experienced by formerly colonised Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities; (2) geographically, it refers to an oppositional relationship to the geopolitical discourse of colonialism as well as the critical analysis of spatial images such as public locations, inhabited places, ghost towns, maps, the borderland, the buffer zone, mobility, and displacement; and, (3) theoretically, it suggests a normative ideal of postcolonialism, a critical engagement with colonialism, to guide these oppositional struggles. So I use the term ‘postcolonial’ throughout the thesis to refer to ‘all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day.’¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, the meaning of the term in the context of Cyprus also includes the influences of the attempted colonialisms of the so-called ‘motherlands,’ namely Greece and Turkey, in the post-independence period. Hence, even though Cyprus is, at least by these terms, clearly postcolonial, this postcoloniality is always a multiplicity.

* * *

Many postcolonial theorists and scholars, including Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak,¹⁵⁵ Achille Mbembe,¹⁵⁶ Bishnupriya Ghosh,¹⁵⁷ Pheng Cheah,¹⁵⁸ Chamindri

¹⁵⁴ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 2.

¹⁵⁵ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Ghostwriting,’ *Diacritics* 25:2 (1995): 65–84.

¹⁵⁶ Achille Mbembe, ‘Life, Sovereignty, and Terror in the Fiction of Amos Tutuola,’ *Research in African Literatures* 34:4 (2003): 1–26.

¹⁵⁷ Bishnupriya Ghosh, ‘On Grafting the Vernacular: The Consequences of Postcolonial Spectrology,’ *Boundary 2* 31:2 (2004): 197–218.

¹⁵⁸ Pheng Cheah, ‘Spectral Nationality: The Living on [sur-vie] of the Postcolonial Nation in Neocolonial Globalization,’ *Boundary 2* 26:3 (1999): 225–252; Pheng Cheah, *Spectral*

Liyanage,¹⁵⁹ Sneja Gunew,¹⁶⁰ and others,¹⁶¹ have addressed the haunting effects of colonial experience on postcolonial nations. As Michael F. O’Riley¹⁶² points out in a seminal essay, ‘postcolonial theory has relied, to a great extent, upon the idea of haunting in order to bring awareness of colonial history to the present while revising the conception of the contemporary nation and of cultural relations.’¹⁶³ He goes on to say that ‘in large part, the advent of postcolonial consciousness has emphasised the imperative of returning to occluded colonial history through a reckoning with the specters of the nation’s colonial heritage.’¹⁶⁴ He also points to the links between postcolonial theory and hauntology: ‘Relying to a great extent on strategic positioning as a revisionist method, postcolonial theories and historiography have turned to haunting or the spectral aura of occulted histories in their investigation of the colonial era. Certain theories, drawing on a

Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2003).

¹⁵⁹ Chamindri Liyanage, *Post-Colonial Haunting and Confused Identities* (Saarbrücken, Germany: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012).

¹⁶⁰ Sneja Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalisms* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁶¹ Esther Peeren, ‘The Postcolonial and/as the Spirit World: Theorizing the Ghost in Jacques Derrida, Achille Mbembe and Ben Okri’s *The Famished Road*,’ in *Postcolonial Ghosts/ Fantômes post-coloniaux*, ed. Gerry Turcotte, Mélanie Joseph-Vilain, and Judith Misrahi-Barak, with poems by Gerry Turcotte, *Les Carnets du Cerpac* No. 8 (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2009), 327–343; Barish Ali, ‘The Postcolonial Gothic: Haunting and Historicity in the Literature after Empire’ (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York, 2005); Andrew Smith and William Hughes, eds., *Empire and the Gothic: The Politics of Genre* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Tabish Khair, *The Gothic, Postcolonialism and Otherness: Ghosts from Elsewhere* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Gerry Turcotte, Mélanie Joseph-Vilain, and Judith Misrahi-Barak, eds., *Postcolonial Ghosts/ Fantômes post-coloniaux*, with poems by Gerry Turcotte, *Les Carnets du Cerpac* No. 8 (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2009); Fiona Barclay, *Writing Postcolonial France: Haunting, Literature, and the Maghreb* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011); Pramod K. Nayar, ‘The Postcolonial Uncanny: The Politics of Dispossession in Amitav Ghosh’s *The Hungry Tide*,’ *College Literature* 37:4 (2010): 88–119.

¹⁶² O’Riley, ‘Postcolonial Haunting,’ 1–15.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

poststructuralist tone, have emphasised the ghostly figure of the trace in an attempt to attenuate the dilemmas of inscription of colonial histories and their places.¹⁶⁵ He then explains the reason why postcolonial thinkers have been so obsessed with the idea of haunting: ‘Haunting is pervasive in postcolonial thought precisely because of its affective dimension, a dimension that creates a sense of the imminently, important, present, and disruptive. This disruptive quality of postcolonial haunting is frequently portrayed as the Freudian *unheimlich* of history and, is figured as an interruptive or affective moment in the course of Western consciousness where the repressed colonial scene returns.’¹⁶⁶ In his article, O’Riley mainly utilises Homi Bhabha’s concept of the ‘time-lag’ and suggests a theory of postcolonial haunting that examines the ways that the traces, or the cultural memory and heritage, of the colonial past persist in the postcolonial present: ‘As a haunting figure, the “time-lag” figures the return of the colonial repressed, the disavowed temporality of colonialism.’¹⁶⁷ He also explains elsewhere,

Homi Bhabha’s conception of the time-lag [...] represents perhaps the most concerted attempt to utilise the idea and the aesthetics of haunting as a way of rethinking notions of cultural heritage. While many critics have identified problems in Bhabha’s conception of hybridity as a form of postcolonial agency, I would like to draw attention very briefly to the haunting temporality found in Bhabha’s increasing attempts throughout his career to rethink ‘the geopolitics of the historical present’ through the memory of colonial experience.¹⁶⁸ [...] According to Bhabha, the belated temporality of colonial history and its repressed subjects, which finds formerly displaced colonial subjects and histories reclaiming

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 3.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 1.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 3.

¹⁶⁸ O’Riley’s footnote: Homi Bhabha, ‘Anxious Nations, Nervous States,’ *Supposing the Subject*, ed. Joan Copjec (London: Verso, 1994), 210.

places and voices in the contemporary context, is an essentially disruptive force. As a disruptive temporality, the ‘time lag keeps alive the making of the past;’¹⁶⁹ it provides an alternative way of understanding what constitutes time, and therefore cultural heritage, and ‘fractures the time of modernity.’¹⁷⁰ According to Bhabha, within this fracture, the colonial past returns to hybridise the present, creating ‘a signifying time for the inscription of cultural incommensurability where differences cannot be sublated or totalised.’¹⁷¹ [...] The colonial past is ‘repeated’ or ‘projected’ through in the present,¹⁷² and therefore disrupts ‘the continuum of history,’ those monumental scripts of cultural heritage.¹⁷³ Although Bhabha’s view of this return of the colonial past is designed as a disruptive intervention, it ‘flashes up’ because it already inhabits modernity, is very much a part of its heritage.¹⁷⁴ The time-lag, then, is a form of cultural memory that unconsciously haunts the present.¹⁷⁵

In his book *Postcolonial Haunting and Victimization*, O’Riley elaborates his theoretical approach by examining the relationship between postcolonial haunting and the memory, both individual and collective, of colonialism and its spectral remainder.¹⁷⁶ He writes,

Postcolonial haunting, as I use that term, is ultimately about the ways of looking at dwelling places from the perspective of the specter, or ghost, of colonialism. Of course, there is nothing new about looking at the heritage of colonialism and its influence on contemporary life. [...] At issue in any haunting is as much the way we situate the specter as how the specter situates us. As in a horror film when we search for the specter, the moment of its apparition, or the prolonged period of its deferral, is one of

¹⁶⁹ O’Riley’s footnote: Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1994), 254.

¹⁷⁰ O’Riley’s footnote: Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 252.

¹⁷¹ O’Riley’s footnote: Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 177.

¹⁷² O’Riley’s footnote: Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 254.

¹⁷³ O’Riley’s footnote: Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 257.

¹⁷⁴ O’Riley’s footnote: Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 257.

¹⁷⁵ O’Riley, ‘Postcolonial Haunting,’ 5-6.

¹⁷⁶ Michael F. O’Riley, *Postcolonial Haunting and Victimization: Assia Djebar’s New Novels* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2007).

reckoning. How we allow the specter to affect us, if at all, or to define our relationship to any given narrative, is inextricably related to how we experience haunting. Such an experience is indissociable from a relationship to the past and to memory, but it also shapes the present and future.¹⁷⁷

He argues that postcolonial haunting ‘is very much about the way that the story of transition to Independence in former colonies at the end of long periods of colonial rule, has gone, for the most part, very much awry.’¹⁷⁸ He concludes: ‘The specter of colonialism that appears in the form of social division, civil warfare, and authoritarian regime in many postcolonies is but a remainder and reminder that colonialism has only been reincarnated differently.’¹⁷⁹ O’Riley’s theory of postcolonial haunting, then, ‘is about what to do with such specters – how to live with them, represent them, dispel them, and use them for posterity.’¹⁸⁰

In her critical reading of *Specters of Marx*, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak also provides another theoretical implementation of spectrality in the context of postcoloniality, considering hauntology as an ethics of postcolonial memory. She argues that to reckon with ghosts means to attempt ‘to establish the ethical relation with history as such, ancestors real or imagined.’¹⁸¹ A postcolonial hauntology, then, enables us to learn to live with the ghosts of colonial and postcolonial pasts; it urges us ‘to let [colonial and postcolonial] history haunt [us] as a ghost or ghosts, with the ungraspable incorporation of a ghostly body, and the uncontrollable, sporadic, and unanticipatable periodicity of haunting, in the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 1.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 2.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 2.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 2.

¹⁸¹ Spivak, ‘Ghostwriting,’ 70.

impossible frame of the absolute chance of the gift of time, if there is any.’¹⁸² She goes on to say that an ethics of postcolonial memory, therefore, does not seek ‘a past that was necessarily once present.’¹⁸³ Instead, the ethical imperative of remembering in the context of postcoloniality obliges us to ‘compute with the software of other pasts rather than reference one’s own hallucinatory heritage for the sake of the politics of identitarian competition.’¹⁸⁴

In *Posts and Pasts: A Theory of Postcolonialism*, Alfred J. López associates with Derrida’s hauntology and addresses the ‘spectrality’ of the postcolonial. He applies the Derridean concept of the arrival of the specter to selected postcolonial fictional texts and offers ‘a *hauntology* of colonial and postcolonial fictions.’¹⁸⁵ In his book, he presents ‘the arrival of the postcolonial specter in terms of both a vision of the future and a reckoning with the past; that is, as both a “memory in advance” of freedom of a life and world after colonialism, and a “haunting of the colonial past” or the confrontation with, and acknowledgment of, the lingering legacy of colonialism, the cultural residues that remain as part of the postcolonial in both individual subjects and collective national identities.’¹⁸⁶ Postcolonial fiction, including both literature and cinema, appears as a place where the specters of colonial and postcolonial histories haunt us. As López notes, ‘the appearance of the postcolonial specter is also and necessarily a moment of reckoning; that is, the ghost appears because it *wants* something; it would demand something of us as readers [or, as spectators], as

¹⁸² Ibid., 70.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 70.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 70.

¹⁸⁵ López, *Posts and Pasts*, 223.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 36.

witnesses to its apparition.’¹⁸⁷ Lastly, as Stef Craps notes, ‘Derrida’s hauntological politics of memory can help counter the premature and obfuscatory celebration of the “post” in “postcolonial;” [... indeed] colonialism is [not] a matter of the past; [...] the traumas sustained by the formerly colonised and enslaved are collective in nature and impossible to locate in an event that took place at a singular, historically specific moment in time. They are part of a long history of racism and exploitation that persists into the present.’¹⁸⁸

* * *

Postcolonial discourse, as James Chapman notes, ‘has been applied in various ways in film studies;’ and, on one level, ‘it has been adopted as a critical tool for analysing the cultural politics and representational discourses of films addressing aspects of the colonial/postcolonial experience.’¹⁸⁹ In her ‘Introduction’ to the edited book *Postcolonial Film: History, Empire, Resistance*, Rebecca Weaver-Hightower also defines ‘postcolonial film’ as an analytic category referring to certain cinematic works that focus on the experiences of colonisation and decolonisation, namely films that grow out of and respond to colonial and postcolonial histories.¹⁹⁰ Postcolonial films, in this sense, conjure up the ghosts of colonial and postcolonial pasts and disjointed presents by visualising ‘the complicated sociopolitical realities and histories involved in the creation and

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 36.

¹⁸⁸ Stef Craps, *Postcolonial Witnessing: Trauma Out of Bounds* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 63.

¹⁸⁹ James Chapman, *Film and History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 68.

¹⁹⁰ Rebecca Weaver-Hightower, ‘Introduction: New Perspectives on Postcolonial Film,’ in *Postcolonial Film: History, Empire, Resistance*, ed. Rebecca Weaver-Hightower and Peter Hulme (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 1–20.

dissolution of the borders.’¹⁹¹ Throughout the book I used the term ‘postcolonial film’ in accordance with this definition. Within the Derridean conceptual framework of this project, I propose the notion of a ‘hauntology of postcolonial cinema’: such a notion, in the cultural context of Cyprus, refers to a *postcolonialist* and deconstructionist mode of cultural critique that involves the reconsideration of the ways in which colonial and postcolonial histories and their ghosts are represented in films, ‘particularly from the perspectives of those who suffered its effects, together with the defining of its contemporary social and cultural impact.’¹⁹² My proposal for a hauntology of postcolonial cinema is strongly affiliated with postcolonial theory, which, as Robert Young accurately explains, ‘always intermingles the past with the present, [... and] is directed towards the active transformations of the present out of the clutches of the past.’¹⁹³ Since a postcolonial hauntology, in the context of cinema, here aims to show how colonial and postcolonial pasts persist in the cultural present of Cyprus, it is ‘concerned with colonial [and postcolonial] history only to the extent that that history has determined the configurations and power structures of the present, [and] to the extent that much of the world still lives in the violent disruptions of its wake.’¹⁹⁴

3.3. The Postcolonial Cinematic Specter: Towards a Hauntology of Film

Hauntology has become a new critical language in contemporary cultural sciences

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 5.

¹⁹² Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 4.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 4.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 4.

and the humanities to study the ethical aspects of social history and cultural memory, in which the figure of the ghost is suggested as a sign that implies the ‘ethical imperative of remembering’, namely our moral obligation to do justice to the absent others by remembering the uneasy moments of a social past as opposed to the historiography of oblivion.¹⁹⁵ At the turn of the century, specters of past decades in world history led to a new domain for theories of the ghost and memory. In various disciplines and research fields, from philosophy and cultural theory¹⁹⁶ to literary studies¹⁹⁷ and performance studies,¹⁹⁸ the concept of memory

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Matthias Fritsch, *The Promise of Memory: History and Politics in Marx, Benjamin, and Derrida* (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005); Gerhard Richter, ‘Acts of Memory and Mourning: Derrida and the Fictions of Anteriority,’ in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2010), 150–160; Patrick Pinkerton, ‘Remembering the Future: The Ethics of the Absolute Beginning,’ *Political Perspectives* 3:1 (2008), accessed August 29, 2014, <http://www.politicalperspectives.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Vol3-1-2009-2.pdf>; Stéphane Symons and Tomek Kitliński, ‘The Other Philosophy-Politics of Jacques Derrida: “L’amour des ruines”,’ *Logos: A Journal of Religion, Philosophy, Comparative Cultural Studies and Art* 47 (2006): 56–79; Abraham Rubin, ‘Between Resentment and Reconciliation: The Indeterminacies of Forgiveness in Derrida, Arendt and Jankélévitch’ (presented at the Berlin Roundtables: Memory Politics: Education, Memorials and Mass Media conference at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB), October 21-26, 2009).

¹⁹⁶ Katy Shaw’s forthcoming book *Hauntology: A Critical Introduction* is the first extensive monograph with an interdisciplinary approach on Derrida’s hauntology. Analysing Derrida’s writings on ghosts and haunting, and exploring uses of hauntology to date through a carefully selected range of examples from literature, film, music, and architecture, Shaw argues that hauntology offers a critical and powerful means of reading contemporary cultures. *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida’s Specters of Marx* (ed. Michael Sprinker, London: Verso, 2008) is a collection of papers from leading contemporary thinkers, including Aijaz Ahmad, Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, Antonio Negri, and many others, that critically respond to Derrida’s *Specters of Marx*. The reader *Ghosts: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis, History* (ed. Peter Buse and Andrew Stott, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999) draw our attention to the pre-Derridean theories of ghost and haunting in the twentieth-century modern world. The anthologies *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture* (ed. María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren, London: Continuum, 2010) and *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory* (ed. María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), however, include a wide range of texts from contemporary thinkers and cultural theorists, such as Jacques Derrida and Bernard Stiegler, Arjun Appadurai, Gayatri Spivak, Achille Mbembe, and Giorgio Agamben, focusing mainly on the post-Derridean theories of ghost and haunting that investigate the twenty-first century global world as a constellation of haunted cultures. See also: Warren Montag, ‘Spirits Armed and Unarmed: Derrida’s *Specters of Marx*,’ in *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida’s Specters of Marx*, ed. Michael Sprinker (London: Verso, 2008), 68–82; Tom Lewis, ‘The Politics of “Hauntology” in Derrida’s *Specters of Marx*,’ in *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida’s Specters of Marx*, ed. Michael Sprinker (London: Verso, 2008), 134–167; Jodey Castricano, *Cryptomimesis: The Gothic and Jacques Derrida’s Ghost Writing* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); Gray Kochhar-Lindgren, *Philosophy, Art, and the*

fits within a hauntological framework that focuses on haunting, ghosts, phantoms, revenants, and the spectral. Many thinkers and scholars began to address political and ethical questions concerning the dissemination of catastrophic history, negative heritage, and critical memory discourses in contemporary cultures. In this sense, Colin Davis,¹⁹⁹ Stephen Frosh,²⁰⁰ Esther Peeren,²⁰¹ and others²⁰² deal

Specters of Jacques Derrida (Amherst, NY: Cambria, 2011); Nancy J. Holland, 'The Death of the Other/Father: A Feminist Reading of Derrida's Hauntology,' *Hypatia* 16:1 (2001): 64–71.

¹⁹⁷ Nicholas Royle, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Julian Wolfrey, *Victorian Hauntings: Spectrality, Gothic, the Uncanny and Literature* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002); Patricia Pulham and Rosario Arias, eds., *Haunting and Spectrality in Neo-Victorian Fiction: Possessing the Past* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Bianca del Villano, *Ghostly Alterities: Spectrality and Contemporary Literatures in English*, ed. Koray Melikoğlu (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2007); Sladja Blazan, ed., *Ghosts, Stories, Histories: Ghost Stories and Alternative Histories* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2007); Andrew Smith, *The Ghost Story, 1840–1920: A Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); Avital Ronell, *Dictations: On Haunted Writing* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986); David Ratmoko, *On Spectrality: Fantasies of Redemption in the Western Canon* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2006); Helen Sword, *Ghostwriting Modernism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002); Christopher Peterson, *Kindred Specters: Death, Mourning, and American Affinity* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock, *Spectral America: Phantoms and the National Imagination* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); Judith T. Zeitlin, *The Phantom Heroine, Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

¹⁹⁸ Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001); Mary Luckhurst and Emilie Morin, 'Introduction: Theatre and Spectrality,' in *Theatre and Ghosts: Materiality, Performance and Modernity*, ed. Mary Luckhurst and Emilie Morin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1–23; Rachel Clements, 'Apprehending the Spectral: Hauntology and Precarity in Caryl Churchill's Plays,' in *Theatre and Ghosts: Materiality, Performance and Modernity*, ed. Mary Luckhurst and Emilie Morin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 65–81; Mary Luckhurst, 'Giving Up the Ghost: The Actor's Body as Haunted House,' in *Theatre and Ghosts: Materiality, Performance and Modernity*, ed. Mary Luckhurst and Emilie Morin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 163–177; Timothy Murray, *Drama Trauma: Specters of Race and Sexuality in Performance, Video and Art* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997); Alan L. Ackerman Jr., 'Visualizing Hamlet's Ghost: The Spirit of Modern Subjectivity,' *Theatre Journal* 53 (2001): 119–144.

¹⁹⁹ Colin Davis, *Haunted Subjects: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis and the Return of the Dead* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

²⁰⁰ Stephen Frosh, *Hauntings: Psychoanalysis and Ghostly Transmissions* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

²⁰¹ Esther Peeren, *The Spectral Metaphor: Living Ghosts and the Agency of Invisibility* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

²⁰² Shane McCorristine, *Specters of the Self: Thinking about Ghosts and Ghost-Seeing in England, 1750-1920* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Akira Mizuta Lippit, 'Reflections on Spectral Life,' *Discourse* 30:1-2 (2008): 242–254; Gabriele Schwab, *Haunting Legacies: Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2010); Peter Fritzsche, 'Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity,' *The*

with the problem of the haunted subject, or the social and phenomenological aspects of ghosts, focusing on how the ghostly traces of one's past self or absent others (i.e., past generations) haunt the life of the individual and society. Theorists and scholars like Giorgio Agamben,²⁰³ Dylan Trigg,²⁰⁴ María del Pilar Blanco,²⁰⁵ Steve Pile,²⁰⁶ Judith Richardson,²⁰⁷ and Maria Holmgren Troy and Elisabeth Wennö²⁰⁸ extend this literature to the spatial aspects of haunting and investigate the problem of the haunted place in their works, whereas other theorists like Ernesto Laclau,²⁰⁹ Mark Fisher,²¹⁰ Colin Davis,²¹¹ and Homi Bhabha,²¹² following the major premise of Derrida's argument, try to mainly discuss the temporal dimension of haunting, focusing on the problem of the disjointed time.²¹³

American Historical Review 106:5 (2001): 1587–1618; Owen Davies, *The Haunted: A Social History of Ghosts* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

²⁰³ Giorgio Agamben, 'On the Uses and Disadvantages of Living among Specters,' in Giorgio Agamben, *Nudities*, trans. David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 37–42.

²⁰⁴ Dylan Trigg, *The Memory of Place: A Phenomenology of the Uncanny* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2013).

²⁰⁵ María del Pilar Blanco, *Ghost-watching American Modernity: Haunting, Landscape, and the Hemispheric Imagination* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2012).

²⁰⁶ Steve Pile, 'The Ghostly City: in which the City is Haunted and Haunting,' in Steve Pile, *Real Cities: Modernity, Space and the Phantasmagorias of City Life* (London: Sage, 2005), 131–164.

²⁰⁷ Judith Richardson, *Possessions: The History and Uses of Haunting in the Hudson Valley* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

²⁰⁸ Maria Holmgren Troy and Elisabeth Wennö, eds., *Space, Haunting, Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2008).

²⁰⁹ Ernesto Laclau, 'The Time is Out of Joint,' *Diacritics* 25:2 (1995): 86–96.

²¹⁰ Mark Fisher, *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures* (Alresford, Hants: Zero Books, 2014).

²¹¹ Colin Davis, 'État Présent: Hauntology, Spectres and Phantoms,' *French Studies* 59:3 (2005): 373–379.

²¹² Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004).

²¹³ Jacques Derrida, 'The Time is Out of Joint,' in *Deconstruction is/in America: A New Sense of the Political*, ed. Anselm Haverkamp (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1995), 14–40.

Hauntology also entails the critical study of tele-technological presence and cinematic specters. The development of *tele-technologies*, or information, communication, and media technologies, from telephones to video cameras, has disrupted the famous Weberian belief that what is so unique about modern history is the ‘disenchantment’ of the world and the disappearance of ‘magic’ gardens. Indeed, the modern world is re-encharmed by the ghostly media; all recorded media haunts and is haunted in the sense that they enable scenes of the past to repeat in the future and arouse the presence of those physically absent or long since dead. As Roland Barthes says of old photographs and their referents, the people we see in them either were already dead or are going to die: ‘I observe with horror an anterior future of which death is at stake. By giving me the absolute past of the pose (aorist), the photograph tells me death in the future.’²¹⁴ He goes on to say that this process can be described as the transformation of the subject into a ghostly revenant: ‘The photograph represents that very subtle moment when I am neither subject nor object, but a subject who feels he is becoming an object; I then experience a micro version of death; I am truly becoming a spectre.’²¹⁵ In a way very similar to Barthes’s, other philosophers and cultural theorists like André Bazin, Jean-Luc Nancy, Jean Baudrillard, and Susan Sontag have also suggested considering the ghostly presence of the photograph to be associated with ‘the return of the dead,’²¹⁶ a kind of ‘death mask,’²¹⁷ ‘spectral

²¹⁴ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981), 96.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

²¹⁷ André Bazin, ‘The Ontology of the Photographic Image,’ in *What is Cinema?* vol. 1 (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 12; Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Ground of the Image* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2005), 99; for a comprehensive discussion on

body' or 'luminous ectoplasm of body,'²¹⁸ or 'memento mori.'²¹⁹ What Barthes and others pointed out about the 'horror' of photography is also true of audio recordings and film.

The first substantial account of the 'cinematic specter' was Maxim Gorky's account of viewing the Lumière brothers' *The Arrival of a Train* at the Nizhny Novgorod fair in Russia on 4 July 1896, where he describes the relationship between the cinematic specter and the spectator as an intersubjective dissymmetry, or as an encounter with the absent other:

Last night I was in the Kingdom of Shadows. If you only knew how strange it is to be there. It is a world without sound, without colour. Everything there – the earth, the trees, the people, the water and the air – is dipped in monotonous grey. Grey rays of the sun across the grey sky, grey eyes in grey faces, and the leaves of the trees are ashen grey. It is not life but its shadow, it is not motion but its soundless spectre. Here I shall try to explain myself, lest I be suspected of madness or indulgence in symbolism. I was at Aumont's and saw Lumière's cinematograph – moving photography.²²⁰

In connection with this intersubjective dissymmetry, Stanley Cavell, a prominent thinker in the tradition of analytic philosophy of film, sets forth the issue of presence in his book *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film* with regard to the issue of who is presented to whom in a film viewing:

The obvious difference is that in a theater we are in the presence of an actor, in a movie house we are not. You have said that in both places the actor is in our presence and in neither are we in his, the

Jean-Luc Nancy's analogy of the photograph as a death mask: Louis Kaplan, 'Photograph/Death Mask: Jean-Luc Nancy's Recasting of the Photographic Image,' *Journal of Visual Culture* 9 (2010): 45–62.

²¹⁸ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), 106.

²¹⁹ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York, NY: Penguin, 1979), 15.

²²⁰ Maxim Gorky quoted in Colin Harding and Simon Popple, *In the Kingdom of Shadows: A Companion to Early Cinema* (London: Cygnus Arts, 1996), 5.

difference lying in the mode of our absence. But there is also the plain fact that in a theater a real man is *there*, and in a movie no real man is there.²²¹

He also emphasises the ambiguity of the existential status of the man presented to the spectators in film viewing:

It is an incontestable fact that in a motion picture no live human being is up there. But a human *something* is, and something unlike anything else we know. We can stick to our plain description of that human something as ‘in our presence while we are not in his’ (present *at* him, because looking at him, but not present *to* him) and still account for the difference between his live presence and his photographed presence to us. We need to consider what is present or, rather, since the topic is the human being, who *is* present.²²²

Cavell never goes further into this issue of presence/absence throughout the rest of his book, but he confesses the *insufficiency of ontology* in explaining the existential status of that ‘human *something*’ in photographs and films: ‘We do not know what a photograph is; we do not know how to place it ontologically. We might say that we don’t know how to think of the connection between a photograph and what it is a photograph of.’²²³ Derrida also implicates the very notion of the ‘visor effect’²²⁴ to refer to the spectral presence and gaze of the absent other in film. By virtue of this ‘*visor effect*,’ Derrida argues, ‘the specter sees without being seen; he thus reestablishes the heteronomy.’²²⁵ As he explains the term in *Echographies of Television*,

²²¹ Stanley Cavell, *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film*, enlarged edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 26.

²²² *Ibid.*, 26-7.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 17-8.

²²⁴ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 6-8.

²²⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 61.

The specter is not simply someone we see coming back, it is someone by whom we feel ourselves watched, observed, surveyed, as if by the law: [... and it] is not simply this visible invisible that I can see, it is someone who watches or concerns me without any possible reciprocity, and who therefore makes the law when I am blind, blind by situation. The specter enjoys the right of absolute inspection. He is the right of inspection itself.²²⁶

The spectral gaze that addresses itself to the spectator in films always remains dissymmetrical. Davis argues that ‘to watch film is to be in the presence of spectres, the already-dead or the soon-to-be-dead, and it is also to be watched by them as they look back at us and see that we too shall die.’²²⁷ The *spectator* is unable to exchange a glance with the *specter* because the *specter* is the absolute *inspector* by whom we feel ourselves watched, or observed. In Royle’s words, ‘I’m still watching [that film]. It is still watching me.’²²⁸

The French philosopher and film theorist Edgar Morin was one of the early thinkers who made a link between film and death. In his *Le cinéma ou l’homme imaginaire*, he argued that ‘the cinema achieves a sort of resurrection of the archaic vision of the world in recovering the virtually exact superposition of practical perception and magical vision – their syncretic conjunction.’²²⁹ However, a rather broader intellectual debate started after Derrida’s ‘hauntology’ regarding the spectral nature of the filmic medium that conjures up sounds and images from other times and places for viewers. Contemporary film philosophers,

²²⁶ Jacques Derrida and Bernard Stiegler, *Echographies of Television: Filmed Interviews*, trans. Jennifer Bajorek (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 120-1.

²²⁷ Davis, *Haunted Subjects*, 21.

²²⁸ Nicholas Royle, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 75.

²²⁹ Edgar Morin, *Le cinéma ou l’homme imaginaire: Essai d’anthropologie* (Paris, 1956), 160; cited in Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 461.

media scholars, and film critics such as Gilberto Pérez,²³⁰ Tom Gunning,²³¹ Murray Leeder,²³² Alan Cholodenko,²³³ Laura Mulvey,²³⁴ Colin Davis,²³⁵ Bliss Cua Lim,²³⁶ Libby Saxton,²³⁷ Lloyd Michaels,²³⁸ and many others²³⁹ have enjoyed a particularly rich engagement with the ghostly nature of the filmic medium, film

²³⁰ Gilberto Pérez, *The Material Ghost: Films and Their Medium* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

²³¹ Tom Gunning, 'To Scan a Ghost: The Ontology of Mediated Vision,' *Grey Room* 26 (2007): 95–127.

²³² Murray Leeder, *Cinematic Ghosts: Haunting and Spectrality from Silent Cinema to the Digital Era* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, forthcoming).

²³³ Alan Cholodenko, 'The Crypt, the Haunted House, of Cinema,' *Cultural Studies Review* 10:2 (2004): 99–113; Alan Cholodenko, 'The Spectre in the Screen' (paper presented at the Screenscapes Past Present Future conference at the University of Sydney, November 29–December 1, 2007; also published in *Animation Studies Online Journal* 3 (2008), accessed August 29, 2014, <http://journal.animationstudies.org/alan-cholodenko-the-spectre-in-the-screen/>).

²³⁴ Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion, 2009).

²³⁵ Colin Davis, *Haunted Subjects: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis and the Return of the Dead* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Colin Davis, 'The Skeptical Ghost: Alejandro Amenábar's *The Others* and the Return of the Dead,' in *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture*, ed. María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (London: Continuum, 2010), 64–75.

²³⁶ Bliss Cua Lim, 'Spectral Times: The Ghost Film as Historical Allegory,' *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 9:2 (2001): 287–329.

²³⁷ Libby Saxton, *Haunted Images: Film, Ethics, Testimony and the Holocaust* (London: Wallflower, 2008).

²³⁸ Lloyd Michaels, *The Phantom of the Cinema: Character in Modern Film* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998).

²³⁹ Geoffrey O'Brien, *The Phantom Empire: Movies in the Mind of the 20th Century* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995); Lisa B. Kröger and Melanie Anderson, eds., *The Ghostly and the Ghosted in Literature and Film: Spectral Identities* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 2013); Barry Curtis, *Dark Places: The Haunted House in Film* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008); Scott Brewster, 'Access Denied: Memory and Resistance in the Contemporary Ghost Film,' in *Uncanny Modernity: Cultural Theories, Modern Anxieties*, ed. Jo Collins and John Jervis (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 112–127; Daniel Frampton, *Filmosophy* (London: Wallflower, 2006); Garrett Stewart, *Framed Time: Toward a Postfilmic Cinema* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2007); Louise Burchill, 'Jacques Derrida,' in *Film, Theory and Philosophy: The Key Thinkers*, ed. Felicity Colman (Durham: Acumen, 2009); Robert Smith, 'Deconstruction and Film,' in *Deconstructions: A User's Guide*, ed. Nicholas Royle (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2000), 119–136; Tom Ruffles, *Ghost Images: Cinema of the Afterlife* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004); Marina Warner, *Phantasmagoria: Spirit Visions, Metaphors, and Media into the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Jeffrey Sconce, *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Wendy Haslem, 'Traces of Gothic Spectrality in New Media Art,' *Irish Journal of Gothic and Horror Studies* 5 (December 2008), accessed November 16, 2009, <http://irishgothic horrorjournal.homestead.com/gothicspec.html>.

narrative, and film characters in their writings, with a range of different perspectives. Other film scholars like Russell J. A. Kilbourn,²⁴⁰ Susannah Radstone,²⁴¹ Laura Marks,²⁴² and Amresh Sinha and Terence McSweeney²⁴³ have devoted attention to understanding the spectral nature of film in relation to acts of memory. In this sense, hauntology crops up across different sites in film studies and yet it is nowhere. It is nowhere in the sense that all these independent works stand in stark contrast to the absence of an extensive, integrated, and consistent literature that focuses directly on various aspects of what we may call a ‘hauntology of film’ in comparison to the extensive literatures on other film-theoretical approaches. This is also true of Turkish film studies. Film scholars like Asuman Suner,²⁴⁴ Umut Tümay Arslan,²⁴⁵ Savaş Arslan,²⁴⁶ and Özlem Köksal²⁴⁷ deal with certain aspects of the specters of Turkish cinema; however, their

²⁴⁰ Russell J. A. Kilbourn, *Cinema, Memory, Modernity: The Representation of Memory from the Art Film to Transnational Cinema* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010).

²⁴¹ Susannah Radstone, ‘Cinema/Memory/History,’ *Screen* 36:1 (1995): 34–47; Susannah Radstone, ‘Cinema and Memory,’ in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2010), 325–342.

²⁴² Laura Marks, *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), in particular the chapter ‘The Memory of Touch,’ 127–193.

²⁴³ Amresh Sinha and Terence McSweeney, ‘Millennial Cinema: Memory in Global Film,’ in *Millennial Cinema: Memory in Global Film*, ed. Amresh Sinha and Terence McSweeney (London: Wallflower & Columbia University Press, 2012), 1–16.

²⁴⁴ Asuman Suner, *Hayalet Ev: Yeni Türk Sinemasında Aidiyet, Kimlik ve Bellek [The Ghost House: Belonging, Identity and Memory in New Turkish Cinema]* (Istanbul: Metis, 2006); Asuman Suner, *New Turkish Cinema: Belonging, Identity and Memory* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).

²⁴⁵ Umut Tümay Arslan, *Mazi Kabrinin Hortlakları: Türklük, Melankoli ve Sinema [Spectres of the Grave Called Past: Turkishness, Melancholia, and Cinema]* (Istanbul: Metis, 2009); Umut Tümay Arslan, ‘From Absence to Infinity: The Aesthetics of Loss in Turkish Cinema’ (paper presented at the Aesthetics and Politics in Turkey: Art, Film, Literature conference at Sabancı University, Karaköy, Istanbul, December 6-8, 2013).

²⁴⁶ Savaş Arslan, *Cinema in Turkey: A New Critical History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011).

²⁴⁷ Özlem Köksal, ‘Remembering the Past, Performing the Present: Turkey in Film’ (Ph.D. diss., London Consortium, Birkbeck College, University of London, 2011).

writings fail to form an idea of film hauntology.

A hauntology of film must simply be based on Derrida's argument that the medium of the media and film is spectral. Although Derrida never wrote on cinema, he links his hauntology to media theory and film studies in the interview with him by Pascale Ogier in the film *Ghost Dance* (Ken McMullen, 1983) where he claims that 'The cinema is the art of ghosts, a battle of phantoms; [...] it is the art of allowing ghosts to come back. I believe that ghosts are part of the future and that the modern technology of images like cinematography and telecommunication enhances the power of ghosts and their ability to haunt us.'²⁴⁸ In *Right of Inspection*, he says, 'the spectral is the essence of photography.'²⁴⁹ In *Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography*, Derrida also considers photography as a 'technology of the revenant' that serves the mourning for the here-now that is irretrievably absent and archived as a loss.²⁵⁰ In his talk with Bernard Stiegler entitled 'Spectrographies' in *Echographies of Television*, he also explains how the cinematic specter on the screen haunts the spectator with reference to the personal experience he had when, two or three years later, after Pascale Ogier had died, he watched the film *Ghost Dance* again in the United States, at the request of students who wanted to discuss it with him:

Suddenly I saw Pascale's face, which I knew was a dead woman's face, come onto the screen. She answered my question: 'Do you believe in ghosts?' Practically looking me in the eye, she said to me again, on the big screen: 'Yes, now I do, yes.' Which now?

²⁴⁸ Cf. Jacques Derrida, 'The Ghost Dance: An Interview with Jacques Derrida,' trans. Jean-Luc Svoboda, *Public 2* (1989): 60–74; Jacques Derrida, 'Le cinéma et ses fantômes,' interviewed by Antoine de Baeque and Thierry Jousse, *Cahiers du cinéma* 556 (2001): 74–85.

²⁴⁹ Jacques Derrida, *Right of Inspection*, trans. David Wills, photographs by Marie-Françoise Plissart (New York, NY: Monacelli Press, 1998), 107-8.

²⁵⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography*, ed. Gerhard Richter, trans. Jeff Fort (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 39.

Years later in Texas. I had the unnerving sense of the return of her specter, the specter of her specter coming back to say to me – to me here, now: ‘Now ... now ... now, that is to say, in this dark room on another continent, in another world, here, now, yes, believe me, I believe in ghosts.’ But at the same time, I know that the first time Pascale said this, already, when she repeated this in my office, already, this spectrality was at work. It was already there, she was already saying this, and she knew, just as we know, that even if she hadn’t died in the interval, one day, it would be a dead woman who said, ‘I am dead,’ or ‘I am dead, I know what I’m talking about from where I am, and I’m watching you,’ and this gaze remained dissymmetrical, exchanged beyond all possible exchange, eye-line without eye-line, the eye-line of a gaze that fixes and looks for the other, its other, its counterpart [*vis-à-vis*], the other gaze met, in an infinite night.²⁵¹

Derrida further develops his argument by saying that contemporary political life and public space is haunted by the specters of media and film. He points out that specters of cinema are projected onto an ‘imaginary screen where there is nothing to see,’²⁵² or onto ‘something absent, for the screen itself is phantomatic,’²⁵³ and what we see on the screen ‘is neither living nor dead, present nor absent: it spectralises;’ therefore, a cinematic specter ‘does not belong to ontology, to the discourse on the Being of beings, or to the essence of life or death.’²⁵⁴ In this sense, the body of the cinematic specter ‘is a *coming into presence*, in the way and manner of images that come to a television screen, or movie screen, coming not *of* and *from* the depths of the screen, but rather *being* this screen, this screen spaced out, and existing as the screen’s extension. [...] Its coming [...] will never be finished; it *goes* as it comes; it is coming-and-

²⁵¹ Derrida and Stiegler, *Echographies of Television*, 119-20.

²⁵² Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 125.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 123.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

going...'²⁵⁵ In short: a film, in Derridean terms, might be considered 'an accumulation of ghostly layers.'²⁵⁶

As Davis truly understands it, the space and time of the film are also spectral: 'The dead return through film to throw into question the experience of time and space: when is now, where is here?'²⁵⁷ The cinematic space is the 'virtual space of spectrality'²⁵⁸ in the sense that it is a *khôra*, or interval, between presence and absence; and cinematic time is a constellation of 'spectral moment[s] [...] that no longer belong to time,'²⁵⁹ or 'in which death is signified.'²⁶⁰ As Brunette and Wills note in relation to Derrida, 'within the present space and present time of the film, in other words, one is incessantly reminded of the past, and the past is a specter, the past is death.'²⁶¹ Bliss Cua Lim also points to how moving images re-disjoint our living present through the lived presents of absent others:

Ghosts call our calendars into question. The temporality of haunting, through which events and people return from the limits of time and mortality, differs sharply from the modern concept of a linear, progressive, universal time. The hauntings recounted by ghost narratives are not merely instances of the past reasserting itself in a stable present, as is usually assumed; on the contrary, the ghostly return of traumatic events precisely troubles the boundaries of past, present, and future, and cannot be written back to the

²⁵⁵ Jacques Derrida, *On Touching: Jean-Luc Nancy*, trans. Christine Irizarry (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 222.

²⁵⁶ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 159.

²⁵⁷ Davis, *Haunted Subjects*, 21.

²⁵⁸ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 12.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, xix.

²⁶⁰ Jacques Derrida, 'Living On,' trans. James Hulbert, in Harold Bloom et al., *Deconstruction and Criticism* (London: Continuum, 2004), 91.

²⁶¹ Peter Brunette and Davis Wills, *Screen/Play: Derrida and Film Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 116.

complacency of a homogeneous, empty time.²⁶²

The present time of the film is not only haunted by the ghosts of the past, but also by the ghost of the future in the sense that the filmic writing is *différance* capturing the double movement of a present both differing from and deferring itself: the present's recordability is a condition akin to what Derrida calls 'iterability'. As Smith explains,

The recordability of the present suggests that the future balks at being shunted forward and away from the present. The future interferes with the present before the future has happened. Such a proposition threatens to play havoc with the received idea of time as a consecutive series of 'nows', an idea that forms the basis of so much thinking not only in metaphysics but in everyday life. So what is a camera recording when it is recording something supposedly present? Indeed, whether the present gets recorded or not, its recordability belongs to it, a state of affairs which puts the present into relation with itself in the 'future'. This can only mean that the present is divided from itself: in order to relate to itself over 'time' or whatever this strange new medium is, there must be a break, division, space, time, fissure for the present to relate to itself across. The so-called 'present' fails to be entirely present to itself; it is both deferred from itself and divided from itself into a 'future'.²⁶³

For all these reasons, Derrida says that specters of cinema and media 'require, then, what we call [...] *hauntology*.'²⁶⁴ Hauntology deals with 'the question of media tele-technology,' cinema and memory, 'in their irreducibly spectral dimension.'²⁶⁵ Indeed, the relationship between specters of cinema and memory 'determines the spacing of public space, the very possibility of the *res*

²⁶² Bliss Cua Lim, 'Spectral Times: The Ghost Film As Historical Allegory,' *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 9:2 (2001): 287.

²⁶³ Robert Smith, 'Deconstruction and Film,' in *Deconstructions: A User's Guide*, ed. Nicholas Royle (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2000), 122.

²⁶⁴ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 63.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

publica [the common good] and the phenomenality of the political.²⁶⁶ Media and film technologies produce ‘the new structure of the event and of its spectrality.’²⁶⁷ Derrida concludes his argument by claiming that the re-thinking and re-presentation of memory and cultural history through the haunting of cinematic specters has ethical dimensions and is strongly related to intellectual responsibility since the return of ghosts through film gives us the opportunity to learn from them about justice. He writes,

If he loves justice at least, the ‘scholar’ of the future, the ‘intellectual’ of tomorrow should learn it and from the ghost. He should learn to live by learning not how to make conversation with the ghost but how to talk with him, with her, how to let them speak or how to give them back speech, even if it is in oneself, in the other, in the other in oneself: they are always *there*, specters, even if they do not exist, even if they are no longer, even if they are not yet.²⁶⁸

* * *

In conclusion, a hauntology of film, first of all, should aim ‘to understand *spirits* in the plural and in the sense of specters, of untimely specters that one must not chase away but sort out, critique, keep close by, and allow to come back.’²⁶⁹ In the context of hauntology, cinema with its sensational and perceptual aspects can be considered ‘a place where we can interrogate our relation to the dead, examine the elusive identities of the living, and explore the boundaries between the thought and the unthought. The [cinematic] ghost becomes a focus for

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 63.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 98.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 221.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 109.

competing epistemological and ethical positions.²⁷⁰ Following Derrida's philosophy of ghost and Gordon's sociology of ghostly matters, the hauntology of film might expose new trajectories to interrogate not only the ghostly nature of film but also the potential of films, or occult virtues, for creating magical surfaces of conjuration for gathering the ghosts of social history. In Derrida's terms, film as an inscription of time itself can be regarded as the memory of the present: 'What if there were a memory of the present and that far from fitting the present to itself, it divided the instant? What if it inscribed or revealed difference in the very presence of the present, and thus, by the same token, the possibility of being repeated in representation?'²⁷¹ Cinema can also create what we may call a *memory to-come*, a counter-memory, or a deconstructive politics of memory, as opposed to grand narratives and dominant discourses of the past. The cinematic specter as a figure of non-knowledge, or of *re-memoration* [memory to-come], highlights the limitations of our prevalent modes of knowing the past and the assumptions they make about the social world. Thus, cinema can enable us to learn from social specters, 'postcolonial ghosts' in the context of this thesis, through its testimonial strategies. In other words, when a film inherits and transmits the trace of the absent other, it not only enhances its own spectrality through deferral or delay (*différance*), but it also reminds us of our responsibility for the absent other. A mnemopolitical film brings contested memories and the question of the ghost into the political arena and public space as a demand for the future and justice. As Derrida explains,

²⁷⁰ Davis, *Haunted Subjects*, 13.

²⁷¹ Jacques Derrida, *Memoires: For Paul de Man*, trans. Cecile Lindsay et al. (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), 60.

The two memories [*conventional memory*, or dominant discourses of past, and *critical memory*, or memory to-come, or the deconstructive mode of remembering] bolster, aggravate, and conjure one another; they are, necessarily, again and again, at war. Always on the brink of every possible kind of contamination. When abhorred ghosts, so to speak, are back, we recall the ghosts of their victims. We remember them in order to preserve their memory, but also, indissociably, we call them back for our struggle today and, above all, for the promise that binds it, for the future, without which it would make no sense: for the future, that is to say, beyond all present life, beyond any living being capable of saying ‘now, me.’ The question – or the demand – of the phantom is the question and the demand of the future and of justice as well.²⁷²

Learning from specters, or unlearning through cinematic signs of absence, draws us affectively into a strange and uncanny experience, which is a way to a kind of illumination, or ‘a transformative recognition,’²⁷³ of how some unresolved matters of the past invisibly persist in affecting our current socio-political conditions. The cinematic specter is an irresistible sign of the ‘unspoken,’ or of what is usually seen as ‘insignificant.’ That is why the cinematic specter might be a critical element in a deconstructive research method regarding social realities. The main function of the ‘cinematic specter’ for a deconstructive politics of memory is its potential to disrupt the conventional modes of knowing the past in the prevailing discursive regimes. As Derrida says in *Positions* (1972), ‘there is not one single history, a general history, but rather histories *different* in their type, rhythm, mode of inscription – intervallic, differentiated histories.’²⁷⁴

The hauntological approach taken in this thesis reveals that engagements with ghosts and haunting in my research material, Zaim’s ‘The Cyprus Trilogy’, involve performances of remembering; such a theoretical approach also

²⁷² Derrida and Stiegler, *Echographies of Television*, 23-4.

²⁷³ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 8.

²⁷⁴ Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass (London: Continuum, 2008), 50.

foregrounds how postcolonial ghosts, haunting, and memory as well as colonial/postcolonial history, geography, and subjectivity matter, and come to matter, in engagements with a spectral realist film aesthetics. I propose the notion of ‘spectral realism’ here to refer to a category that defines the characteristic of certain films that present the catastrophic reality as remembered. Thus, a spectral realist film is a ghostly intervention, which does not aim to ‘represent’ the reality (the actual event) as it is, but to present the *reality-as-remembered*. In other words, the concern of a spectral realist film is not to represent the ‘actual catastrophic event’ itself, but instead, to point to how the irrepresentable phenomenological experiences of that event are later remembered ‘directly’ by the film characters (individual memory), or internalised and remembered ‘indirectly’ by the director/scriptwriter himself through stories, images, and other reminders and remainders of his family’s experiences (transgenerational memory, or postmemory). That means, what is *not* shown on the screen can be *prior* at various points to the cinematic image. In contrast to narrative realism, which culminates in the Hollywood cinema’s classic mainstream genres, formula driven structure, story-action based flow, closed, strong, plausible story world, linear-causal relations, realistic motivation through goal-oriented characters, and functional narrative style, ‘spectral realism’ is a new form among cinematic realisms (i.e., narrative, phenomenological, and documentary) that aims to convey a sensation of the phenomena such as they are remembered, and is observable in historical film genres such as the memory-film, biopic, and period drama, with its catastrophic reality driven structure, situation-character based flow, open, fragmentary, weak story world, disjointed temporality and complex editing (e.g., flashbacks), simulation of a traumatic past, anti-heroic, ambivalent, opaque,

incoherent, passive, indecisive, fractured characters, reminiscence style, surreal dream atmosphere and claustrophobic *mise-en-scène*. This fresh category applies to the mnemopolitical films of all world film traditions that deal with the catastrophic events of the twentieth-century, including the European civil war films (e.g., Spanish cinema, Balkan cinemas), First and Second World War films, Holocaust films (e.g., New German cinema), and North African and Middle Eastern ethnic conflict, civil war, and colonial history films (e.g., New Turkish Cinema, and the cinemas of Algeria, Israel, Palestine, and Lebanon). A spectral realist film exposes the spectator to the specters of unacknowledged histories to encourage them to be ‘responsible spectators’ instead of just being passive viewers. In sum, hauntology as a conceptual framework provides a critical reading strategy that is pertinent to both the content and formal characteristics of my research material. In the following chapters of this thesis, hauntology and the figure of the ‘postcolonial cinematic specter’ will be revisited and reconsidered from different perspectives that pertain to the themes of each chapter.

Chapter 4 – Specters of Yeşilçam Cinema: Turkish War

Films on Cyprus

In this chapter, I will provide a review of the film-historical background to this study. In so doing, I aim to show the cultural context of my research. The following paragraphs will explore the primary filmic legacy, a cluster of Turkish films on Cyprus, to which Derviş Zaim's 'The Cyprus Trilogy' gives a critical response. Postcolonial Cyprus has been represented many times in the cinematic landscapes of Turkish war films. Between 1959 and 1986, more than twenty films, largely based on simple melodramatic plots and using intensively militaristic archive images, had been produced in the Yeşilçam film industry of Turkey.²⁷⁵ The first of these Turkish nationalist epic films, *The Red EOKA that Troubles Cyprus* (*Kıbrıs'ın Belâsı Kızıl EOKA*, 1959), was a war film written and directed by Nişan Hançer, starring Sezer Sezin and Kenan Artun, and based on a plot about a Turkish battalion entrapped and massacred in Famagusta by Greek-

²⁷⁵ *The Red EOKA that Troubles Cyprus* (*Kıbrıs'ın Belâsı Kızıl EOKA*, Nişan Hançer, 1959), *The Martyrs of Cyprus* (*Kıbrıs Şehitleri*, Behlül Dal, 1959), *Ten Fearless Men* (*On Korkusuz Adam*, Tunç Başaran, 1964), *The Devoted Martyrs: The Revenge of Eagles* (*Severek Ölenler: Kartalların Öcü*, Osman F. Seden, 1965), *The Cyprus Volcano: An Epic of Fiery and Magnificent Warriors* (*Kıbrıs Volkanı: Şahlanan Mücahitlerin Destanı*, Ural Ozon, 1965), *The Female Archenemy* (*Dişi Düşman*, Nejat Saydam, 1966), *Five Storm-Men* (*Fırtına Beşler*, Aram Gülyüz, 1966), *The Beloved Flying in the Sky* (*Göklerdeki Sevgili*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1966), *The Devoted Fighters* (*Severek Doğuşenler*, Adnan Saner, 1966), *The Self-Sacrificing Men* (*Fedailer*, Kayahan Arıkan, 1966), *Three Fearless Friends* (*Üç Korkusuz Arkadaş*, Halit Refiğ, 1966), *The Commandos are on the Way* (*Komandolar Geliyor*, Nejat Okçuğil, 1968), *The Self-Sacrificing Commandos Arrived in Cyprus* (*Fedai Komandolar Kıbrıs'ta*, Nejat Okçuğil, 1968), *Exodus: On the Horizons of Cyprus* (*Göç: Kıbrıs Ufuklarında*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974), *The Self-Sacrificing Men of Cyprus* (*Kıbrıs Fedaileri*, Müjdat Saylav, 1974), *The Eagle's Nest* (*Kartal Yuvası*, Natuk Baytan, 1974), *The Homeland Comes First* (*Önce Vatan*, Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1974), *Sezercik the Little Resistance Fighter* (*Sezercik Küçük Mücahit*, Ertem Göreç, 1974), *The Martyrs* (*Şehitler*, Çetin İnanç, 1974), *The Turkish Lions* (*Türk Aslanları*, Kayahan Arıkan [Tanzer Akın], 1974), *The Eagles of Victory* (*Zafer Kartalları*, Seyfi Havaeri, 1974), *The Dungeon* (*Zindan*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974), *Fellow Comrades in Arms* (*Silah Arkadaşları*, Osman F. Seden, 1977), *The Hook* (*Kanca*, Melih Gülgen, 1986).

Cypriot EOKA'ists. It has gained the reputation of being the first film that was banned by the Turkish government before its release. The primary reason for such an official ban was the Turkish government's desire to maintain the delicate balance in diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece, which was ameliorated to some extent by the 1959 Zurich and London Agreements.²⁷⁶ This failed attempt was followed by another film, *The Martyrs of Cyprus (Kıbrıs Şehitleri*, Behlül Dal, 1959), the same year. Around ten films were made in the 1960s with a comparatively less patriotic attitude, which were followed by ten ultra-nationalist films in the 1970s. Only one film was made in the 1980s.²⁷⁷ The last of the Cyprus-centred films of the 1970s, *Fellow Comrades in Arms (Silah Arkadaşları*, Osman F. Seden, 1977), was a remake of *Five Storm Men (Fırtına Beşler*, Aram Gülyüz, 1966) with slight changes. Most of these feature films, having a political agenda with their highly jingoistic, antagonistic, and judgmental textures that were associated with the politics of enmity, deliberately constructed geopolitically-oriented mental maps with ghostly boundaries to identify otherness (the Greek, or the non-Turk). The epic narratives of these films are constructed through the savagely polarised representation of group identities, the legitimisation of ethnocentric exclusion and the antagonistic relations of film characters (Turkish heroes versus Greek villains). It is, however, more remarkable that these films, depending on a conflictual paradigm, create spectacles and maps

²⁷⁶ Agâh Özgüç, *Türlerle Türk Sineması: Dönemler, Modalar, Tipler* [Genres in Turkish Cinema: Periods, Fashions, Character Formations] (Istanbul: Dünya, 2005), 181; Fikret Hakan, *Türk Sinema Tarihi [A History of Turkish Cinema]* (Istanbul: İnkılap, 2008), 265.

²⁷⁷ For further information about these films: Bülent Fevzioglu and Bilgi Fevzioglu, *Sinema, Plâk ve Bildirilerde Kıbrıs Türklerinin Direniş Yılları, 1 [The Turkish-Cypriot Community's Years of Resistance as Represented in Films, Music Albums and Academic Papers, 1]* (Nicosia: Ajans Yayın Dağıtım, 2009).

so as to constitute the geopolitical imagination and to establish the pre-war and post-war conditions for Turkish military expansion.

4.1. Cinematic Landscapes: Yeşilçam War Cinema's Geopolitical Aesthetics

In his *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception*, French philosopher Paul Virilio emphasises that 'there is no war without representation.'²⁷⁸ Marcus Power and Andrew Crampton extend this argument even further, suggesting that 'the relationship between cinema and geopolitics, between the reel world of cinema and the real world of global geopolitical space' should be considered central to the film scholar's research agenda, because cinema 'represents a constitutive element in the production of political geographies and because political spaces, places and landscapes are implicit tools in the production of film.'²⁷⁹ Indeed, militarism makes its violent geographies through material and representational practice, and, in this sense, cinema as a technology of perception and representation fits perfectly within the war machine; it structures social perception through 'mental maps' to make people believe the necessity, or at least inevitability, of military operations in a certain terrain. Cinema does not only make images of war, but it also precipitates and preconditions war through images. In other words, the politics of representation in film, which is affiliated with both Fredric Jameson's reflections on the 'geopolitical aesthetics' and Michael Shapiro's critique of the 'cinematic geopolitics,' constructs the *Truth* (and so-called necessity) of war and

²⁷⁸ Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Verso, 1989), 6.

²⁷⁹ Marcus Power and Andrew Crampton, 'Reel Geopolitics: Cinemato-graphing Political Space,' in *Cinema and Popular Geo-Politics*, ed. Marcus Power and Andrew Crampton (London: Routledge, 2007), 5.

military action through deception and illusion, spectacle and captivation.²⁸⁰ As Virilio points out, what defines cinema is not merely the production of images but rather their manipulation through different camera movements (e.g., pans, tilts and tracking shots, zooming in and out), postproduction strategies (e.g., editing, sound design) and other powers of the cinematic medium. Rachel Woodward argues that ‘Military control, as well as being a material practice, is discursive, in the sense that power is mobilised through the development of explanatory narratives about military legitimacy and place in the landscape.’²⁸¹ She goes on to say that ‘Military landscapes are iconic, in that they have a symbolism or meaning beyond that which is indicated by just physical presence. They can be read or interpreted for their meanings.’²⁸² Cinema is one of the most influential means of discursive practice that determines the iconography of military landscape as well as legitimising military control over territories. In the context of the Yeşilçam film culture’s implicit complicity with the Turkish military,²⁸³ one of the main purposes of Turkish war films on Cyprus was the legitimisation of the partitionist aims of the Turkish state via the argument that recent historical experiences prove that the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities can no longer live together. In other words, the *war of images* in the Yeşilçam film culture that succeeded the intercommunal conflicts and precede the *de facto* division of the island has brought about the mental boundaries of an antagonistic socio-cultural regime.

²⁸⁰ Fredric Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995); Michael J. Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009).

²⁸¹ Rachel Woodward, *Military Geographies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 11.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 109.

²⁸³ Cf. Hilmi Maktav, ‘Vatan, Millet, Sinema [Homeland, Nation, Cinema],’ *Birikim* 207 (July 2006): 71–83; reprinted in Hilmi Maktav, *Türkiye Sinemasında Tarih ve Siyaset [History and Politics in the Cinema of Turkey]* (Istanbul: Agora, 2013).

Firstly, in the Yeşilçam war films of the 1960s and 1970s we are repeatedly presented with military and geopolitical maps of Cyprus. In many scenes of *The Devoted Martyrs: The Revenge of Eagles* (*Severek Ölenler: Kartalların Öcü*, Osman F. Seden, 1965), *The Female Archenemy* (*Dişi Düşman*, Nejat Saydam, 1966), *The Homeland Comes First* (*Önce Vatan*, Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1974) and *The Martyrs* (*Şehitler*, Çetin İnanç, 1974), we see Turkish senior military officers using a stick or their fingers to trace lines on the maps of Cyprus. The impact of such cartographic representations of the island is also strengthened by the film dialogues which emphasise the geostrategic importance of this eastern Mediterranean island for Turkey. Secondly, these films include representations of ethnic violence, warfare, militarisation, military landscapes of the battlefield, and related matters. In *Ten Fearless Men* (*On Korkusuz Adam*, Tunç Başaran, 1964), Turkish Air Force fighter jets are shown attacking Greek-Cypriot targets around a Turkish-Cypriot enclave in the north-west of the island, and in *The Homeland Comes First* (*Önce Vatan*, Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1974), Turkish war ships are also shown firing missiles at Greek-Cypriot targets. Again, in *The Beloved Flying in the Sky* (*Göklerdeki Sevgili*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1966), *The Homeland Comes First* (*Önce Vatan*, Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1974), *The Martyrs* (*Şehitler*, Çetin İnanç, 1974), and *The Dungeon* (*Zindan*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974), we see images of Turkish war planes, helicopters, ships, tanks, military camions fully loaded with military supplies and ammunition, as well as the dropping of Turkish parachutists in and around the Turkish-Cypriot enclaves, most of which were taken from the military image archive. Long scenes of conflict between Turkish and Greek soldiers take place in *Ten Fearless Men* (*On Korkusuz Adam*, Tunç Başaran, 1964) and *The Dungeon* (*Zindan*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974). And thirdly, these films promote a

discourse that glorifies and appreciates ‘expansionism’. For instance, in *The Homeland Comes First* (*Önce Vatan*, Duygu Sağıroğlu, 1974), we find a strange dialogue between two film characters, Yavuz Bayraktar (Cüneyt Arkın), a military commander of the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT), and Zeynep (Fatma Girik), a Turkish-Cypriot young lady:

Yavuz Bayraktar—Zeynep, what are you thinking about?

Zeynep—I’m thinking that if Cyprus belonged to Turkey, we would possess schools and factories – just like Greek-Cypriots! If it did, we wouldn’t be uneducated and poor.

Yavuz Bayraktar—You are absolutely right. First the British have colonised you and then the Greeks have oppressed you for so long. But of course it will not go on like this forever.

Zeynep—Do you believe our sufferings will end one day? And we will have the right to live with dignity, like human beings?

It is more interesting to find a much stronger example in an earlier film, *The Beloved Flying in the Sky* (*Göklerdeki Sevgili*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1966), where film characters openly speak of a Turkish military intervention. Before leaving Cyprus, Timur, a Turkish commander, complains about his departure:

Timur—God knows, I don’t want to return to the homeland (Turkey), Uncle Durdu.

Uncle Durdu—Don’t worry! One day the situation will change and you will come back again.

Timur—Again? With war planes, tanks, and the national star-and-crescent red flag? On that day, the people will throw flowers upon the heroes. Bands will start to play triumphal marches. Everything will be different, everything!

In *The Martyrs* (*Şehitler*, Çetin İnanç, 1974), First Lieutenant Kemal goes one step further and claims that, ‘A day will come, and from that day onwards, the Turkish flag will wave over Cyprus forever!’ And at the end of the film *Exodus: On the Horizons of Cyprus* (*Göç: Kıbrıs Ufuklarında*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974), we

see the Turkish red flag waving in the skies of Cyprus and an ultra-nationalist song with an ‘expansionist’ rhetoric accompanying this image:

My race has a source of joy and pride in the Mediterranean Sea,
My homeland has an extension beyond the city of Mersin,
We have built a road from Kyrenia to Asia Minor,
My glorious army has gained a victory in Cyprus.

Burak Reis—We expand into Europe through constant raids – for peace,
We mount an ‘Operation’ in the Green Island [Cyprus] – ‘for peace’,
We take lives of others and sacrifice ours – for the sake of this red flag.

Seyithan—We planted this flag into its new place;
One can live as long as one’s homeland exists!

Oruç Reis—And each of us is a Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk].

Barış—We are all lovers, adventurers, human beings!

We are in a unity with the nation and its army,
For the sake of the homeland,
 we are all determined to sacrifice our lives unblinkingly,
Each page is full of victories in our history,
Let us make war for peace; we are the great Turks!

And lastly, we find another remarkable example of Yeşilçam’s geopolitical aesthetics in *The Dungeon* (*Zindan*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974). The film ends with the following quatrain, implying that the Turkish army will never leave Cyprus:

When the Turkish tanks were pursuing
 and spouting fire upon the Greek enemy,
The ‘baby-land’ [Cyprus] was captured
 in waves of joy and happiness,
By now, that suffering, darkness
 and dungeon-like limbo situation has ended,
A new world has been established
 with the pigeon wings of peace.

4.2. Narrative Conventions: Nationalist Epic Dramas

Several wars in Turkish history gave birth to what came to be known as the Turkish epic war film genre, which was set in World War I, the Turkish-Greek

War (also known as the ‘Turkish War of Independence’), the Korean War, or the Cyprus War. From the late 1950s to the mid-1970s, the Turkish Yeşilçam film industry embraced this genre in which the postcolonial ethnic tensions between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots served as the backdrop to mostly melodramatic stories. A number of nationalist epics appeared in this period as an expression of state-induced, chauvinistic discourse and territorial claims. The conventional pattern of the nationalist epic film narrative can be explained as follows: a conflict between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities arises, the former threatens the existence of the latter, and then an idealised character, usually a Turkish military officer, arrives from Turkey to champion the cause of the oppressed Turkish-Cypriot community and struggles with the Greek EOKA’ists. If the relationship between the heroic Turk and his Turkish-Cypriot fellows appears to reach an impasse, a background power, usually a group of Turkish fighter jets, solves the crisis, ensuring that the heroic character triumphs and saves the Turkish-Cypriot community from the aggression of the Greek-Cypriots.

These uniformly patriotic films have attempted to rewrite the so-called historical script of the Cyprus conflict into a triumphant nationalistic epic in accordance with Pan-Turkist mythologies. The statement which best summarises the content of these nationalist mythologies appears in *The Martyrs* (Şehitler, Çetin İnanç, 1974): ‘Have you ever heard, in history, of a Turk who remains silent before his enemy?’ The most remarkable feature of these nationalist epics, however, is their function of reinforcing the myth that the Turkish nation is a military-nation. In her book *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, Ayşegül Altınay explains how this myth has been used to construct the social reality and gender order in modern Turkey:

Through the myth that the Turkish nation is a military-nation, military service has been constructed as an essential characteristic of the Turkish nation, an authoritative ‘tradition’ as opposed to a historical necessity: ‘Every Turk is born a soldier!’ This move has ‘sanctified’ the practice of military service in the name of nationhood, placing it outside of history and outside of political debate. There is more to the myth of the military-nation as an ‘authoritative discourse’: It is a highly gendered discourse that has important implications for gendered citizenship and gendered self-identification. Just as ‘Turkish culture’ is defined through the military, Turkish masculinity is defined through military-service. In state discourse, as well as in the perception of many Turkish citizens, men become ‘men’ only after serving in the military. This discourse on masculinity has contributed to the *culturalisation* (and thus, *naturalisation*) of military service.²⁸⁴



Figure 1 – Sezercik, a child-soldier. Screenshots from Ertem Göreç’s film *Sezercik the Little Resistance Fighter* (*Sezercik Küçük Mücahit*, 1974).

The myth of the military-nation, or the idea of ‘Every Turk is born a soldier,’ is prevalent in many nationalist epic films about Cyprus. For instance, in *Sezercik the Little Resistance Fighter* (*Sezercik Küçük Mücahit*, Ertem Göreç, 1974), a short dialogue between the protagonist Sezercik, a little Turkish boy, and his stepfather provides a good example of this myth. In one of the scenes, we see Sezercik working in his stepfather’s shoe repair shop. The little boy says when he

²⁸⁴ Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 32.

grows up he wants to be a shoe repairman just like his stepfather; however, his stepfather disapproves of what he says:

Stepfather—I don't want you to be a shoe repairman, my son. You will receive a good education and become a flamboyant Turkish military officer.

Sezercik—Why do you want me to become a military officer, dad?

Stepfather—Because it will suit you, because *it is in your blood* [it will fulfill the high destiny of your blood and race].

The myth of military-nation does not only construct masculinity, but also the ideal role of women in these nationalist epic film narratives. In one of the earlier scenes of *Sezercik the Little Resistance Fighter*, when Lale's mother is asked if she would allow her daughter to get married to Murat, a first lieutenant who is a fighter jet pilot in the Turkish Air Force, she replies positively: 'I've always been proud of being a military officer's wife, that's why my daughter having a military officer husband will also make me immensely happy.' Shortly after her marriage to Murat, Lale gives birth to a boy, Sezercik, but both she and her husband perish soon after. When Lale receives the bad news from Murat's companions-in-arms that her husband was killed in a plane crash, she starts crying with a deep sorrow and then says that she wants to die. Her mother tries to console her, saying that 'Bite the bullet, my girl; you're the daughter of a military officer and the widow of a martyr.' Nermin Saybaşılı suggests that the myth of the military-nation becomes concrete in the film narrative of *Sezercik the Little Resistance Fighter* through the body of a 'child-soldier'. What this nationalist epic film shows us is that the ghostly presence of the Turkish state and military haunts the body of each Turkish citizen from the very beginning of his life; namely, 'that "the body of the child" signifies no more than the invisible

“external” power that has possessed him. The body of the child, its positioning as a highly loaded and fetishised sign, carries inscriptions other than its own.²⁸⁵



Figure 2 – Screenshots from Duygu Sağıroğlu’s film *The Homeland Comes First* (*Önce Vatan*, 1974).

Especially between the late 1960s and mid-1970s, the Turkish epic war film increased the tone of its nationalist, militarist, and warmongering rhetoric by inserting into the narratives of the war in Cyprus a series of patriotic demonstrations and military parades, parade-ground drills, aggressive-defensive arguments for the combat, Turkish army uniforms, stirring sequences of naval, ground, and air formations, and enthusiastic crowds of children and civilians waving national flags as well as offering farewells to their military heroes. Saluting, marching, and singing patriotic songs are also constitutive elements of the nationalist epic narratives of these films. Lastly, I should add that the militarist rhetoric of these films aims to construct a history ‘from above,’ namely a

²⁸⁵ Nermin Saybaşılı, ‘Bordering the Island,’ *Third Text* 22:1 (2008): 89.

historical narrative through black and white, good and evil, homogeneous categories. Numerous scenes of torture and slaughter take place in these films, and the postcolonial period of intercommunal violence in the 1960s and 1970s is depicted only from an exclusively Turkish viewpoint. For instance, the events of 1974 are described in the films as the ‘Happy Peace Operation’; hence, Greek-Cypriot sufferings of that period are not included in the narrative. In so doing, the narratives of these films pay no attention to the social history of the island, the interaction and cooperation between Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot communities, as well as the internal political, class, or gender differences within each community.

4.3. Film Characters: Turkish Heroes versus Greek Villains

Under Ottoman rule, the social fabric of Cyprus was not defined and organised according to an ethnocentric principle but constituted by two classes in accordance with Islamic *shari‘a* law: Muslims and zimmi (*dhimmi*, protected people). Muslims were considered to be true believers without any distinction between old believers and new converts. Zimmis, on the other hand, were entitled to protection of their lives and property and the right to practice their own religion as long as they submitted themselves to the authority of the Ottoman state and paid taxes. According to *shari‘a* law, ‘each zimmi should be entitled to the same protection of life and property as each Muslim, and the court should strive diligently to secure that equality.’²⁸⁶ In this theologico-political and juridical order, ‘Ottoman *kadis* [Muslim local judges] were obligated to apply the same

²⁸⁶ Ronald Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1993), 133.

standard of justice for both zimmi and Muslim.²⁸⁷ As the years passed after Ottoman rule came to Cyprus, Christian and Muslim communities of the island ‘lived by their own preference in the greatest of intimacy as neighbors.’²⁸⁸ They shared the same social and political spaces without any division or isolation and without any conflict. Muslim Turkish-Cypriots and Christian Greek-Cypriots mostly inhabited the same districts and lived together, they traded with each other, took advantage of their legal rights, and even jointly revolted against the Ottoman authorities when, for instance, the newly-appointed governor, Çil Osman Ağa, doubled the taxes in 1764. In addition to Muslims, there were Greek Orthodox Christians, Armenian Gregorians, Maronites, and Latin Christians; the Jewish community was also a part of this peaceful society.



Figure 3 – Film posters for *The Eagle’s Nest* (*Kartal Yuvası*, Natuk Baytan, 1974) and *The Commandos are on the Way* (*Komandolar Geliyor*, Nejat Okçugil, 1968).

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 132.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 136.

Although this had been the case nearly until the mid-twentieth century, the so-called historical narratives presented in the Yeşilçam films rarely touch upon this fact. In these ultra-nationalist epics, heroic Turkish protagonists appear as self-directed characters in the sense that they identify and face the evil Greek-Cypriot enemy alone, and more than that, they are depicted as characters with noble aspirations who have a sincere mission to protect the oppressed Turkish-Cypriots. As for Turkish-Cypriots, they are mostly referred to as ‘our racial brothers (*ırkdaşlarımız*)’ and as ‘our kinsmen (*soydaşlarımız*).’ The films present various racist stereotypes, depicting the Orthodox Christian Greeks as barbaric characters who are blind with religious fanaticism, *essentially* fraudulent, perverted, erotomaniac, blood-thirsty, hostile, aggressive, ruthless, cruel, and bestially savage. In other words, Greek-Cypriots, in these nationalist epics, are homogeneously described as ‘Greek rowdies (*palikaryalar*)’, ‘infidels (*kefereler; gâvurlar*)’, ‘cruel, godless people (*Allahsızlar*)’, ‘semen of a perfidious race (*kahpe dölleri*)’, ‘monsters (*canavarlar*)’, ‘descendants of dogs (*köpek soyları*)’, ‘filthy dogs (*pis köpekler*)’, ‘filthy pigs (*pis domuzlar*)’, ‘cowards (*korkaklar*)’, ‘perfidious womanish men (*kahpe avratlar*)’, ‘rascals (*namussuzlar*)’, ‘the ignobles (*alçaklar*)’, ‘thieves (*hırsızlar*)’, ‘loan sharks (*tefeciler*)’, ‘rapists (*ırz düşmanları*)’, ‘pimps (*pezevenkler*)’, ‘murderers (*katiller*)’, ‘baby killers (*bebek katilleri*)’, ‘backstabbers (*kalleşler*)’, ‘hooligans, troublemakers (*herifçioğulları*)’ and ‘cruel (*acımasız*)’, ‘perfidious (*kahpe*)’ and ‘stone-hearted (*taş kalpli*)’ enemies, and are held responsible for the intercommunal violence. They are mostly portrayed in exclusively negative terms in that they have no respect for even the symbols of their own religion. For instance, in *The Dungeon (Zindan, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974)*, two Greek-Cypriots, Don Quixote and Achilles, steal a

cross ornamented with precious gemstones from the church whereas an Orthodox priest consecrates two EOKA'ist terrorists with an invocation that sounds like an incantation consisting of ridiculous meaningless words. Another identifying characteristic of the Greek-Cypriot antagonists is that they always laugh bestially when torturing or killing Turks or when raping young Turkish girls. In *The Beloved Flying in the Sky* (*Göklerdeki Sevgili*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1966), they are identified as psychopaths who are 'fond of shooting bullets at babies and beheading the old men.' In *The Eagle's Nest* (*Kartal Yuvası*, Natuk Baytan, 1974), a Greek-Cypriot character even goes so far as to utter cannibalistic sentiments: 'I will cut those Turks' heads off with a hacksaw, and then I will pour their blood instead of wine into this cup and drink. The filthy Turk's blood!' In her book *Being the Other in Yeşilçam*, Dilara Balcı points out that in Turkish films of the Yeşilçam period, Greek characters always appeared as the most monstrous and inhumane antagonists:

In Yeşilçam films, the *Rums* (Greeks of Asia Minor and Cyprus) are the most hated characters among the non-Muslim groups. The hostility against the *Rums* becomes more discernible especially in the films about the Ottoman period and the Turkish National Struggle for Independence (*Millî Mücadele*). Almost all the male *Rum* characters in period dramas are represented as militants of criminal gangs, who fight for the *Megali Idea* (Μεγάλη Ιδέα, or the Great Idea).²⁸⁹ In these films, it is an often-emphasised idea that the *Rum* criminal gangs were always unjustly involved in violent acts. Furthermore, it is also noticeable that those *Rum* characters were always punished by Muslim Turkish characters in later scenes of these films. [...] The prevalent view that the male *Rums* are the enemies of Turks and the ones who are innately inclined to violence and crime is not limited to the period dramas about the Turkish National Struggle for Independence. Indeed, this demonstrates to us that the anti-*Rum* prejudice did not disappear in

²⁸⁹ An irredentist concept that refers to a Hellenic vision to revive the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire by establishing a Greater Greek state, which would extend from Sicily to the west, to Asia Minor and the Black Sea to the east, and from Thrace, Macedonia and Epirus to the north, to Crete and Cyprus to the south. [C.A.]

the following decades. In Yeşilçam films, we can clearly observe that the hatred for the *Rums* of Cyprus (Greek-Cypriots) was also directed to the *Rums* who live in Turkey. [...] The fear and hatred of the *Rums* is the fundamental reason why we never see any *Rums* in Turkish comedy films, as loveable characters, like the Armenians.²⁹⁰



Figure 4 – Screenshots from Osman F. Seden’s *The Devoted Martyrs: The Revenge of Eagles* (*Severek Ölenler: Kartalların Öcü*, 1965).

In the nationalist epic film narratives of Yeşilçam, the religious symbols of Christianity were also implicitly connected to this negative description. For instance, in *The Eagle’s Nest* (*Kartal Yuvası*, Natuk Baytan, 1974), when Dimitri and his friends, some Greek-Cypriot EOKA’ist rascals, decide to do sexual insults about the foreign beauty who is a newcomer, they enter the house of the Turkish-Cypriot Fatma Hanım by force and rape her daughter-in-law Mary (Meryem),

²⁹⁰ Dilara Balcı, *Yeşilçam’da Öteki Olmak: Başlangıcından 1980’lere Türkiye Sinemasında Gayrimüslim Temsilleri* [*Being the Other in Yeşilçam: Representations of Non-Muslims in the Cinema of Turkey from the Early Years to the 1980s*] (Istanbul: Kolektif, 2013), 129, 132-3.

Murat's young and attractive English wife, one by one. This sexual insult is akin to what Enloe calls 'rape by a male soldier of a woman he thinks of as a "foreigner".'²⁹¹ During the rape committed by one of these lustful Greek men, a cross necklace hangs down from his neck which traumatises Mary when she later sees a priest holding up and shaking the cross in his hand during a wedding ceremony. At that moment, she becomes extremely tensed up remembering the hanging cross from the rape and immediately leaves the church. In another movie, *Exodus: On the Horizons of Cyprus* (*Göç: Kıbrıs Ufuklarında*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974), the Turkish-Cypriot Burak Reis finds his daughter Meryem (the name of Meryem, or Mary, is again remarkable) crucified by Christian Greek-Cypriots. In the same film, a sharply caricatured elderly priest, Father Tityrus, is presented as an imposter pervert, who lustfully touches the naked bodies of teen nuns under cover of consecration. With his black Orthodox priest robe and clerical headdress, Father Tityrus, who endeavours to make Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots enemies of each other, appears to be an over-demonised evil figure implicitly referring to Archbishop Makarios III. With an ideological background deeply shaped by secularist Kemalist rhetoric, Muslim Turks in these films, on the other hand, are pre-eminently 'secular', 'modern', and 'progressive' characters as opposed to fanatic Christian Greek antagonists: They are mostly depicted as alcohol drinkers even though drinking alcohol is *haram* (forbidden) in Islam. For instance, all the Turkish resistance fighters in *Ten Fearless Men* (*On Korkusuz Adam*, Tunç Başaran, 1964) are presented as drinking in a pub, while in *Exodus: On the Horizons of Cyprus* (*Göç: Kıbrıs Ufuklarında*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1974), Seyithan

²⁹¹ Cynthia H. Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 109.

invites his friend to come drinking with him, saying, ‘Let’s drink in honour of love and of the religion of Islam which makes people live peacefully together!’ These scenes perfectly reflect the Kemalist mindset, giving us the opportunity to observe the obsessive secularist understanding of what a ‘modern and secular Muslim Turk’ should look like.

In conclusion, the Turkish epic war films about Cyprus narrate the national struggle of Turkish-Cypriots, define heroes and villains, and distinguish the ethno-national ‘we’ from the othered ‘them’. The protagonist of a nationalist epic usually takes the form of a prototypical hero, mostly a young and handsome Turkish military officer, who acts as a mouthpiece for the Turkish state and a national role model for the viewers. Other film characters are described as either oppressed Turkish-Cypriots to be emancipated or Greek-Cypriot EOKA’ists to be defeated and punished and are usually depicted in the easily recognised categories of hero/villain. The period of postcolonial violence between 1963 and 1974, on the other hand, is presented as a period of aggression by the Greeks and Greek-Cypriots against the Turkish-Cypriots and described as a period of mostly Turkish-Cypriot suffering. What is shown in these films is that the Greek junta and EOKA’ist Greek-Cypriots spread violence and death among the Cypriots, mainly Turkish-Cypriots; however, there is no mention of the ordinary Greek-Cypriot people suffering from the Turkish army’s intervention. Numerous scenes of torture and slaughter take place in the nationalist epic films about Cyprus, and the postcolonial period of intercommunal violence in the 1960s and 1970s is depicted from an exclusively Turkish viewpoint.

**PART II – DERVIŞ ZAİM’S GHOSTLY SCREEN: THE
CYPRUS TRILOGY**

Chapter 5 – Haunted Houses: The Politics of Postcolonial

Human Geography in *Shadows and Faces*

‘There is no place that is not haunted by many different spirits hidden there in silence, spirits one can “invoke” or not. Haunted places are the only ones people can live in – and this inverts the schema of the *Panopticon*. [...] [T]hese “spirits” [...] do not *speak* any more than they *see*. This is a sort of knowledge that remains silent. Only hints of what is known but unrevealed are passed on “just between you and me.” Places are fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state, symbolizations encysted in the pain or pleasure of the body.’

—Michel de Certeau²⁹²

‘The sight of the ghost is necessarily spatial. The ghost assumes a perspective in space and time [...] However ethereal the ghost, ethereality is still the phantom of the phenomenal world. Far from the customary association of being beyond materiality, as though a figment of the imagination, the figure of the ghost is as much embodied in place as is the “visible” observer of that ghost. Indeed, the idea of a haunted place depends upon the very materiality of a ghost assuming a habitual routine in place. A placeless ghost is, after all, as inconceivable as a placeless memory; the shadow in the hallway does not linger aimlessly, but dwells in a specific place, indeed, if not specific things within that place. The sense, therefore, of a presence intensifying and diminishing in proximity to particular things is entirely consistent with the idea of the ghost as retaining a phantom relationship to the same world it did when alive.’

—Dylan Trigg²⁹³

²⁹² Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 108.

²⁹³ Dylan Trigg, *The Memory of Place: A Phenomenology of the Uncanny* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2013), 294.

5.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the function of the figure of the ‘haunted house’ in Derviş Zaim’s *Shadows and Faces* (Gölgeler ve Suretler, 2011). In particular, I will be exploring the haunted geography of postcolonial Cyprus by drawing on a Derridean hauntology of lived spaces as a conceptual framework for the film. Following *Mud* and *Parallel Trips*, in *Shadows and Faces* Zaim revisits his homeland, Cyprus, or, in his own words, ‘the place where my childhood was spent,’ returning to the idea of the haunted house as a quintessential, pure image of the lived childhood home.²⁹⁴ In this chapter I will try to answer the questions: What is the function of the ‘haunted house’ in *Shadows and Faces*? What kind of spatial characteristics do ‘home’ and other inhabited places possess in *Shadows and Faces* in terms of material (security), social (hospitality) and emotional (belonging) factors? How can the film’s phenomenological descriptions of domestic spaces and dwelling unfold a mode of counter-intelligibility regarding the production of social spaces in Cyprus and the intercommunal relations between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots? Rather than focus on the political geography of Cyprus in order to answer these questions, I would instead like to provide a hauntological analysis of the lived spaces in the postcolonial Cyprus of Zaim’s film. Around the concepts of security, hospitality and belonging, I will examine how the ‘home’ is described in Zaim’s film as inherently unhomely for Turkish-Cypriots during the 1963-64 First Intercommunal Civil War in Cyprus.

I argue that Derviş Zaim here attempts to deconstruct the dominant geopolitical discourses about Cyprus by offering a human geographical approach,

²⁹⁴ Derviş Zaim, ‘Ayşe Teker’in Konukları: Derviş Zaim [Ayşe Teker’s Guest: Derviş Zaim],’ interview by Ayşe Teker, *Mega Movie* 87 (August-September 2003): 36.

which translates into a postcolonial film aesthetics through the theme of haunted houses. In other words, Zaim here provides a cinematic cartography of the human geography of postcolonial Cyprus. He represents his characters' perception of home and homelessness through what I will call an 'affective shadow map' and also offers the spectator a 'cinematographic dwelling' in the haunted domestic spaces of the island. In so doing, he challenges the geostrategic discourses about Cyprus that make the lived experiences of Cypriots invisible and inaudible. Divided into three main parts, this chapter begins with a historical overview of the 1963-64 intercommunal civil war. This section provides a brief outline of the colonial/postcolonial histories of the island, from 1878 to 1964, which is necessary to understand the multidimensional aspects of intercommunal civil war²⁹⁵ as well as the role of the British colonial policy of divide-and-rule in the emergence of ethnic strife between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. The second part of the chapter offers a theoretical framework from a Derridean perspective, a phenomenology of the haunted house based on an ethical concept of dwelling, for dealing with the spatial characteristics of Zaim's film. In the last part, the figure of the haunted house in Zaim's spectral realist cinema will be examined through a close reading of *Shadows and Faces*. Here I will be focusing in particular on material, social and emotional aspects in reference to the imperial policy of the great powers, the expansionist and irredentist ambitions of Greece and Turkey, and the ethical responsibility of the Cypriots.

²⁹⁵ Throughout the chapter, I will use the following terms interchangeably to describe the violent encounters between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots: intercommunal civil war, intercommunal ethnic strife, intercommunal violence, intercommunal clash, ethnic violence, ethnic conflict, ethnic strife and bicomunal violence.

5.2. Historical Overview: First Intercommunal Civil War in Postcolonial Cyprus, 1963–1964

Under the Convention of Defensive Alliance, signed in Istanbul on 4 June 1878, the British had undertaken the administration of Cyprus with an agreement to pay an annual lease of £92,800 (approximately £6 million in today's prices) and to provide guarantees that they would protect the Ottoman Sultan against Russia.²⁹⁶ Britain viewed Cyprus as 'the key of Western Asia' because British imperial strategy required a major military base in the Eastern Mediterranean to protect their interests in the Near East as well as their sea route to India via the Suez Canal, opened in 1869.²⁹⁷ On 5 May 1878, British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli wrote to Queen Victoria: 'If Cyprus be conceded to Your Majesty by the Porte, and England, at the same time, enters into a Defensive Alliance with Turkey, guaranteeing Asiatic Turkey from Russian invasion, the power of England in the Mediterranean will be absolutely increased in that region, and Your Majesty's Indian Empire immensely strengthened.'²⁹⁸ Considering Cyprus to be a colonial seaport and *place d'armes*, on the way to India, he passionately defended the treaty with Ottoman Turkey: 'In taking Cyprus, the movement is not Mediterranean; it is Indian. We have taken a step there, which we think necessary

²⁹⁶ Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island: A History of the British in Cyprus* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 22.

²⁹⁷ Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 65-92; Stavros Panteli, 'European Diplomacy and Strategy: Britain Acquires Cyprus,' and '1878–1914: From Occupation to Annexation,' in Stavros Panteli, *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: East-West Publications, 1984), 39-86; Robert Holland, 'The Pattern of Colonial Cyprus, 1878–1950,' in Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954–1959* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 1-19; see also Britain's first appointed High Commissioner to Cyprus Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley's *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley*, ed. Anne Cavendish (Nicosia: Cultural Centre of the Cyprus Popular Bank, 1992).

²⁹⁸ Cited in Panagiotis Dimitrakis, *Military Intelligence in Cyprus: From the Great War to Middle East Crises* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010), 5-6.

for the maintenance of our Empire and for its reservation in peace. If that be our first consideration, our next is the development of the country.’²⁹⁹ The population of the island in 1878 was about 186,000, of which some two-thirds were Orthodox Christian Greeks and the remainder Muslim Ottoman Turks, with a small number of Syrians, Armenians, and other nationalities.³⁰⁰ While the administration of Cyprus was assumed by Britain, the island remained formally part of the Ottoman Empire until 1914. After the Ottomans entered the First World War on the side of Germany, Cyprus was annexed by Britain. Under the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey recognised the British annexation of Cyprus and relinquished all rights to Cyprus in 1923. In 1925 Cyprus was formally declared a British Crown Colony. In the following years, the demands of Greek-Cypriots for *enosis* (ένωσις, or union with Greece) grew rapidly.

In 1931, Greek-Cypriots instigated their first serious riots against British colonial rule (*Oktovriana*, or October unrests), leading to the burning down of Government House in Nicosia.³⁰¹ This spontaneous uprising was harshly suppressed, the country’s limited representative institutions and its constitution were abolished, political parties and social organisations were banned, and limitations on freedom of expression were imposed by the British. A despotic regime was established under the British Colonial Governor Sir Ronald Storrs immediately after the riots, which was solidified later by Governor Sir Reginald

²⁹⁹ Cited in Dimitrakis, *Military Intelligence in Cyprus*, 6.

³⁰⁰ Captain C. W. J. Orr, *Cyprus under the British Rule* (London: Robert Scott, Roxburghe House, 1918), 43.

³⁰¹ Stavros Panteli, ‘October 1931: Violence Erupts,’ in Stavros Panteli, *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: East-West Publications, 1984), 138–155.

Edward Stubbs's policy of strict direct censorship.³⁰² These oppressive regulations were immensely strengthened later by order of the Governor, Sir Herbert Richmond Palmer, on 28 May 1937. His dictatorship was called *Palmerokratia*, 'the rule of Palmer', a derogatory term coined by Cypriots to define the most authoritarian phase of British colonial rule, which lasted from 1933 to 1939.³⁰³ As Dipesh Chakrabarty points out, 'The European coloniser of the nineteenth century both preached this Enlightenment humanism at the colonised and at the same time denied it in practice.'³⁰⁴ It was under this autocracy that Cyprus entered the Second World War, and between 1939 and 1945, more than 30,000 Cypriots, including both Greeks and Turks, fought in the British Army against fascist Germany. The serious consequences of the war and Britain's imperial policy in Palestine gave the island special problems when the British kept illegal Jewish immigrants in camps on Cyprus from 1946.³⁰⁵

Following World War II, Greek-Cypriots, inspired by Pan-Hellenistic ethnic nationalist feelings, escalated their struggle against British colonial rule. Faced with the shifting historical and political realities of the postwar period, the imperial supremacy of Britain was seriously challenged by anti-colonial struggles and rising nationalisms throughout the 1950s and 1960s. As a grassroots

³⁰² Heinz A. Richter, 'Benevolent Autocracy, 1931-1945,' in *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878-2006*, ed. Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis (Mannheim and Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006), 133-149.

³⁰³ Alexis Rappas, *Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014); Alexis Rappas, 'The Elusive Polity: Imagining and Contesting Colonial Authority in Cyprus during the 1930s,' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26:2 (2008): 363-397; Stavros Panteli, 'The 1930s: Repression and Consolidation,' in Stavros Panteli, *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: East-West Publications, 1984), 156-72.

³⁰⁴ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, new ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 4.

³⁰⁵ George Horton Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion: British Policy in Cyprus, 1939-1955* (London: Greenwood, 1990), 68.

phenomenon which developed from the bottom up, a wave of postwar nationalism led to independence in the majority of British colonies, including Cyprus. During the colonial government's celebrations of Queen Elizabeth II's coronation in Nicosia in June 1953, anti-British gestures in the form of civil disobedience and church-organised demonstrations began to appear, precipitating the conditions for a violent anti-colonial struggle in Cyprus.³⁰⁶ Between 1955 and 1959, the Greek terrorist group EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston*, or National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), led by the ex-Greek army Colonel Georgios Grivas, fought an insurgency against the British with the intention of uniting Cyprus with Greece. It was obvious that the idea of *enosis*, union with Greece, would lead to the loss of British Sovereign Base Areas, meaning the end of Britain's influential presence in the Middle East. Furthermore, under pressure from the Egyptian President Gamal Abdal Nasser, Britain had also agreed to withdraw from the Suez Canal base in October 1954, completing the process of transferring her Middle East military headquarters to Cyprus in July 1956.³⁰⁷ It was obvious that Cyprus was becoming a strategically vital island at a period when Britain had just been kicked out of Egypt. In other words, 'the British withdrawal from the Suez Zone could only reinforce the strategic imperative for keeping Cyprus.'³⁰⁸

With the future of Suez in question, Britain's base in Iraq becoming more difficult to retain, India evacuated, and Palestine in rebellion, Cyprus had become

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 127.

³⁰⁷ Keith Kyle, *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 39-61.

³⁰⁸ Ioannis D. Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem* (London: Hurst and Company, 1999), 142.

indispensable to the British Empire's continued survival. As part of their struggle to regain control over the island, the colonial authorities recruited more than 900 Turkish-Cypriots in the auxiliary police force, which led EOKA, and Greek-Cypriots in general, to identify their enemy as the 'Anglo-Turkish front.'³⁰⁹ Grivas tells in his memoirs how he perceived the colonial government's recruitment of Turkish-Cypriots for the auxiliary police force as a 'trap', saying that it was obvious that the British were 'determined to impose their will on the Cypriots,' and to that end, they were 'using the Turks as a weapon.'³¹⁰ He then goes on to confess to the 'ruthless' EOKA attacks on Turkish-Cypriots: '[...] I turned our attentions on the Turks and for the first time they felt the full weight of our blows. I had already ordered raids on police stations, with Turkish policemen as chief targets, and waived all restrictions in killing Turks: [...] they [Turkish-Cypriots] had not expected such ruthlessness on our part, knowing that we had always held our hand in the past.'³¹¹ Deaths of Turkish-Cypriot policemen due to EOKA attacks, on the other hand, sparked anti-Greek feelings among Turkish-Cypriots, while the British authorities in the midst of this ethnic stir remained grossly passive and indifferent to the ongoing slaughter, sticking to a strict policy of non-involvement.³¹² The course of events in the late 1950s contributed to accusations that Britain was pursuing its usual 'divide-and-rule' policy on the island, a policy of manipulating differences of race, religion and culture, to

³⁰⁹ David M. Anderson, 'Policing and Communal Conflict: The Cyprus Emergency, 1954–60,' in *Policing and Decolonisation: Politics, Nationalism and the Police, 1917–65*, ed. David McBeath Anderson and David Killingray (New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1992), 187-217.

³¹⁰ Georgios Grivas, *The Memoirs of General Grivas*, ed. Charles Foley (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1964), 149.

³¹¹ Grivas, *The Memoirs of General Grivas*, 149.

³¹² Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954–1959* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

prevent the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities effectively uniting against colonial rule. Indeed, many researchers have tended to interpret the Cyprus conflict as an outcome of the British divide-and-rule policy.³¹³ However, this approach has also been questioned in the relatively recent writings of other scholars.³¹⁴ Even though the divide-and-rule thesis has been challenged in academic writings, it remained a dominant belief in Cypriot society. A social survey conducted on the island in 2002, and published in 2007, found that 80 per cent of Greek-Cypriots and 47 per cent of Turkish-Cypriots believed that what they identified as the ‘divide-and-rule’ policy of the British colonial administration, which had come to an end in 1960, contributed significantly to the creation and perpetuation of the Cyprus conflict.³¹⁵ Other ethnographic works also endorse the results of this social survey.³¹⁶

In the escalating Greek nationalist discourse of *enosis* the Turkish-Cypriot community saw a threat to its own existence. The specter of *enosis* therefore began to haunt the island in the 1940s and particularly after the 1950 plebiscite, which was held in the churches of Cyprus and in which some 96 percent of the

³¹³ Charles Foley, *Legacy of Strife: Cyprus from Rebellion to Civil War* (London: Penguin, 1964); Adamantia Pollis, ‘Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus,’ *Comparative Politics* 5 (July 1973): 575–599; Halil Ibrahim Salih, *Cyprus: The Impact of Diverse Nationalism on a State* (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1978); Christopher Hitchens, *Cyprus* (London: Quartet, 1984); John Reddaway, *Burdened with Cyprus: The British Connection* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986).

³¹⁴ Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 3; Rebecca Bryant, ‘On the Condition of Postcoloniality in Cyprus,’ in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, ed. Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 62; Alexis Rappas, ‘The Uncharted World of Cypriot Colonial Servants and the Ideological Foundations of British Rule,’ *The Cyprus Review* 23:2 (2011): 58.

³¹⁵ Maria Hadjipavlou, ‘The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding,’ *Journal of Peace Research* 44:3 (2007): 353–4.

³¹⁶ Yiannis Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 52, 104.

Greek-Cypriot community unilaterally and unanimously voted for union with Greece. The Turkish-Cypriot fear of *enosis* was strongly connected to the historical memory of Ottoman Muslims, including that of the genocides of Turkish, Greek, Serbian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Bulgarian (Pomak), Albanian, and Roma Muslims at the hands of newly independent Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian states. Kemal Karpat notes that after the Serbian revolt of 1804, the ‘ethnic cleansing’ of Ottoman Muslims, which continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, led to 3 to 5 million deaths and about 9 million Muslims from the Crimea, Caucasus, Crete and the Balkans were uprooted from their native lands and forced to emigrate to Anatolia.³¹⁷ But among these the most relevant episode for Cypriot Muslims was the Greek attack on Cretan Muslims, who were finally forced to leave for Turkey following the Treaty of Lausanne and the Compulsory Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey. In the collective memory of Turkish-Cypriots, the example of Crete became what can be called a ‘Crete syndrome.’³¹⁸

With unquestionable skill in manipulating the fear of *enosis*, the British encouraged the Turkish-Cypriot minority to campaign for the partition (*taksim*) of the island in order to maintain its own imperial power. It was not a coincidence that the Turkish-Cypriot armed organisation TMT (*Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı*, or Turkish Resistance Organization) was established in the same period, in 1958, with *taksim* as its goal. The emergence of TMT marked the rise of Turkish-

³¹⁷ Kemal H. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 21.

³¹⁸ Niyazi Kızılyürek and Sylvain Gautier-Kızılyürek, ‘The Politics of Identity in the Turkish Cypriot Community and the Language Question,’ *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 168 (2004): 40.

Cypriot nationalism in the late 1950s.³¹⁹ During a meeting in Istanbul on 16 December 1956 between Alan Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary of the British government in the period of decolonisation, and Adnan Menderes, Turkish Prime Minister, the British also deliberately rekindled the Turkish government's ambitions for Cyprus in order to develop the idea of partition, since they knew very well that Turkey could not countenance a Greek island so close to its soft underbelly.³²⁰ Lennox-Boyd repeated this view in his statement in the House of Commons on 19 December 1956, pledging that 'it will be the purpose of Her Majesty's Government to ensure that any exercise of self-determination should be effected in such a manner that the Turkish-Cypriot community, no less than the Greek-Cypriot community, shall, in the special circumstances of Cyprus, be given freedom to decide for themselves their future status. In other words, Her Majesty's Government recognise that the exercise of self-determination in such a mixed population must include partition among the eventual options.'³²¹

After years of intense armed clashes between the two communities, instigated by the work of provocateurs on both sides, the British officially granted independence to Cyprus on 16 August 1960 to prevent the Greek-Cypriot majority from merging with Greece and to retain its Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia which covered about 254 square kilometres. Although the island's port

³¹⁹ For a general history of Turkish-Cypriot nationalism: Frank Tachau, 'The Face of Turkish Nationalism: As Reflected in the Cyprus Dispute,' *Middle East Journal* 13:3 (1959): 262–272; Altay Nevzat, 'Nationalism amongst the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave' (Ph.D. diss., University of Oulu, 2005); Eleni Apeyitou, 'Turkish-Cypriot Nationalism: Its History and Development (1571–1960),' in *Colonial Cyprus, 1878–1960: Selected Readings*, ed. Emiliou Solomou and Hubert Faustmann (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010), 247–275.

³²⁰ Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Doğmamış Bir Devletin Tarihi: Birleşik Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti [The History of an Unborn State: The United Republic of Cyprus]* (Istanbul: İletişim: 2005), 36–37.

³²¹ Cited in Murat Metin Hakkı (ed.), *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History, 1878–2007* (New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 198.

facilities would not permit it being developed into another Singapore or Malta, the Akrotiri and Dhekelia bases were not only vital to Britain but also to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).³²² In the aporetic moment of the *post-colony*, British Sovereign Base Areas became the territorial expression of the fact that the coloniser had ‘never’ had an intention of fully *de-colonising* Cyprus, as was stated uncompromisingly by Henry Hopkinson, the Churchill government’s Minister of State for the Colonies, in his famous speech in the House of Commons on 28 July 1954: ‘It had always been understood and agreed that there are certain territories in the Commonwealth which, owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent.’³²³ A treaty of guarantee and a treaty for the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus were also signed on the day of ‘independence’ by Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and Great Britain. The transition from colony to an independent nation was actualised along with a consocioational constitution. This created a complex power-sharing arrangement between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities, who were granted partial communal autonomy as well as equal treatment in terms of their participation in the organs of the state despite demographic realities (77% Greek-Cypriots and 18% Turkish-Cypriots). However, decolonization in Cyprus did not bring an end to the mutual mistrust between the two political communities and the continued appeal of *enosis* within the Greek-Cypriot community.

³²² Klearchos A. Kyriakides, ‘The Sovereign Base Areas and British Defense Policy Since 1960,’ in *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878-2006*, ed. Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis (Mannheim and Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006), 511–534; Klearchos A. Kyriakides, ‘The Decolonisation Treaties of 1960 and the Preservation of British Strategic Interests in Post-Colonial Cyprus’ (paper presented at the Postgraduate Seminar on Commonwealth History and Decolonisation, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, February 10, 1994).

³²³ Cited in Clement Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 17.

On 30 November 1963, Archbishop Makarios III, a cleric born Michael Mouskos and the first elected President of the Republic of Cyprus, proposed thirteen substantive amendments to the Cypriot constitution. These were vehemently rejected by the Turkish-Cypriot leadership, since they would have demoted the Turkish-Cypriot self-governing community to the status of a minority. Makarios's proposals to change the constitution on a unilateral basis were rejected by Turkish Vice-President Fazıl Küçük on the grounds that they attacked the very roots which gave life to the Republic and that it is impossible for the Turkish-Cypriot community to accept the position of living as a minority under Greek-Cypriot majority rule.³²⁴ Turkish-Cypriots were justified in their suspicion and fear because Makarios and other Greek-Cypriot politicians continued even after independence to make highly controversial and inflammatory speeches that revealed their ultimate intentions. Archbishop Makarios, in a sermon at Kykko Monastery (Cikko Manastırı) on 15 August 1962, declared that 'Greek-Cypriots must continue to march forward to complete the work begun by the EOKA heroes,' and that, 'the struggle is continuing in a new form, and will go on until we achieve our goal.'³²⁵ In another public speech in his native village of Panayia on 4 September 1962, he made the even more menacing statement that, 'Unless this small Turkish community forming a part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism is expelled, the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated.'³²⁶ Such anti-Turkish racist

³²⁴ Ahmet Sözen, 'Cyprus,' in *The Political Economy of Divided Islands: Unified Geographies, Multiple Politics*, ed. Godfrey Baldacchino (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 108.

³²⁵ Cited in Pierre Oberling, *The Road to Bellapais: The Turkish Cypriot Exodus to Northern Cyprus* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1982), 68.

³²⁶ Cited in *ibid.*, 68.

sentiments were also expressed by other Greek-Cypriot officials. In 1962 Polykarpos Yorgadjis, the Minister of Interior and one of the most fanatical of the former EOKA terrorists, went so far as to say that, ‘There is no place in Cyprus for anyone who is not Greek, who does not think Greek, and who does not constantly feel Greek.’³²⁷



Figure 5 – A map that shows how Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots were spread over the whole of Cyprus before the 1963–64 Intercommunal Civil War. Source: Polyvios G. Polyviou, *Cyprus: Conflict and Negotiation, 1960–1980* (London: Duckworth, 1980), 238.

In a social and political space filled with never-ending Hellenic passions, Makarios’s dangerous game of preparing the island for *enosis* through his questionable ‘proposals’ alarmed the Turkish-Cypriots, creating a convenient atmosphere for his irregulars to attack the Turkish-Cypriot community. Within a few days of the Turkish-Cypriot leadership’s rejection of Makarios’s proposals,

³²⁷ Cited in *ibid.*, 68.

widespread shootings and killings started on the island. Late at night on 21 December 1963, a Greek-Cypriot police patrol stopped a car in the red light district of Nicosia, located on the border of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot quarters, to search the Turkish-Cypriot couple inside the car. When the Turkish-Cypriots refused to be searched, Greek-Cypriot police forced them out of the car at gunpoint. In a few minutes a hostile crowd of Turkish-Cypriots gathered and began protesting against the incident, Greek-Cypriot police opened fire on them and as a result two Turkish-Cypriots were killed. This event triggered an episode of heavily armed intercommunal violence, known as ‘Bloody Christmas’, in various parts of Cyprus such as Nicosia (Lefkoşa), Larnaca (Larnaka), Mathiatis (Madyat), Agios Vasileios (Türkeli) and the Kyrenia Pass (Girne Geçidi).³²⁸

On the first days of the conflict, between 21 December to 31 December 1963, widespread street fighting began between the two communities, which was portrayed by government radio and television broadcasts, as well as in Greek-Cypriot newspapers, as a Turkish-Cypriot revolt against the Republic that had been ‘fomented to provide an excuse for Turkey to invade and impose

³²⁸ For detailed accounts of the 1963-64 crisis in Cyprus and Turkish-Cypriot massacres: Alan James, *Keeping the Peace in the Cyprus Crisis of 1963–64* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002); James Ker-Lindsay, *Britain and Cyprus Crisis, 1963–1964* (Mannheim und Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2004), esp. 14-33; Pierre Oberling, *The Road to Bellapais: The Turkish Cypriot Exodus to Northern Cyprus* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1982), 87-121; Richard A. Patrick, *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict, 1963–1971*, ed. James H. Bater and Richard Preston (Waterloo, Ontario: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography Publications, 1976), 45-100; Makarios Drousiotis, *The First Partition: Cyprus 1963–1964* (Nicosia: Alfadi, 2008); Thomas Ehrlich, *Cyprus, 1958–1967* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 36-89; Diana Weston Markides, *Cyprus 1957–1963: From Colonial Conflict to Constitutional Crisis: The Key Role of the Municipal Issue* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Kyriacos C. Markides, *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977). Although the following sources are at the service of a purely propagandistic effort and not to be taken seriously, the reader can still find a perfect representation of the official Turkish viewpoint in them about the 1963-64 conflict: Harry Scott Gibbons, *The Genocide Files* (London: Charles Bravos Publishers, 1997); Harry Scott Gibbons, *Peace without Honour* (Ankara: Ada, 1969) [reprinted in his *Genocide Files*].

partition.³²⁹ The government propaganda through these media outlets ‘generated an intense Greek-Cypriot enmity against the Turkish-Cypriot community, and encouraged a number of revenge murders throughout the island.’³³⁰ Turkish-Cypriots living in small towns outside of Nicosia were appalled by the course of events, and extremely terrified when they were ‘ghettoised,’ that is, being forced to live in enclaves in a situation in which ‘[their] telephones were disconnected and road blocks were erected around the main Turkish-Cypriot villages and quarters.’³³¹ Turkish-Cypriots were also left in a state of economic stagnation and poverty when they were fired by their Greek-Cypriot employers following the first conflicts. Some Turkish-Cypriots left their jobs on their own initiative as they ‘simply found it too dangerous to attempt to go to work in Greek-Cypriot areas,’ which inevitably resulted in the Hellenisation of the Republic. As Patrick accurately describes the situation, after the Turkish-Cypriots were expelled from the social and political life of the island, ‘the Cyprus police, the government and the civil service became *de facto* Greek-Cypriot organizations.’³³²

The Turkish-Cypriot community was brutally attacked a number of times throughout the island and their towns and villages were wiped out by heavily armed Greek-Cypriots loyal to Polykarpos Yorgadjis, Minister of the Interior and an ex-EOKA member, along with the extensive might of the paramilitaries commanded by Colonel Georgios Grivas and Nikos Sampson, who got the

³²⁹ Richard A. Patrick, *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict, 1963–1971*, ed. James H. Bater and Richard Preston (Waterloo, Ontario: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography Publications, 1976), 38.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

³³² *Ibid.*, 49.

reputation of being the ‘Butcher of Omorphita’ after he and his irregulars massacred Turkish-Cypriots in the mixed suburb of Omorphita (Küçük Kaymaklı). As Clement Dodd summarises the Omorphita events:

In the Ormophita suburb of Nicosia Turkish-Cypriot houses were razed to the ground and the 6,000 inhabitants fled. The violence soon spread to other parts of the island. There was a ferocious battle in Limassol where 6,000 Turkish-Cypriots were surrounded, and attacked, by a much larger Greek-Cypriot force. There were also serious disturbances in Famagusta resulting in fatal casualties. The Turkish village of Gaziveren was another Turkish-Cypriot village attacked, with much resultant damage and many deaths. Only the Turks in the larger enclaves could defend themselves successfully. They were subjected to blockades that prevented the importation of any construction and similar material, and many of the necessities for the local economy and daily existence.³³³

Turkish-Cypriots living in mixed villages such as Mathiatis (Madyat) and Agios Vasileios (Türkeli) were massacred in cold blood by Greek-Cypriot irregulars, and their mass grave was exhumed on 12 January 1964 at Agios Vasileios (Türkeli) in the presence of British Army Officers and Red Cross officials. It was reported that the mass grave ‘contained the bodies of 21 Turkish-Cypriots who were presumed to have been killed in or near Agios Vasileios (Türkeli) on 24 December,’ and these Turkish-Cypriot massacres were also verified by the observers who noted that ‘a number of the victims appeared to have been tortured, and to have been shot after their hands and feet were tied.’³³⁴ Fierce clashes had continued throughout the following months between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot irregulars.

At the London Conference, which was convened on 15 January 1964, the foreign ministers of Turkey and Greece, Feridun Cemal Erkin and Stavros

³³³ Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict*, 56.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.

Costopoulos, British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, Duncan Sandys, and the representatives of Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities, Glafcos Clerides and Rauf Denktaş, met to find a way out of the Cyprus question. The intercommunal clash was partly subdued between 1 January to 31 January 1964 due to the negotiations at the London Conference; however, three different plans were proposed by Britain, the Greek-Cypriots, and the Turkish-Cypriots, and the sides failed to reach agreement. The British proposal for an international peace force composed of units from NATO members was also rejected by the Government of Cyprus, which insisted that 'any such force be placed under the control of the United Nations.'³³⁵ As a consequence of this failure to reach agreement, the onslaught against the Turkish-Cypriot community dramatically increased on the island between 1 February to 14 February 1964, with major attacks in Paphos District (Baf Bölgesi), in Agios Sozomenos (Arpalık) and in Limassol (Limasol). From 15 February to 4 March 1964, the violence was again mitigated when the Security Council took up the issue and resolved to form a peacekeeping force and to send a mediator. On 4 March 1964, following discussions among all the parties concerned, the UN Security Council accepted the resolution 186/1964 and recommended the establishment of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which became fully operational on 27 March 1964.

On 7 March 1964, Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot leaders came to an agreement over an exchange of hostages. 49 Turkish-Cypriots and four Greek-Cypriots were released. Turkish-Cypriots, however, declared that Greek-Cypriots

³³⁵ Satish Chandra and Mala Chandra, *International Conflicts and Peace Making Process: Role of the United Nations* (New Delhi: Mittal, 2006), 263.

held 225 members of their community. The Turkish-Cypriot leadership proclaimed that an additional 176 Turkish-Cypriots were assumed to have been killed, as the government stated that it now had turned over all its Turkish-Cypriot prisoners.³³⁶ Greek-Cypriot assailants, on the other hand, carried on their aggression towards Turkish-Cypriots between 5 March to 26 March 1964 before UNFICYP became operational. The Turkish-Cypriot community was attacked by armed Greek-Cypriot forces in the villages of Malia (Bağlarbaşı) and Kazivera (Gaziveren), resulting in the death of seven Turkish-Cypriots and one Greek-Cypriot. In both events, British troops intervened and arranged cease-fire agreements.³³⁷ The intercommunal violence worsened in the following months, which led to a crisis in June 1964, when Turkey threatened to intervene on the island to ensure the security of the Turkish-Cypriot community. On 5 June 1964, U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson sent a letter to Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü in which he explicitly stated that NATO would not defend Turkey if the Soviet Union attacked it during a Turkish military intervention to protect the Turkish-Cypriot minority from the hostility of the Greek-Cypriot majority. Johnson's letter undermined Turkey's trust in Washington, creating shock waves among Turkish policymakers and the general public. However, airplanes of the Turkish Air Force flew low over the Greek positions on the northwest coast of Cyprus as a show of force when the EOKA terrorist Georgios Grivas and his Greek-Cypriot irregulars launched an attack on the Turkish-Cypriot community living in the village of Kokkina (Erenköy) in early August 1964.

³³⁶ Patrick, *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict*, 60.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

To sum up, the 1963-64 crisis was an unimaginable disaster for the Turkish-Cypriot community: between December 1963 and August 1964, which was considered to be the most violent period in Cyprus in the 1960s, 103 villages were attacked, looted, and burned by the Greek-Cypriot irregulars, 364 Turkish-Cypriots including women and children were killed, more than 1,000 were wounded, 7,500 were disabled, 483 were reported missing, 25,000 became refugees who were forced to live under conditions of perpetual siege in 42 enclaves, 56,000 were obliged to live on Red Crescent help, 23,500 became unemployed including 4,000 Turkish-Cypriot civil servants who had been denied their right to work and had not been paid their salaries since December 1963, and Turkish-Cypriot sectors in the major cities were also seriously damaged. Since 1963, Turkish-Cypriots have been deprived of all their rights of citizenship and the Republic of Cyprus has become a *de facto* Greek state.³³⁸ The British *Daily Telegraph* later called the 1963-64 Turkish massacres the ‘anti-Turkish pogrom.’³³⁹ The outburst of this horrendous bicomunal violence, on the other hand, was not a random accident. Although there is little to be gained from apportioning blame to one of the communities for starting the fighting, there is much evidence to suggest that it was carefully engineered by President Makarios in accordance with the Akritas Plan – an ominous secret plan, prepared for ‘ethnic cleansing’, aiming at the total extermination of the Turkish-Cypriots, authored by Polykarpos Yorgadjis, Minister of the Interior, Tassos Papadopoulos, Minister of

³³⁸ Oberling, *The Road to Bellapais*, 120; Paul Sant Cassia, *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 19; John L. Scherer, *Blocking the Sun: The Cyprus Conflict* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1997), 112; Benjamin J. Broome and Harry Anastasiou, ‘Communication Across the Divide in the Cyprus Conflict,’ in *Handbook of Ethnic Conflict: International Perspectives*, ed. Dan Landis and Rosita D. Albert (New York, NY: Springer, 2012), 293-324.

³³⁹ Telegraph View (Editorial opinion), *The Daily Telegraph*, 30 April 2007.

Communications and Works, and Glafkos Clerides, President of the House of Representatives, to achieve the island's union with Greece, and first published by the pro-Grivas, Greek-Cypriot local newspaper *Patris* on 21 April 1963.³⁴⁰

In conclusion, as Oliver Richmond says, although Cyprus has been central to conflicts between different nations throughout its history, 'it is only comparatively recently that the ugly spectre of ethnic conflict has emerged on the island.'³⁴¹ Between 1963 and 1974, the patriarchal and ethno-centric regime of Makarios, Yorgadjis, Papadopoulos, Grivas, and Sampson and its destructive masculinities created a Hobbesian state of nature with the horrific conditions of *homo homini lupus*, making the Cypriots 'wolves' to each other. In this sense, it is not a coincidence that Kemal Coşkun, the head of Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT), was known as the *Bozkurt* [Grey Wolf] whereas his Greek counterpart Nicos Sampson, who led a paramilitary force against the Turkish-Cypriots during the 1963-64 intercommunal civil war and who then became the *de facto* president of Cyprus during the puppet regime of the Greek junta in 1974, had the reputation of being a *Tourkofagos* (Turk-eater).³⁴² Not only the ghosts of the victims of these wolves, but also the ghost of *becoming-wolf* still haunt the current political conditions on the island. The 'Wall' which now exists dividing north from south is the sign of *becoming-wolf*, declaring an end to the possibility of peaceful coexistence. This cartography of enmity became actual in 1974 with a

³⁴⁰ 'The Akritas Plan (1963),' in *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History, 1878-2007*, ed. Murat Metin Hakkı (New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 90-6.

³⁴¹ Oliver P. Richmond, *Mediating in Cyprus: The Cypriot Communities and the United Nations* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 67.

³⁴² Cynthia Cockburn, *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus* (London: Zed Books, 2004), 54; Jan Asmussen, *Cyprus at War: Diplomacy and Conflict During the 1974 Crisis* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 23.

map of division, which was step by step constituted by the terror of wolves. Having concluded the historical overview of the *unhomely homeland* of the Turkish-Cypriot community, I will now move on to the theoretical framework of this chapter.

5.3. Theoretical Theme: Guest/ Host/ Ghost, or the Haunted House

Jacques Derrida's hauntology provides a critical perspective for studying the ethical aspects of domestic and social spaces. In the context of this chapter, hauntology is most broadly applicable to postcolonial geographies of ethnic violence. If hauntology is *the ethics of learning to live with the absent other*, as Derrida defines it, then we should also investigate the spatial conditions of this 'living-with'.³⁴³ For this reason, this theoretical section is focused on a Derridean hauntology of home, or a phenomenology of the haunted house. In the following lines, I will first outline Bachelard's phenomenology of home, which similarly presume a solitary subject of dwelling. Then I will deliver Levinas's critique of this egoistic notion of home. Finally, I will come to Derrida's hauntological reflections on *guest/host/ghost*, dwelling and hospitality, identity and community, which suggest a deconstructive image of the 'home', a place of welcome and hospitality that is haunted by the face of the other and by the ghost of the absent other. In so doing, I aim to lay out a theoretical groundwork for thinking about the 'living together' of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities.³⁴⁴

* * *

³⁴³ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 2006), xvii.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Elisabeth Weber, ed., *Living Together: Jacques Derrida's Communities of Violence and Peace* (Fordham University Press, 2013).

In his book *The Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard describes the home as ‘our corner of the world,’ a primal space that acts as human being’s ‘first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the word.’³⁴⁵ As he writes, ‘Before he is “cast into the world,” as claimed by certain hasty metaphysics, man is laid in the cradle of the house. [...] A concrete metaphysics cannot neglect this fact [...] since this fact is a value. [...] Being is already a value.’³⁴⁶ He goes on to say that home is a ‘material paradise’ where one can live ‘in security and comfort.’³⁴⁷ For Bachelard, home is the central place of the subject in the world; it is ‘the non-I that protects the I.’³⁴⁸ Following Bachelard, Relph also describes the home as the quintessential symbol of the self: ‘Home is the foundation of our identity as individuals and as members of a community, the dwelling-place of being. Home is not just the house you happen to live in [...] but an irreplaceable centre of significance.’³⁴⁹ It is obvious that Bachelard’s earthly paradise has its roots in a middle-class ideology, being founded upon a highly ‘self-centred’ vision of a house: home is associated with privacy, security, intimacy, stability, dignity and respect; and its protective walls keep one isolated from a hostile world.

This absolutely isolated image of home and being-at-home, where the subject of dwelling is described as if it exists in glorious isolation like Robinson Crusoe’s ‘insular life’ before meeting Friday, has been subjected to considerable criticism. In the ‘Dwelling’ section of *Totality and Infinity* (1961), Emmanuel

³⁴⁵ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1994), 4.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 7, 30.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁴⁹ Edward C. Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), 39.

Levinas sets out perhaps the most profound critique and reversal of the egoistic definitions of home and dwelling that prevail in Bachelard's phenomenology of home: 'To dwell is not the simple fact of the anonymous reality of a being cast into existence as a stone one casts behind oneself; it is a recollection, a coming to oneself, a retreat home with oneself as in a land of refuge, which answers to a hospitality, an expectancy, a human welcome.'³⁵⁰ The home, as described by him, is an intimate place, which does more than shelter the self from worldly things; it also has the potential to open itself to the other:

But the separated being can close itself up in its egoism, that is, in the very accomplishment of its isolation. And this possibility of forgetting the transcendence of the Other – of banishing with impunity all hospitality (that is, all language) from one's home, banishing the transcendental relation that alone permits the I to shut itself up in itself – evinces the absolute truth, the radicalism, of separation. Separation is not only dialectically correlative with transcendence, as its reverse; it is accomplished as a positive event. The relation with infinity remains as another possibility of the being recollected in its dwelling. *The possibility for the home to open to the Other is as essential to the essence of the home as closed doors and windows.*³⁵¹

Levinas begins with identifying the 'privileged role' of the home, which is at the centre of Bachelard's work: The home is necessary for the life of man; it 'serves to shelter him from the inclemencies of the weather, to hide him from enemies or the importunate. And yet, within the system of finalities, in which human life maintains itself the home occupies a privileged place.'³⁵² He goes on to claim that home is not only a 'house of dreams', as Bachelard states, but also a 'site of memory': 'The recollection necessary for nature to be able to be

³⁵⁰ Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1979), 156.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 172-3; my emphasis.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 152.

represented and worked over, for it to first take form as a world, is accomplished as the home.³⁵³ That is:

Man abides in the world as having come to it from a private domain, from being at home with himself, to which at each moment he can retire. [...] Concretely speaking, the dwelling is not situated in the objective world, but the objective world is situated by relation to the dwelling.³⁵⁴

In Bachelard's phenomenology of dwelling, the home is understood as essentially a place of 'acquisition' and 'possession', a seat of one's mastery, and its economy of 'intimacy' appears to be little more than an egoistic fantasy. Such a self-centred vision of home, which is first 'hospitable for its proprietor,' as Levinas notes, seems to be 'in fact egoist.'³⁵⁵ Levinas argues that 'possession itself refers to more profound metaphysical relations,' referring to 'the other possessors – those whom one cannot possess – [who] contest and therefore can sanction possession itself.'³⁵⁶ His phenomenology of home aims to show that the totality of the I is necessarily interrupted by the infinity of the Other: the transcendent face of the Stranger 'disturbs the-being-at-home-with-oneself [*le chez soi*];'³⁵⁷ namely, the interiority of the egoist self and its imaginary sense of *being-at-home* is disturbed by the exteriority of the Other. Indeed, the Other puts 'in question' my right to mastery in the home (and all 'possession' manifest therein).³⁵⁸ The Other, as Levinas points out, 'paralyzes possession, which he

³⁵³ Ibid., 152.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 152-3.

³⁵⁵ Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 157.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 162.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 39.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 163.

contests by his epiphany in the face. He can contest my possession only because he approaches me not from the outside but from above.³⁵⁹

It is at this point that Levinas moves from a phenomenological exploration of dwelling to an ethical question of hospitality. The major theme that shapes his ethical notion of ‘dwelling’ is no longer an egocentric home that is ‘hospitable for its proprietor,’³⁶⁰ but rather the ‘welcome [that] the Home establishes,’³⁶¹ or my intimate relation to the Other in which I must know how to ‘give what I possess’ and thereby ‘welcome the Other who presents himself in my home by opening my home to him.’³⁶² In opposition to Bachelard’s solitary subject of dwelling that emerges in the form of gathering of being, the totality of the I, Levinas proposes a relational ‘subject of the welcome [*l’accueil*],’ that refers to an inherently plural form of dwelling, or being always open to the infinity of the Other. In so doing, Levinas extends the significance of the home, being-at-home, and intimacy to its furthest reaches by offering a vision of the home as a place of welcome and respite where one’s autonomy and mastery, acquisition and possession, yields to an ethics of hospitality: ‘I am at home with myself in the world because it offers itself to or resists possession. [...] The identification of the same is not the void of a tautology nor a dialectical opposition to the other, but the concreteness of egoism.’³⁶³ Levinas argues that one’s dwelling is necessarily haunted by the ghosts of others ‘whose presence is discreetly an absence,’³⁶⁴ therefore the home

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 171.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 157.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 170-1.

³⁶² Ibid., 171.

³⁶³ Ibid., 38.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 155.

can never be depicted as utterly intimate, private, and calm. Levinas thus concludes:

[N]o face can be approached with empty hands and closed home. Recollection in a home open to the Other – hospitality – is the concrete and initial fact of human recollection and separation; it coincides with the Desire for the Other absolutely transcendent. The chosen home is the very opposite of a root. [...] *The possibility of the home to open to the Other is as essential to the essence of the home as closed doors and windows.*³⁶⁵

* * *

Jacques Derrida's hauntological reflections on *guest/host/ghost*, dwelling and hospitality, identity and community, owe much to Levinas's phenomenology of home. He follows Levinas in arguing that dwelling is necessarily haunted by the ghost of the Other:

The at-home-with-oneself of the dwelling does not imply a closing off, but rather the place of Desire toward the transcendence of the other. The separation marked here is the condition of both the welcome and the hospitality offered to the other. There would be neither welcome nor hospitality without this radical alterity, which itself presupposes separation. The social bond is a certain experience of the unbinding without which no respiration, no spiritual inspiration, would be possible. Recollection, indeed being-together itself, presupposes infinite separation. The at-home-with-oneself would thus no longer be a sort of nature or rootedness but a response to a wandering, to the phenomenon of wandering it brings to a halt.³⁶⁶

A joint reading of Derrida's hauntology and ethics of hospitality may offer some new insights into the phenomenology of intimate spaces, dwelling, and the haunted house. In his *Aporias*, Derrida himself proposes a deconstructive philosophy of dwelling by linking hospitality to ipseity and spectrality through a

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 172-3.

³⁶⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 41-2.

set of terms such as *hospes*, *hostis*, *hostage*, *host*, *guest*, and *ghost*. The undecidable relationship between guest, host and ghost, finding its roots in the bivalence of the French word *l'hôte* (host/guest; the one who gives, *donne*, and the one who receives, *reçoit*, hospitality), is also a recurrent theme in his other works from *Politics of Friendship* and *Specters of Marx* to *Acts of Religion*, *Of Hospitality* and *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*. He says,

The *hôte* who receives (the host), the one who welcomes the invited or received *hôte* (the guest), the welcoming *hôte* who considers himself the owner of the place, is in truth an *hôte* received in his own home. He receives the hospitality that he offers *in* his own home; he receives it *from* his own home – which, in the end, does not belong to him. The *hôte* as host is a guest. The dwelling opens itself to itself, to its ‘essence’ without essence, as a ‘land of asylum or refuge.’ The one who welcomes is first welcomed in his own home. The one who invites is invited by the one whom he invites.³⁶⁷

In his re-reading of Levinas’s ‘Dwelling’, Derrida’s interest in the aporetic nature of ‘hospitality’, welcoming the stranger (*l'étranger*), is not restricted to the double sense of the French term *hôte*, namely the fluidity of giving and receiving, however. He also draws attention to the paradoxical meaning of the word *l'hospitalité*: etymologically, the term ‘hospitality’ carries its opposite within itself; namely, it is related to the notion of ‘hostility’, since the Latin root of the former, *hospes*, derives from an earlier root of the latter, *hostis*, which means both ‘stranger’ and ‘enemy’. His emphasis on the aporetic structure of hospitality goes further toward examining the existential conditions of this tension and points out that the concept of hospitality requires the *host-who-gives* to be the master of the home, homeland, or nation because, by definition, one cannot be hospitable without first having the power to host. In other words, our commonsensical notion

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 92.

of hospitality makes claim to possession, namely property ownership, and it also presupposes a kind of autonomous subjectivity, or self-identity, as well as some control over others to protect one's power to host. As Caputo succinctly explains,

The notion of having and retaining the mastery of the house is essential to hospitality. [...] A host is a host only if he owns the place, and only if he holds on to his ownership, if one *limits* the gift. When the host says to the guest, 'Make yourself at home,' this is a self-limiting invitation. 'Make yourself at home' means: please feel at home, act as if you were at home, but, remember, that is not true, this is not your home but mine, and you are expected to respect my property. When I say 'Welcome' to the other, 'Come cross my threshold,' I am not surrendering my property or my identity. I am not turning myself into *khôra*, which welcomes all as an open receptacle.³⁶⁸

However, hospitality as an altruistic concept also demands a relinquishing of judgement and control over the other, namely it requires non-mastery and the renouncing of all claims to property or ownership. According to Derrida, this aporia that lies at the very core of hospitality is the condition of possibility and impossibility of hospitality. Hospitality starts to occur if and only if one pushes against this limit: 'Hospitality, if there is such a thing, is beyond hospitality. Hospitality, "if there is such a thing": that means it never "exists," is not "present," is always *to come*. Hospitality is what is always demanded of me, that to which I have never measured up. I am always too close-fisted, too ungracious, too unwelcoming, too calculating in all my invitations, which are disturbed from within by all sorts of subterranean motivations – from wanting to show off what I own to looking for a return invitation. I am never hospitable and I do not know what hospitality is.'³⁶⁹

³⁶⁸ John D. Caputo, *Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 1997), 110-1.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 111-2.

Derrida proposes the notion of unconditional hospitality to deconstruct the security-based, self-centred notions of the home and being-at-home: ‘Hospitality is the deconstruction of the *at-home* [*son chez-soi*]; deconstruction is hospitality to the other, to the other than oneself, the other than “its other,” to another who is beyond any “its other”.’³⁷⁰ In other words, deconstruction is based on the dictum, ‘Let the other come!’ or ‘Welcome to the other!’ He defends the primacy of the other and declares that ‘the host [*hôte*] is a hostage insofar as he is a subject put into question, obsessed (and thus besieged), persecuted, in the very place where he takes place, where, as emigrant, exile, stranger, a guest from the beginning, he finds himself elected to or taken up by a residence before himself electing or taking one up.’³⁷¹ The deconstruction of the *at-home* therefore implies that the line of division between the intimate space and the political space is highly problematic: social atrocities (e.g., civil war, ethnic conflict, etc.) in political space have their roots in the egoistic nature of intimate space. Thus, Derrida suggests that the notions of ‘home’ and ‘homeland’ should be thought together and puts the Law of *unconditional hospitality* at the very centre of his political philosophy and ethics: ‘there is no politics without [...] an open hospitality to the *hôte* (guest/host) as *ghost*, whom one holds, just as it holds us, hostage.’³⁷² Derrida’s ethics of hospitality portrays a haunted subject of dwelling, the *hôte*, whose intentionality is directed to the face of the other; it is a relational subject

³⁷⁰ Jacques Derrida, ‘Hostipitality,’ in *Acts of Religion*, ed. Gil Anidjar (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 364.

³⁷¹ Derrida, *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*, 56.

³⁷² Jacques Derrida, *Aporias*, trans. Thomas Dutoit (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 61-2.

who tends 'toward the other' with an 'attentive intention, intentional attention, *yes* to the other.'³⁷³

Also in his *Specters of Marx*, Derrida explains the relationship between hauntology and the ethics of hospitality: 'As soon as there is some specter, hospitality and exclusion go together.'³⁷⁴ The messianic figure of ghost, the absolute other, or the irreducible spectral alterity is a 'figure of absolute hospitality.'³⁷⁵ For Derrida, hauntology means 'to offer a predestined hospitality to the return of any and all spirits, a word that one needs merely to write in the plural in order to extend a welcome there to specters.'³⁷⁶ Thus, hauntology, in the context of domestic spaces and postcolonial ethnic violence, can be understood as a philosophical concept that means to offer hospitality and to extend a welcome to all specters of the absent others without reserve or any discrimination; the term refers to an ethics of hospitality not only *for one* specter, or *some* specters, but for *all* specters. Therefore, a hauntological ethics proposes a positive notion of the 'haunted house'. A house as a 'place of spectrality' should be an open space where both the ghostly face of the other and the specters of the absent others are welcome; it should be an intimate place that offers:

[...] hospitality without reserve, welcoming salutation accorded in advance to the absolute surprise of the arrivant from whom or from which one will not ask anything in return and who or which will not be asked to commit to the domestic contracts of any welcoming power (family, State, nation, territory, native soil or blood, language, culture in general, even humanity), *just* opening which renounces any right to property, any right in general, messianic opening to what is coming, that is, to the event that cannot be

³⁷³ Derrida, *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*, 22.

³⁷⁴ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 176.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 212.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

awaited *as such*, or recognised in advance therefore, to the event as the foreigner itself, to her or to him for whom one must leave an empty place, always, in memory of the hope – and this is the very place of spectrality.³⁷⁷

As Derrida says elsewhere, the ‘question of ghost and haunting’ is ‘*a matter* [...] of the passive movement of an apprehension, of an apprehensive movement ready to welcome.’³⁷⁸ Hauntology, then, is to learn to welcome the ghost as a stranger, and at the same time, to learn to welcome the stranger as a ghost; it is an ethics of hospitality for the ghostly stranger:

To welcome [...] with anxiety and the desire to exclude the stranger, to invite the stranger without accepting him or her, domestic hospitality that welcomes without welcoming the stranger, but a stranger who is already found within (*das Heimliche-Unheimliche*), more intimate with one than one is oneself, the absolute proximity of a stranger whose power is singular *and* anonymous (*es spukt*), an unnameable and neutral power, that is, undecidable, neither active nor passive, an identity that, *without doing anything*, invisibly occupies places belonging finally neither to us nor to it.³⁷⁹

In short, a deconstructive image of the ‘home’, a place of welcome and hospitality that is haunted by the face of the other, lies at the very basis of Derrida’s hauntological philosophy of *dwelling* (learning to *live with* the absent other). In the following sections, I will provide a close reading of Derviş Zaim’s *Shadows and Faces*, using the conceptual framework of a Derridean hauntology of domestic spaces.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 81-2.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 216.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 216-7.

5.4. Cultural Context: Dwelling in the Turkish-Cypriot's Haunted House

Asuman Suner, a historian of Turkish cinema, views the films of the post-1990 Turkish film directors as ‘shelters of ghosts.’ At the very first lines of her book *New Turkish Cinema: Belonging, Identity and Memory*, she says, ‘New wave Turkish films, popular and art films alike, revolve around the figure of a “spectral home.” Again and again they return to the idea of home/homeland; they reveal tensions, anxieties, and dilemmas around the questions of belonging, identity, and memory in contemporary Turkish society. [...] New wave Turkish cinema often tells us stories of uncanny houses haunted by the ghosts of the past – houses associated with trauma, violence, and horror.’³⁸⁰ She goes on to say, ‘The figure of the spectral home at the center of new wave Turkish films might take on different forms and meanings. At times, it turns into a romantic fantasy of belonging, an idealized home that one nostalgically remembers and longs for. At other times, it becomes a haunted house.’³⁸¹ *Shadows and Faces* (Turkish: *Gölgeler ve Suretler*) is a 2011 Turkish historical film, written, directed and co-produced by Turkish-Cypriot auteur film director Derviş Zaim and starring Hazar Ergüçlü, Erol Refikoğlu, Osman Alkaş, Popi Avraam, Constantinos Gavriel, Settar Tanrıöğen, Buğra Gülsoy, Pantelis Antonas, Thomas Nikodimou, Andreas Makris, and Derviş Zaim. Based on the translation of classical Ottoman-Turkish Karagöz shadow play into an expressionist film aesthetics of loss and mourning, *Shadows and Faces* is a film about the haunted house – or, in Bachelard’s terms, the ‘oneiric house’, the ‘house of memory’, the unhomey homeland, the lived

³⁸⁰ Asuman Suner, *New Turkish Cinema: Belonging, Identity and Memory* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 1. The title of the Turkish edition of Suner’s book also reflects this view: *Hayalet Ev: Yeni Türk Sinemasında Aidiyet, Kimlik ve Bellek [The Ghost House: Belonging, Identity and Memory in New Turkish Cinema]* (Istanbul: Metis, 2006).

³⁸¹ Suner, *New Turkish Cinema*, 1.

space – of the Turkish-Cypriot Muslim minority that ‘retains its shadows’ in postcolonial times.³⁸² It is Turkish-Cypriot filmmaker Derviş Zaim’s cinematic mourning for his own house of childhood in Limassol, a city in south Cyprus, from which, as a 10 year-old boy, he was brutally expelled in 1974 along with his family by Greek-Cypriots. Indeed, *Shadows and Faces*, as Çağkan Ubay points out, provides ‘an important sample to investigate the prosthetic memory in the Turkish-Cypriot community.’³⁸³

Anne McClintock argues that ‘the cultural history of imperialism cannot be understood without a theory of domestic space.’³⁸⁴ Throughout *Shadows and Faces*, the figure of a haunted house critically visualises the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subject’s sense of home, their experiences of colonisation and forced migration, and their perception of homelessness. It is therefore strongly related to feelings of loss, shadows of an uneasy past, and an anxiety about future. The way Zaim’s film characters try to face and overcome their condition of dwelling in a haunted house, in this sense, is correlated to the ways that Turkish-Cypriots try to reconsider their unrecognised spectral place in the world, reshape their personal and cultural identities, recompose biographical disruptions, and redefine their sense of belonging. According to Rebecca Bryant, in postcolonial Cyprus, the homes of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots ‘are not only houses but stories, and [...] these stories wind their way through a past that takes its shape through family and networks and relationships;’ namely, the home is ‘not only a place, but

³⁸² Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 13.

³⁸³ Çağkan Ubay, ‘Rethinking the Collective Memory of the Turkish-Cypriots in the Age of Mass Culture: From *Milieux de Mémoire* to *Lieux de Mémoire* in the Shadow of Prosthetic Memory’ (MA thesis, University of Vienna, 2013), 87-92.

³⁸⁴ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), 17.

[is] the center of a social network that include[s] both the living and the dead;’ thus, the obsession of Cypriots with the figure of home ‘is partly a cry against violation, partly a simple helplessness in the face of those dissolving ties.’³⁸⁵

Furthermore, Yiannis Papadakis draws our attention to the changing image of the haunted house through the ‘political management of ghosts’ on both the northern and southern sides of the divide:

The Greek-Cypriots who left their homes due to the inter-ethnic violence during the 1960s, some even in the late 1950s, were not refugees but were officially designated as *Tourkoplithoi* (‘those struck by the Turks’), a word that implied a natural calamity, as in ‘struck by an earthquake’. If the problem began in 1974, there could be no refugees before then. The Turkish-Cypriot authorities took a different view. Their refugees had been the Turkish-Cypriots displaced during the 1960s. Then there were those who left after 1974. But neither group could be called refugees now, since they now lived in their true and only homeland. Except in one case. When Greek-Cypriots demanded a solution that would allow all Greek-Cypriots to return, Turkish-Cypriot officials replied aghast: ‘You can’t possibly expect us to make our people refugees a third time?’ Officially, Turkish-Cypriots had to forget their old homes in the south. Talk of a past life in the south with Greek-Cypriots could only include the bad times. Now they lived in their homeland. To become a homeland, it had to be rapidly provided with their memories. Their own ghosts came to populate the land as those of others were exorcized. The land was baptized anew as the others’ presences were cleansed away. New memorials and statues were erected, heroes inhabited street-names, and Turkish place names were used everywhere. Both sides had a sad record, when it came to the political management of ghosts. Turkish-Cypriots who moved to the north were housed as communities. People from one village in the south were settled together in the north. Thus the authorities placed their people, and their accompanying joint stock of ghosts, together in one community, at the same time as prohibiting them from talking of the place that linked them, except in negative terms. Greek-Cypriot refugees had spiritually to stay put in their homes in the north, but in reality were placed with people from different villages. These policies denied what both governments claimed to defend as a

³⁸⁵ Rebecca Bryant, *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 19, 29.

fundamental human right: the right to choose one's home in the present and to choose how to think about one's home in the past.³⁸⁶

* * *

Co-produced by Marathon Film and Yeşil Film, *Shadows and Faces* deals with the story of a young girl, Ruhsar, whose father, Salih, a Karagöz shadow play master, had become a missing person during the beginning of the ethnic conflict between the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities. This story is inspired by true life incidents that took place in postcolonial Cyprus during the 1963-64 intercommunal clashes between Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots, showing how the two communities who had lived together for centuries became so guided by ethno-nationalist ideas, mutual mistrust and paranoia that they ended up becoming distanced from one another. *Shadows and Faces*, the first historical film that specifically depicts the 1963-64 intercommunal civil war in postcolonial Cyprus, is noteworthy for being the first-ever feature made in the island's Turkish north with a mixed cast of Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot actors, and with a bilingual Turkish/Greek script that uses local Cypriot accents. The Karpass Peninsula, Komi Kebir (Büyükkonuk) village, the city of Famagusta (Mağusa) and the green, breathtaking scenery of the island's northern shores were all chosen as the setting for the film. The film was shot with the RED camera and filming took place during 5 weeks in the months April and May 2010. The making of the film was sponsored by the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Global Film Initiative, and TRNC Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture. All the digital compositing was

³⁸⁶ Yiannis Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 149-50.

done at Two Thirtyfive (2.35) Postproduction House in Athens, digital sound mixing and mastering was done at Echo Studio in Athens, and release prints were made at Sinefekt Postproduction in Istanbul.³⁸⁷



Figure 6 – An affective shadow map. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

Shadows and Faces premiered on the Green Line that separates the city of Nicosia into two, at Cyprus Community Media Centre, on 5 March 2011. The film was released on 11 March 2011 in Turkey with 25 copies; within 15 weeks, 27,836 people viewed it.³⁸⁸ The special gala screening in the buffer zone had a symbolic value, as it gathered people from both sides including a group of around twenty Greek-Cypriot journalists and intellectuals from the southern part of the island. The film received favourable reviews, with many critics praising its impressive visual and dramatic structure. Film critic Catherine Simpson of *Senses of Cinema* wrote of the film that:

[...] *Shadows and Faces* is based on a real-life incident and tells the tale of a friendship between a Greek-Cypriot woman [Anna] and Turkish-Cypriot man [Veli] who struggle to maintain peace between communities slowly descending into chaos. Cyprus is still a fraught issue requiring a writer-director with an intimate understanding of the cultural nuances on both sides and cognizant of the broader political context in which this film will be read, but

³⁸⁷ Serpil Kirel and Aylin Ç. Duyal, *Derviş Zaim* (Adana: Altın Koza Festival Merkezi, 2011), 90.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

also one with the skill to fashion credible characters who provoke a sense of sympathy in the viewer. In this regard, *Shadows and Faces* is a remarkable achievement. I'm always flummoxed by inter-communal violence that happens amongst groups who have lived together for centuries, but *Shadows and Faces* astutely depicts how this kind of conflict is sparked and the retributions that follow provoke a seemingly unending spiral of violence.³⁸⁹

The film has also received positive responses from the majority of viewers, including the audience at the gala screening in Cyprus who stated that they had experienced some of the same events portrayed in the film.³⁹⁰ It was screened at Intercollege Cine Studio on the Greek side of Nicosia on 7 April 2012 with Derviş Zaim and both the film's Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot actors in attendace. At this first public screening of a Turkish film in the Greek south of Cyprus, *Shadows and Faces* was well received and applauded by large crowds of Greek-Cypriot viewers. The film won seven honors, including best film and best director, at the 22nd Ankara International Film Festival. It has also won the Golden Orange for best editing and the Turkish Film Critics Association (SİYAD) Award at the 47th International Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival as well as the Golden Wings People's Choice Award at the 17th London Turkish Film Festival. The film has been screened in many international film festivals, including the 30th Istanbul Film Festival, the 1st Los Angeles Turkish Film Festival, the 9th Paris Turkish Film Festival, the 3rd Hong Kong Turkish Film Festival and the 1st Beirut Turkish Film Festival. Shortly after making this film, Derviş Zaim received the Award for Excellence in Turkish Cinema at the 10th

³⁸⁹ Catherine Simpson, "'Like opium': The 30th Istanbul Film Festival," *Senses of Cinema* 59 (June 2011), accessed September 17, 2013, <http://sensesofcinema.com/2011/festival-reports/'like-opium'-the-30th-istanbul-film-festival/>.

³⁹⁰ Ali Koca, 'Derviş Zaim's New Film Leaves Cypriot Turks, Greeks in Tears,' *Today's Zaman*, March 9, 2011.

Boston Turkish Films Festival, taking place at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *Shadows and Faces* is also the third and final part of a trilogy of films themed around the classical Ottoman Turkish arts, coming after *Waiting for Heaven* (*Cenneti Beklerken*, 2006), the trilogy's opening film, which had the art of Ottoman miniature painting as its central theme, and *Dot* (*Nokta*, 2008), the trilogy's second film, with Islamic-Ottoman calligraphy at its core.

5.5. Film Analysis: *Shadows and Faces*

Shadows and Faces is a historical film with a slightly magical realist tone that explores the first postcolonial moment of violent encounters in Cyprus, calling special attention to the 'unhomely homes' of Turkish-Cypriots. The film opens up mythical perspectives on the reality of the 1963-64 intercommunal conflict through the re-invention of the Ottoman shadow play screen in the form of an affective map and the use of indigenous folk tales, mythologies, and culinary culture. Derviş Zaim offers us a cinema of home and homeland, allowing us to reconsider the notions of home, being-at-home, and homelessness in a postcolonial context. By adopting the figure of the haunted house as its central theme, the film tells us about the lived spaces of a ghostly homeland, the political disintegration of bicomunal Cypriot society and the postcolonial identity crisis of an 'unimaginable community'. In other words, the film promotes a politics of postcolonial human geography to challenge both geopolitical understandings of space and postcolonial generalisations. As Catherine Nash explains, narratives of postcolonial human geography can offer an alternative approach and critical perspective 'by exploring the specific character of different postcolonial locations; by focusing on the different scales of imperial and colonial processes and their

geographies; by paying attention to the ways in which colonialism and its legacies have shaped economic, political, social and cultural geographies differently in different places; and by tracing the interconnections between different postcolonial locations.’³⁹¹

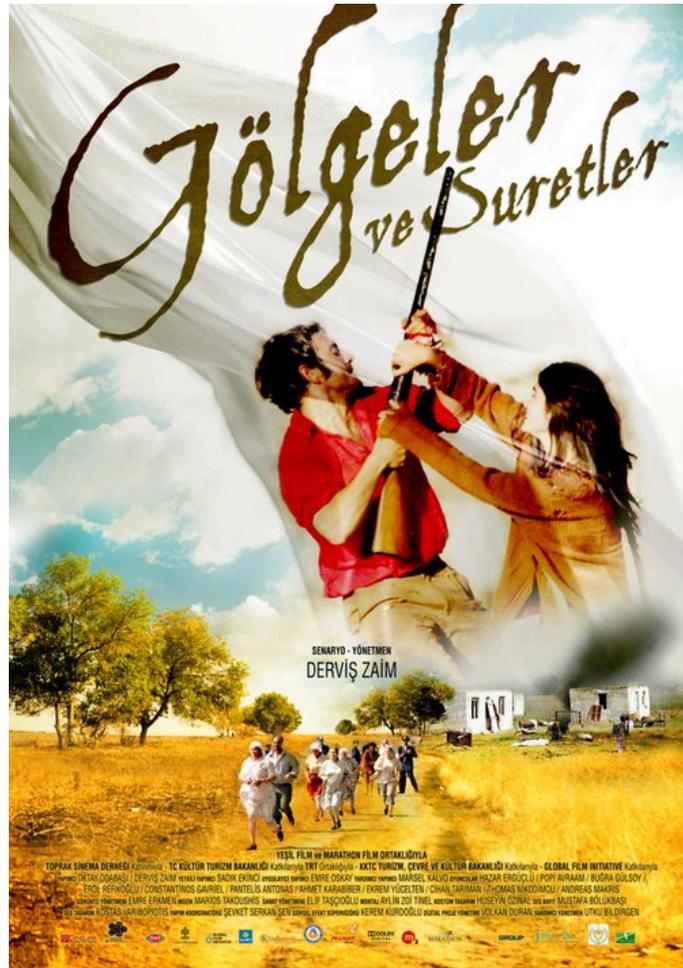


Figure 7 – Film poster for Derviş Zaim’s *Shadows and Faces* (*Gölgeleler ve Suretler*, 2011).

The film opens in the year 1963 in a mixed village of Cyprus with the expressionistic gesture of a shadow play screen where we see the famous Ottoman puppets, Karagöz and Hacivat, as the ghosts of a mass atrocity to come, disputing

³⁹¹ Catherine Nash, ‘Postcolonial Geographies: Spatial Narratives of Inequality and Interconnection,’ in *Envisioning Human Geographies*, ed. Mark Goodwin, Paul Cloke and Philip Crang (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 106.

in a cave that bears a striking resemblance to the map-like shape of the island of Cyprus:

Karagöz—Hacivat, what would people do if they were invisible?

Hacivat—They'd steal, make trouble and kill.

Karagöz—Hacivat, why would people do terrible things like that?

Hacivat—Because they wouldn't worry about being caught.

Karagöz—Well, Hacivat, is it possible to be invisible and a good person both at once?

Hacivat—You must watch your shadow. You must master your dark side. Come into this cave now and have a look at your shadow.

After finishing his show in the gloomy atmosphere of their home, the shadow player father, Karagözcü Salih (Erol Refikoğlu), also known as Salih the Puppetman, asks his daughter, Ruhsar (Hazar Ergüçlü), if she would like to help him. She says in the most uninterested and reluctant manner that she does not like shadow play, adding that she is deeply concerned about the turmoil outside. Salih replies, 'But this puppet game has shown me my shadow. And that has saved me. It might save you as well one day.' Immediately after this conversation, they hear the yellings and screamings of their Turkish-Cypriot neighbours and see them running away in fear of being killed by heavily armed Greek-Cypriots. Being surrounded by burned houses and under threat of being targeted by their aggressive Greek-Cypriot neighbours, their house is depicted as being at the centre of this violent chaos and, as a matter of fact, they leave their home. While they are trying to flee from their village along with other Turkish-Cypriots, Greek-Cypriot police officers shout at them menacingly (e.g., 'Run! Get going!'), then stop to ask them if they are going back home. Once they hear that Karagözcü Salih and his daughter are 'moving to town,' they respond immediately afterward

saying, ‘Good! Go and tell the other Turks to leave their village. Go on, quick! Move it!’ Salih worriedly replies, ‘Okay.’ As the old man seems unlikely to go on a long-distance walk to the town, they decide to go to his brother Veli’s house, which is only a few minutes away.



Figure 8 – Ruhsar, her father Karagözcü Salih, and a Greek-Cypriot police officer. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

This tragic moment of expulsion fills the intimate spaces and everyday life on the island with uncanny shadows that mark the destruction of trust between the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities and is a harbinger of the beginning of a horrendous period of ethnic violence. Throughout the film, we see shadows of ghostly presences everywhere in the inhabited places of the film world, including both interior and exterior spaces. By investigating the social atmosphere of the postcolonial Cyprus in the early 1960s through a careful examination of intimate spaces along with an affective shadow map, Derviş Zaim’s cartographic film tends to deconstruct the military and geopolitical maps of Cyprus that recurrently appear in the Turkish Yeşilçam war films of the 1960s and 1970s such as *Devoted Martyrs: The Revenge of Eagles (Severek Ölenler: Kartalların Öcü*, Osman F. Seden, 1965), *The Female Archenemy (Dişi Düşman*, Nejat Saydam, 1966), *The Homeland Comes First (Önce Vatan*, Duygu Sağıroğlu,

1974) and *Martyrs* (*Şehitler*, Çetin İnanç, 1974). These films reinforce an idea of Cyprus' essential quality being its geostrategic importance in their dialogue or in how they frequently depict senior Turkish military officers tracing lines across maps of Cyprus with a baton or their fingers. It is an undeniable fact that Cyprus, throughout its modern history, has been viewed as an 'unsinkable aircraft carrier' on the doorstep of the Middle East for various powers such as the United States, Britain, Turkey and Greece. The former Soviet Union tried to get its foot in the door during the Cold War but failed, and recently Israel and Russia also tried to join this group of countries by asking South Cyprus to allow Russian warships to use the port of Limassol and to permit Israeli Air Force fighter jets and Russian military aircraft to be stationed at the Andreas Papandreou airbase in Paphos.³⁹² However, although it is related to these facts, such a hackneyed form of 'cinematic geopolitics' propagated by Yeşilçam films, to use Shapiro's terms,

³⁹² Yaakov Katzlast, 'Israel to Ask for Military Facility in Cyprus,' *The Jerusalem Post*, July 2, 2012; Nathan Morley, 'Russia Eyeing Cyprus Bases,' *Cyprus Mail*, June 30, 2013. At this point, it is also worth mentioning the highly militarised geography of the island. Cockburn provides a comprehensive description: 'There are six armies in Cyprus. The United Nations peacekeeping force, UNFICYP, has something over one thousand soldiers whose task is to patrol the Line and prevent outbreaks of ethnic violence along it; watch over the well-being of the small minorities either side; and work for a return to "normality" in ethnic relations on the island. The British have two military bases in the south, covering 99 square miles, with an unknown number of personnel. This territory is legally not Cypriot at all, since under the Treaty of Establishment of 1960, sovereignty rests with the United Kingdom. The bases operate high-technology intelligence devices scanning the Middle East and, as we have seen, are crucial assets for NATO and inevitably involve Cyprus in international tensions and dangers. In the south of Cyprus there is a force of around 950 Greeks, permitted under the Treaty of Alliance of 1960. They work closely with the 10,000-strong Greek Cypriot National Guard, the Republic's own army. In 1993 the two states agreed that Cyprus would be part of one Greek unified defence space, and the orange and white flag of Cyprus and the blue and white flag of Greece fly together over their military establishments. By far the largest army on the island, however, is that of Turkey. Turkey had been permitted 650 soldiers under the Treaty of Alliance. But in the course of the military intervention of 1974 the number massively increased, and today there are thought to be 35,000 Turks stationed on the island. Turkey disposes, in the homeland, of the second largest army in Europe, a fact which makes these outlyers particularly fearsome. Furthermore, it is the Turkish commander of the military forces in Cyprus who is head of the police and fire brigade.' See Cockburn, *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus*, 112-3.

does not allow us to see how a disorder in political geography affects the everyday life of the Cypriots.³⁹³



Figure 9 – A senior Turkish military officer tracing lines across the map of Cyprus with a baton. A screenshot from Osman F. Seden’s film *The Devoted Martyrs: The Revenge of Eagles* (*Severek Ölenler: Kartalların Öcü*, 1965).

In his book *Cartographic Cinema*, American film theorist Tom Conley defines the filmmaker not as an author [auteur] but as a ‘cartographer of cinema.’³⁹⁴ He argues that ‘a film is a map, and its symbolic and political effectiveness is a function of its identity as a cartographic diagram.’³⁹⁵ As a deconstructive mode of mapping, or rather un-mapping, I would argue that Derviş Zaim’s use of an affective shadow map along with the cinematic heterotopia and the spectral conditions of its prereflective givenness create a genuine aporia in our cartographic thinking. Zaim’s film practice constitutes a powerful counter-mapping to dominant imaginative and cognitive geographies and de-configures geopolitical antagonisms. In this way, he unfolds a mode of counter-intelligibility

³⁹³ Michael J. Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009).

³⁹⁴ Tom Conley, *Cartographic Cinema* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 5.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

regarding the production of social and political spaces in Cyprus. As the film's writer and director, Zaim delves into the intimate spaces of human geography, or affective geography, of the island and interrogates the multidimensional aspects of intercommunal relations in mixed cities and villages in order to address a social phenomenological discourse that is in sharp contrast with mainstream geostrategic discourses.

As I have written elsewhere, Derviş Zaim's act of unmapping postcolonial Cyprus via an affective shadow map does not only aim to *fully* decolonise the map of Cyprus, but also to dismantle the highly geopoliticised, militarized, and polarised collective memory of the island:

After his *Mud* and *Parallel Trips*, Derviş Zaim, in his recent *Shadows and Faces*, follows three different strategies to deconstruct the 'militarised' collective memory of Cyprus. Firstly, he problematises the geopolitical instrumentalist reason that plays a significant role in the construction of the nation-states' unilateral grand narratives and official discourses [namely, that of the Republic of Cyprus, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Greece and Turkey]. Secondly, he reminds the peoples of Cyprus of their own responsibility in the intercommunal civil war: both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots were alienated from each other as a result of being subverted by a culture of securitisation and fear, a politics of enmity, a destructive antagonism, and a fantasy of 'being united with imagined motherlands' (*enosis* and *taksim*), which had all been produced and disseminated by the geopolitical instrumentalist reason; they have killed their neighbours turning into war-machines; and they have postponed coming to terms with the heavy load of an enormous [social] trauma for half a century. And thirdly, he underlines the necessity of developing a humanitarian perception of the island that has been excluded by geostrategic approaches, in order to confront the social past, [current] political isolation, and geographical schizophrenia.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ Cihat Arıncı, 'Derviş Zaim'in Film Coğrafyası: *Gölgeler ve Suretler*'de Kıbrıs Haritası [Derviş Zaim's Cinematic Geography: A Map of Cyprus in *Shadows and Faces*], *Hayal Perdesi* 21 (March-April 2011): 12.



Figure 10 – An affective shadow map. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

What is at stake in *Shadows and Faces* is not the geopolitically imagined space of Cyprus, or indeed the conventional understandings and prevailing discursive regimes about the political geography of Cyprus, but rather the *lived space* of the Cypriots, which is rooted in the very experiences of the islanders and which pushes beyond a simple dichotomy of perceived and conceived space. Thus, Zaim opens his film with an affective shadow map of the island that describes what Edward Soja calls ‘Thirdspace’, namely the nuanced, individual and phenomenological space of the island where the postcolonial Cypriot subjects live the experience of being haunted by the ugly specter of ethnic conflict. Soja states that lived space, or *Thirdspace*, ‘can be mapped but never captured in conventional cartographies; it can be creatively imagined but obtains meaning only when practiced and fully *lived*.’³⁹⁷ Throughout the film, the haunted space of the island as a form of Thirdspace is portrayed through an affective shadow map as simultaneously real-and-imagined, at the edge and at the center, ‘oppressive and liberating, passionate and routine, knowable and unknowable.’³⁹⁸

³⁹⁷ Edward Soja, ‘Thirdspace: Expanding the Scope of the Geographical Imagination,’ in *Human Geography Today*, ed. Doreen Massey et al. (Cambridge: Polity, 1999), 276.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 276.

Furthermore, *Shadows and Faces*, as I have written elsewhere, constitutes a unique example of ‘experimental cartography that map[s] a cinematic *terra incognita*, an unknown possible future territory, a co-inhabited space in which one presence is not at the expense of the other.’³⁹⁹ It should also be noted that Zaim shows us how the camera can be used critically as an instrument of ‘affective mapping’ – namely, a means of counter-mapping, of creating imaginative cartographies of ambivalence – in order to challenge dominant ethnocentric imaginaries (the ethnoscapas that are part of geographic imaginations) and conventional ‘ways of seeing’ that shape our perceptions of the island. As Jonathan Flatley explains, ‘[an] affective map is essentially a mobile machine of self-estrangement,’ that is, ‘a technology for the representation to oneself of one’s own historically conditioned and changing affective life;’ it does not only provide ‘a narrative or representation of a particular structure of feeling,’ but also aims to produce ‘a particular kind of affective experience’ in its viewers.⁴⁰⁰ Zaim’s cartographic film, I would argue, is an affective map of postcolonial Cyprus that aims not only to deconstruct the collective memory and geopolitical imaginaries but also to reveal to Cypriots their own historically conditioned and changing affective lives and invite them to come to terms with their traumatic past, unfolding the shifting geography of home – from security to suspicion and fear, from hospitality to hostility, and from belonging to exile and homesickness. In the following sections I will focus on the intimate spaces of Cyprus through a close reading of selected scenes from the film.

³⁹⁹ Cihat Arınç, ‘Curating Ghostly Objects: Counter-Memories in Cinematic Space,’ in *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating*, ed. Jean-Paul Martinon (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 187.

⁴⁰⁰ Jonathan Flatley, *Affective Mapping: Melancholia and the Politics of Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 7.

5.5.1. The Material Fabric of the Haunted House: Security / Fear

In *Shadows and Faces*, the material fabric of the Turkish-Cypriot's haunted house is constituted by *walls* on which ghostly shadows move; an *interior space* in which shadow puppets, white sheets, old family photographs and other kinds of uncanny objects take place and in which disembodied voices resonate; and the *windows* of the Greek-Cypriot neighbour's house from which a spectral gaze is directed to the Turkish-Cypriot's home. According to Gaston Bachelard's phenomenology of intimate places, the house is more than its physical space since it is partly built in the imagination, constructed of dreams and anxieties, which are often at odds with the structural fabric: 'the imagination build[s] "walls" of impalpable shadows, comfort[s] itself with the illusion of protection – or, just the contrary, tremble[s] behind thick walls, mistrust[s] the staunchest ramparts. In short, in the most interminable of dialectics, the sheltered being gives perceptible limits to his shelter.'⁴⁰¹ In *Shadows and Faces*, the Turkish-Cypriot's home is depicted as a house that is haunted by the 'expressionistic shadows' of suspicion and fear and the 'disembodied voices' of a ruinous future. Zaim uses the figure of the haunted house to explore the themes of not-being-at-home, homesickness, and trans-generational haunting.

⁴⁰¹ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 5.



Figure 11 – The shadow of a gravedigger, an allegorical image of death that stunningly reflects the specter of intercommunal violence to come. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

Let us start with walls and shadows: Under the horrific conditions of intercommunal mistrust, the walls of home no longer protect one from the hostile reality of the world. Instead, walls turn into ghostly screens where shadows of fear, animosity, and atrocity begin to play, and where disembodied voices of a ruinous future echo. However, in the film world, shadows do not only appear on the walls of haunted houses, but rather they are everywhere. In one of the early scenes of the film, we see Veli digging up a hole in the front yard of his home in the dead of night. He calls Cevdet, a comic character who is partially mentally disabled, to assist him with a pickaxe. But Cevdet seems a bit startled and confused: ‘Are we going to dig? But why?’ Veli replies moaning, ‘Just get moving!’ He then gives Cevdet a dry white bedsheet and asks him to hang it up to conceal things he doesn’t want his Greek-Cypriot neighbours to see from a distance. After a while Cevdet appears again carrying a gas lamp in his hand. Veli gets upset: ‘Why did you bring that? You want to whack your foot? Get out of here! You want everyone to see us? Go!’ We suddenly realise that the garden of the house is the place where the guns are hidden after decolonisation. Veli’s body casts a shadow on the white sheet just as it would appear on a shadow puppetry screen: what we see, however, is an allegorical image of death where the shadow

of a man is digging a grave and no one knows if it is for himself or for his neighbour. After finding what he seeks, Veli hastily brings the excavated guns into the house. When Salih, Ruhsar, and Cevdet see the rifles in Veli's hands, they look at each other with a horrified expression on their faces. This frightening image, the shadow of a gravedigger, stunningly reflects the specter of intercommunal violence to come, marking the transitional moment in which the sense of security turns into fear, then fear into vengeful anger, neighbours transmute into monsters, friends into enemies, and men into wolves.

Zaim revisits the image of uncanny shadows in another scene where we see Ruhsar having a nightmare. Lying in her bed in the middle of the night, Ruhsar is haunted by a menacing dark shadow. During her sleep, her own shadow unexpectedly leaves her body and begins roaming on the walls of her bedroom, then disappears behind a white sheet hung in front of the corner. Later, the sheet gets illuminated and immediately turns into a shadow play screen. Two uncanny shadow puppets, Karagöz and Hacivat, appear afterwards, repeating⁴⁰² the conversation that we heard in the beginning of the film:

Karagöz—Hacivat, what would people do if they were invisible?

Hacivat—They'd steal, make trouble and kill.

Karagöz—Hacivat, why would people do terrible things like that?

Hacivat—Because they wouldn't worry about being caught.

Karagöz—Well, Hacivat, is it possible to be invisible and a good person both at once?

Hacivat—You must watch your shadow. You must master your dark side. Come into this cave now and have a look at your shadow.

⁴⁰² Derrida notes that the question of ghost is 'a question of repetition: a specter is always a *revenant*. One cannot control its comings and goings because it *begins by coming back*.' He goes on to say that each repetition in the event itself is both 'a first time' and 'a last time,' because 'the spirit comes by *coming back* [revenant], it figures *both* a dead man who comes back and a ghost whose expected return repeats itself, again and again.' See Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 10-1.



Figure 12 – Ruhsar and two uncanny shadow puppets. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

After this mirroring talk, Ruhsar slowly wakes up from sleep and walks toward the sheet. As soon as she passes behind it, she sees a shadow person, a tall silhouette of a man, holding the puppets in his hands. She becomes extremely terrified and starts screaming, then the dark shadow jumps over her and she disappears in the dark of this growing shadow. Later we see her waking up from her nightmare, but the ghostly presence of the two puppets appears behind her again on the illuminated shadow play screen. The imagined voices of Karagöz and Hacivat are the most frightening sounds of all as their actual source of origin on the screen is difficult to locate. It is obvious that hearing disembodied voices is a sign of troubles to come. Shadows and disembodied voices in this scene appear as metaphorical images and sounds for the tension between Ruhsar’s suspicions and fears and the voice of her conscience, although we can never trust what the protagonist hears from these disembodied voices and what we can hear that the protagonist cannot. As Barry Curtis explains in his *Dark Places: The Haunted House in Film*, ‘The haunted house film plays a game of alternating what can be seen and what is hidden, what is inside the mind and what is happening in

material spaces.’⁴⁰³ However, this scene also implies that ghosts are more than simply psychic entities as they have social and moral dimensions.

Elaborating the affective use of light and shadow contrasts, Zaim makes an implicit reference to the gothic aesthetics of German expressionist cinema. However, Zaim also deconstructs the narrative conventions of Western gothic fiction, transforming the paradigmatic polarities of angel-like protagonist and monster-like antagonist into the undecidability of fractured, discordant and dispersed characters who are emotionally diffuse, morally fragile, driven by spectral forces and subjected to internal and external impulses. In other words, there is no hero or villain in *Shadows and Faces*, all the characters are just ordinary people haunted by ‘ghostly shadows’ – the impulses of fear – that lead them to actualise their potential to become a virtuous person or a monster. Within the ethico-political framework of the film, virtue is based on an affective economy and characters are the ethical subjects who make decisions at undecidable moments and whose subjectivities are perpetually constructed and deconstructed by their moral decisions, namely egoistic or altruistic responses to both their own fears and the social world. That is, a virtuous person must struggle with his own violent nature, which is governed by his own shadows, or dark side, namely his own fears. As is said in the opening dialogue of the film between Karagöz and Hacivat, ‘One must watch his or her shadow. One must master his or her dark side.’ Therefore Zaim inherits a morally ambiguous character type from Ottoman-Turkish gothic fiction instead of a binary structure of character relations (i.e., the good protagonist vs. the evil antagonist), which dominates classical Hollywood cinema.

⁴⁰³ Barry Curtis, *Dark Places: The Haunted House in Film* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 20.



Figure 13 – Karagöz and Hacivat, two uncanny shadow puppets as the specters of intercommunal violence to come. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

The primary difference between Western and Ottoman-Turkish gothic traditions, as Ayşe Didem Uslu explains in reference to *shadow play*, is that in the former, ‘fear and horror are occasioned by a sinister “other”,’ and ‘the equilibrium of an organized civilization is threatened by an externalized villainy;’ namely, all forms of Western gothic texts ‘exude primarily horror of the “other”,’ and ‘with different narrative registers and values, this diabolic repertoire of the gothic remains constant and unchallenged.’ In Ottoman-Turkish gothic texts, on the other hand, ‘self and otherness’ are not viewed ‘as opposites and hence, existing in tension.’ She goes on to say that ‘That there is fear is due to a tacit realization that there is no amelioration of evil, because it persists alongside goodness. At the end of the day, ambiguity is an accepted state of being and not a threat to alleged stability and coherence. [...] A logical extension to this philosophy is the acknowledgment of “otherness” within the self, and the stranger who is also a friend.’⁴⁰⁴ In accordance with this theoretical explanation, Zaim’s gothic film narrative is not structured by the tension between the protagonist and the antagonist, the angel and the villain, good and evil, friend and enemy, but by what

⁴⁰⁴ Ayşe Didem Uslu, ‘Grotesque and Gothic Comedy in Turkish Shadow Plays,’ in *Asian Gothic: Essays on Literature, Film and Anime*, ed. Andrew Hock Soon Ng (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), 231-2.

Derrida calls ‘enemy/friend,’⁴⁰⁵ namely, by the dissolution of characters through contradictory (terrorising) affections and moral decisions.

Secondly, we need to scrutinise another element of the material fabric, the interior space of the Turkish-Cypriot’s haunted house in the film, with a specific attention to ghostly presence and objects, namely uncanny puppets and disembodied voices. Karagöz and Hacivat, two puppet characters notorious for their quarrels with each other, are the legendary figures of traditional Ottoman shadow play. In *Shadows and Faces*, these two ‘antagonistic friends’ are re-contextualised in a postcolonial gothic aesthetics quite independent of the traditional meanings and values usually attributed to them: Like Derrida’s ‘two marionettes whose fables intersect,’⁴⁰⁶ Karagöz and Hacivat appear in Zaim’s film as ghosts of a catastrophic future, as a presencing of a mass atrocity to come – as Royle notes in relation to Derrida, ‘ghosts don’t belong to the past, they come from the future.’⁴⁰⁷ Throughout the film, the uncanny puppets, Karagöz and Hacivat, exist amidst Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots as the ghostly presence of ethnic violence, as auditory and visual signals of an event coming to a close, with their shadowy images and acousmatic voices that call for a mode of listening for a yet-to-be-seen – that is, ‘both sensible and insensible, neither sensible nor insensible, sensible-insensible, [...] living dead, spectral, uncanny, *unheimlich*.’⁴⁰⁸ According to popular belief, when a puppeteer dies, his puppets

⁴⁰⁵ ‘Every time, a concept bears the phantom of the other. The enemy the friend, the friend the enemy.’ See Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins (London: Verso, 2005), 72.

⁴⁰⁶ Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign*, vol. 1, trans. Geoffrey Bennington (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 187.

⁴⁰⁷ Nicholas Royle, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 67.

⁴⁰⁸ Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign*, vol. 1, 187.

must also be buried to keep bad luck at bay. Salih the Puppetman once asks Veli to bury these puppets if he does not return from the hospital alive: 'Take this and when I die, bury it far away on the plains, or it'll torment my soul and bring trouble on everyone else.' Ruhsar insists on burying the puppets after her father Salih becomes a missing person, assuming him to be dead. Veli, however, considers it to be a kind of 'superstition' and 'old wives' tales'. In the end, however, he surrenders and asks Cevdet to bury the puppets in a remote location. Cevdet takes the puppets along and gently buries them under a tree in the fields, but Christo spies on him and unearths the puppets, supposing that Cevdet buried weapons. The uncanny puppets remain unburied and, as a sign of bad luck, Christo's suspicion leads to the death of Cevdet.

We should note that the intermediality, namely Zaim's translation of shadow play into cinema, has a strategic importance. In the film narrative, the binary opposition of these quarreling puppets reminds us not only of the bipolar world of the Cold War, the exclusive struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, but also the increasingly violent relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, the British and the Cypriots, in the 1950s, the historical dispute between Turkey and Greece starting in the early nineteenth century, the ethno-nationalist clash between EOKA/EOKA-B and TMT from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s, the ethnic conflict between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots in 1963-64 and 1974, and the ongoing power relations between West and East. Throughout the twentieth century, Cyprus has been at the very centre of all these tensions. But more importantly, the primary issue with puppets, as Derrida points out, is that 'it's difficult to know who controls them, who makes them speak or who lets them speak, who gives them to speak, who is the boss, the author, the

creator or the sovereign, the manipulator and the puppeteer.’⁴⁰⁹ At this point, we should keep in mind that there was more than one puppeteer behind the curtain pulling the strings during the ethnic violence in Cyprus. British Empire was the most important puppeteer who prepared the conditions that would lead to intercommunal ethnic strife between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities. We also know that behind EOKA there was the government, and then the ‘military junta’, of Greece and that TMT was also backed by the ‘deep state’ in Turkey. The 1963-64 Turkish massacres were also engineered by the horrendous pro-*enosis* regime of Makarios and Yorgadjis, in accordance with the Akritas Plan. And last but not least, many historians and scholars are suspicious of the role of the United States in the 1974 Turkish military intervention, given that American policymakers were deeply concerned with Archbishop Makarios’s flirtations with the Soviet Union (and indeed the Americans later on thought that Makarios was ‘the Castro of the Mediterranean’ or the ‘Red Priest’).⁴¹⁰ Europe, after all, is more than a puppet master, it is the creator of postcolonial Cyprus, with a recognized south and unrecognized north, as what Navaro-Yashin calls a ‘make-believe space,’⁴¹¹ or the ‘imaginative geography,’ in Said’s terms: ‘It is Europe that articulates the Orient; this articulation is the prerogative, not of a puppet master, but of a genuine creator, whose life-giving power represents,

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 189.

⁴¹⁰ Brendan O’Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage, and the Turkish Invasion* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999).

⁴¹¹ Navaro-Yashin explains the notion of *make-believe space* as ‘spectral territory’, which is a kernel constituted by real (material and tangible) and fictional (imaginary and unrecognised). See Yael Navaro-Yashin, *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 10.

animates, constitutes the otherwise silent and dangerous space beyond familiar boundaries.⁴¹²



Figure 14 – The dead body of Cevdet, the first victim of intercommunal violence. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

In accordance with these facts, Zaim reformulates Derrida’s significant question of sovereignty and power games – ‘who controls the puppets, who is the manipulator and the puppeteer’ – in the film in a dialogue between Cevdet, Veli, and Ruhsar in the most sarcastic manner with reference to the janus faces of the 1963-64 intercommunal civil war. While Salih the Puppetman refers to the ‘ethical responsibility’ of both Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots in the production of a political space of fear, Cevdet implicitly mentions the ‘invisible’ actors behind the ‘visible’ conflict, which reminds us of both the internal actors (i.e., Makarios, Yorgadjis, and other Greek-Cypriot officials) and external powers (i.e., the United States, the former Soviet Union, Britain, Greece, and Turkey):

Cevdet—They don’t allow shadow plays these days, right?

Ruhsar—It’s rubbish anyway.

Karagözcü Salih—It’s not rubbish. It’s to train the soul.

Cevdet—To what the soul?

Karagözcü Salih—Train it. It’s to train the heart and mind.

⁴¹² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin, 1995), 57.

Veli—Leave the man in peace, Cevdet!

Cevdet—When I was a kid, they used to do shadow plays in the teahouse. And I always wondered who was behind the screen making this. I thought I'd go and see. On the way there, I knocked down the screen. The puppet man slapped me. After this, 'Bravo!' he said. 'You won't believe in shadows. You'll seek the truth with your mind,' he said. I didn't understand. I still don't understand.

In reference to this dialogue, Zaim describes Cevdet as 'a Cypriot peasant, a mad man' in an interview, 'the only one who is able to go behind the shadows.'⁴¹³ Indeed, Cevdet is depicted in the film as a *parrhesiastes*, in Foucault's terms, who has 'a specific relation to truth through frankness, a certain relationship to his own life through danger;' that is, he is the only film character who speaks about the puppeteer, the only one who 'chooses frankness instead of persuasion, truth instead of falsehood or silence, the risk of death instead of life and security.'⁴¹⁴ Maybe for this reason, he is chosen as the first victim of intercommunal violence.

As for the phonographic ghosts, the disembodied voices of Hacivat and Karagöz resonate fully within the Turkish-Cypriot's haunted house. Both of the uncanny puppets are examples of what Michel Chion calls an *acousmêtre*, a character who appears in a film as a voice without a body, a voice that 'we cannot yet connect [...] to a face [...] a kind of talking and acting shadow,'⁴¹⁵ and it is the puppeteer's absence from the image, his invisibility, that makes these voices function powerfully. Chion notes that 'everything hangs on whether or not the

⁴¹³ Derviş Zaim, 'Karagöz Perdesi Bir Sonsuzluk Perdesidir [Shadow Play Screen is a Screen of Infinity],' interview by Barış Saydam and Celil Civan, *Hayal Perdesi* 21 (2011): 34-5.

⁴¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, ed. Joseph Pearson (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2001), 19-20.

⁴¹⁵ Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 21.

acousmètre has been seen,⁴¹⁶ and the mystery that the acousmètre creates can dominate the drive of the narrative: ‘An entire image, an entire story, an entire film can thus hang on the epiphany of the acousmètre. Everything can boil down to a quest to bring the acousmètre into the light.’⁴¹⁷ In this sense, it would not be inaccurate to say that *Shadows and Faces* is a film that is based on the acousmètre.⁴¹⁸ Furthermore, there is a relation between the disembodiment of these voices and the burial of the puppets, which together imply the return of the dead, namely the unresolved matters of the postcolonial history of Cyprus. As Chion explains,

Burial is marked by rituals and signs such as the gravestone, the cross, and the epitaph, which say to the departed, ‘You must stay here,’ so that he won’t haunt the living as a soul in torment. In some traditions, ghosts are those who are unburied or improperly buried. Precisely the same applies to the acousmètre, when we speak of a yet-unseen voice, one that can neither enter the image to attach itself to a visible body, nor occupy the removed position of the image presenter. The voice is condemned to wander the surface.⁴¹⁹

The clear timbre and haunting vibrancy of Karagöz and Hacivat’s disembodied voices conjure up future memories, and the dialogue between the

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 23.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 23-4.

⁴¹⁸ Another acousmatic element that haunts the narrative space of the film, allowing disembodied voices to resonate fully within the filmic text, is ‘radio’. In *Shadows and Faces*, the ghosts of the news world, through tele-presence, haunt the claustrophobic social world of the Turkish-Cypriots, which is cut off from the rest of the world due to the fact that telephones were disconnected and roads were blocked during the 1963-64 anti-Turkish pogrom. In *Haunted Media*, Jeffrey Sconce, elaborating P. T. Machgrath’s argument that radio is ‘almost like a dreamland and ghostland,’ states that ‘gathering voices from the sky through a filament no thicker than a “cat’s whisker,” radio could only remind listeners of how tiny and fragile the sparks of life and consciousness were in a social world that seemed to be shrinking even as the etheric ocean around it continued to expand beyond imagination. In the new sound world of wireless, the electromagnetic signal stood as a precarious conduit of consciousness and an indexical mark of existence – “I transmit; therefore I am.”’ See Jeffrey Sconce, *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 67.

⁴¹⁹ Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, 140.

two uncanny puppets hints at the Platonic dialogue between Socrates and Glaucon. Having an ethical reference to the Cypriots' own shadows as the ghosts of their egoist consciousness, it is obvious that this dialogue has as its basis a retelling of the philosophical tale of Gyges' ring, a magical ring that once belonged to an ancient Lydian king, and which enables its wearer to become invisible, free to commit, undetected, any act he might choose. Gyges is a ghostly character of an unprincipled exercise of power, so the philosophical version of the tale of Gyges' ring in Book 2 of Plato's *Republic* (359a–360d) problematises the human nature, posing an ethical question whether anyone would, on becoming invisible and undetectable, touch 'the possessions of others' and do as they please. Do we refrain from wrongdoing with a motive to avoid injustice because it is an injustice or with a motive to avoid injustice because we may well be punished if we are caught being unjust? Are human beings by nature egoistic and selfish, or to put it in Glaucon's words, is it really a 'strong argument [*mega tekmerion*]' that 'no one is just voluntarily, but only under compulsion' (360c)?⁴²⁰ Zaim puts this ethical question at the very centre of his gothic film narrative (in Karagöz's words, 'Is it possible to be invisible and a good person both at once?') and calls for a morally engaged spectatorship, showing us the haunted geography of Cyprus where the perpetrators, Christo (Constantinos Gavriel), Thanasis (Pantelis Antonas), and Greek-Cypriot police officers (Thomas Nikodimou and Andreas Makris), commit crimes against Turkish-Cypriots because they gain the power of 'invisibility' under the chaotic circumstances of intercommunal civil war, namely because they know that they will remain undetected and unpunished under the

⁴²⁰ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Tom Griffith, ed. G. R. F. Ferrari (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 40.

pro-*enosis* regime of Makarios and Yorgadjis. The reference to the tale of Gyges is implicitly and explicitly repeated throughout the filmic text in several places. For instance, although there is no such place named Upper Gyges in Cyprus, Ruhsar introduces herself as a person from ‘Upper Gyges’ when she visits a commander of the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT) in Nicosia.

Ruhsar—Hello. Can I speak to the commander?

Soldier—Get in.

Ruhsar—I’m from Upper Gyges. We fled to Lower Gyges. Salih the Puppetman’s gone missing. Do you have any news about him? Salih Derviş. From Upper Gyges. My father.

For Zaim, Gyges is an ethical figure of ghostly presence, a visible-invisible character of an unprincipled exercise of power, a symbol of separation, egoism and *selfish dwelling*, which echoes a radical transition of home from being a space of hospitality to being a space of hostility, and which implies the radical separation of homeland. As Levinas notes in the ‘Dwelling’ section of *Totality and Infinity*, ‘Gyges’s ring symbolizes separation. Gyges plays a double game, a presence to the others and an absence, speaking to “others” and evading speech; Gyges is the very condition of man, the possibility of injustice and radical egoism, the possibility of accepting the rules of the game, but cheating.’⁴²¹ In short: when the Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots as ethical subjects turned into wolves towards each other, or into Gyges-like characters, this radical separation in the social space and in the domestic spaces inevitably and gradually created the conditions for a territorial separation.

⁴²¹ Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 173.



Figure 15 – Christo gazing through the window at their Turkish-Cypriot neighbours’s house. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

Lastly, if we are speaking of the material fabric of haunted houses in Zaim’s film, then we should also pay some attention to windows in addition to shadowy walls, uncanny puppets, and disembodied voices. In one of the scenes, Christo is seen as gazing through the window at their Turkish-Cypriot neighbours’s house, observing and invisible at the same time, searching through the darkness of the night. As he stands peering out the window watching his neighbours, a twinge of fear comes over him. In another scene, Veli looks out of his window and tries to hear what his neighbours are talking with the Greek-Cypriot police officers about. In reference to the terms for window in Indo-Germanic languages such as *Windauge* (wind-eye), *Ochsenauge* (ox-eye) and *Bullauge* (bull’s eye or porthole), Bollnow notes that in most world cultures ‘the window is interpreted as the eye of the house.’⁴²² He elaborates his argument, saying that, ‘From a window he [a man] sees the world spread out before him in all its brightness, but the world does not see him, for he is hidden in the darkness of the room. Curtains of fabric or net have been used extensively to heighten the window’s opaqueness, while it is typical of the modern style of living that it uses

⁴²² Otto Friedrich Bollnow, *Human Space*, trans. Christine Shuttleworth, ed. Joseph Kohlmaier (London: Hyphen Press, 2011), 151. And also in English, ‘window’ (wind-eye) is etymologically linked to the same meaning, ‘the eye of the house’.

large areas of glass to open the house up to the outside world. But conversely, when man is exposed to the gaze of strangers in a brightly lit room at night, he feels insecure and likes to close the curtains and shutters.⁴²³ The window of the haunted house in *Shadows and Faces* is depicted as an eye by which one can see the ‘unreliable’ neighbours without *being seen*, therefore it appears as an organ that embodies the spectral gaze of the fearful self.⁴²⁴

5.5.2. The Social Fabric of the Haunted House: Hospitality / Hostility

Zaim’s depiction of ‘home’ oscillates between a space of hospitality and a space of hostility. In one sequence we see Veli’s brother, Salih the Puppetman, saying that he realised that he had left his insulin back home when fleeing from his village. This leads Veli to a state of panic, because, being a diabetic, insulin is his lifeline. Nevertheless, he tries not to reveal his uneasy feelings about his brother’s situation, uttering soothing and encouraging words to calm both Salih’s and Ruhsar’s minds. Immediately afterwards, Veli knocks on his Greek-Cypriot neighbour Anna’s door to ask her a favour. She invites him in and asks him to sit down, so they start chatting in a Turkish-Cypriot and a Greek-Cypriot accented Turkish:

Anna—Who is it?

⁴²³ Ibid., 152.

⁴²⁴ The growing mutual mistrust between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots reaches its peak in several places in the film narrative. For instance, when Veli suggests that Ruhsar and her father be sent to the town with Anna, Ruhsar deprecates him, asking: ‘Isn’t it better to stay here?’ Salih says, ‘The Greeks will come here, too. It’s better to go to town.’ She replies negatively, meaning Anna, ‘But not with that Greek woman, dad. I don’t trust her.’ Veli tries to calm her down, saying: ‘Don’t worry! Anna’s a good person. I know her, I trust her. It’ll be okay. What are you afraid of?’ A similar case reoccurs in a dialogue between Anna and Christo, in another scene. When the two are arguing, Anna asks Christo whether he knows what happened to Salih the Puppetman, adding that he was ‘a friend of Maria’s, our family’s.’ Christo seems indifferent to what she says, as he insists: ‘Mum, some things are not on in times of war. You understand? It’s not on to give the Turks kerosene. Use some sense!’

Veli—It's me.

Anna—Come in. Have a seat.

Veli—Are you going into town to get kerosene tomorrow?

Anna—Maybe. If things are calm.

Veli—Actually, I came for the puppet man. I thought maybe you could help.

Anna—What's the problem? Go on.

Veli—He's very sick. He needs insulin. Can you take him and his daughter to hospital tomorrow?

Anna—No. There's danger everywhere. Our people are manning the roads.

Veli—But when you're with them, it'll be okay.

Anna—You can't know. Why don't they stay here?

Veli—An old rift between us. Whatever. Here. The money I won off Christo. At gambling.

Anna—No more gambling!

Veli—Okay, no more gambling with your lad anymore.

Suddenly Christo enters the house and throws a suspicious glance upon Veli. After saluting his mother, Anna, he 'welcomes' Veli with a cold greeting. Veli receives his greeting with a reserve. After a while Christo implicitly invites Veli to the gambling-table, asking if he is 'coming to the café'. Veli politely declines the offer with a mere 'No,' turning his eyes away from Anna, but Christo insists: 'You'd better come.' He replies, 'I'm busy,' then turning to Anna, says, 'Anyway... Why don't you think about it? Remember there was a man who did shadow plays with Maria? Well, that's him.' Anna is surprised: 'Is that Salih?' 'Yes, Salih.' Then Veli leaves, saying, 'Good night.' Christo and Anna continue their conversation in a Greek-Cypriot accented Greek:

Anna—Are the roads open now?

Christo—Yes. Why are you asking?

Anna—We need kerosene for the lamps.

Christo—Well, be careful. And I don't want him in my house again! Got that? Our people will think we're spies.

Anna—It's my house! I'll have who I want here!

This scene excellently depicts the gradually changing atmosphere in everyday life on the island. Christo's suspicious attitudes towards Veli in his house signal the transition from 'hospitality' to 'hostility'. The rise of mistrust, fear, anxiety and disorder among the Cypriots, especially in mixed villages, evolves into growing feelings of hatred and hostility in both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities against each other, making ordinary people as culpable for the intercommunal violence as their political elites and paramilitary forces. In such an ethnoscape, blood-ties and race begin to undercut cultural bonds of neighbourliness and friendship; good neighbours, even best friends, from the other ethnic group, begin to be perceived as potential 'enemies'; whereas members of an ethnic group who have good relations with the other ethnic community also begin to fear that they will be perceived by their own community as 'spies' or 'traitors'. As Appadurai explains, 'ethnic violence, as a form of collective violence, is partly a product of propaganda, rumor, prejudice and memory, all forms of knowledge, all usually associated with heightened conviction, conviction capable of producing inhumane degrees of violence.'⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ Arjun Appadurai, 'Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalisation,' *Nēthrá Quarterly Journal* 2:2 (January-March 1998): 1.



Figure 16 – Anna driving Karagözcü Salih and Ruhsar to the hospital in town with her car. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

In another scene, we see Anna driving Karagözcü Salih and Ruhsar to the hospital in town with her car. They go until they are stopped at a police barricade. Anna stops the car immediately after she sees the barricade and tells Salih and Ruhsar to get off the car and hide, saying that she will talk to the police officers. Then they rush out of the car, run to the trees, and try to hide. When Anna tries to explain to the Greek-Cypriot police officers that she is a Greek, a Christian, and Christo’s mother, the police officers ask why she is ‘hanging around’ with Turks. She replies that she did not know that they were Turks but she fails to convince the police officers. The older one warns her, ‘Get some sense in you, Anna! Don’t do it again!’ Christo appears behind the police officers’ head and reproaches his mother for having ruined his honour and credibility with her collaboration with Turkish-Cypriots, saying, ‘What are you doing here, mum? You’ve made total fools of us!’ On the other hand, Salih and Ruhsar find a cave and stay there for a while. Then Salih wants to have a quick look around the cave to see if it is secure. But when he goes out of the cave he suddenly disappears and Ruhsar is left with no choice but to return alone to her uncle’s house.

Adopting a skeptical attitude towards the political reality of the island, this sequence does contain an implicit reference to the Platonic allegory of the cave:

according to Zaim's formulation of the postcolonial conflict, Turkish-Cypriots are 'prisoners' (i.e., refugees) being forced to live in darkened caves (i.e., enclaves) and viewing fighting puppets (i.e., EOKA and TMT) and their shadows on the wall of the cave, which are intentionally cast on it by 'puppeteers', or the external powers (i.e., United States, the former Soviet Union, Britain, Greece, and Turkey)⁴²⁶, and their knowledge of the social world is limited to these shadows on the wall. But more than that, the figure of the cave is also a direct reference to a historical fact: between December 1963 and July 1974, Turkish-Cypriots became concentrated in enclaves as a result of the ethnic conflict. In September 1965, the UN commander, General Thimayya, reported that 600 Turkish-Cypriot refugees who had fled to Erenköy/Kokkina from nearby villages were forced to live in caves or holes in the hillsides under miserable conditions.⁴²⁷ All in all, the cave is a metaphor for the 'unhomely home' of the Turkish-Cypriots, a haunted house where there is no security, intimacy, or hospitality.

When Ruhsar returns to her uncle's house from the cave with tears in her eyes, she hugs Veli and says, 'Dad's gone!' Then she implores her uncle despairingly to begin searching for her missing father. Veli tries to calm her down and they get in the house. Eventually Anna comes to their house and sits down next to Ruhsar at the table. She glances at Ruhsar blushing and presses her hands on her shoulders to give solace, hesitating to speak. Turning furiously on

⁴²⁶ Cf. Adamantia Pollis, 'Colonialism and Neocolonialism: Determinants of Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus,' in *Small States in the Modern World: The Conditions of Survival*, ed. Peter Worsley and Paschalis Kitromilides (Nicosia: The New Cyprus Association, 1979), 45–80; Adamantia Pollis, 'The Role of Foreign Powers in Structuring Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus,' in *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*, ed. Vangelis Calotychos (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), 85–102.

⁴²⁷ Gustaf Welin and Christer Ekelund, *The U.N. in Cyprus: Swedish Peace-keeping Operations, 1964–1993* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 2004), 42.

Anna, her eyes flashing, Ruhsar exclaims: 'Why did you leave us? Dad's disappeared because of you! You sent us.' Veli tries to stop her speaking but she advances toward both Veli and Anna, saying, 'Go away! I hate you both! I said get out! Go!' Anna, having been chased away, stands up and heads towards the door and Veli blushing sees her off.

The tension dramatically increases during Veli and Ruhsar's visit to Anna's home to ask her if she can help them search for Salih in his village. Anna seems reluctant, saying that she is 'scared'. At the moment of their conversation, Christo with Thanasis unexpectedly enter the house carrying heavy coffin-like chests, which were no doubt full of rifles, and they come across Veli and Ruhsar. Everybody gets petrified for a moment, then Christo introduces Veli and Ruhsar to Thanasis allusively, saying, 'This is Veli. Our neighbour. They're Turks.' Such a passive aggressive attitude pushes Veli to ask permission to leave their home. After they walk out, Ruhsar, turning to Veli, repeats her assertion: 'I told you not to trust the Greeks.' As soon as they get back to their own home, they find the young Ahmet agitated and depressed, holding a clumsy good-for-nothing rifle in his hands. Like Ruhsar and Veli, Ahmet also gets confused with those coffin-like chests once he sees Christo and Thanasis from the window. He cries desperately, 'They'll kill us by morning with all those guns!' On the other hand, Anna warns her cousin severely, saying that she does not want him 'getting her boy mixed up with guns.' But Thanasis seems quite disregarding to her, responding in the most sexist manner: 'What has the boy got to do with your problems? You're a woman. Keep your nose out of my affairs!' His attitude shows us the gendered aspect of the Cyprus conflict, namely the masculinist politics that is based on the dichotomy

of ‘us’ and ‘them’.⁴²⁸ The dialogues between Christo and Anna also allow us to observe the ‘gender order’ of the postcolonial island: When Anna asks Christo what he had done to Salih the Puppetman, he replies that he has no idea what happened to him, but even if he had found him, he would have killed him. When Anna gets utterly bewildered by Christo’s ruthless statements, she expostulates with him, saying that Salih the Puppetman was ‘a friend of Maria’s, our family’s!’ Christo, revealing an impenetrably thick-skinned, careless and cruel attitude, shrugs this off and says, ‘Mum, some things are not on in times of war. You understand? It’s not on to give the Turks kerosene. Use some sense!’



Figure 17 – Anna and Veli throwing *koliva*, a mythical local Cypriot food, over the roofs of the houses to protect them from the haunting of evil demons. A screenshot from Dervis Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

Nevertheless, Anna never gives up attempting to keep good relations with her Turkish-Cypriot neighbours and she struggles with this male-dominant discourse with all her might until she is badly beaten by the Greek-Cypriot police.

⁴²⁸ Although no information was produced about the role of women in the anti-colonial movement of EOKA during the 1950s, one point is certain; as Hadjipavlou explains, ‘they played no part in the decision to launch an armed struggle.’ It is also certain that ‘on the EOKA agenda there was no mention of women’s liberation, though it was important in other anti-colonial movements.’ The ethno-nationalist *enosis* discourse of EOKA in the late 1950s, and then of EOKA-B in the early 1970s, aggrandised masculinity and marginalized femininity by creating a highly militarised social space in which ‘men were trained to be brave, to sacrifice their lives for freedom and to protect women and children, whereas women were trained to play “subordinate and subservient roles” and to keep the honour of the house intact until the “fighter” returned.’ See Maria Hadjipavlou, *Women and Change in Cyprus: Feminisms and Gender in Conflict* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 80-81.

In this sense, as a strong female character and speaking subject, she constitutes a counter-example to the recurrent representation of ‘silent female characters’ in Turkish cinema.⁴²⁹ Once she visits Veli at midnight to warn him about the devil that haunts the houses and hearts of the people. Throwing a mythical local Cypriot food, κόλλυβα (*koliva*, or boiled kernels of wheat mixed with dried fruit and nuts), which signifies the return of the dead in Orthodox Christianity,⁴³⁰ over the roofs of the houses to protect them from the haunting of evil demons, she shows her peaceful approach in the most symbolic way:

Anna—Don’t go out to the plains. Our men have seen you with guns. The devil is everywhere.

Veli—Okay, Anna.

Anna—Last time I threw *koliva* over the roof, it worked. The devils fled.

Veli—Thanks for throwing *koliva* over my house, over my roof.

Following another sequence where poor Cevdet is killed by Thanasis, we see Anna feeling not only furious with Thanasis, but also uneasy about relations with their Turkish-Cypriot neighbours. In one scene, she shouts madly at Thanasis, ‘Aren’t you ashamed? You call yourself my cousin? Filth! Scum! Call

⁴²⁹ Cf. Asuman Suner, ‘The Absent Women of New Turkish Cinema,’ in Suner, *New Turkish Cinema*, 163-78; Özlem Güçlü, ‘Silent Female Characters in the New Cinema of Turkey: Gender, Nation and the Past’ (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, University of London, 2013); Özlem Güçlü, ‘Silent Representations of Women in the New Cinema of Turkey,’ *Sinecine Journal of Film Studies* 1:2 (2010): 71–85; Eylem Atakav, *Women and Turkish Cinema: Gender Politics, Cultural Identity and Representation* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), 108; Gönül Dönmez-Colin, ‘Women in Turkish Cinema: Their Presence and Absence as Images and as Image-Makers,’ *Third Text* 24:1, Special Issue: Cinema in Muslim Societies, ed. Ali Nobil Ahmad (2010): 91–105, esp. 104.

⁴³⁰ *Koliva* is an important symbol of ‘the resurrection of the dead’ in the tradition of Greek Orthodox Church that calls for ‘remember[ing] and pray[ing] for those who have passed on to keep their memory alive and to help us heal.’ Jesus said, ‘Unless a wheat grain falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit’ (John, 12: 24). In accordance with this Biblical statement, Orthodox Christians ‘believe that the Christian will be raised in a new body in the resurrection; wheat symbolizes the eternal cycle; people like wheat, must be buried to grow and have new life; [... and] that intercessions on behalf of the dead are possible through the fervent prayers of those remaining on earth (cf. Matthew, 25).’ See ‘Koliva: A Symbol of the Resurrection of the Dead,’ Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church, accessed January 3, 2014, http://www.holytrinitymaine.org/index_files/Page1050.htm.

yourself my cousin? Get off me, filth! Get away from me! You'll burn in hell, scum!' In another scene, she reveals her deep concern about the delicate relationship with their Turkish-Cypriot neighbours, infuriatingly exclaiming at Christo: 'I told you not to get involved! You'll burn in hell for this. They'll kill you, you fool! A Turk's been killed. Now they'll kill one of us. Does that make you happy?' But Christo's answer confirms the gender order once again: 'This is a man's job!'



Figure 18 – Anna and Christo expressing their condolences on the loss of Cevdet. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim's film *Shadows and Faces*.

Anna tries to find a solution to the problem of a potential break with the neighbours: 'We have to go and visit them. Otherwise they'll think you killed him.' However, her plan does not work out as well as she expects. Their visit to their neighbour's house turns out to be a point of shift from hospitality to hostility. When they turn up at Veli's home, they find Ruhsar whimpering with grief, burying her face in Veli's shoulder. Anna and Christo, with a pot, hesitatingly say, 'Our condolences...' But Ruhsar does not accept their condolences on the loss of Cevdet, and starts bawling at them in a way that leaves them in no doubt that they are most unwelcome: 'Get out of here! What did you want from a poor simpleton?' She suddenly hits Christo's back with a thick stick, but Veli tries to stop her. When she resists, he pushes her out of the house and this triggers a series

of dreadful events. Back indoors, Veli, Christo, and Anna sits around the table without exchanging words. After a while Christo starts crying, saying, ‘This is all bad; this is bad!’ Out of the house, however, Ruhsar joins Ahmet and other armed Turkish-Cypriot irregulars. Full of feelings of revenge in their hearts, they walk to Dimitri’s farm and ask him if he knows who killed Cevdet. Dimitri tries to calm them down but they insist and suddenly he provokes them to wrath, saying that he does not know who killed Cevdet but he would not let them know even if he did know. Immediately after saying this, Ahmet shoots Dimitri to death. This frightening scene traumatizes Ruhsar so much that she throws up before they go away.



Figure 19 – Turkish-Cypriots fleeing from their homes as a result of Greek-Cypriot armed attacks. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

The controversy between the neighbours reaches its climax when they turn against each other in a violent scramble, following the armed clash between the Greek-Cypriot police and the Turkish-Cypriot young men. In these most hostile scenes of the film, young Greek-Cypriots (i.e., Christo and his friends) and Turkish-Cypriots (i.e., Ahmet and his friends) tend to be less sober minded and tolerant than their elders (i.e., Anna and Veli) in the course of events, and they are also less likely to talk and think about the cultural difference of their neighbours as an object of appreciation. Neighbours who had once been the best of friends

start killing each other (we see Ahmet killing Anna and Christo killing Veli), and that seems to inspire the most vicious and cruel acts of revenge. The repeated rounds of deafening gunfire, and the screaming and commotion that ensued, immediately fills the ethnically mixed village with terror and panic. The Turkish-Cypriots begin to flee their homes *en masse*. Through a strikingly poetic depiction of ethnic cleansing, Zaim offers telling and vivid profiles of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot characters and unsparingly describes the social fabric of the Turkish Cypriot's haunted house, the shift from hospitality to hostility, and the cruelty and inhumanity stirred up by the intercommunal war.

This violent scene leaves the spectators suspended between the opposing views of Levinas and Žižek about the face of the neighbour. Levinas argues that 'in the face, the Other expresses his eminence, the dimension of height and divinity from which he descends;' namely, in his face, my neighbour 'present[s] himself as a stranger without opposing me as obstacle or enemy.'⁴³¹ Žižek, however, criticises this approach, finding it insufficient for providing a comprehensive account of the face of the other: 'What Levinas fails to include into the scope of "human" is, rather, the inhuman itself, a dimension which eludes the face-to-face relationship of humans.'⁴³² For him, Levinas' definition of the face of the other fails to take into account 'the radical, "inhuman" Otherness itself: the Otherness of a human being reduced to inhumanity.'⁴³³ He defends the view that the face of our neighbour is nothing more than a mask that hides a terrible threat, a 'bearer of a monstrous Otherness, [a] properly inhuman neighbor,' saying

⁴³¹ Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 262, 215.

⁴³² Slavoj Žižek, 'Neighbors and Other Monsters: A Plea for Ethical Violence,' in *The Neighbor: Three Inquiries in Political Theology*, ed. Slavoj Žižek, Eric L. Santner, Kenneth Reinhard (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 158.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 160.

that ‘the neighbor is not displayed through a face; it is, as we have seen, in his or her fundamental dimension a faceless monster.’⁴³⁴

5.5.3. The Emotional Fabric of the Haunted House: Belonging / Exile

In Zaim’s *Shadows and Faces*, the emotional fabric of the Turkish-Cypriot’s haunted home and homeland, namely the trajectories of belonging and exile and the role they play in the Turkish Cypriots’ constructions, contestations, and negotiation of belonging, is represented through three main themes: a vacant or abandoned house; mother tongue; and family graves. The first of these themes, a vacant or abandoned house, is revealed as a *khôra* in the sense that it exists as a receptacle of memory objects, an event of spatiality outside of presence, an event of the absent other that remains beyond the Cartesian space, beyond the *extensio* of the *res extensa*, a figure that echoes the ghostly presence of the other, an exilic place that envelops shadows and traces. It appears as an abyss that disrupts the smooth flow of time, that ‘anachronises being.’⁴³⁵ In one of the scenes, Anna visits Ruhsar in Veli’s house and asks her if she needs anything from her hometown. Taking the address of their former home that they were forced to leave, she makes her way to the town where Ruhsar and Salih came from. As soon as she arrives, she comes across an urban dystopia, finding a ghost town populated only by dilapidated, looted and burned houses, ruined buildings, torched cars, and broken pieces of furniture which included chairs, tables and home accessories. Slowly getting off her car, she goes inside the house. Having

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 162, 185.

⁴³⁵ Jacques Derrida, *On the Name*, trans. David Wood, John P. Leavey Jr., and Ian McLeod (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 94.

found in the main room Ottoman shadow puppets and old family photographs showing Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots being relaxed together and other fragments of interrupted lives, she looks at these photos attentively and above all with a feeling of sadness: most of the people in them are now dead and the peaceful times they commemorate can't be retrieved. When she discovers a photo of Maria, her relative from Matyatis village and the love of Salih the Puppetman, among those black-and-white family photographs from the 1930s, she looks at it with downcast eyes for a moment. Then she grabs the photo, puts it into her bag and walks out.

A photograph is an emanation of the past in the sense that it records the unrepeatability of the lived instance and the human condition of mortality. Roland Barthes, in *Camera Lucida*, famously argued that photography is a technology of memory through which human beings make themselves into 'specters': for him, 'death is the *eidos* of the photograph,' and all photographs embody 'the return of the dead' under their illusion of presence and life.⁴³⁶ Susan Sontag, too, asserts that 'all photographs are *memento mori*' that remind viewers of their own mortality, and she later claims that photographic images are a 'mournful vision of loss' and the 'link between photography and death haunts all photographs of people.'⁴³⁷ We find a connection between photography and the melancholic memorial in Walter Benjamin's writings: 'In the cult of remembrance of dead or absent loved ones, the cult value of the image finds its last refuge. In the fleeting expression of a human face, the aura beckons from early photographs for the last

⁴³⁶ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981), 15, 9.

⁴³⁷ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York, NY: Penguin, 1979), 15, 67, 70.

time. This is what gives them their melancholy and incomparable beauty.⁴³⁸

Following the same line of thought, Derrida also considers photography a ‘technology of the revenant’ that serves the mourning for the here-now that is irretrievably absent and archived as a loss.⁴³⁹



Figure 20 – Photographs and shadow puppets as iconic signs of death and traces of the absent other. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

Photographs as iconic signs of death and traces of the absent other, namely the connection between photography and ghosts, is made recurrently in *Shadows and Faces*. Both the shadow puppets and photographic images are a source of sorrow for Anna because they evoke memories and link her to her losses, providing her with her only way of touching people in her past. Cypriots are getting broken up irrevocably in the postcolonial times, and, for Anna, looking at these photographs and puppets is a way of putting the pieces of her past together, like a jigsaw. As Janet Carsten points out, photographs are ‘artefacts of memory

⁴³⁸ Walter Benjamin, ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility’ (third version), trans. Harry Zohn and Edmund Jephcott, in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 4, 1938–1940, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 258.

⁴³⁹ Jacques Derrida, *Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography*, ed. Gerhard Richter, trans. Jeff Fort (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 39.

[...] compressed and made portable.’⁴⁴⁰ However, this scene also shows us that photographs are not only about memory, but also about forgetfulness. In other words, the peaceful days of the past are not remembered in the present of perpetual war. Margaret Gibson points out that photographs ‘remind us of the discontinuity of memory, the elisions and gaps, without filling these in;’ and she goes on to say that ‘photographs, like all our recording technologies, capture fragments in a continuum of oblivion and forgetting.’⁴⁴¹



Figure 21 – The unknown absent character, Maria, haunts the photograph in a larger frame with her absence. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

The jigsaw of family photographs, however, is a much more complex and complicated issue for Ruhsar. Throughout the film, she looks at old photographs, trying to understand her family’s lived reality. As Elizabeth Roberts points out, ‘photographs and the practices that surround them create spaces where personal and family identities are constituted, negotiated and revised.’⁴⁴² Marianne Hirsch

⁴⁴⁰ Janet Carsten, ‘Introduction: Ghosts of Memory,’ in *Ghosts of Memory: Essays on Remembrance and Relatedness*, ed. Janet Carsten (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), 19.

⁴⁴¹ Margaret Gibson, *Objects of the Dead: Mourning and Memory in Everyday Life* (Carlton, VA: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 86.

⁴⁴² Elizabeth Roberts, ‘Family Photographs: Memories, Narratives, Place,’ in *Geography and Memory: Explorations in Identity, Place and Becoming*, ed. Owain Jones and Joanne Garde-Hansen (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 92.

also argues that photographs constitute a deconstructive force that disrupts familial narratives about family life and the family ideology by locating themselves ‘precisely in the space of contradiction between the myth of the ideal family and the lived reality of family life.’⁴⁴³ In one of the late scenes of the film, Ruhsar discovers that a ghost of resentment from the past between her father and uncle is still shadowing the present time of her family life and attempting to dissolve its future. After her father goes missing, she once asks Veli what the problem was between him and her dad. This leads Veli to confess to Ruhsar the wrongdoings that he had committed against her father, Salih the Puppetman, so as to clear his conscience of these acts:

Ruhsar—Did my dad give you a hard time before?

Veli—I used to be your dad’s apprentice about twenty-five, thirty years ago. Then I started gambling. I couldn’t keep up with my debts, of course. I stole. I stole the money your dad earned from the puppet shows. Your dad realized, of course. He beat me. Certainly, we broke up. I got so angry. So... I seduced Maria. In other words, the woman your dad loved. The man was shattered, of course. He was devastated, destroyed. Later, I really fought with myself. But I never found the chance to go and apologise to your dad. (He takes out a photograph from his wallet.) There, that’s Maria.

Ruhsar—Why are you telling me this?

Veli—Shadows can grow. I’m telling you so they don’t grow. I’m telling you to save myself. I don’t know... Maybe I’m telling you because your dad’s dead.

Ruhsar—Dad never told me anything about you.

This scene is clearly essential to the unfinished and incomplete nature of what is considered to be fully known about the colonial/postcolonial geography and history of Cyprus. There is a photograph on the table; we remember that

⁴⁴³ Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 8.

photograph from one of the earlier scenes in which Ruhsar was looking at it. It is a photo of the main room of Anna's house without anybody inside. The photograph of that intimate space has a haunting effect. When Veli takes out the other half of that photograph from his wallet at the end of the dialogue, we understand that the unknown absent character, Maria, haunts that photograph in a larger frame with her absence. Photographs can collapse geometrical space and linear time. Zaim translates photography's power of haunting into a postcolonial film aesthetics through a cinematic concept of infinitely expanding frame and an interpenetrative technique of film editing: The former allegorically expresses the fact that the postcolonial geography, the lived space, of Cyprus cannot be fully known and explained by fixed epistemic frames of geopolitically determined discourses, whereas the latter expresses the postcolonial history, the lived time, of Cyprus where one time period overflows onto another, where something from the past overflows into the present of the Cypriots. 'Ottoman shadow-play screen,' says Zaim, 'is a screen of infinity,' in the sense that it is a constellation of disjointed times and haunted places whose fluid narrative frame perpetually expands; namely, it 'has, potentially, a capacity to contain past, present and future times' as well as various places.⁴⁴⁴



Figure 22 – The non-linear continuities of an interpenetrative montage technique emphasise the postcolonial time-lag. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim's film *Shadows and Faces*.

⁴⁴⁴ Zaim, 'Karagöz Perdesi Bir Sonsuzluk Perdesidir [Shadow Play Screen is a Screen of Infinity],' interview, 33.

Critically inheriting these ideas from the aesthetics of Ottoman classical arts, Zaim creates a cinematic chronotope that embodies the long delay between the initial framing and its repetition: the spatiality and temporality of the film is interrupted in several sequences where a scene begins with a photographic freeze-frame pulled from the continually moving picture of the previous scene. In this sense, the cinematic space of the film, just like the postcolonial geography of Cyprus, is haunted, whereas the cinematic time of the film, just like the postcolonial history of Cyprus, is out of joint. In short, the film's narrative space-time is continuous in the sense that it continually breaks. Zaim disrupts the sequential logic of editing through the non-linear continuities of an interpenetrative montage technique in order to emphasise the postcolonial time-lag, to visualise the lived space-time of the Cypriots, to produce ambivalence in the viewers, and to resist every sort of hasty, simplistic, geopolitical and chronological means of knowing the colonial/postcolonial geography and history of the island. After all, the theme of a vacant or abandoned house is supported in one of the late scenes of the film by the following conversation between Ruhsar and a Greek-Cypriot police officer:

Greek-Cypriot Police Officer—Come here. Off the bus! Where are you going?

Ruhsar—Famagusta, into town.

Greek-Cypriot Police Officer—Why are you going?

Ruhsar—My family's gone there.

Greek-Cypriot Police Officer—Why?

Ruhsar—They were scared.

Greek-Cypriot Police Officer—What about you?

Ruhsar—Me too. I'm not coming back here again. We're leaving the island.

Greek-Cypriot Police Officer—Good! Sing an old Turkish song (*gazel*), then you can go.

Ruhsar—Turkish song (*Gazel*)? I don't know any.

Greek-Cypriot Police Officer—What do you know then? Okay, go.

Mother tongue is the second theme that reveals the emotional fabric of the Turkish-Cypriot's haunted house. While for Heidegger, 'language is the home of Da-sein,' for Derrida, it is the home of the haunted subject of dwelling. 'Wouldn't this mother tongue be,' Derrida asks, 'a sort of second skin you wear on yourself, a mobile home? But also an immobile home since it moves about with us?'⁴⁴⁵ He argues that a displaced person's sense of belonging and memory of home and homeland is always haunted by the ghostly traces of mother tongue and of family graves:

'Displaced persons,' exiles, those who are deported, expelled, rootless, nomads, all share two sources of sighs, two nostalgias: their dead ones and their language. On the one hand, they would like to return, at least on a pilgrimage, to the places where their buried dead have their last resting place (the last resting place of family here situates the ethos, the key habitation for defining home, the city or country where relatives, father, mother, grandparents are at rest in a rest that is the place of immobility from which to measure all the journeys and all the distancings). On the other hand, exiles, the deported, the expelled, the rootless, the stateless, lawless nomads, absolute foreigners, often continue to recognize the language, what is called the mother tongue, as their ultimate homeland, and even their last resting place.⁴⁴⁶

Heterolingual dialogues dominate most scenes of *Shadows and Faces*: both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot characters speak in a hybrid, mixed language of Greek and Turkish. Actually, Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish, in these dialogues, appear as forms of pidgin languages and the daily vocabulary seems to be a creole. What is remarkable in Zaim's treatment is that it provides an

⁴⁴⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 89.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 87-9.

apt cinematic description of the state of speech relations prevalent in pre-colonial Cyprus: When the British arrived in Cyprus, they encountered a multi-ethnic society that was situated in a heterolingual space, an area with a composite language made up of a varying admixture of Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Latin, in which ‘translation’ was not needed. This means that the heterolinguality in Cyprus was not a *post*-colonial, *inter*-cultural, and *trans*-national phenomenon, but rather a *pre*-colonial and *intra*-cultural phenomenon. Furthermore, British colonialism and its divide and rule policy inevitably created two separate and isolated homolingual spaces in Cyprus. In other words, Derviş Zaim’s cinematic politics of heterolingualism is not based on a postcolonial condition, as Bhabha’s notion of ‘hybridity’ and Naficy’s theory of ‘accented cinema’ presupposes, but can be traced back to the pre-colonial cultural heritage of Cyprus.

The Turkish-Cypriot poet and cultural critic Mehmet Yaşın proposes the term ‘step-mothertongue’ to define the inherent *hybridity* of Cypriot Greek and Turkish languages, namely the ghostly nature of linguistic boundaries. As he explains, ‘The notion of “step-mothertongue” emerges from the context and point of view of a multilingual and “uncanonized” literature (Cypriot literature), and an in-between literary region (Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey).’⁴⁴⁷ In reference to the hybrid nature of Greek and Turkish languages in the former Byzantine-Ottoman geographies, he reminds us of the example of ‘Turkish spoken “*Karamanlidja*” that was written with the Greek alphabet (*Karamanlidika*), from the late sixteenth

⁴⁴⁷ Mehmet Yashin, ‘Introducing Step-Mothertongue,’ in *Step-Mothertongue: From Nationalism to Multiculturalism: Literatures of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, ed. Mehmet Yashin (London: Middlesex University Press, 2000), 1.

to the early twentieth centuries.’⁴⁴⁸ Another example is the Pontic Greek language of the Black Sea region, in Northeastern Turkey, where people ‘still mix Greek and Turkish words with each other, and they sometimes refer to the Black Sea not as *Efxsinos Pontos* [Εύξεινος Πόντος, or Pontic Sea] as in official Greek, but as *Mavri Thalassa* [Μαύρη Θάλασσα, or Black Sea], in literal translation from the Turkish *Karadeniz*.’ He goes on to ask, ‘Is their “real-mothertongue”, then, Turkish or Greek? And isn’t the Athens-centered modern Greek, rather than Black Sea Turkish, a kind of “step-mothertongue” for Pontic Greek?’⁴⁴⁹

Yaşın also notes that the linguistic border between Greek and Turkish has never been purely natural and impermeably strong, given the historical interaction between Greek and Turkish peoples: ‘In spite of the fact that Turkish and Greek are classified as belonging to two quite distinct linguistic families, they share many common idioms, similar expressions, and literary forms which are waiting to be studied.’⁴⁵⁰ He goes one step further, saying that there are some examples of literary works, produced in a hybrid form of language by Muslim Turkish-Cypriot folk poets (*poetarides*) whose mother tongue was an unofficial Greek-Cypriot tongue, which has never been mentioned in Greek and Turkish literatures and has also never been recognised in Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot official discourses either. He then quotes a remarkable example by a Turkish-Cypriot folk poet, which not only resists the linguistic boundaries with its hybrid form, but can also be read in the current socio-political context as an indirect call for the fall of the Nicosia Wall that divides north and south:

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 2.

Esi bodji e lunnes'soun *ben deligden bakardım*
Mahallene thelo nardo os egi'*ma bubandan gorkardım*
[While you had a bath on the other side *I was looking from a hole*
I wish to come to *your neighbourhood, but I was afraid of your father*]

E'su bodji che'ego bodga ch'o dihos mesdin mmesin
Ch'ela nadon gundisoumen na bergimon ippesi!
[You are there, I am here and the wall stands between the two of us
Let's push it together, so it might collapse!]⁴⁵¹

The British colonialism, in this context, is characterised by the transformation of heterolinguality in Cyprus to homolingual distinctions between social spaces, languages and identities. As Hamid Naficy states, 'Multilinguality complexifies the films' intelligibility and contributes to their accented style. It is important to note that, in these films language is almost never taken for granted. In fact, it is often a theme and the self-reflexive agent of narration and identity.'⁴⁵² However, Asuman Suner reconsiders the notion of 'accented cinema' in a broader sense and argues that accented cinema is not only an 'inter-cultural' phenomenon, as Naficy defines the term, but also 'intra-cultural'.⁴⁵³ In accordance with Suner's theoretical approach, Derviş Zaim's cinematic politics of heterolingualism offers a double consciousness beyond social antagonism and ethnic prejudice, a critical sense of belonging and an intra-cultural form of accented cinema, allowing us to hear both *Kıbrıs şivesi* (Cypriot dialect of Turkish) and *Kypriaka* (Cypriot dialect of Greek). The homeland that is yearned for in Zaim's mnemopolitical and exilic film is a *pre-colonial* social space where Turkish and Greek languages are spoken

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁵² Hamid Naficy, 'Between Rocks and Hard Places: The Interstitial Mode of Production in Exilic Cinema,' in *Home, Exile, Homeland: Film, Media, and the Politics of Place*, ed. Hamid Naficy (London: Routledge, 1999), 138; also see Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 22–25.

⁴⁵³ Asuman Suner, 'Outside In: "Accented Cinema" at Large,' *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7:3 (2006): 363–382.

polyvocally, which means that the two bilingual communities communicate dialogically with each other, live together peaceably and are integrated socially and culturally. As Zaim masterfully depicts the intercommunal relations in the mixed villages of Cyprus, the native tongue of Turkish, as a symbolic home, is always haunted by the language of Greek in the pre-colonial Cyprus. The separation of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots with the emergence of the *de facto* border, the Green Line, also finds its traces in the shift from the blurred linguistic boundaries between Greek and Turkish to impermeably divided homolingual social spaces. Nevertheless, despite its affective economy, *Shadows and Faces* does not fall into the category of nostalgic films. Zaim openly and acutely rejects any cinematic approach that relates to the concept of nostalgia:

Nostalgia for the good old days and discourses of a golden age are extremely dangerous because they create a prison of history, a phantasmagoria of loss, distorting the past intentionally and rejecting the possibilities of an open future pessimistically. My films about postcolonial Cyprus, *Mud* and *Shadows and Faces*, partly delineate the nostalgic attitudes of the Cypriots, but they were certainly not made in a nostalgic tone. Careful viewers will note the nuance that these films are not only about the lived past of the Cypriots, but also about their future.⁴⁵⁴

The third theme that reveals the emotional fabric of the Turkish-Cypriot's haunted home and homeland is family graves. In *Shadows and Faces*, graves and acts of burial recurrently appear and, apart from its historical context, the dialectic of burying and unearthing that prevails in the film is an allegory for the haunting of an uneasy past. In the penultimate scene we see Ruhsar and Ahmet praying near the mass graves of the Turkish-Cypriots, including their family members, Veli, and other people who were ruthlessly killed by their Greek-Cypriot

⁴⁵⁴ Personal interview with Derviş Zaim, Taksim, Istanbul, January 10, 2011.

neighbours. What is most telling about this scene is what remains as background description, namely the mass graves of Turkish-Cypriots as the chiasmatic site of abjection that structures postcolonial Cypriot culture and politics. Additionally, family graves and ancestral burial locations are the symbolic focal points of human attachments to place that are often associated with where one 'really belongs'. In other words, graves are often viewed as an integral part of the meaning of origin, and of the texture of identity, that not only reinforces a sense of belonging but also strengthens an individual's attachment to the community. As Francis, Kellaher, and Neophytou explain, 'Historic and present-day cemeteries, as liminal places, bridge notions of self and other, time and space, individuals and community, and past and present homeland. Such landscapes encode, reproduce, and initiate constructions of memory at individual, familial, and collective levels.'⁴⁵⁵ Since the partition of the island in 1974, the graves have ceased to be bridges between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities, becoming prime targets for the vandals of both sides. In southern and northern towns and villages, cemeteries of Muslim Turkish-Cypriot and Orthodox Christian Greek-Cypriot communities were desecrated and left in pieces, or even completely razed to the ground; headstones were knocked over or smashed; and ornaments were damaged. In addition to family graves and ancestral burial locations, mass graves were also spread over the island after the 1963-64 and 1974 intercommunal civil wars.

⁴⁵⁵ Doris Francis, Leonie Kellaher and Georgina Neophytou, 'The Cemetery: A Site for the Construction of Memory, Identity, and Ethnicity,' in *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 95.



Figure 23 – Ruhsar and Ahmet praying near the mass graves of the Turkish-Cypriots, including their family members. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Shadows and Faces*.

5.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has attempted to examine the relationship between the spectral realist aesthetics of Turkish new wave cinema and the postcolonial human geography of Cyprus with reference to the figure of the ‘haunted house’, which appears as the central theme in Zaim’s *Shadows and Faces*. In particular, the chapter has focused on how the spatial aspect of *haunting* in postcolonial Cyprus is depicted in Turkish new wave cinema. I began with an outline of the colonial/postcolonial history of Cyprus in order to highlight the historical and socio-political context of Zaim’s film. This was followed by another section on the theoretical framework of the chapter. In this section, I used Derrida’s hauntology as a deconstructive tool to develop a reading strategy for the film and to explain the central importance of the figure of the ‘haunted house’ in *Shadows and Faces*. In the third section, I provided a hauntological analysis of the lived spaces of the postcolonial Cyprus of Zaim’s film as affective domains of haunting. Around the concepts of security, hospitality, and belonging, I offered a close reading of how the phenomenological reality of ‘home’ is depicted in Zaim’s film as being haunted by the shadows of a mass atrocity to come, namely

being inherently unhomely for Turkish-Cypriots during the 1963-64 intercommunal civil war. Obviously, when presenting his displaced Turkish-Cypriot characters, Zaim adopts a post-colonialist definition of *home*, in which ‘the very notion of home is undecidable, at best an opening to an uncertain future; [and] this undecidability in the face of an incalculable future infects the Western narrative of progress with a sense that it is in fact going nowhere.’⁴⁵⁶

The chapter has argued that *Shadows and Faces* deconstructs the dominant geopolitical discourses about Cyprus by offering a human geographical approach, which translates into a postcolonial film aesthetics through the theme of the haunted house. With a spectral realist tendency, the director presents his characters’ perception of home and homelessness through what I called an ‘affective shadow map’ and offers his spectators an opportunity to feel the haunted domestic spaces of the island during the first ethnic conflict. In doing so, he challenges the geostrategic discourses about Cyprus that make the lived experiences of Cypriots invisible and inaudible. In particular, Derviş Zaim, as a Turkish new wave film director, delivers his own critical response to the ultra-nationalist, militarist, and expansionist discourse of Turkish Yeşilçam war films of the 1960s and 1970s, which was also supported by geopolitical and military maps of Cyprus appearing recurrently in these films. The director also shows us how ethnically defined mental borders had been constructed in the early 1960s before the emergence of a *de facto* border, the Green Line, between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots as a consequence of the oppression of Greek-Cypriot officials and irregulars. Returning to the questions posed at the beginning

⁴⁵⁶ John Phillips, ‘Lagging Behind: Bhabha, Post-Colonial Theory and the Future,’ in *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, ed. Steven H. Clark (New York, NY: Zed Books, 1999), 66.

of this chapter, it is now possible to state that *Shadows and Faces* is a film that offers an affective map of postcolonial Cyprus: the film attempts not only to deconstruct collective memory and geopolitical imaginaries, but also to show the Cypriots their own historically conditioned and changing affective lives and invite them to come to terms with their traumatic past, unfolding the shifting geography of home – from security to suspicion and fear, from hospitality to hostility, and from belonging to exile and homesickness.

The relevance of the theme of the ‘haunted house’ is clearly supported by the current findings. With a specific attention to the material, social, and emotional factors, the hauntological analysis of the lived spaces of postcolonial Cyprus in *Shadows and Faces* has shown that one’s security in one’s intimate space is not only disrupted by the intrusion of others but also by his own suspicion and fears. The second significant finding to emerge from this analysis is that hospitality, as depicted in the film, is destroyed primordially by one’s hostility and egoism. The third major finding was that the sense of belonging and being-at-home also bears the phantom of one’s exilic soul, namely man’s existential condition of *not-being-at-home*. Taken together, these results support the idea that space is a dynamic and responsive non-human character in Zaim’s cinema. In Zaim’s film, there is a bidirectional relationship between characters and spaces: characters are not only affected by spaces, but spaces are also structured by the feelings of characters. Referring to the dynamic space in his films, Zaim argues that space ‘travels in time;’ places are always haunted by the specters of past and future in his films because ‘space “travels” amidst various cultures and time

periods.’⁴⁵⁷ He also states, in relation to his feature *Mud*, that space appears as an independent ghost-like agent and responds to the actions of historically situated film characters that *dwell* or *travel* in it: ‘In the early sequences of *Mud*, I used space in accordance with the requirements of the motivations of my characters. But after a point, space begins to affect the motivations of characters in various ways and directions so much so that it reaches a level where space becomes independent from the characters and controls them [namely, makes them persons of odd or whimsical habits – C.A.]. I willed space to emerge as a distinct character in this film.’⁴⁵⁸ This is also true for *Shadows and Faces*. According to Zeynep Tül Akbal-Süalp, space in Zaim’s films is an agent that ‘constructs its own narrative’ in the ‘barest’ but ‘fuzziest’ manner; it is not a locus of ‘touristic or impressive pleasures,’ but a topography of ‘heart-searching, face-to-face encounter and desolation;’ it is a ‘deserted place’ that ‘conceals secrets’ and ‘speaks through silence,’ and an archaeological site of memory where ‘traces, history, griefs, sins’ are again and again ‘buried’ and ‘excavated.’⁴⁵⁹

The findings of this chapter suggest that Zaim’s cinematic thinking of ghosts-as-social-figures is closely associated with ‘places’ as they are experienced, lived, remembered, shared, and communally interpreted (e.g., haunted houses, ghost towns, uncanny landscapes, enclaves, caves, graveyards, vacant or abandoned locations, borders – which also evoke divided cities –, buffer zones, military zones, and emergency regions). By focusing on the aporetic

⁴⁵⁷ Derviş Zaim, ‘Çamur Bir Yeniden Doğuş Filmi [*Mud* is a Rebirth Film],’ interview by Nadir Öperli and Fırat Yücel, *Altyazı* 22 (October 2003): 34.

⁴⁵⁸ Zaim, ‘Çamur Bir Yeniden Doğuş Filmi [*Mud* is a Rebirth Film],’ interview, 34.

⁴⁵⁹ Zeynep Tül Akbal-Süalp, ‘Birkaç İtiraz; Bir Yönetmen Bir Film; ve Biraz Söylenme [Some Objections; A Director and A Film; and Some Mumbblings],’ *Antrakt* 77 (February 2004): 42.

moment of ‘disintegration’ in which Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots were still living together in mixed towns and villages, *Shadows and Faces* provides the most profound critique of the oversimplified binary approach of the Yeşilçam film tradition to the intercommunal relations of the early 1960s on Cyprus (i.e., Greek-Cypriot vs. Turkish-Cypriot). The film also provides important insights into the neglected sides in Yeşilçam’s one-dimensional, reductive approach – that is, how there was also an emotional interdependency between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots before the conflict, how living together in a shared social space for centuries became their ‘second nature’ in the most hybrid manner, and how an ethics of hospitality was unfailingly translated into the actions and vehicles of their communities. However, it should also be noted that the Turkish-Cypriot director shows us these facts without romanticising them. Zaim also draws our attention to the internal heterogeneity of the two communities being composed of persons of such various and opposite characters. In this sense, his film narrative is not based on a dialectical model of protagonist and antagonist. Instead, it allows us to observe the drastic change of conditions, moments of fissure and rupture, instances of polarisation, and processes of disintegration.

As I have argued elsewhere, in the cinematic landscapes of *Mud* and *Shadows and Faces*, ‘Zaim subtly creates a contrast between the spaces of security (borders and garrisons that signify disintegrated and alienated souls of the East Mediterranean after 1974) and the spaces of intimacy (homes, narrow streets and local spaces of shared life on the island before 1964) to emphasize the forced evolution of the friend/neighbour into the foe[/monster].’⁴⁶⁰ Taken together, these results suggest that the idea of home, as described in Zaim’s film, should not be

⁴⁶⁰ Arınç, ‘Curating Ghostly Objects: Counter-Memories in Cinematic Space,’ 187.

defined only with reference to the *totality of the self* ('possession', 'walls' and 'security', as Bachelard states), but also with reference to the *infinity of the other* ('hospitality' and 'welcome', as Levinas and Derrida propose). In other words, the Turkish-Cypriot director defends the primacy of the welcome over the walls, which means where there is no *unconditional hospitality*, in a Derridean sense, there can be no security and peace.

5.7. Credits

Title: *Shadows and Faces (Gölgeler ve Suretler)*

Director and Writer: Derviş Zaim

Cinematographer: Emre Erkmen

Producers: Derviş Zaim, Oktay Odabaşı, Sadık Ekinci, Marsel Kalvo and Emre Oskay

Production Companies: Marathon Filmcilik and Mars Production

Editor: Aylin Zoitiner

Costume Design: Hüseyin Özinal

Music: Marios Takoushis

Sound Design: Kostas Varibopiotis

Art Director: Elif Taşçıoğlu

Country and Year: Turkey and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, 2011

Languages: Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek with English subtitles

Filming Locations: Cyprus

Runtime: 116 min.

Release Date: 11 March 2011, Turkey

Actors: Hazar Ergüçlü (Ruhsar), Erol Refikoğlu (Karagözcü Salih, or Salih the Puppetman), Buğra Gülsoy (Ahmet), Popi Avraam (Anna), Osman Alkaş (Veli), Konstantin Gavriel (Hristo), Pantelis Antonas (Greek-Cypriot police officer), Settar Tanrıöğen (Cevdet), Cihan Tarıman (Rıza), Ahmet Karabiber (Dimitri), Derviş Zaim (Turkish-Cypriot commander)

Chapter 6 – Autothanatographical Voices: The Politics of Postcolonial Oral History in *Parallel Trips*

6.1. Introduction

Since the early 1930s, the island of Cyprus, mainly with its colonial and postcolonial histories, has been one of the most recurrent and controversial landscapes that has appeared in historical and political documentaries. However, what is remarkable in most of these films is that Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots are reduced to partly or completely silent figures in the film narrative; namely, that their voices are suppressed by an authoritative voice-over commentary and not allowed to be heard. Such documentary film practices intentionally ignore the experiences, memories, and voices of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, or present them selectively with a slant towards desired beliefs or value judgments. In so doing, these documentary films establish hegemonic master narratives, or the colonialist and ethno-nationalist ‘grand narratives,’ which are inherently contradictory and in competition with one another, being strictly connected to British, Greek, and Turkish official historical discourses.

This chapter explores the role of the ‘voice’ in the narrative construction of postcolonial, cosmopolitanist documentary film practice in Cyprus, in comparison with colonialist and ethno-nationalist documentary film practices about the history of the island. Specifically, I will be focusing on *Parallel Trips* (*Paralel Yolculuklar/ Ta parállila monopatía* [*Τα παράλληλα μονοπάτια*], 2004), an oral history documentary film about the 1974 second intercommunal civil war, co-directed by Derviş Zaim, Turkish-Cypriot director of *Mud* and *Shadows and*

Faces, and Panicos Chrysanthou, Greek-Cypriot director of *Akamas* and *Our Wall*. In this chapter, I will try to answer the following questions: What is the function of the voice in the construction of the autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives in *Parallel Trips*? Why is an oral historical approach in postcolonial documentary film practice relevant, even crucial, in forcing viewers to listen to the stories left out of official histories? And how can such a film offer a ‘contact zone’ between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities for belated encounters?

To determine the function of autobiographical and autothanatographical voices in *Parallel Trips*, it is important to first understand the context of the film since it does not stand on its own, but rather critically responds to the filmic legacies of colonialism and ethno-nationalisms. For this reason, in what follows I will examine the haunting voices in *Parallel Trips* in relation to the narrative voices of a well-known British colonial documentary film, *Cyprus is an Island* (Ralph Keene, 1946), and two remarkable postcolonial ethno-national documentary films with opposite positions on the history of Cyprus, *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus* (Michael Cacoyannis, 1975) and *The 50 Years of Cyprus* (*Kıbrıs'ın 50 Yılı*, Rengin Güner with Mehmet Ali Birand, 1999).

In this chapter, I argue that in *Parallel Trips* Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou deconstruct the colonial and ethno-nationalist film legacies by presenting the voices of Cypriots as signifiers of absent others. In other words, the directors use the voices of Cypriot survivors strategically in their film to conjure up the ghosts of the 1974 conflict to call for justice for the ‘absent others’ who have been the victims of an intercommunal civil war and a military intervention. The voices of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots along with autobiographical

and autothanatographical narratives in *Parallel Trips* point out what is missing, or absent, in the hegemonic voice-over commentaries and official historical master narratives of colonial and ethno-nationalist documentaries: the voice of Cypriots.

In the following sections, I will first outline the historical background of the 1974 intercommunal civil war in postcolonial Cyprus, which is necessary to understand the highly complex structure of the last intercommunal violence on the island in the postcolonial period as well as the role of Greece, Turkey, Britain, and United States in it. Next, I will offer a theoretical framework to guide the discussion on the narrative characteristics of Zaim and Chrysanthou's documentary film in this chapter, a framework that is rooted in Derrida's hauntology. I will then be able to analyse *Parallel Trips* along with the British colonial documentary film *Cyprus is an Island*, the Hellenic nationalist documentary film *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus*, and the Turkish nationalist documentary film *The 50 Years of Cyprus*.

6.2. Historical Overview: Second Intercommunal Civil War in Postcolonial Cyprus, 1974

The 1963-64 first intercommunal civil war led to a huge deterioration of interethnic relations between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots. Throughout the following years, the Turkish-Cypriot community, feeling insecure in the face of Greek and Greek-Cypriot oppression, moved to confined, self-declared autonomous enclaves scattered all over the island. Living under drastic socio-economic conditions in these enclaves, Turkish-Cypriots were protected by the Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT) and were surrounded by United Nations peacekeeping soldiers and an outer ring of Greek-Cypriot and Greek armed

forces. Under these circumstances of stalemate, another intercommunal conflict broke out again in 1967 when General Georgios Grivas, the Greek commander of the Cyprus National Guard, led an attack with his armed men against Turkish-Cypriots in the Kophinou (Geçitkale) and Ayios Theodoros (Boğaziçi) areas, about twenty-five kilometres southwest of Larnaca.⁴⁶¹ By the time the Greek-Cypriot armed forces withdrew, 26 Turkish-Cypriots had been killed.⁴⁶² Greek aggression towards Turkish-Cypriots also stirred up tension between Turkey and Greece. After the attack, Ankara issued an ultimatum and threatened to intervene unilaterally to protect the Turkish-Cypriot community unless the international community took stronger action. Turkey laid out a concrete list of demands, including the recall to Athens of General Georgios Grivas, the withdrawal of Greek troops from Cyprus, compensation for the deaths and damage in Kophinou (Geçitkale) and Ayios Theodoros (Boğaziçi), cessation of aggression against the Turkish-Cypriot community, and the disbandment of the Cyprus National Guard.⁴⁶³

The complexity of the situation in Cyprus between 1967 and 1974 can be explained by reviewing both the intercommunal and intracommunal relations in Cypriot society and the modern histories of Greece and Turkey, two allies of the United States. During the Cold War, especially in the period between the late 1960s and early 1970s, the United States was extremely concerned about the rise of leftist movements in both Greece and Turkey. In accordance with the Truman

⁴⁶¹ Clement Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 82-4.

⁴⁶² 'Cyprus: Intercommunal Violence,' The USA Library of Congress Country Studies, last modified January 1991, accessed July 8, 2014, [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+cy0023\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+cy0023)).

⁴⁶³ Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict*, 84-5.

Doctrine, Washington actively supported military coups and authoritarian governments in both countries to ensure that the two states did not fall under the influence of the Soviet Union. In 1967, a military junta of Greek Army colonels led by Colonel Georgios Papadopoulos staged a successful *coup d'état* that abruptly ended democratic rule in Greece, while in 1971, a group of Turkish generals similarly launched a *coup d'état*, putting Turkey under the control of a military government. These two military coups on either side of the Aegean brought about a radicalisation of the nationalist and anti-communist discourses of both the Greek and the Turkish governments.⁴⁶⁴ As a consequence, given the assumed roles of Greece and Turkey as 'motherlands' of the island, the unstoppable rise of far right views in both countries have had incredibly devastating effects on the escalation of political tensions between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities as well as on the escalation of tension between the far right- and far left-wing groups within each community. Throughout the decades of Cold War, communists and left-wing groups in both Greece and Turkey were considered Soviets proxies, people disloyal to the national government, and a threat to the ethno-national identity of their respective nations. Communists, in turn, developed their own concept of 'treason', describing far right-wing groups as compradors of the capitalist West.

At a time when the spiritual and ideological disintegration within each of the Cypriot communities was accelerating, President Archbishop Makarios, despite being a right-wing nationalist, preferred to adopt a comparatively tolerant stance towards the Greek-Cypriot leftists, aiming to unite the Greek-Cypriot

⁴⁶⁴ Leonidas Karakatsanis, *Turkish-Greek Relations: Rapprochement, Civil Society and the Politics of Friendship* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 44-5, also see 'Part I: Spectres of the "Left"' in this book, 33-136.

community under the banner of national unity. He employed the leftists in the civil service and police force and this gesture was a strategic step in exceeding the limits of ideological antagonism, which Makarios thought would help save the nation from total ruin. However, this attempt was not welcomed by the Greek-Cypriot far right and the Greek junta in Athens, and was interpreted as treasonable and an insult to national values and identity. These two types of Hellenic nationalism gradually took root within the Greek-Cypriot community in the late 1960s and early 1970s, creating an intra-Greek conflict.⁴⁶⁵ In addition to the on-going intercommunal strife between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, poisonous ideological rhetoric, political murders, and repeated assassination attempts by the far right against President Makarios deepened the chaos in the already violence-scarred country. The situation became even worse after Makarios made an official visit to the Soviet Union in 1971 to further develop the political, economic, and cultural relations between the two countries. This meeting was followed by another in 1972 in which the leaders of Cyprus and the Soviets signed a cultural agreement. During this period, the far right became ever more infuriated and increased their accusations against Makarios: they accused him of abandoning the sacred cause of *enosis* and heading towards communism. Obviously, these were serious matters which may easily have led the members of the far right to become involved in illegal and violent activities.

With a desire to change the direction of political life on the island, the core members of the far right established EOKA-B in 1969, an underground terrorist organisation that declared itself to be the successor of the anti-colonial EOKA of

⁴⁶⁵ Nicos Peristianis, 'Cypriot Nationalism, Dual Identity, and Politics,' in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, ed. Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 103-4.

the 1950s whose aim was to unite Cyprus with Greece at all costs. During this period, a group of primarily junta-sympathising Greek officers got hold of power in the Greek-Cypriot National Guard, meaning that Makarios was losing control of his army. He thereupon decided to establish a loyal auxiliary force, which he endeavoured to arm with the aid of the Greek-Cypriot leftists by purchasing weapons from Czechoslovakia. Fresh from such a dangerous manoeuvre, which was nothing more than a death warrant for him, the Archbishop was identified by the West as ‘the Castro of the Mediterranean.’ In 1973, the military regime in Greece was overthrown by more extremist military officers, led by Dimitrios Ioannidis, who took a much stronger position in the enotist cause. The Ioannidis regime, adopting an increasingly aggressive line, put pressure on the reluctant Makarios to implement the junta’s plan for *enosis*. In response, in early July 1974, Makarios wrote an open letter to General Phaedon Gizikis, president of the Greek military regime, complaining that ‘cadres of the Greek military regime support and direct the activities of the EOKA-B terrorist organisation.’⁴⁶⁶ Furthermore, he demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Greek military officers controlling the Cypriot National Guard.

Ioannidis responded in the most violent way possible: On 15 July 1974, the Cyprus National Guard, under the command of the Greek junta in Athens, launched a bloody coup that ousted Makarios and his government. After the coup, Nikos Sampson, the most notorious of the anti-Turkish and ultra-nationalist EOKA terrorists, was appointed President of Cyprus by the Greek junta, but managed to remain in this *de facto* position for only eight days. Most Cypriots

⁴⁶⁶ Cited in Jan Asmussen, *Cyprus at War: Diplomacy and Conflict during the 1974 Crisis* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 18.

were horrified when, on 15 July 1974, they heard an unfamiliar and dry voice making a terrible announcement on the radio: ‘There has been a coup against the government of this island today and President Makarios is dead. The new “president” who replaces him is Nikos Sampson!’ Soon after this repeated announcement, they heard the frightening voice of Nikos Sampson declaring on Nicosia radio: ‘In the name of God and the people, and in the name of the Armed Forces, I have assumed the Presidency of Cyprus.’ In fact, Makarios miraculously escaped from death and fled to the British base at Akrotiri and then, with British help, left the island. On Tuesday, 16 July, the British flew Makarios from Cyprus to Malta in the western Mediterranean and then on to London, where he arrived on 17 July. During the radio announcements, Makarios was in a borrowed car, heading first to Kykko after the coup. When the Archbishop arrived in the ancient monastery of Kykko where he had begun his training for the priesthood at the age of thirteen, the brother monks seemed petrified at the sight of this ‘dead man’. To begin with, they considered him a saint whose ‘ghost’ had appeared to them in a vision after his death. Only a few minutes after the first moment of encounter did they come to realise that Makarios was not dead. Makarios, in response, was also surprised when he heard that his death had already been reported on the radio news. There was no time to waste, so the Archbishop drove to the coastal town of Paphos, where he broadcast to his people, with a haunting voice, from a radio station: ‘Cypriots! You know this voice. You know who is speaking... It is I, Makarios. I am the one you chose to be your leader... I am not dead as the junta in Athens and its representatives here wanted. I am alive. And I am with you, to fight and carry the flag in our common struggle. The junta’s coup has failed.’

In response to the coup, Turkey asked Britain to halt the Greek intervention, but the British seemed unwilling to become involved in a military intervention and declined to take action as a guarantor power. The United States, ostensibly preoccupied with the Watergate scandal, also chose to avoid direct involvement and seemed content with merely sending its representative Joseph Sisco to try to mediate the crisis. On 18 July, Ankara sent an ultimatum to Athens demanding the immediate removal of Nikos Sampson, the withdrawal of all Greek soldiers from the island, and a binding guarantee of Cypriot independence. While the negotiations between the Greek junta, the US representative, and the Turkish government were ongoing, Turkish warships were already at sea. A last-minute reversal in the Turkish government's strategy might have been possible if the government in Athens had made concessions to Turkey on the issue; however, they did not comply, mistakenly believing that the United States would not allow the Turks to intervene militarily. On 20 July, Turkey invoked Article 4 of the Treaty of Guarantee and began sending troops by sea and air to the Kyrenia (Girne) area of the island. On the same day, the military junta in Greece collapsed and was replaced by a civilian government under Konstantinos Karamanlis, a veteran Greek statesman. Turkish troops landed in the Turkish-Cypriot enclave of Nicosia and areas to the north and west. On 14 August, Turkey launched its second military operation, which resulted in the Turkish occupation of over a third of the island.

During the coup, conflicts had taken place not only at an international level, but also in inter-communal and intra-communal levels. The Turkish military intervention came after a downward spiral into intra-communal violence within the Greek-Cypriot community between the supporters of Makarios, who followed

a pro-independence policy, and of Grivas, who actively promoted the cause of *enosis*. Furthermore, extensive mass killings had occurred all over the island, including the revenge killing of hostages on both sides. Massacres were also committed against the Turkish-Cypriot community: On 14 August 1974, 126 people were killed by Greek-Cypriots in the Maratha (Muratağa), Santalaris (Sandallar), and Aloda (Atlılar) massacres, which were described by the United Nations as a ‘crime against humanity committed by the Greek and Greek-Cypriot gunmen.’⁴⁶⁷ None of the Turkish-Cypriots living in these villages, except a few people from Maratha (Muratağa) and Aloda (Atlılar), managed to escape from the massacres. All the victims were killed and buried in mass graves by bulldozers. On the same days, another massacre occurred in the village of Tochni (Dohni, or later Taşkent), where 84 Turkish-Cypriot inhabitants were killed.⁴⁶⁸ Turkey’s military intervention in Cyprus in 1974 also led to the loss of thousands of lives and forced displacement of many Greek-Cypriot refugees as well as a population exchange and the *de facto* partition of the island which persists to this day. In July and August 1974, it was estimated that over 160,000 Greek-Cypriots from the north and some 43,000 Turkish-Cypriots from the south were displaced, 12,000 Greek-Cypriots and 2,000 Turkish-Cypriots wounded, and around 6,000 Greek-Cypriots and 1,500 Turkish-Cypriots killed. Furthermore, 1,619 Greek-Cypriots and 803 Turkish-Cypriots have been officially listed as missing since the 1974 conflict.⁴⁶⁹ Having concluded the outline of the historical background of the 1974

⁴⁶⁷ United Nations, Office of Public Information, *UN Monthly Chronicle* 11 (1974): 98.

⁴⁶⁸ Zaim M. Necatigil, *The Cyprus Question and the Turkish Position in International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 84, 86; Iosif Kovras, *Truth Recovery and Transitional Justice: Deferring Human Rights Issues* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 64.

⁴⁶⁹ Farid Mirbagheri, *Historical Dictionary of Cyprus* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2010), 43; Paul Sant Cassia, *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus*

Second Intercommunal Civil War, I want to move on to the theoretical framework of the chapter.

6.3. Theoretical Theme: Voices of the (Absent) Other in Oral History Documentary Film

Derrida's hauntology offers a deconstructive methodology to study the ethical aspects of history, in which identity is always haunted by the spectral traces of absent, lost, dead others. According to this new philosophical category of ghost and haunting, the call for justice emerges in the disjointed time and haunted space, and mostly through the resonance of 'spectral voices.' For early Derrida, *voice* is understood as the key figure of self-presence, self-transparency, and self-possession: the vocal expression, Derrida argues in his *Voice and Phenomenon* and *Of Grammatology*, is viewed in the Western philosophical tradition as the basis of what he calls 'the metaphysics of presence,' and as the founding element of phonocentrism and logocentrism. Voice, in Derrida's own words, is a medium in which '[the ideal object is] constituted, repeated, and expressed;' namely, it is 'a medium that does not impair the presence and the self-presence of the acts that intend it.' In other words, voice is the element of consciousness, 'whose phenomenality does not have the form of mundanity.' That is, '*The voice is the name of this element. The voice hears itself.*'⁴⁷⁰ For late Derrida, however, voice, as he claims in *Specters of Marx* and in his later works, is not the transcendent signifier of an autonomous self, but, gaining an ethical status, it is explained as

(Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 23; Eugene K. Keefe, *Cyprus: A Country Study*, Foreign Area Studies (Washington, DC: American University, 1980), 222; Cynthia Cockburn, *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus* (New York: Zed Books, 2004), 65.

⁴⁷⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Voice and Phenomenon: Introduction to the Problem of the Sign in Husserl's Phenomenology*, trans. Leonard Lawlor (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2011), 65.

‘the rumbling sound of ghosts,’ namely the articulation of ghostly presence, or of absent others, which troubles self-presence and refers it to a break.⁴⁷¹ Within such an ethical framework, the call for justice, the absolute responsibility to the other, that Derrida embraces along with Levinas, Benjamin, and Marx, is introduced by the ‘voices’ of those who are already dead or who are forced to live like zombies (living-dead) in the social world, being subjugated, oppressed and disadvantaged, such as women, children, racial and sexual minorities, survivors of wars and genocides, and victims of colonialist, nationalist, racist, and sexist violence. As Elisabeth Weber points out, the most important motivation ‘for Derrida’s “hauntology” is the urgency to open a space in which the absence of the others’ smothered voices is given a room of resonance, and in which, therefore, perhaps, other voices may, perhaps, find breath.’⁴⁷²

In the context of a hauntology of film and media, Derrida claims that not the image, as usually assumed, but rather the voice is the most central element of *televisual presence*, a form of ghostly presence in which the image is linked to the voice and, in like manner also, the voice is linked to a live event: ‘What is most new, most powerful in what we are discussing here is not so much the production and transmission of images, but of the voice. If one holds the voice to be an auto-affective medium (a medium that presents itself as being auto-affective, even if it isn’t), an element of absolute presence, then the fact of being able to keep the voice of someone who is dead or radically absent, of being able to record, I mean reproduce and transmit, the voice of the dead or of the absent-living, is an

⁴⁷¹ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 2006), 3.

⁴⁷² Elisabeth Weber, ‘Suspended from the Other’s Heartbeat,’ *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 106:2, Special Issue: Late Derrida, ed. Ian Balfour (Spring 2007): 336.

unheard-of possibility, unique and without precedent.⁴⁷³ ‘Whatever comes to us through the voice [...] reproduced in its originary production,’ Derrida goes on to say, ‘is marked by a seal of authenticity and of presence that no image could ever equal.’⁴⁷⁴ Voice is what gives the unheard-of authority and credulity to television, an authority which stems from the fact that ‘the artificial and synthetic recomposition of a voice is much less suspect than is that of an image;’ namely, ‘synthetic voices are familiar, but a voice still arouses suspicion much less easily, less spontaneously, than an image.’⁴⁷⁵ Derrida concludes that ‘the power of television is vocal, at least as much as radio.’⁴⁷⁶ Then he goes one step further and suggests that ‘the spectrality of a reproduced voice,’ especially the voice of a dead person, ‘a voice from beyond the grave [*par une voix d’outre-tombe*],’ can transform the very structure of cinematic haunting by displaying the event of speaking or singing itself:

The ‘vocal’ image is the image of a living production and not of an object as spectacle. In this sense, it is not even an image any longer, but the re-production of the thing itself, of production itself. I am always overwhelmed when I hear the voice of someone who is dead, as I am not when I see a photograph or an image of the dead person. [...] Life itself can be archived and spectralised in its self-affection, because one knows that when someone speaks he affects himself, whereas when someone presents himself to be seen he does not necessarily see himself. In the voice, self-affection itself is (supposedly) recorded and communicated. And this supposition forms the essential thread of our listening. I am speaking here of the voice, not of sonority in general; of the song, for example, and not of music in general. [...] I can also be touched, *presently*, by the recorded speech of someone who is dead. I can, *here and now*, be affected by a voice from beyond the

⁴⁷³ Jacques Derrida, ‘Above All, No Journalists!’ in *Religion and Media*, ed. Hendrik de Vries and Samuel Weber (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 70.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 70-1.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

grave [*par une voix d'outre-tombe*]. All that is needed is to hear, *here and now*, what was, in the restored present of a self-affection, the listening-to-oneself-speaking or the listening-to-oneself-singing of the other dead: as another living present.⁴⁷⁷

In an interview in *Cahiers du cinéma*, Derrida also defines ‘voice’ as the most pre-eminent element of ghostly presence in film.⁴⁷⁸ He argues with regard to cinema that ‘the recording of the voice is one of the most important phenomena of the twentieth century’ to the extent ‘it gives to living presence a possibility of “being there” anew that is without equal and without precedent.’⁴⁷⁹ The archived voice of the other, especially, in the context of this chapter, the ‘haunting voices’ of survivors (of an ethnic conflict, of a massacre or genocide, for instance), who tell about their lived experiences and testimonies of the catastrophic events of the past, in an oral history documentary film might be figured as the speech of a ‘ghost’ as well: survivors speak not only for themselves but also on behalf of the victims, the dead ones; they speak to call for justice for the absent others, including both the dead and the missing ones; they speak to create counter-memories; they offer autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives to disturb and deconstruct the grand narratives of official histories; they tell first person ghost stories to conjure up the voices of the absent others. In an oral history documentary film, in this sense, each survivor who narrates his own traumatic experiences and testimonies might be considered as a ‘phantom [who] continues to speak [...]; [a specter who] does not respond [...]; [a revenant] whose

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 71-2.

⁴⁷⁸ Jacques Derrida, ‘Le cinéma et ses fantômes,’ interviewed by Antoine de Baeque and Thierry Jousse, *Cahiers du cinéma* 556 (April 2001): 74-85; cited in Michael Naas, *Miracle and Machine: Jacques Derrida and the Two Sources of Religion, Science and the Media* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2012), 142.

⁴⁷⁹ Derrida, ‘Le cinéma et ses fantômes,’ 81; cited in Naas, *Miracle and Machine*, 142.

voice outlives its moment of recording.⁴⁸⁰ With their videotaped testimonies as well as autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives, they establish alternative archives to the official histories, hence create what Benjamin calls ‘the tradition of the oppressed,’ a new tradition and culture.⁴⁸¹ Their voices demand from the viewer that they be listened to; only after this, one could realise that ‘a spectral response [...] is always possible.’⁴⁸² Derrida adds, ‘there would be neither history nor tradition nor culture without that possibility.’⁴⁸³

The autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives of survivors in an oral history documentary film, which chronicles the lesser known, dark pages of history, open up a liminal space between life and death, self and other, foreign and familiar. In so doing, they do not only add a new dimension to our current forms of knowing the past, but more than that, their spectral force may also challenge what we think we know. At this point, I need to give an account of ‘autothanatography’ and to explain how I use it in the context of this chapter: it is a term developed by the French philosophers Jacques Derrida,⁴⁸⁴ Louis Marin,⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 62.

⁴⁸¹ Walter Benjamin, ‘Theses on the Philosophy of History,’ in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zorn (New York, NY: Schocken, 1969), 257.

⁴⁸² Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 62.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 62-3.

⁴⁸⁴ Jacques Derrida, *The Ear of the Other: Otobiography, Transference, Translation: Texts and Discussions with Jacques Derrida*, ed. Christie V. McDonald, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1985), 19, 45; Jacques Derrida, *The Postcard: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 273, 333, 393.

⁴⁸⁵ Louis Marin, ‘Montaigne’s Tomb, or Autobiographical Discourse,’ *Oxford Literary Review* 4:3 (1981): 43–58; Louis Marin, *To Destroy Painting*, trans. Mette Hjort (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

and Maurice Blanchot,⁴⁸⁶ who suggest a new reading of the autobiographical writings via the lens of *thanatos* (death). Simply, the term refers to the self- (*auto-*) writing (*graphy*) of death (*thanatos*), or the writing of one's own death, which replaces the self- (*auto-*) writing (*graphy*) of life (*bios*); in other words, it was coined to designate narratives that focus on death, or first-person texts that 'confront illness and death by performing a life at a limit of its own, or another's, undoing.'⁴⁸⁷ Jeremy Tambling suggests that death, rather than life, informs our conception of the self in the present: 'it might be better if we started with the assumption of death working through the living, and not dissociated, therefore, from our sense of the present.'⁴⁸⁸ But, at this point, a serious question raises its head regarding the perplexing meaning of autothanatography. As Simon Critchley points out, 'in phenomenological terms, death is not the object or meaningful fulfilment of an intentional act; it is not the *noema* of a *noesis*. Death is ungraspable and exceeds both intentionality and the correlative structures of phenomenology.'⁴⁸⁹ In which case, how can autothanatography be possible if no one can write on the experience of his own death? E. S. Burt glosses the meaning of autothanatography as follows: 'the thrust of autothanatography is the invention of a testimony of "what I do not know," and the exploration of subjectivity's survival through the interior landscapes the I discovers as a result of its attention

⁴⁸⁶ Maurice Blanchot, *The Instant of My Death*, bound with Jacques Derrida, *Demeure: Fiction and Testimony*, trans. Elizabeth Rottenberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

⁴⁸⁷ Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, second ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 261.

⁴⁸⁸ Jeremy Tambling, *Becoming Posthumous: Life and Death in Literary and Cultural Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), ix.

⁴⁸⁹ Simon Critchley, *Very Little . . . Almost Nothing: Death, Philosophy, Literature*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), 31.

to the other left out.’⁴⁹⁰ Louis Marin also purports to solve the problem in the following way:

After all, how can the Deceased speak? Given that he is dead, how can he say in the here and now, ‘I died’? Nor is the situation rendered any less puzzling by substituting ‘I have lived’ for ‘I died.’ For we know all too well that the cogito of death, like my death, is unsayable. I can only pronounce myself dead through an act of retrospective anticipation, through a ruse of writing. Writing allows me to claim that I will be dead by the time you *will read* the utterance ‘I died.’ Here and now, then, ‘I died’ essentially means ‘I will have died.’ What we have here is the paradox of autobiography, a paradox linked to the fact that I cannot enunciate the concluding or final sentence. This impossibility is a consequence of my being, at the end of my life history, my own narrator. Someone else, then, must read what I have written while I become, for myself, an ‘it,’ a nonperson, something without a name in any language, the cadaver in the tomb.⁴⁹¹

Regarding the impossibility of the writing of one’s own death, Derrida says that ‘it is here that the “terribly” becomes necessary in a certain way, since anyone who would “speak truthfully of himself” cannot avoid being brought to the very edge where he encounters (as he disappears into) the impossible.’⁴⁹² Derrida argues that we face the dynamic of the impossible not only in autothanatography but also in autobiography; for him, autobiography and autothanatography are inevitably related to each other: ‘the autobiography, the autography, [and] the autothanatography [...] are all inseparable.’⁴⁹³ He suggests that we should consider autothanatography as ‘a *différance* of autobiography.’⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁰ E. S. Burt, *Regard for the Other: Autothanatography in Rousseau, De Quincey, Baudelaire, and Wilde* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2009), 10.

⁴⁹¹ Louis Marin, *To Destroy Painting*, trans. Mette Hjort (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 84.

⁴⁹² Derrida, *The Ear of the Other*, 72.

⁴⁹³ Derrida, *The Postcard*, 273.

⁴⁹⁴ Derrida, *The Ear of the Other*, 19.

For Derrida, the autobiography is as impossible as the autothanatography because the self is not present to itself, namely because an unfinished life cannot be fully grasped. In his own words, ‘my life, this “that I live,” the “I-live” in the present [...] is [but] a pre-judgment, a sentence, a hasty arrest, a risky prediction. This life will be verified only at the moment the bearer of the name, the one whom we, in our prejudice, call living, will have died.’⁴⁹⁵ Overall, Derrida contends that for any form of the writing of ‘bios’, a writing of ‘thanatos’ is needed because any life intrinsically implies a death as counterbalance. Hence the biography necessitates a thanatography; and the autobiography necessitates the autothanatography as well. Louis Marin, like Derrida, also points to the ghostly relationship between life-writing and death-writing: ‘the enigma of autobiography, the inscription of a living self, [...] is perhaps nothing more than the relation established through absence between an autobiographical subject and an autothanatographic subject.’⁴⁹⁶ He goes on to say that autobiography can be considered as a form of autothanatography in the sense that ‘the autobiographical subject must assume a certain form in order to become present through representation.’⁴⁹⁷ Indeed, autothanatography as the art of death-writing is nothing more than an uncanny *ars moriendi*; it is the autobiography in *articulo mortis*.⁴⁹⁸ In the context of the oral history documentary film, I use the notion of a cinematic writing of death in two senses: firstly, the narrative of the confrontation of the self (the survivor) with the possibility of its own death (the almost-death) during a civil war, massacre, or

⁴⁹⁵ Derrida, *The Ear of the Other*, 9.

⁴⁹⁶ Louis Marin, *To Destroy Painting*, trans. Mette Hjort (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 40.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. Ivan Callus, ‘Comparatism and (Auto)thanatography: Death and Mourning in Blanchot, Derrida, and Tim Parks,’ *Comparative Critical Studies* 1:3 (2004): 337–358.

genocide; and secondly, the narrative of the confrontation of the self (the survivor) with the actual death of the other (the victim). Overall, I argue that the survivors as interviewees in an oral history documentary film cinematically write the almost-death of themselves as well as the death of others through their ‘voices.’

In this chapter I claim that the nature of autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives in oral history documentaries can be examined more fully by paying particular attention to narrative voice. A survivor’s recorded voice on film constitutes a special form of ‘graphia’ in the sense that it reveals the ghostly traces of self-narrations in the living present. Besides the content, the voices of survivors, the tone in which they speak, the facial expressions and emotions displayed in the interviews, and the hesitation in responding is also significant. The cinematic ghost of the other, who has been invisible through political violence, oppression, and propaganda machines of the state, calls for justice and demands attention through its haunting. Opening this liminal space of a justice-to-come, the cinematic specter in an oral history documentary speaks to us through a nagging memory, obsession, and voice: the voice of the speaking other resonates in the filmic medium on behalf of the absent others. Voices of survivors and their stories function as what Derrida calls a conjuration, or a ‘magical incantation,’ which causes something to happen:

‘Conjuration’ signifies [...] the magical incantation destined to evoke, to bring forth with the voice, to convoke a charm or a spirit. Conjuration says in sum the appeal that causes to come forth with the voice and thus it makes come, by definition, what is not there at the present moment of the appeal. This voice does not describe, what it says certifies nothing; its words cause something to happen.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁹ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 50.

In an oral history documentary film about a catastrophic past event like postcolonial ethnic violence, viewers are presented with videotaped testimonies of survivors, who tell their autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives and difficult experiences in their own mother tongue and voice. Describing the event from the individual's point of view, these videotaped testimonies provide a phenomenological perspective, and in so doing, radically transform the historical knowledge from the abstract level of statistical data and concepts into the concrete level of affection and the life and death stories of survivors and their families. However, videotaped oral testimony does not only shift the discursive ground of the event of the ethnic conflict away from the mythological plane of ethno-nationalisms and geostrategic perspective of official histories towards the more auspicious territory of first-person experience, but it can also create a more spontaneous, improvised, affective, and perhaps more sincere atmosphere than the textual medium. Unlike a written testimony, which establishes a one-directional and monological relationship with its readers, oral testimony in film is a performative and communicative act of speaking that builds an interactive and dialogical relationship between the witness, who describes his or her own experiences of a catastrophic past event as he or she remembers it, and the interviewer, who probes the details of that past event on the basis of the witness's account. Videotaped testimonies not only capture the semantic or linguistic content of speech, but also allow us to observe the physiological and psychological state of the speaker through gestures, tones of voice, pauses in the flow of speech, facial expressions, and body language, all of which cannot be expressed in text. These features, in general, add a pre-reflective, pre-linguistic,

and emotional dimension to the narrative, lend the stories of survivors an affective power of haunting, and leave lasting impressions on the audience; and the voice of the other, in particular, *touches* the audience, exceeding the limits of time and space. In the following sections, I will examine the vocal dimension of haunting and its role in narrative construction in selected examples of the colonial, ethno-national, and post-national documentary film legacies of Cyprus.

6.4. Cultural Context: Voices and Silences of Cypriots in Colonialist, Ethno-Nationalist and Cosmopolitanist Documentary Films

A number of documentary films have been made in Cyprus during the colonial and postcolonial periods about the history of the island. The feature that distinguishes the non-fiction films of these two periods is that they deal with the disjunctive and complex temporalities of colonial and post-colonial experiences. First of all, one should notice that the colonial documentary films mostly depict the ‘present time’ of a developing country. *Almost Arcady* (1930), a 10-minute black and white colonial travelogue that deals with the life and work of the peasants of the island, has been recorded as the first documentary film shot on Cyprus. This short documentary film ‘consists of material shot for the 1929 film *Cyprus*, [which was later] re-edited with a sound commentary.’⁵⁰⁰ The film was followed, in the colonial period, by other documentaries or amateur film footage such as *Cyprus Goes to War* (1941), *Victory Parade* (1946), *The Land of Cyprus*

⁵⁰⁰ *Almost Arcady*, filmmaker unknown, 35mm, 10 minutes, Great Britain, 1930; held by the British Film Institute (ID: 114351); available on *The Colonial Film: Moving Images of the British Empire* website, accessed July 8, 2014, <http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/4530>.

(1950), *By Air to Cyprus and Athens* (1953), and *Report on Cyprus* (1955).⁵⁰¹ Secondly, postcolonial documentary films are also about the present time of the island, but this present is a disjointed one in which a colonial and postcolonial past persists: these films mostly deal with the ‘memory’ of catastrophic past events, i.e. intercommunal civil wars and partition, as we see in *The Green Line, Part 1: Memories of Cyprus, 1920–1974, Part 2: Divide and Rule* (Ronis Varlaam and Simon Heaven, Great Britain, 1985), *Our Wall* (*To teixos mas* [*To τείχος μας*]/ *Bizim Duvarımız*, Panicos Chrysanthou and Niyazi Kızılyürek, Republic of Cyprus and Germany, 1993), *Unwitnessed Memories* (*Aviotes mnimes* [*Αβίωτες μνήμες*], Athena Xenidou, Republic of Cyprus, 2000), and *Voice of Blood I* and *Voice of Blood II: Searching for Selden* (*Foni aimatos* [*Φωνή αίματος*] aka *Kan Sesi*, Antonis ‘Tony’ Angastiniotis, Republic of Cyprus, 2004). In the following sections, I will first review *Cyprus is an Island* (Ralph Keene, 1946), the most well-known example of the colonial documentary film corpus, with a specific focus on the voice-over commentary associated with the colonial master narrative. Then I will provide a critical reading of *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus* (Michael Cacoyannis, 1975) and *The 50 Years of Cyprus* (Rengin Güner with Mehmet Ali Birand, 1999), two remarkable postcolonial ethno-national documentary films with opposite positions on the history of Cyprus, and will discuss the ethno-nationalist forms of selective memory and silencing. Finally, I will provide a close reading of Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s *Parallel Trips* to show how

⁵⁰¹ For further information about the history of documentary film in Cyprus: Elizabeth Anne Davis, ‘Archive, Evidence, Memory, Dream: Documentary Films on Cyprus,’ in *Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict and Identity in the Margins of Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

Zaim and Chrysanthou provide a critical postcolonial and post-national response to both the colonial and ethno-national film legacies.

6.5. Film Analyses

6.5.1. Absent Voices of Cypriots in British Colonialist Documentary Film:

Cyprus is an Island

Cyprus is an Island is a 1946 documentary film that appears as a colonial film travelogue, a stereotypical example of the British colonial film culture in which the lived experiences of the colonised is rendered inaudible, invisible, or *purely absent*.⁵⁰² The documentary, premiered in 1946 at the Curzon Cinema in London, was directed by Ralph Keene, scripted by the English poet Laurie Lee, narrated by Valentine Dyll, produced by Greenpark Productions, and sponsored for the British Colonial Office by the Ministry of Information. Many British filmmakers, travel writers, painters, and artists visited Cyprus between late 1870s and mid-1970s and mostly embodied what Mary Louise Pratt calls the ‘imperial eyes’ in their literary and visual representations of Cyprus.⁵⁰³ Director Ralph Keene and

⁵⁰² *Cyprus is an Island*, Ralph Keene, 35mm, 34 minutes, Great Britain, 1946; available on *The Colonial Film: Moving Images of the British Empire* website, accessed February 2, 2014, <http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/4511>. Also see Laurie Lee and Ralph Keene, *We Made a Film in Cyprus* (London: Longmans Green and Company, 1947); Laurie Lee, ‘Scripting the Film,’ in Lee and Keene, *We Made a Film in Cyprus*, 1–57; Ralph Keene, ‘Filming the Script,’ in Lee and Keene, *We Made a Film in Cyprus*, 58–76. For further information about the history of British colonial film production: James Burns, *Cinema and Society in the British Empire, 1895–1940* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 93–132; Rosaleen Smyth, ‘The Development of British Colonial Film Policy, 1927–1939,’ *Journal of African History* 20:3 (1979): 437–450; Rosaleen Smyth, *Propaganda, Development and the British Colonial Film Unit, 1939–45* (Canberra, ACT: Burgmann College, Australian National University [Press], 1985); John Grierson et al., *The Film in Colonial Development: A Report of a Conference* (London: British Film Institute, 1948); Priya Jaikumar, *Cinema at the End of Empire: A Politics of Transition in Britain and India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

⁵⁰³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008).

script-writer Laurie Lee were also among cinematographers of the British Colonial Film Unit who were sent to Cyprus to capture the sights and sites of exotic cultural landscapes. As Pratt suggests, European colonial travel writers (and we can also add here European colonial filmmakers), ‘whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess,’ mostly described the landscape of colonised countries like a painting.⁵⁰⁴ Indeed, Cyprus was not an exception to this fact: through the colonial gaze of, in particular, male, British authors and filmmakers, the landscape of the Mediterranean island had been aesthetically arranged, attributed with a density of meaning, and fixed by the mastery of the seer over the seen in the colonial travel narratives and films. As Pratt states, such a ‘monarch-of-all-I-survey scene, [...] involve[s] particularly explicit interaction between aesthetics and ideology, in what one might call a rhetoric of presence.’⁵⁰⁵ Rita Severis also indicates in her study of traveling artists in Cyprus that the ‘imperial eyes’ that dominated the travelogues of the British visitors also permeated visual arts and other practices, including film, which constituted the British colonial visual culture of Cyprus.⁵⁰⁶ A number of special correspondents, photographers, and painters, along with professional and amateur artists and filmmakers from the military ranks, had been sent to the island between 1878 and 1960, and they projected ‘the island in exotic terms with Orientalist features, interesting topography and of course with their presence clearly noticeable.’⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., 7.

⁵⁰⁵ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 204-5.

⁵⁰⁶ Rita C. Severis, *Travelling Artists in Cyprus, 1700–1956* (London: Philip Wilson, 2000); Rita C. Severis, ‘Travelling Artists in Cyprus: Art, Identity and Politics,’ in *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878–2006*, ed. Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis (Mannheim and Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006), 381–412.

⁵⁰⁷ Severis, ‘Travelling Artists in Cyprus,’ 381.



Figure 24 – Screenshots from Ralph Keene’s colonial film travelogue *Cyprus is an Island* (1946).

In *Cyprus is an Island*, the ‘imperial eye,’ or the ‘colonial gaze,’ of the camera is also supported by an authoritative omniscient ‘voice-over’ that addresses the audience directly. The disembodied male voice of the narrator also seems very suitable given that the history of the island is told from the viewpoint of the British empire which renders the voices of the colonised Cypriots inaudible. Indeed, with an expository mode, the documentary manifests a politics of silencing, or a colonial approach to Cyprus and Cypriots, pressing insistently upon its viewers to read the images in a certain fashion, and including no interviews with Greek- or Turkish-Cypriots. The colonised Cypriot subjects are spoken for because they cannot speak for themselves; their mostly ‘silent’ representations in the master narrative of the film are therefore predicated on what Edward Said calls ‘the gross political fact’ of colonialist enterprise.⁵⁰⁸ The ‘absence’ of the Cypriots in history is repeated throughout the narrator’s commentary.

There are three main characteristics that should be clarified to identify the film and its politics of silencing; namely, touristic scopophilia, class stratification, and territorial imperative, which together unfold the colonial perception of the island. Firstly, a *touristic scopophilia* prevails in the master narrative of the film,

⁵⁰⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin, 1995), 11.

representing capitalistic perception of the island which colonialist travelers have of it. The film opens with a lyricism of touristic images, shots of stunning landscapes in Cyprus including the most glamorous coastlines and mountain views, attractive ancient ruins, medieval Gothic monuments, and ethnographic elements, making lesser known ‘beauties’ of the island visible to British middle-class audiences. As Ali Behdad argues, this touristic consciousness as an expression of cultural domination by the industrial nations redefines the meaning of colonial hegemony at a different level in the age of decolonisation and reimplicates it ‘in a new and more complex set of power relations between the European tourist and the Orient.’⁵⁰⁹ With impressionistic images of waves in motion, the narrator adds that, ‘Out of this sea rose the Grecian Aphrodite; in this place, was her legendary beauty born.’ He carries on this mythological narrative, saying that, ‘And the water of the sea fell from her body upon the rocks and became flowers. And they called her the “Goddess of Love” and built a temple to her there and worshipped her.’ Such an opening combined with the constant flirting with ‘exoticisation’ of the island is significant given the fact that successive imperialist visitors of Cyprus such as British colonial officials, travel writers, and archaeologists had deliberately or unconsciously misrepresented the Cypriot goddess of Aphrodite as an ideally beautiful, luscious, sexually appealing and fertile figure but also an icon of abominable lust, immorality, degeneration, inferiority, depravity, and bloodshed in their writings for their personal satisfaction, political advantage, and ideological legitimisation.⁵¹⁰ According to

⁵⁰⁹ Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 37.

⁵¹⁰ The colonial image of Aphrodite and the distortions of British imperialist archaeology is metaphorically parodied in Derviş Zaim’s 2003 feature film *Mud*.

Michael Given, the British travelers intentionally or unintentionally abused the historical and archaeological sources, providing a completely distorted image of Aphrodite as the origin of their colonial desire and colonial fear, and tried to ‘prove that Cyprus needed to be ruled.’⁵¹¹ In the master narrative of the British colonial writers, ‘the *spectral* form of Aphrodite was always present, encouraging fantasy and desire.’⁵¹² There are, of course, many examples, but the description of the island by Sir Richmond Palmer, the Colonial Governor of Cyprus who was famous for his oppressive regime in the late 1930s, particularly sticks out. His talk at the Royal Central Asian Society in London powerfully shows how the colonial mind of the British empire was itself grounded in a sexualised discourse of domination and rape:

Several thousand years ago a lady called Aphrodite landed in Cyprus, and the island has never quite recovered. The people of Cyprus make a luxury of discontent and always pretend that they do not like being ruled, and yet, like the lady I have mentioned as a prototype, they expect to be ruled, and, in fact, prefer it.⁵¹³

Secondly, the film stresses *class stratification*, or hierarchical differences between the ruling class and the subject people, singing the praises of the activities of the ruling oligarch. In one of the early scenes, the master narrative of the film is unfolded by a careful reference to the first British colonialist on the island, King Richard I the ‘Lionheart’ of England, who ‘stayed [at Limassol,

⁵¹¹ Michael Given, ‘Corrupting Aphrodite: Colonialist Interpretations of the Cyprian Goddess,’ in *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*, ed. Diane Bolger and Nancy Serwint (Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002), 420. Also see Michael Given, ‘Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity,’ *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11:1 (1998): 3–29; Peter van Dommelen, ‘Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean,’ *World Archaeology* 28 (1997): 305–323; Bruce G. Trigger, ‘Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist,’ *Man* [New Series] 19:3 (1984): 355–370.

⁵¹² Given, ‘Corrupting Aphrodite,’ 421.

⁵¹³ Sir Richmond Palmer, ‘Cyprus,’ *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 26 (1939): 601.

Cyprus] to marry his queen, Berengaria.’ In the following scenes, the narrator tells of the ‘three centuries of brilliance’ during the rule of ‘the Lusignian kings,’ who built ‘great cathedrals in the cities and [brought] fantastic riches [to the island];’ however, he concludes his description by saying that, ‘*But of the people of that time, we know nothing.*’ He continues, ‘Then in the hands of the Venetians all this magnificence became a thing to spoil. The island became their military outpost. The towns the bastions of their plunder. They stripped the forests to build their ships of war.’ He again finishes his commentary, saying that, ‘*But of the people who were in the island, we know nothing.*’ He continues: ‘Next came the Turks. For three hundred years, their spirits slept over the island. The minarets of their faith broke incongruously through the Gothic roofs of the Christian cathedrals.’ Once again, he repeats the same sentence: ‘*But the people of the hills and plains continued unknown.*’ In the film, the narratives of the successive ruling classes of the island are accompanied by the images of their majestic works (i.e., tremendous buildings and monuments), while the narrative of the subject people, Cypriots, or the rhetoric of *Cypriots-have-no-history!*, is accompanied by the recurrent image of shoes-in-poor-conditions. According to the master narrative of the film, what distinguishes the ruling class from the subject people is not only wealth and power but also their epistemic superiority: only the ruling class can make history, while the subject people cannot be either the subject or the object of history. This is the main idea that underlies the recurrent image of shoes-in-poor-condition and the narrator’s repetition of the colonial subject’s *absence* in history.



Figure 25 – Screenshots from Ralph Keene’s colonial film travelogue *Cyprus is an Island* (1946).

Thirdly, the course of the film’s linear and progressive historical narrative brings us to the British period, where we find another characteristic of the film: the *territorial imperative*, or geopolitical reasoning. Repeating several times the colonialist argument that Cypriots have no agency in history, the documentary arrives at the conclusion that, ‘Cyprus is like a ring, which has passed hand-to-hand of changing Empires: Phoenician, Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Venetian, Ottoman – she’s been worn by them all. In 1878, came the British. Cyprus, now, is an island of the British Commonwealth and these are her people.’ This argument in the script provides valuable insights into the coloniser’s instrumentalist, geopolitical line of reasoning and its relation to the island as one of the most important strategic regions and possessions for imperial powers in the eastern Mediterranean. In this sense, the territorial imperative refers to what Edward Said called ‘the primacy of the geographical element’ in *imperialism*: imperialism, after all, is ‘an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted, and finally brought under control.’⁵¹⁴ For the British, Cyprus has always been more than a favourite touristic destination for the British middle class; indeed, it had been a valuable

⁵¹⁴ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1994), 225.

‘possession’ on the strategic route to India via the Suez Canal and then became the key to the Middle East.



Figure 26 – Screenshots from Ralph Keene’s colonial film travelogue *Cyprus is an Island* (1946).

As I said earlier, the film silences the voices of Cypriots, but how are the Cypriots described in the script? As the voice-over notes, ‘For the most part, they are a Greek-speaking people, but there are many Turks also – the descendants of the Ottoman Empire. But Nicosia is a city that has many faces and many tongues – English, Armenian, French, Arabic; Christian and Muslim.’ In the film, Cypriots are mostly described as peasants, namely men, women, and children working in the fields: ‘Throughout two thousand years of changing rulers of poverty, magnificence, tyranny or indifference, these are the people who with their old unchanging tradition of husbandry have kept the island alive. Throughout these generations, they have fought and charmed these reluctant soils to provide them with the necessities of life.’ The plot of the documentary is based on the master narrative of how the ‘uncivilised’ and ‘unhappy’ Cypriot people, who are unable to solve their own problems, evolved into a ‘civilised’ and ‘happy’ people, who gradually learn to control their destiny and make progress with the help of the British. The Englishman’s ‘civilising mission’ is therefore implicit in the progressive structure of the plot. In the first part of the film we are

presented with the tale of the island's multi-century environmental degradation. An antagonistic relationship between the rural people of the island appears when a lazy and ignorant shepherd damages a native farmer's growing crops by letting his goats plunge into the farmer's field and graze over them. The villagers get furious and warn the shepherd severely, telling him that he is no longer allowed to let his flocks graze in the forests either. Feeling offended, the ignorant and stubborn shepherd then decides to take revenge and starts a fire in the forest. The viewers are shown a stereotypical image of poor, ignorant, and 'uncivilised' Cypriot people, who are as incapable of self-government as children; and to give an impression of reality, these scenes are filmed in a mountain village. The impact of the matter-of-fact language and disdainful image of Cypriots is amplified by another scene where we are shown what is said to be a typical dance of these peasants, which depicts murder; the narrator explains that the Greek lyrics of their song is about 'feud and murder.' All these scenes imply that Cypriots are wild and ignorant people and this gives the British a civilising mission, namely a moral justification for their presence on the island. In doing so, the master narrative of the documentary perfectly reveals the arrogance and self-righteousness that lies at the heart of colonialism. In the second part, however, we are presented another village in which the inhabitants are happy, industrious, and productive. The source of this happiness is the fact that they construct a dam to irrigate their crops in cooperation with each other and with the aid of the British government. In this scene, we see a small lorry of the Water Supply and Irrigation Department as well as colonial officials helping people to actualise the construction project.

In conclusion, the British colonialist enterprise in Cyprus is used to legitimate the claim that the pre-colonial past of the Cypriots is one of regressive

history from the Lusignians to the Venetians and Ottomans to be ameliorated by the civilizing power of the British. In the narrator's words, 'After centuries of poverty and decay, a new plan is at work to build up the fertility of the island.' That is, what Britain has brought to the island is nothing but abundance and fertility. As the master narrative of the documentary underlines, with the aid of the British colonial government, the Cypriots discovered their potential and only after this do they become able to produce valuable things: 'Lemons and oranges from Famagusta, Lefka, and Leptos; rich olive oils from the stone presses of the villages; timber and fuel from the forests of Troodos and Psoka; wine and spirits from the vineyards of Stroumbi and Limassol; tobacco and cigarettes from the factories of Nicosia and Larnaca; and silk cocoons from Paphos. All this is the substance of the island.' However, the voice-over notes that the 'civilising mission' of the British has not been fully accomplished yet, so its presence on the island is still legitimate and justified: 'Yet Cyprus is dry and there is still much to be done.' And the film ends with a developed image of the island, suggesting order, tranquility, and civility, constituents of progress, thus giving the British pride in their achievement and moral justification – we see the people of the island gathering, eating, singing, dancing together, and celebrating their year of labour at Easter. The colonialist politics of representation through the image of 'happy' Cypriots, however, forms a contrast to the anti-colonial riots of 'angry' Cypriots and the then oppressive response of the colonial governors, especially in the early 1930s.

6.5.2. Absent Voices of Turkish-Cypriots in Hellenic Nationalist Documentary Film: *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus*

Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus is a 1975 documentary film written and directed by Michael Cacoyannis, the Greek-Cypriot director of the 1964 Oscar-nominated film *Zorba the Greek*, about the catastrophic events of the Greek *coup d'état*, Greek/Greek-Cypriot civil war, and Turkish military intervention in Cyprus in 1974. This postcolonial documentary provides a typical example of Hellenic nationalist film practice in which the lived experiences, voices, and memory of the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subjects are silenced and suppressed with a politics of racially selective memory.

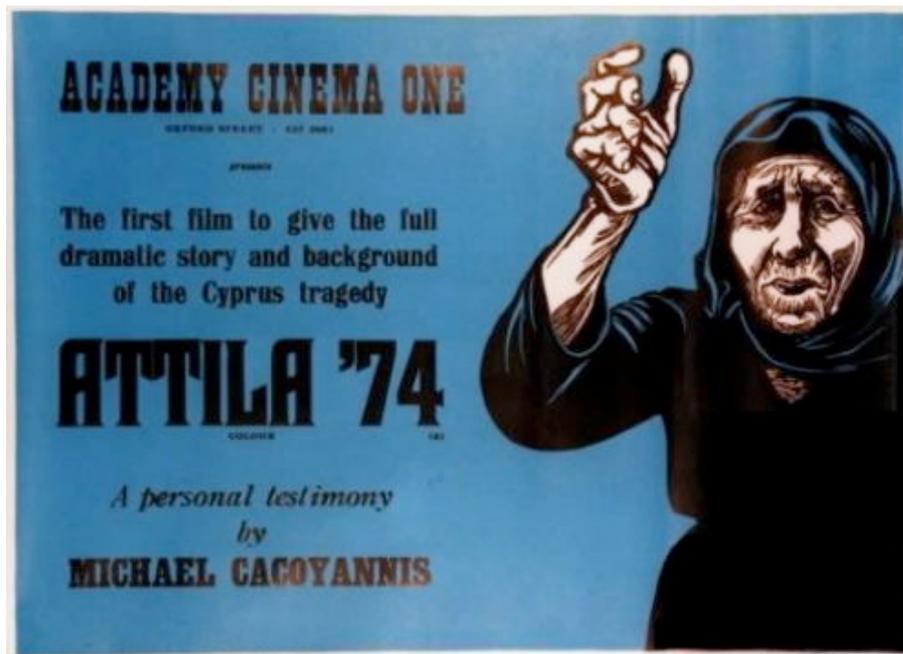


Figure 27 – Film poster for Michael Cacoyannis’s *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus* (1975).

The film opens with the striking images of ghost towns near the Green Line that were recorded by Cacoyannis as his personal ‘witness on film,’ immediately after the intercommunal violence between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots in 1974. These spectral cinematic images are accompanied by the voice-

over of the director. The effort made throughout the documentary tends to exculpate the Hellenic nationalist position. The interviews throughout the film, with references to the ‘Terrible Turk,’ mean to whitewash the horrendous crimes of the Greek-Cypriot leadership (e.g., the Akritas plan), and in particular to vindicate Archbishop Makarios, saying that, ‘It took all of Makarios’ diplomatic skill to safeguard the independence of the flourishing Cyprus from the designs of Greece on the one hand, and Turkey on the other. And for seven years [from 1967 to 1974], he succeeded.’ Cacoyannis does not utter even a single word about the notorious role of Makarios himself in the 1963-64 conflict – a political leader who once in a public speech went so far as to say that, ‘Unless this small Turkish community forming a part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism is expelled, the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated.’⁵¹⁵ Hence, the viewer needs to be cautious about claiming that through interviews and other documented material the Greek-Cypriot director provides a panoptic study of the 1974 intercommunal violence. One should beware of treating the evidence of selected experiences as an all-embracing definition of the 1974 conflict. The interlocutors’ narratives in the documentary do not evolve in a vacuum; they are representations of the lived experiences of Greek-Cypriots, which were then carefully selected, edited, dramatically framed with a voice-over by Cacoyannis, and subsumed into a nationalist master narrative. His documentary account of the 1974 conflict does not acknowledge the fact that the Greek-Cypriots were not the only ones who had to struggle with a

⁵¹⁵ Cited in Pierre Oberling, *The Road to Bellapais: The Turkish Cypriot Exodus to Northern Cyprus* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1982), 68.

crisis of refugees and prisoners, since Turkish-Cypriots also endured similar traumatic experiences during the war.



Figure 28 – Screenshots from Michael Cacoyannis’s documentary film *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus* (1975).

The key aspects of the Hellenic nationalist master narrative in *Attila '74* can be listed as follows: primordialist cultural hegemony, majoritarian discourse, and cultural amnesia. To begin with, against the British colonialist argument of ‘the ring of empires,’ the Hellenic postcolonial nationalist master narrative of the film begins with a *primordialist* argument about the island of Cyprus: ‘This is Cyprus, my homeland. I am Greek, and my name is Michael Cacoyannis. Cyprus has been inhabited by Greeks for more than 3,000 years. They survived many conquests: Roman, Frank, Venetian, Turkish, British... always emerging with their Greek heritage intact. When I left the island as a young man, it was still a British colony. The Greek inhabitants outnumbered the Turks by four-to-one, as they do today; only then they lived together, side-by-side, in peace.’ Although the film seems to be criticising the EOKA and EOKA-B criminal organisations and their ultra-nationalist ideology of *enosis*, the Greek-Cypriot director still follows a nationalist master narrative, a milder form of Hellenic nationalism rather than an aggressive one, with claims to cultural authority. Deploying a politics of racial

and cultural hegemony, Cacoyannis defends the primacy of ethnic persistence, excluding the Turkish-Cypriots and considering the Greek-Cypriots as the ‘real’ owners of the island. Katerina Zacharia views Cacoyannis’ film testimony and his postcolonial nationalist documentary film practice as an example of what she calls ‘Reel Hellenism.’⁵¹⁶ She argues that Hellenic cultural nationalism has been the distinctive feature of the films by most Greek and Greek-Cypriot directors, including those of Cacoyannis. She claims that in these films, including Cacoyannis’s Trojan Trilogy, three films based on plays by Euripides, *Electra* (1961), *Trojan Women* (1971) and *Iphigenia* (1977), ‘Greek identity is regularly construed in terms of dualities and binary oppositions. In the context of global hierarchy and power relations expressed through master narratives in cinema, Greek identity is represented within the frame of a number of tensions: East/West, sophisticated/exotic, Classical heritage/*Tourkokratía* [Ottoman cultural heritage–C.A.], Orthodoxy/Enlightenment, Hellenic/Romaic, Apollonian/Dionysiac.’⁵¹⁷



Figure 29– Screenshots from Michael Cacoyannis’s documentary film *Attila ’74: The Rape of Cyprus* (1975).

⁵¹⁶ Katerina Zacharia, “‘Reel’ Hellenisms: Perceptions of Greece in Greek Cinema,” in *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Katerina Zacharia (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 321–354.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 339.

Another aspect of the documentary is that its argumentative position is based on a racial majoritarian logic, a kind of demographic reasoning, which is at odds with the principles of the consociational democracy of the 1960 Republic. In the majoritarian discourse of the film, there is a tendency to equate Cypriot with Greek-Cypriot; hence, the Cypriot national identity is imagined simply in singular terms, and the terms Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot are presented as terms that can be used interchangeably. Such a definition of Cypriot national identity presumes a peripheral existence for Turkish-Cypriots, which does not disturb the hegemonic position of the dominant Greek-Cypriot community. The director seems to reject the consociational notion of a polyethnic polity, laying stress on the clear numerical superiority of the Greek-Cypriot community; as he notes, ‘the Greek inhabitants outnumbered the Turks by four-to-one.’ Cacoyannis also questions the principle of power-sharing in the constitution, asking President Makarios, ‘Who is to blame for the constitutional failure?’ Makarios’s response reinforces the director’s majoritarian view: ‘The seeds of discord lay within the constitution itself which contained *divisive elements*.’ In the master narrative of the documentary, colonial power relations between the ruling class and the subject people are translated into a postcolonial context through the vernacularisation of hegemony in which the Greek-Cypriot majority community is redefined as the master race and the Turkish-Cypriots are marginalised, being identified as provincial and secessionists. In his accusation against Turkish-Cypriots, Makarios openly endorses the racial majoritarian discourse of the film: ‘It is unheard of for 18% of a country’s population to claim the right to manipulate the fate of the other 82%. The Turkish minority in Cyprus is trying by force of arms to have not

only equal rights but to dictate the destiny of the whole island. For the Greek race it is the greatest disaster since that of Asia Minor in 1922.’



Figure 30 – ‘The Terrible Turk!’ Screenshots from Michael Cacoyannis’s documentary film *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus* (1975).

The third aspect of *Attila '74* is that it adopts a politics of racially selective memory, leaving certain parts of recent history unexplained. Indeed, its filmic historiography of oblivion remains deliberately silent about the ethnic cleansing of Turkish-Cypriots in 1963-64 and 1974, and its over-emphasis on Turkey’s geopolitical interests in Cyprus does not help the viewer to see the underlying reasons for the intercommunal dispute. Just as Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots are represented as being voiceless in the colonial documentary *Cyprus is an Island*, Turkish-Cypriots have a ghostly presence in *Attila '74* in which they are always spoken of yet never speak for themselves. Moreover, they are mostly

depicted as nothing more than a restless and fractious community, ‘traitors’ of some kind, who fomented revolt against the Greek-Cypriot government to provide an excuse for Turkey to invade and impose partition. Cacoyannis revisits this indirectly expressed but *bold* idea in several places throughout the film. For instance, the only statement we can find in the documentary about the 1963-64 First Intercommunal Civil War is the following, in which there is no mention of the displacement of Turkish-Cypriots and massacres by EOKA militants and Greek-Cypriots: ‘In 1963 intercommunal fighting broke out. After the dispatch of a United Nations Peace-keeping Force, the rift between the two communities hardened. *Isolating themselves behind demarcation lines, the Turks of Nicosia and Famagusta looked to Ankara for arms and other support.*’ The viewers of the film are not given any hint here about why the Turkish-Cypriots have ‘chosen’ to isolate themselves behind demarcation lines. Instead, the Turkish-Cypriot community is portrayed as Turkey’s Trojan horse, a threat to the security of Greek-Cypriots, the ones who were in fact responsible for Turkey’s military intervention in 1974. The oppositional voices of Turkish-Cypriots are marginalised and their sufferings during the 1963-64, 1967, and 1974 conflicts are completely silenced or muted. The only voices that are articulated and the only concerns made visible are those of Greek-Cypriots. On the one hand, how Greek-Cypriots, mainly leftists and supporters of Makarios, were ruthlessly killed by ultra-nationalist Greeks and Greek-Cypriots, mainly EOKA-B terrorists, in a fratricidal civil war are told in detail in the film. In one of the scenes, when Sampson was asked if he had ever thought a junta-backed coup would lead to bloodshed on Cyprus, his response was frightening: ‘I saw before me the specter of a fratricidal war. I decided to shoulder the responsibility and to impose law and

order at all levels. And I succeeded as is recognised by one and all.’ On the other hand, although the legacy of the intra-communal violence within the Greek-Cypriot community between *Makariakoi* (supporters of Makarios) and *Grivikoi* (supporters of Grivas), whose armed groups had often clashed, raided, or sabotaged each other, is recognised, the bitter legacies of the 1974 intercommunal conflict for Turkish-Cypriots such as the massacres of Muratağa (Maratha), Sandallar (Santallaris), and Atlılar (Aloa) in which men, women, and children were killed by Greek-Cypriots, are completely erased in the nationalist master narrative of Cacoyannis’ documentary.

6.5.3. Absent Voices of Greek-Cypriots in Turkish Nationalist Documentary

Film: *The 50 Years of Cyprus*

The 50 Years of Cyprus (Kıbrıs’ın 50 Yılı) is a 1999 television documentary film produced by Mehmet Ali Birand and 32. Gün for Istanbul-based news channel CNN Türk about the recent history of Cyprus. The 170-minute documentary was first aired on television in 1999 and then released on VCD in 2007, featuring footage recorded during the anti-colonial protests in the 1950s, the intercommunal conflicts in the 1960s and 1970s, and Turkish military operations in 1974, as well as footage aired and/or archived by Turkey’s Ministry of Culture and Tourism, The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), The Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (CyBC), The All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company (VGTRK), Antena TV, and Mega TV. The film also includes interviews with leading figures such as Rauf Raif Denktaş, the first president of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Glafcos Clerides, the fifth president of the Republic of Cyprus, Osman Örek, the first Minister of Defence of the

Republic of Cyprus, Süleyman Demirel and Bülent Ecevit, former prime ministers of Turkey, Turgut Sunalp, the former Chief of the Operations Department at the Turkish General Staff, Vyron Theodoropoulos, the former Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Henry Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State, Joseph Sisco, Kissinger's Chief Deputy and Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, Lord James Callaghan, former British Foreign Secretary and then Prime Minister of Britain, and Sir Alan Goodison, Head of the the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's (FCO) Southern European Department.



Figure 31 – The late Turkish television journalist Mehmet Ali Birand. A screenshot from Mehmet Ali Birand and Rengin Güner's television documentary film *The 50 Years of Cyprus (Kıbrıs'ın 50 Yılı, 1999)*.

The documentary film was written and presented by the famous Turkish television journalist Mehmet Ali Birand and directed by Rengin Güner. Although Birand and Güner seem to be trying to represent a relatively balanced approach to the late colonial and postcolonial historical facts of the island by including the contested views of all sides, their efforts still remain incapable of escaping from the dominant influence of Turkey's official historical perspective. Due to the fact

that, at the time when the film was made, the militarist state discourse dominated every sphere in Turkey, from the state apparatus to society and the economy, the narrative structure of the documentary is premised on justifying what the Turkish government described as a 'peace-keeping operation', but which Greek-Cypriots perceived as 'Turkish expansionism' (*Tourkikos epektatismos*), and which the international community simply termed an 'invasion'. The film provides a detailed chronicle of how events unfolded between 1950 and 1983 through photographs, video records, and other archive material as well as interviews with politicians, bureaucrats, diplomats, and high-ranking military officials. Mainly representing the views of the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot political elite, the film narrative either intentionally or unintentionally refrains from disturbing the ideological limits of Turkish official history, which were strictly determined by the Turkish General Staff and their militarist and nationalist discourse.

The 50 Years of Cyprus exhibits three key characteristics: firstly, it is obvious that the basis of the documentary's opinion, tone, and argumentative position was impacted by the 'geopolitical approach' of Turkey's official historical discourse, which is prevalent in the writings of several Turkish authors. According to the official view, the first settlers of Cyprus came from Asia Minor during the Neolithic period, which is supposed to make them Turks. This argument is often geologically reinforced by denoting that Cyprus had been a land prolongation of Asia Minor during geological times that later got separated from the Hatay coast as a consequence of great cave-ins and became an island. Furthermore, it is also a frequently emphasised scientific fact that Cyprus moves in a northeasterly direction at the rate of one inch (2.5 cm) per year towards

Turkey.⁵¹⁸ Indeed, the territorial imperative, or what we may call the ‘primacy of geopolitics,’ is suggested, although rarely openly stated, in several places in the film. For instance, in the opening scene, the narrator, repeating the claims of official historical discourse, does not describe Cyprus as an independent and separate country; instead, the island is signified in the film as the ‘natural extension’ of Turkey’s geography. In Birand’s own words, Cyprus ‘is just a small island; its area is only 21,000 square kilometres. The entire island of Cyprus is roughly the same size as our city of Konya. Since the 4th century BC, great powers have fought for it. Whoever wanted to establish their hegemony in the region, they decidedly stepped in Cyprus. The island is a natural extension of Asia Minor.’



Figure 32 – Screenshots from Mehmet Ali Birand and Rengin Güner’s television documentary film *The 50 Years of Cyprus (Kıbrıs’ın 50 Yılı, 1999)*.

Secondly, the documentary film’s master narrative develops from the decline of order to the phase of restoration in Cyprus, and, in so doing, it aims to

⁵¹⁸ Anıl Çeçen, *Kıbrıs Çıkmazı [The Cyprus Dilemma]* (Istanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm, 2005), 31; Erol Manisalı, *Dünden Bugüne Kıbrıs [Cyprus, from Past to Present]* (Istanbul: Gündoğan, 2003), 13; İbrahim Artuç, *Kıbrıs’ta Savaş ve Barış [War and Peace in Cyprus]* (Istanbul: Kastaş, 1989), 13.

justify and legitimise Turkey's intervention from both legal and security-based perspectives. Birand's commentary often insists on the 'insufficiency' of diplomatic efforts and the 'inevitability' of Turkish military operations, which are presented as related to Turkey being a guarantor state in Cyprus. So, for instance, when referring to the 1967 conflict, he says, 'The 1967 crisis suddenly attracted Turkey's attention to a less noted point, which was the fact that the intercommunal problem in Cyprus was likely to reappear once again, and *inevitably necessitate a military intervention* in the near future. The Greek-Cypriot leadership, however, was not aware of the fact that the Greek armed operations against two small Turkish towns (Boğazköy [Bogazi tuo Kyrenia] and Geçitkale [Lefkoniko]) had awakened the whole public in Turkey, leading them to view the problem from an entirely different perspective. The 1967 crisis has become, indisputably, a turning point in the history of the island.' Following the line of thought that prevails in official politics, the documentary summarises the events after the Greece-led *coup d'état* against Makarios on 15 July 1974, and then concludes by saying that the time had come for Turkey's military intervention to begin:

When planning a *coup d'état* against Makarios, the Greek junta made a huge mistake once again, failing to calculate Turkey's would-be reaction to such an attempt. For decades, there was only one wish that was pursued by Greek-Cypriots and Greeks: *enosis*, or the union of Cyprus with Greece. After the independence of Cyprus in 1960, Greek-Cypriots had made two armed attempts to crush Turkish-Cypriots or to put them under the control of a Greek-Cypriot hegemonic power. Each time, Turkey had been almost launching a military operation to restore stability to the Republic of Cyprus. The situation in 1974, however, was much worse than before. This time a military junta was in power in Athens and their ultimate goal was simply overthrowing Makarios and uniting Cyprus with Greece right away. Their only difference with the Archbishop was that Makarios wished *enosis* later rather than sooner but the Greek junta was wishing to put *enosis* into effect immediately.

The documentary depicts the 1974 *coup d'état* through images of the Cyprus presidential palace in Nicosia that represent the building in ruins after the attack of the Greek soldiers as well as the *de facto* president Nikos Sampson's notorious press speech, and these images are presented in the film in a way that supports the official Turkish view: Cyprus would have certainly been united with Greece if Turkey had not intervened with its army. The documentary film narrative seems to be advocating the idea that the Greece-led military coup was a secret *enosis*, destroying the constitutional order through the use of force and violating the 1959 Zurich-London Agreements and the 1960 Treaties. Under these extraordinary and violent circumstances, the Turkish-Cypriot community and their rights must be protected. Furthermore, given the fact that Turkey is already encircled by the Greek islands in the Aegean Sea, another Greek island near the southern shores of Asia Minor would pose a serious threat to Turkey's security. If *enosis* were put into effect, Greece would not only gain the ability to attack Central Turkey, in military terms, but would also obtain direct and absolute control over the sea traffic of the region. It is obvious that this would be unacceptable. The film's master narrative seems to have a strong tendency to apportion blame and responsibility to the Greek-Cypriot leadership's role in triggering the crisis. Moreover, the Greek-Cypriot community is regarded as a homogeneous entity, and little mention is made of exceptions. When narrating the foundation of the Republic in 1960, Birand says, 'Everybody, including the Britons, Greeks, Turks, and Turkish-Cypriots, was glad and satisfied, except the Greek-Cypriots. They again resorted to arms, and said that this agreement would

not work.’ Regarding the eruption of intercommunal violence in 1963, he also says that,

It was expected that decolonisation and the establishment of a new independent state would bring peace to the island. However, all sides understood not long after decolonisation that the struggle for power sharing between the communities had just begun. Pandora’s box was opened when the Greek-Cypriots attempted to change the Constitution and nullify the rights given to Turkish-Cypriots under the 1959 Zurich-London Agreements and the 1960 Treaties. Greek-Cypriots made a new mistake instead of considering the balance of power from a realist perspective. They assumed Turkey would not be able to take action. They failed to understand that if the sword is taken from its sheath, it will never be put back until victory has been determined.

In addition to this threatening tone of voice, Birand again blames Greece and the Greek-Cypriot leadership in another sequence trying to justify Turkey’s military operations: ‘The approach adopted by the government of Greece and the Greek-Cypriot leadership during the 1974 crisis was constraining Turkey to mount a second military operation.’

Thirdly, Turkish-Cypriots are indirectly represented in the film’s master narrative as purely passive ‘victims’ who must be ‘emancipated’ from Greek-Cypriot oppression, not further embedded in it. The commentary of the documentary carefully examines the causes of the conflict and then focuses on the nature and extent of gross violations of human rights against Turkish-Cypriot citizens between 1963 and 1974 such as killing, torture, abduction, and severe ill treatment. In Birand’s own words, ‘For the Greek-Cypriots, Cyprus belongs to them. The Turks have had no rights on the island. They were only members of a minority group, who usually provide errand running services and who are mostly employed as workers in agriculture.’ In such a formulation, Turkey’s role is defined as the ‘emancipator’ of the suffering Turkish-Cypriot community. The so-

called emancipatory role of the Turkish army in 1974 is highly exaggerated in the narrative. From a one-dimensional perspective, the film's master narrative mentions only the positive aspects of the post-1974 period; it does not account for the negative counterparts or dysfunctionalities of living under the 'shadow' of the Turkish army. Such a depiction of the Turkish-Cypriot community seems to be compatible with what Hatay and Papadakis call 'victimisation history': as the authors define the notion, it refers to a kind of 'apologetic history-writing,' namely 'the writing of a history which always portray(s) Turkish-Cypriots as passive, one that focus(es) on their victimisation and "innocence."'”⁵¹⁹ This narrative structure aims to provide grounds of justification for Turkey's military operations and imposition of partition as a means of solving the problems of a deeply divided Cypriot society. Within the commentary of the documentary, the strategy of victimisation functions as a technique of argumentation for maintaining current power relations in Cyprus. The documentary film provides a wide range of visual and textual materials that aim to challenge Greek and Greek-Cypriot arguments as well as justifying Turkey's official historical discourse. In short, the objective of the documentary film's use of a strategy of victimisation should not be seen as an attempt to serve the process of reconciliation between the two communities; instead, the representation of pain serves geopolitical objectives, having the intention to legitimise Turkey's military operations and territorial claims. In the film's master narrative, the voice of Greek-Cypriots is absent, or even if they are said to exist, they are always 'monotonised,' or

⁵¹⁹ Mete Hatay and Yiannis Papadakis, 'A Critical Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot Official Historiographies (1940s to the Present),' in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, ed. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (New York, NY: I.B.Tauris, 2012), 35.

‘reduced’ to that of their political elites, or even ‘distorted,’ while the voice of Turkish-Cypriots is ‘transposed,’ or even ‘instrumentalised,’ in favor of Turkey’s official historical discourse and geopolitical interests.

6.5.4. The Spectro-politics of Polyvocality in Cypriot Cosmopolitanist Documentary Film: *Parallel Trips*

Parallel Trips (*Paralel Yolculuklar/ Ta parállila monorátia* [Τα παράλληλα μονοπάτια]) is a 2004 oral history documentary featuring Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot survivors of the 1974 intercommunal civil war and the Turkish military’s intervention in Cyprus. The film was written, produced, and co-directed by Derviş Zaim, the Turkish-Cypriot director of *Mud* and *Shadows and Faces*, and Panicos Chrysanthou, the Greek-Cypriot director of *Akamas* and *Our Wall*. In the documentary, the two directors, from the northern and southern sides of the divided island of Cyprus, draw our attention to the human dramas that survivors have witnessed during the war of 1974 and the postcolonial/postwar/postnational legacy that remains today. During the production process of *Parallel Trips*, the gates between the northern and southern parts of Cyprus had not been opened yet, and for this reason, Zaim and Chrysanthou had to meet up with each other several times either in London or Rome, or at the Green Line, the United Nations Buffer Zone, in Cyprus under difficult and pernicious conditions. In addition to this film, they also worked together on other film projects such as *Mud* (2003) and *Akamas* (2006). The film was screened at the 23rd Istanbul International Film Festival and the 12th London Turkish Film Festival. Aiming to develop greater mutual understanding between Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots on the island, the film was

also shown in Nicosia during the Annan Plan referendum process to reunite the island in 2004.



Figure 33 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*.

The title *Parallel Trips* seems to imply an act of writing a ‘postcolonial travelogue’ back to the Empire, one that aims to question the meaning of travel or journey on an island divided by an impermeable *de facto* border and also to deconstruct the filmic legacy of British colonialism. Dismantling the colonialist’s exoticising gaze (touristic scopophilia) and omniscient voice-over commentary (master narrative), this postcolonial film travelogue provides a critical response to colonial film practice on Cyprus. As a work of oral history, the film also deconstructs the filmic legacy of Hellenic/Turkish ethno-nationalisms: aiming to enable the re-writing of the postcolonial history of Cyprus from below, the film uses fragmented autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot survivors together as strategic means of deconstructing the one-sided grand narratives, or master narratives, of the official histories of colonialism, decolonisation, and partition, whether British, Turkish, or Greek. In the documentary, the lived experiences and voices of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot survivors from both communities during the 1974 conflict are triumphantly integrated with each other. These bitter life/death stories are mostly misused and

manipulated by the nation-states and ethno-nationalists to justify their political positions, to brainwash people, to incite discursive violence, and to advocate hatred. Zaim explains why he has decided to make such a film with his friend Panicos Chrysanthou with the following statement: ‘I wanted to drag their stories back from the hands of the nationalists, from those who have used these people for propaganda. We know we can live together, but we still have to ask why we did this to each other. If you leave things unsaid they will become the bad dreams that haunt us and will again be exploited by the nationalists.’⁵²⁰ To disrupt the politics of selective memory found in official discourses, Zaim and Chrysanthou relocate these fragmented first-person ghost stories, intercommunal civil war-related *auto/thanatographies*, or filmic death-writings, into a collective process of narrative construction and, in so doing, offer a transition from ‘contested memories’ to a ‘negotiated memory’, making alternative meanings possible. Through its heterogeneous traces and polyvocal narratives of singular memories, *Parallel Trips* attempts to re-configure and re-define the relations between past events by replacing the current meta-narratives regarding the on-going situation on the island with the first-person experiences and eye-witness testimonies from both sides. Furthermore, the film also makes a call for mourning for all the victims of ethnic conflict, be they Turkish- or Greek-Cypriots.

The film begins with the first-time encounter of Petros, a Greek-Cypriot from Palaikythro village, and Hüseyin, a Turkish-Cypriot from Maratha (Muratağa) village, in July 2003. The filmmakers meet up with the survivors of the 1974 intercommunal civil war on both sides of the island to listen to their war

⁵²⁰ Cited in Fiachra Gibbons, ‘We Know We Can Live Together,’ *The Guardian*, May 1, 2004, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2004/may/01/books.featuresreviews/>, accessed August 12, 2010.

stories. Zaim could only meet people from the north, Chrysanthou only those from the south. With the help of their cameras, the filmmakers could learn about the other side and listen to their bitter life and death stories. To articulate horizons beyond colonialism, ethno-nationalisms and their legacies, in the first part of the film Zaim holds his camera on the traumatic experiences of Turkish-Cypriot survivors after the massacre of Maratha (Muratağa), Santallaris (Sandallar), and Aloa (Atlılar), a well-known slaughter of Turkish-Cypriot men, women, and children of three villages on the central Cypriot plain which was committed by Greek-Cypriots, while Chrysanthou focuses on the killings of Greek-Cypriots by Turkish-Cypriot fighters (*mücahitler*) in Palaikythro after the village was surrounded by the Turkish army. The first place visited was the haunted map of Palaikythro, which was a mixed village before 1974 (now in the northern part of Cyprus). It is a place haunted by the ghosts of the Greek-Cypriots killed by paramilitary Turkish-Cypriot groups during the Turkish army's 1974 intervention. We are presented with the unsettling story of what Petros and his brother Costas experienced during their childhood when their whole family was executed in front of their eyes – but from the first-person perspective, not as a statistical 'fact.' Similarly, Hüseyin, a Turkish-Cypriot survivor from Maratha (Muratağa) village, tells how the men were sent as prisoners of war to a concentration camp and how all the members of his family were arrested and killed when his village was attacked and occupied by the paramilitary group of the neighbouring Greek-Cypriot village.



Figure 34 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*.

In the film’s second part we are presented with the autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives of Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot individuals with a particular focus on the 1974 conflict’s aftermath. Again, each narrator, who confronts the death of the other or performs a life at a limit of its own during the intercommunal civil war of 1974, presents his or her stories from a first-person perspective. The first narrator, Şirin, is a Turkish-Cypriot woman. With many dissonant moments in the flow of her speech, she tells us about her grieving experience growing up after the loss of her father, who was killed by Greek-Cypriots in 1974. His absence, or ghostly presence, has continued to haunt her throughout her life. Then we are exposed to Greek-Cypriot Panayota’s life story, whose husband became a missing person during the 1974 conflict and never came back, therefore remaining a mystery. Nobody, including herself, knows if he is still alive or already dead, and this in-betweenness gives him the status of a ghost. Panayota had lived for years with a bitter hope for his return, but he has never come back. After the loss of her husband, she became an internal migrant, being forced by the Turkish army to move to the south of the island, and established a new life there with her children and learnt to live under arduous circumstances.



Figure 35 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*.

At this point, Panayota’s story shows us that the issue of missing people is another ghostly matter that we need to take into consideration when using the term ‘the absent other.’ Political anthropologist Paul Sant Cassia proposes a hauntological account of the missing people in the context of the Cyprus conflict, arguing that the Missing are ghosts, or ‘metaphors of difference,’ because they oscillate between absence and presence:

For the Greek-Cypriots the Missing constitute a powerful and semantic field for talking about the past, and their current predicament. By contrast, for the Turkish-Cypriots the issue of the Missing is a closed chapter, an example of their oppression by the Greek-Cypriots in the Republic of Cyprus, a state of affairs that the Turkish ‘Peace Operation’ ended. Thus, whereas the Turkish-Cypriots appear to wish to have the matter closed in its present manifestation, but to keep the memory and memorials of their oppression alive, the Greek-Cypriots wish to maintain the issue as open in a present continuous tense, as an issue that is very much alive and will only be buried when the Missing are finally returned and their bodies laid to rest. The Missing on both sides [...] are, to begin with, metaphors of difference. They highlight how both groups distinguish themselves from each other. But at the same time they are missing metaphors, in the sense that both groups are creating and using *absence* as the source of their differences. [...] By being talked about in the ways I have outlined, the Missing – marked by the capital letter ‘M’ which gives ‘them’ a materiality and existence, whilst the semantic implication of that word immediately negates that materiality – move from being ‘missing persons’ (Absent presences, in a phenomenological sense) to becoming ‘The Missing’ (present Absences, ultimately a contradiction in terms). We have moved from *an* absence (of

something) to *The Absence* (in-itself). Now Absence is difference *a priori*, that is, ‘the condition of being different of all possible differences.’ The Missing are thus conceptualised as difference *a priori*, but at the same time (phenomenologically) are both a missing trace and a tracing of (something) missing.⁵²¹

The third narrator, Saim, a Turkish-Cypriot man, tells of his own embodied experience of becoming a crippled individual in need of a wheelchair after losing his feet during the 1974 conflict. Likewise, the fourth narrator, Michalis, is a Greek-Cypriot who also became disabled and wheelchair-dependent as a result of the events of 1974. With reference to his own experience of living as an impaired person in postwar Cyprus, Michalis shares his observation of how ethnic prejudice and discrimination in Greek-Cypriot society evolved into a disability prejudice after the division. Finally, we hear the story of Salih, a Turkish-Cypriot painter whose father was killed by Greek-Cypriots in the early 1950s. Although he had suffered much from the ethnic strife between the two communities, Salih says he still believes in peace on the island and wholeheartedly supports the idea of reunification with the Greek side. He also voluntarily works for a bi-communal music ensemble as a chorus member, and sings Turkish and Greek songs in concerts with his Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot friends. To disrupt the one-dimensional ethno-nationalist narratives, the voices of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot survivors and their interwoven, parallel stories of mutual crimes blur the boundaries between ‘we’ and ‘they’ and conjure up the ghosts of the tragic past of the island.

⁵²¹ Paul Sant Cassia, ‘Guarding Each Other’s Dead, Mourning One’s Own: The Problem of Missing Persons and Missing Pasts in Cyprus,’ in *When Greeks Think About Turks: The View from Anthropology*, ed. Dimitrios Theodossopoulos (London: Routledge, 2007), 117.

The film's deconstructive politics of memory and polyvocality is based on the following principles, aiming to do justice to the absent others. There are three main defining characteristics that distinguish *Parallel Trips* from British colonialist, Hellenic nationalist, and Turkish counter-nationalist film practices. Firstly, Zaim and Chrysanthou's Cypriot postcolonial documentary film practice offers a distinctly *cosmopolitanist* point of view in the sense that it has a trans-communal and post-national approach which rejects any form of hierarchical power relations, including both colonial and inter-communal levels. Secondly, what determines the narrative structure of the whole film, shaping its first person ghost stories, is what I will call a *dialogical imperative*, which refers to a relational approach that makes intercommunal encounters possible: such an approach defends collaboration in favour of the re-establishment of a peaceful coexistence between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. Thirdly, the film uses the ghostly voices and faces of the other as a means to promote an ethics of remembering and forgiveness: preparing the way for reconciliation, the argumentative position of Zaim and Chrysanthou's documentary depends on a moral obligation to remember all forms of contested narratives together and then to foster trust-building and forgiveness.



Figure 36 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou's oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*.

As I explained earlier in this chapter, the voices of both Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots are *absent* or rendered inaudible in the colonial film *Cyprus is an Island*, while the voices of Turkish-Cypriots are silenced in *Attila 74* and the voices of Greek-Cypriots are silenced in *The 50 Years of Cyprus*. All three films have voice-over commentaries; the first of them includes no interviews with any of the Cypriots, while the second only interviews individuals from the Greek-Cypriot side, and the third interviews only some of the former political elites of the Greek side but not ordinary Greek-Cypriots. *Parallel Trips*, however, uses no voice-over commentary at all; the plural voice of the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot directors speaks to us through the juxtaposition of interviews with survivors and victims of both sides. Müberra Yüksel explains the function of this *bivocality*, or double-sided narratives without voice-over commentary, in *Parallel Trips* as follows:

Victimised groups do not see beyond their own pain and anguish without their own wounds being healed. These groups do not take responsibility for victims created by their own actions out of revenge or feel guilt about the violence committed in the past. [...] Both sides state we will not and cannot forget our sufferings and pain. Yet, one of the biggest problems is that people tend to forget what the others suffered and remember only their own sufferings. Overall, voice-over is used seldom and commentary or the directors' voice are heard rarely since quoting as many voices as possible has been at the heart of the film.⁵²²

In other words, this *bivocality*, or double voice, as a sign of double consciousness, not only allows us to see the diverging and converging points at the same time in the lived experiences of Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots, but also allows members of both communities, who had been living in their own separate

⁵²² Müberra Yüksel, 'Conflict Resolution: Film as the Third Party/Mediator,' in *Communication in Peace/Conflict in Communication*, ed. Tuğrul İltter et al. (Famagusta, North Cyprus: Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 2008), 160, 161.

social universes behind an impermeable border at the time the film was made, to have the opportunity to listen to each other. In doing so, Zaim and Chrysanthou's oral history documentary offers a critical perspective against official histories, making a clear argument for the primacy of the lived experiences and voices of both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. Zaim and Chrysanthou subtly turn the ghostly filmic medium into what Mary Louise Pratt calls a 'contact zone,' which refers to both a spectral space and a disjointed temporal zone through which cross-cultural relations and belated encounters happen. In Pratt's own words, the notion of 'contact zone' should be understood as 'the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.'⁵²³ The filmic 'contact zone' of *Parallel Trips*, in a more positive sense, denotes a zone of conversation for non-violent encounters with the Other: it becomes a spectral domain in which freely converging and diverging voices of the two communities meet and resonate with each other for the first time in the aftermath of the 1974 conflict, evolving into a more complex polyphony. The act of documentary filming in such a context emerges as a form of conjuring up the specters to develop a mode of counter-intelligibility in favour of never-tried political actions: it increases the intensity and power of ghosts and their ability to haunt the viewers to make Cypriots able to reconsider their 'bordered' situation in a critical way. Such an idea of the archaeology of memory had inspired Turkish-Cypriot Derviş Zaim and Greek-Cypriot Panicos Chrysanthou to co-produce a documentary film, which was based

⁵²³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 8.

on a critical study with two parallel perspectives about the absent others and a deconstruction of the political tensions and war in Cyprus between 1963 and 1974.

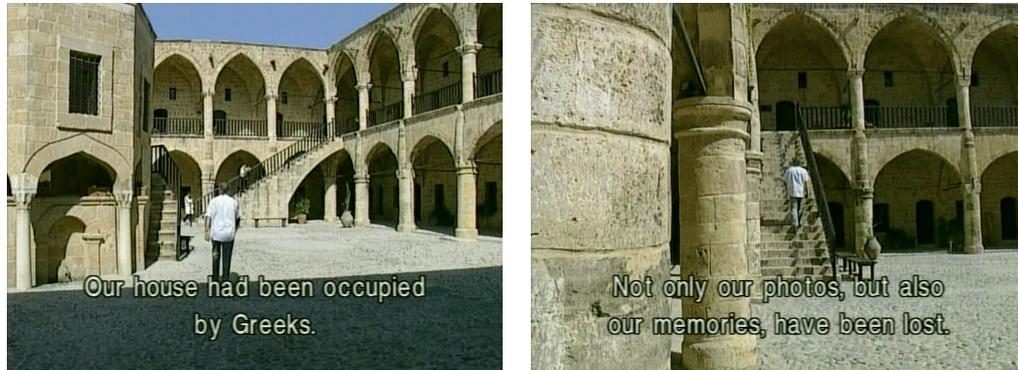


Figure 37 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*.

Documentary is not a film genre that depends on the objective representation of the Truth, rather it is a performative mode of trace-production, a repetition of the ‘event,’ a filmic writing of the performance: the main question is how a certain particular fact such as an ‘event’ was/is experienced and recognised by different subjects. In that sense, it has nothing to do with the disclosure of truth; however, it is a ghostly medium where different truths are constructed and confronted by intersubjective encounters. In this sense, what *Parallel Trips* presents to us is not a kind of totality like the truth or the reality of the intercommunal war of 1974 in Cyprus, but rather how those violent events were experienced by the narrating subjects from both sides, and in what ways it affected the rest of their lives. In other words, although the epistemic foundations of singular memories are always questionable in the sense that memory is fallible, the issue here is not the validity of memories but rather how a fallible memory may speak to historical truths. As Janet Walker says in her book *Trauma Cinema*, ‘fantasy constructions, while assuredly internal phenomena, may indeed be

responsive to the pressure of real events.’⁵²⁴ In addition, what a documentary film records is not the presence of reality or illusion, but ghostly disappearances. In Elsaesser’s words, ‘Looking for “real” history and memory, a documentary film, if it is honest, can only record absence.’⁵²⁵

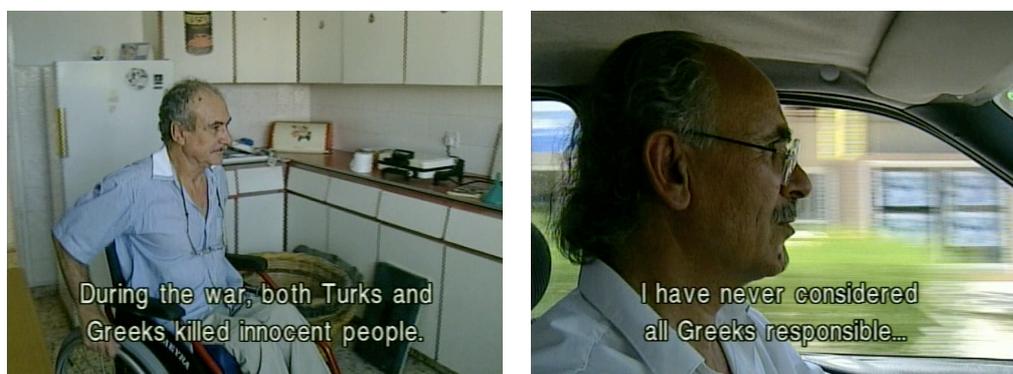


Figure 38 – Screenshots from Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou’s oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*.

In conclusion, *Parallel Trips* is a work of oral history, or of ‘minor’ history, to deconstruct the political unconscious and the grand narratives of the nationalist imaginaries. The logic of ethnic violence on Cyprus is based on a conflictual paradigm defining the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots not as neighbours and friends but as geopolitical antagonists and enemies. Without a deconstruction of both singular memories and mental maps, it would not be possible to deconstruct the contemporary spaces of militarisation and securitisation, zones of violent encounter and the spatial and biopolitical aspects of ethnic violence. By teasing out the haunted land- and ethno-scape of the island, by scrutinising the signs of the region’s ethno-historical past, and by resonating

⁵²⁴ Janet Walker, *Trauma Cinema: Documenting Incest and the Holocaust* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 10.

⁵²⁵ Thomas Elsaesser, ‘One Train May Be Hiding Another: History, Memory, Identity, and the Visual Image,’ in *Topologies of Trauma: Essays on the Limit of Knowledge and Memory*, ed. Linda Belau and Petar Ramadanovic (New York, NY: Other, 2002), 65.

divided spatial trajectories as cinematic heterotopia, *Parallel Trips* shows us how documentary film can be both an act of critical archiving for the future and a 'contact zone,' or a zone of non-violent encounter and conversation. By means of encounters between filmmakers, subjects, and spectators and by unearthing the singular postcolonial memories, Zaim and Chrysanthou consider the act of documentary filming to be a collective and performative writing of history: each moment of encounter might be a nexus to create a matrix of other histories. Additionally, they excavate the ruins of the intercommunal civil wars in Cyprus to problematise the current violent 'solution': the division of north and south. Division is a form of violence, which is neither oppressive nor emancipatory. It is not oppressive because in the current divided Cyprus, neither the Turks oppress the Greeks nor the Greeks oppress the Turks with a hegemonic power. Nevertheless, nor is it emancipatory, since it reduces potentialities by creating impossibilities: the impossibility of choosing where to live on Cyprus, the impossibility of living as Turks/Greeks in South/North and living with the Other, and the impossibility of moving freely on the island (the checkpoints had remained closed until 2004). In other words, although the division/separation/isolation has prevented massacres at the expense of exiles, it has created a 'profane transcendence' (inaccessible beyond) and a 'secular theodicy' (neighbor as the invented origin of the problem of evil). Obviously, the film also underlines that the issue of division in the name of 'securitisation' should be discussed without being seduced by the normative economy of political terms, i.e. peace operation/invasion. With its indirect Derridean/Levinasian reference to a spectral Otherness, *Parallel Trips* obliges the viewer to remember the responsibilities of the 'I' towards 'the Other' in a violent ethno-scape.

Nevertheless, by digging up the graveyards of the past spirits and conjuring up their ghosts, this documentary film creates another kind of violence and exposes the spectators to it. Why do we need to remember all these sad and traumatic stories of the past? Is it a necessary and indispensable precondition for peace? Zaim answers this question: ‘We know we can live together, but we still have to ask why we did this to each other. If you leave things unsaid they will become the bad dreams that haunt us and will again be exploited by the nationalists.’⁵²⁶ By focusing on one well-known and one less chronicled massacre on both sides, the film intensifies the power of ghosts to haunt the borders between the north and south of the island, and also to disrupt the conventional modes of knowing. With its spectral politics of polyvocality, *Parallel Trips* subtly deconstructs the legacies of British colonialist, Hellenic postcolonial nationalist, and Turkish postcolonial nationalist documentary film practices.

6.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the vocal dimension of haunting in the postcolonial oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips* and its role in the construction of film narrative. I argued that *Parallel Trips* is a remarkable achievement that perfectly deconstructs the colonial and ethno-nationalist film legacies by presenting the voices of Cypriots as signifiers of absent others. To support my argument, I also claimed in the theoretical section of this chapter that we can examine the ghostly nature of autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives in oral history documentaries, especially in *Parallel Trips*, more fully if

⁵²⁶ Cited in Fiachra Gibbons, ‘We Know We Can Live Together,’ *The Guardian*, May 1, 2004, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2004/may/01/books.featuresreviews/>, accessed August 12, 2010.

we pay particular attention to narrative voice. Indeed, by strategically using the autobiographical and autothanatographical voices of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, Zaim and Chrysanthou's project seeks to dismantle the 'grand narratives' of British colonialism and Hellenic and Turkish ethno-nationalism regarding the history of Cyprus. Adopting a comparative approach, this chapter contrasts colonial, ethno-nationalist, and postcolonial cosmopolitanist documentary film practices on the history of Cyprus by listing well known examples (i.e., the British colonial documentary film *Cyprus is an Island*, the Hellenic nationalist documentary film *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus*, and the Turkish nationalist documentary film *The 50 Years of Cyprus*, as well as the Cypriot cosmopolitanist oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*), then analyses each of the films in turn based on the approach they display toward Cyprus and Cypriots and puts forward a comprehensive conclusion.

Cyprus is an Island is remarkable, and close to unique, in the way it connects the 'imperial eye,' or the 'colonial gaze,' of the camera with an authoritative omniscient 'voice-over' that addresses the audience directly. Rendering the voices of the colonised Cypriots inaudible with an expository mode, the documentary manifests a politics of silencing, or a colonial approach to Cyprus and Cypriots. Furthermore, the hegemonic voice-over commentary of the documentary, which shows the colonial perception of the island, is also shaped by the key features, including touristic scopophilia, class stratification, and territorial imperative. As for *Attila '74*, it represents a classic example of Hellenic nationalist film practice in which the lived experiences, voices, and memory of postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subjects are silenced and suppressed with a primordialist discourse of cultural hegemony, a racially majoritarian logic, as well

as a politics of racially selective memory. Likewise, *The 50 Years of Cyprus* silences the voices of the Greek-Cypriot community by monotonising their voices, or reducing them to the voices of their political elites. The documentary seems to be based on the Turkish nationalist conviction that Cyprus would have certainly been united with Greece if Turkey did not intervene with its army in 1974. Following the arguments of Turkish official historical discourse, the voice-over commentary of the documentary also reflects the geopolitical and geological assumption that Cyprus is a natural extension of Asia Minor. Furthermore, the film's master narrative also suppresses the voices of the Turkish-Cypriot community by representing them as purely passive 'victims' who must be 'emancipated' from Greek-Cypriot oppression by the Turkish army.

Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, it is now possible to state that *Parallel Trips* is a work of oral history that attempts to excavate personal, or minor, histories of the Cypriots to deconstruct the political unconscious of the island and the grand narratives of the colonialist and nationalist imaginaries. To achieve this goal, the film uses the autobiographical and autothanatographical voices of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot survivors as a means of promoting a 'counter-memory,' which includes all forms of contested narratives. In so doing, the film forces the viewers to unlearn what they think they know about the past of Cyprus and to find a way of learning to live with the absent others.

6.7. Credits

Title: *Parallel Trips* (*Paralel Yolculuklar/ Ta parállila monopátia [Τα παράλληλα μονοπάτια]*)

Directors and Writers: Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou

Cinematographer: Feza aldıran and Andras Gero

Producers: Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou

Editor: Berke Bař and Hallosi Lazslo

Music: Mete Hatay

Country and Year: Turkey, Republic of Cyprus and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, 2004

Languages: Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek with English subtitles

Filming Locations: Cyprus

Runtime: 120 min.

Chapter 7 – Haunted Bodies: The Politics of Postcolonial

Subjectivity in *Mud*

‘How are we to touch upon the body? Perhaps we can’t answer this “How?” as we’d answer a technical question. But, finally, it has to be said that touching upon the body, touching the body, *touching* – happens in writing all the time.’

—Jean-Luc Nancy⁵²⁷

‘How to touch upon the untouchable? Distributed among an indefinite number of forms and figures, this question is precisely the obsession haunting a thinking of touch – or thinking as the *haunting* of touch. We can only touch on a surface, which is to say the skin or thin peel of a limit . . .’

—Jacques Derrida⁵²⁸

7.1. Introduction

On 27 June 2012, nearly 500 Turkish-Cypriots wearing masks with no faces and dressed in white like ‘ghosts’ gathered in front of the European Commission headquarters in Brussels to demonstrate against the discrimination they face as ‘invisible citizens’ of the European Union, saying the rights of the island’s Turkish minority were being ignored. The demonstration was timed to coincide with Greek Cyprus’ taking over presidency of European Council, commencing on 1st July 2012. As representatives from a wide range of NGOs, unions, and universities in Northern Cyprus, protestors handed out leaflets describing themselves as the ‘forgotten Europeans’ and held banners in their hands which

⁵²⁷ Jean-Luc Nancy, *Corpus*, trans. Richard A. Rand (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2008), 11.

⁵²⁸ Jacques Derrida, *On Touching: Jean-Luc Nancy*, trans. Christine Irizarry (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 6.

read, ‘Do we exist?’, ‘Don’t treat us as ghosts!’ and ‘Forgotten EU citizens: Turkish-Cypriots’. The demonstration leaders said that eight years after the island’s admission into the European Union, some 280,000 Turkish-Cypriot people are still unable to have a voice at the European Parliament, as all six Cypriot MEP seats are taken by politicians from the island’s south. They said that Turkish-Cypriots are deeply worried about being unable to benefit from the European Union’s basic rights and freedoms as well as commercial, educational, social, and cultural opportunities. This rally was organised to express their seeking of political, economic, and cultural ties between northern Cyprus and the European Union as well as participation in international sporting competitions. Emel Cevdet, chair of Embargoed! said, ‘Even though the EU promised to end the international isolation of Turkish-Cypriots, they continue to discriminate against them. They are their invisible citizens because as far as Europe is concerned, nothing and no-one exists north of the Green Line border [in Cyprus].’ She continued, ‘Today’s protest is a timely reminder to the EU and specifically Greek South Cyprus that Turkish-Cypriots do exist, we have rights and we demand they respect these now.’⁵²⁹

This demonstration was a directly relevant example of northern Cypriots’ irritatingly *in-between* position, namely their ghostly presence that haunts today’s Europe: they are neither fully present (as they are not officially recognized as political agents) nor absent (as they are still the citizens of the European Union). It is an irony for the European Union that its institutions and representatives are proud of promoting human rights, equality, and freedom in the rest of the world

⁵²⁹ ‘EU’s “Invisible Citizens” Protest in Brussels over Discrimination,’ Embargoed! Human Rights Group, released June 27, 2012, accessed November 6, 2012, http://www.embargoed.org/news.php?news_id=147.

while *some* of its citizens still exist like ghosts being deprived of their basic rights at home and continuing to suffer from an endless isolation, discrimination, and inequality. Hare Oktekin, a Turkish-Cypriot, once complained about her ‘spectral existence’ with regard to the hypocrisy of Europeans who keep on remaining deaf to her ‘unrecognised’ voice:

It is very upsetting that Turkish-Cypriots are living like invisible people on this island. No one recognizes us! When I say to someone who is living in England, France or Germany (it doesn’t matter which country for the sake of this example) that I am from Cyprus, they suppose that I am Greek. They don’t even know there are Turkish people. They only recognize the southern part of the island. Also, if you have a Turkish passport, traveling is very difficult and expensive. This passport problem prevents people from improving themselves. We must be equal with Greeks. Hey! We are here, on the north side of Cyprus. Can you hear our voice? We are Cypriots, Turkish-Cypriots. We are also human beings. Please try to hear our voice.⁵³⁰



Figure 39 – Turkish-Cypriots as the ‘ghosts’ of Europe demonstrate in Brussels for their basic rights and freedoms.

⁵³⁰ Hare Oktekin, ‘Can You Hear Our Voice?’, in *Cypriot Identities: Conversations on Paper*, ed. Karin B. Costello (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2005), 162.

In order to deal with the ghostly presence of Turkish-Cypriots in Europe from a cinematic perspective, this chapter seeks to address the following question: What function do the characters in Derviş Zaim's mnemopolitical film *Mud* perform? My argument in this chapter is that in the context of postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot cinema, especially in Zaim's Cyprus trilogy, film characters have a dual function: they are both 'haunted subjects' of disjointed times and the 'cinematic ghosts' of postcolonial Cyprus with an affective power of haunting that substitute for the silenced and disempowered agents of recent European history. In other words, a character in Zaim's *Mud* is a troubling figure of *non-knowledge* that substitutes for the *ghostly presence* of Turkish-Cypriots and their lived experiences of political isolation, discrimination, and inequality in the post-conflict decades.⁵³¹ By populating the social landscape of *Mud* with a variety of disabled and haunted bodies, Zaim re-contextualises the body of the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subject as a colonial legacy, and re-defines the silenced and war-wounded bodies of the Turkish-Cypriot minority as somatic markers of 'otherness' to problematise both the memory of ethnic violence (the 'patriarchive'⁵³², or the one-sided ethno-nationalist modes of remembering) and

⁵³¹ In his *Specters of Marx*, Derrida describes the specter as a figure of non-knowledge, or 'not-knowing' (45). In epistemological terms, it is a troubling figure, 'an unnameable or almost unnameable thing,' that 'no longer belongs to knowledge,' or 'at least no longer to that which one thinks one knows by the name of knowledge' (5). In the context of this chapter, 'the specter' refers to the ghostly presence of the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subject, while the term 'non-knowledge' refers to the phenomenological experiences and memories of that subject, which cannot be fully known and which cannot be represented in textual or audiovisual narratives as they are. Therefore, the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subject with unknowable individual experiences and memories constitutes a notion of a past as experienced, or a past utterly unrecognisable. See Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 2006).

⁵³² Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 35-36.

the damaged present of the postcolonial condition (the ‘postcolonial time-lag’⁵³³). The film portrays a highly claustrophobic atmosphere, the world of Turkish-Cypriots, which disenchant the European discourses of freedom, equality and human rights. To support my argument, I will provide a hauntological analysis of film characters in *Mud*, where we encounter the postcolonial subjects of Cyprus and the disjointed times of their lives.

Thus my main concern in this chapter will be the ambivalent, introvert, hesitant, disabled, anti-heroic, and inoperative protagonists and characters that are constituted and deconstituted through ruptures in the non-progressive temporality of Zaim’s film narrative. Zaim translates the postcolonial time-lag, or the surreal conditions, of northern Cyprus (a result created by both the British colonial policy of divide and rule and the current social, economic, and political isolation) into a film inventing mythical elements in a slightly surreal and eclectic manner; and accordingly, the ancient-past-present/recent-past-present/actual-present/future-present times melt into a ‘spectral moment’ in the narrative time of *Mud*.⁵³⁴ For Zaim, past-present-future are all intermingled and shaped by what we may call the ‘ghostly touch’, or the affective power of haunting; thus, they should be considered in the temporal flow of *Mud* as three aspects of the ‘spectral moment’ that defines the Turkish-Cypriot’s ghostly presence. In this multi-protagonist satirical and political drama, all three protagonists struggle in ‘muddy’ conditions

⁵³³ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 284. Homi Bhabha’s notion of the ‘time-lag’ represents perhaps the most concerted attempt to utilise the idea and the aesthetics of haunting as a way of rethinking the postcolonial legacy. While Bhabha uses this term to define ‘the hybrid present time’ of double consciousness, I would like to use the term to draw attention to ‘the isolated present time’ of wounded consciousness, of the schizoid disorder in northern Cyprus, as Bhabha’s conception of ‘hybridity’ as a form of postcolonial agency does not apply to the case of Turkish-Cypriots who live in the isolated north side of the island.

⁵³⁴ Derrida explains *spectral moment* as ‘a moment that no longer belongs to time, if one understands by this word the linking of modalized presents (past present, actual living present: “now,” future present)’. *Specters of Marx*, xix.

as they live at the margins of the international community, being perpetually ‘touched’ by the ghosts of the present, past, and future.

The chapter has been divided into three main parts: the first provides a historical overview of the post-conflict period in Cyprus from the division of the island after the Second Intercommunal Civil War and Turkey’s military intervention in 1974 to the Referendum for the Annan Plan in 2004. The second part of this chapter offers a theoretical framework from a Derridean perspective, a hauntology of film characters, to investigate the corporeal characteristics of Zaim’s film. The third part, the figure of the haunted body as a signifier of Turkish-Cypriot postcolonial subjectivity in Zaim’s spectral realist cinema, will be explored by means of a close reading of *Mud*. Here I will be dealing in particular with the temporal aspects of three haunted film characters and their disabled bodies in reference to the disjointed lives of the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subjects. This part traces the individual and social lives of the three anti-heroic and inoperative protagonists (i.e., Ali, Temel, and Ayşe), or what I will call ‘haunted bodies’, that appear in Zaim’s film and will examine their narrative function. Ali appears as an asocial and uncommunicative character, who loses his voice to the spectre of the *actual living present* time. Within the symbolic order of the film’s militarised geography, he substitutes for the postwar ‘mute’ bodies who are silenced by the specters of great powers and guarantor states of Cyprus (the United States, the former Soviet Union, Britain, Greece, and Turkey). Temel is haunted by the specters of the *past present*, or the victims of the postcolonial ethnic conflicts, and stands for the ‘melancholic’ subjects of the island whose actual living present time is disrupted by the apparitions of the past trauma. Ayşe, on the other hand, is touched by the ghosts of the *future present*, namely the

generations to-come, being a substitute for the ‘exhausted’ people of the north who have been struggling for a peaceful solution for more than three decades in between despair and hope.

7.2. Historical Overview: Post-Conflict Period in a Divided Cyprus, 1974–2004

Since a Greek-Cypriot *coup d'état* in 1974 was followed by Turkey's military intervention, Cyprus has been divided along ethnic lines into a *southern* zone, the Greek-Cypriot-controlled two-thirds of the island, and a *northern* zone, the remaining one-third of the island being administered by Turkish-Cypriots. The two regions are separated by a buffer zone, known as the ‘Green Line’, first established in 1964 and patrolled by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). The cataclysmic events of July-August 1974 have radically changed the conditions of social and political life on the island, creating enormous problems. The first of the war's consequences was displacement, causing the birth of a ‘refugee problem’.⁵³⁵ Following the 1975 Vienna agreements, about 160,000 Greek-Cypriots, a third of the Greek community, in the north were forced to move to south and about 45,000 Turkish-Cypriots, representing nearly 40 percent of the

⁵³⁵ Lisa Dikomitis, *Cyprus and Its Places of Desire: Cultures of Displacement Among Greek and Turkish Cypriot Refugees* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); Salahi Ramadan Sonyel, *Settlers and Refugees in Cyprus* (London: Cyprus Turkish Association Publications, 1991); Rebecca Bryant, *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife - Report 2: Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community* (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2012); Peter Loizos, *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Peter Loizos, *Iron in the Soul: Displacement, Livelihood and Health in Cyprus*, Studies in Forced Migration, vol. 23 (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008); Socio-Psychological Research Group, *A Representative Research Among the 200,000 Refugees of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Takis Evdokas, 1976).

Turkish community, were forced to move from the south to the north.⁵³⁶ In addition, 803 Turkish-Cypriots and 1,619 Greek-Cypriots were said to be missing as a result of the forced migrations and intercommunal conflicts during the 1960s and 1970s.⁵³⁷ After the division, most of the Cypriots became internal immigrants and both southern and northern towns turned into almost entirely ethnically cleansed and demographically homogeneous places. There remained only a few villages in Cyprus with a mixed population. Pyla, which is located inside the UN-patrolled buffer zone, is one such where a mosque and a church are almost neighbours. There also remained a small Greek-Cypriot community still living in the isolated Karpass Peninsula in northern Cyprus. The arrival of settlers from Turkey was the second problem. In the post-1974 period, the island was populated with a substantial number of settlers from Turkey. There has been much speculation over the number of Turkish settlers during the past four decades among both Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, and the political use of demography has dominated the debate on the ‘settlers’ issue until today. Using the 1996 census data and updates, Mete Hatay in a PRIO report, estimated Turkish ‘settlers’ – defined as Turkish-mainland migrants granted TRNC citizenship – to be around 32,000–35,000, accounting for 16.4 percent–18.4 percent of a total TRNC citizenship of 190,000. He also pointed out that there was an estimated additional 102,000 temporary residents from Turkey in northern Cyprus. Hatay places the figure of ‘settlers’ at around 20 percent–30 percent of the TRNC

⁵³⁶ Tozun Bahcheli, ‘Turning a New Page in Turkey’s Relations with Greece?: The Challenge of Reconciling Vital Interests,’ in *Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean*, ed. Mustafa Aydın and Kostas Ifantis (London: Routledge, 2004), 104.

⁵³⁷ Paul Sant Cassia, *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 23.

population/electorate.⁵³⁸ Property issues, or the return or compensation of properties, seem to be the third major problem for any settlement of the Cyprus crisis. After the forced migration, the Turkish-Cypriot administration nationalised all lands and properties formerly belonging to Greek-Cypriot inhabitants and most of them were distributed to Turkish-Cypriots, through certificates of usufruct, on the basis of property lost in the south.

The years following the Second Intercommunal Civil War of 1974 in Cyprus have witnessed several formal sets of UN-sponsored negotiations as well as indirect talks between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities.⁵³⁹ For decades, repeated efforts have been made by the United Nations and the international community to push the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot leaderships towards a political settlement, but have produced no substantial results. During these failed UN meetings, the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot leaderships usually blamed each other for the failure. However, some fundamental principles, which seemed to be necessary for a settlement, were also agreed on. As the strife between the two communities showed no signs of settlement, the Turkish-Cypriot community went from being an administration that serving the Turkish-Cypriot enclave in 1967-1974 to unilaterally declaring the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in 1975, and then the Turkish Republic of Northern

⁵³⁸ Mete Hatay, *Beyond Numbers: An Inquiry into the Political Integration of the Turkish 'Settlers' in Northern Cyprus* (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2005). Also see: Mete Hatay, *Is the Turkish-Cypriot Population Shrinking?: An Overview of the Ethno-Demography of Cyprus in the Light of the Preliminary Results of the 2006 Turkish-Cypriot Census* (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2007).

⁵³⁹ A. J. R. Groom, 'The Process of Negotiation, 1974–1993,' in *The Political, Social and Economic Development of Northern Cyprus*, ed. Clement H. Dodd (Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, 1993), 15–45; Glen D. Camp, 'Island Impasse: Peacemaking on Cyprus, 1980–1994,' in *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*, ed. Vangelis Calotychos (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), 135–158.

Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983.⁵⁴⁰ The latter is not recognised by any country other than Turkey. The failure to achieve a reconciliation between the two sides was largely an outcome of the fact that since 1974 both the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot leaderships have entrenched their mutually exclusive negotiating positions on the essential matters. The primary differences between the two sides can be highlighted by briefly examining their positions on four issues: sovereignty, political equality, economic liberalization, and motherlands.

Firstly, the peace talks between the leaders of the two communities foundered on divergent objectives and conflicting conceptions of sovereignty and federalism. Turkish-Cypriot leaders have emphasized the importance of ‘separate sovereignty’, meaning that a federal state would emerge from the aggregation of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot sovereign federated states. They have argued that political equality between the two communities would be possible only through a federation by aggregation in which the sovereign and largely self-governing cantons would delegate limited powers to the centre. The Greek-Cypriot leaders have agreed with their counterparts on the notion of a bicomunal, bizonal federation; however, they insisted on the ‘single and indivisible sovereignty’ of the Republic of Cyprus, which would disaggregate through constitutional change.

Secondly, there has been a significant divergence between the two sides’ interpretations of ‘political equality’. The Turkish-Cypriots wished to define the sacrosanct principle of political equality as the equal status of the two federated states and equality of the two communities. In other words, Turkish-Cypriots have

⁵⁴⁰ Clement H. Dodd, ‘From Federated State to Republic, 1975–84,’ in *The Political, Social and Economic Development of Northern Cyprus*, ed. Clement H. Dodd (Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, 1993), 15–45.

preferred two nearly autonomous societies with limited contact. The Greek-Cypriots, on the other hand, reluctantly accepted the principle of political equality; however, they were inclined toward a strong, central government, more akin to a unitary state, based on political equality between the two communities. They have envisioned the federated states as entities with only a limited set of regional powers, and defended the principles of proportionality and majority rule.

Thirdly, leaders of the two communities have also differed significantly on the issue of economic liberalisation. In the post-1974 era, the Greek-Cypriot economy in the south experienced remarkable economic prosperity, whereas the Turkish-Cypriot economy in the north remained stagnant and undeveloped. The economic disparity between the Greek-Cypriot south and the Turkish-Cypriot north has produced radically different ways of life and standards of living, impeding intercommunal relations. The Greek-Cypriots have insisted on an economically liberal society, demanding liberalisation of the freedoms of movement, settlement, and property. The Turkish-Cypriots, however, have rejected their demands, arguing that the northern side of the island would be 'bought up' by the richer Greek-Cypriots if the 'three freedoms' were fully liberalised, and this may gradually lead to the annihilation of the Turkish-Cypriot community.

Lastly, the rivalry between the so-called 'motherlands', Greece and Turkey, has created another obstacle for reconciliation between the Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. Since the Greek rebellion against the Ottoman Empire in 1821, there have been strained relations between the two nations. The Greco-Turkish discord was augmented in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the wars of 1897, 1912-13 and 1919-23, and again after 1974 by

clashes between Greece and Turkey over sovereignty rights in the Aegean Sea. As a consequence of the fact that the two Cypriot communities have chosen to identify themselves with the so-called 'motherlands', the historical legacy of the Greco-Turkish discord has continued to hinder the construction of shared or coexisting identities on the island.

The Greek-Cypriot government submitted a formal application for membership to the European Union on behalf of the whole island in 1990, without prior consultation of the Turkish-Cypriots. Some member states were critical of admitting a divided island into the union. However, the Treaty of Accession was signed in April 2003 and Cyprus was admitted to the EU irrespective of the political situation on the island. On Wednesday, 23 April 2003, one week after the Republic of Cyprus signed the Treaty of Accession, the Turkish-Cypriot authorities unilaterally decided to open the Ledra Palace checkpoint, allowing people to cross without requiring prior permission from the Turkish-Cypriot administration. One year later, on 24 April 2004, the fifth and final version of the Annan plan, the proposed United Nation's solution for the reunification of Cyprus, was presented to the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities in separate referendums and required a double majority for approval. The two communities voted in opposite directions: 76 percent of Greek-Cypriots voted against the plan, while 65 percent of Turkish-Cypriots voted in favour. One week later, on 1 May 2004, the Republic of Cyprus entered the European Union. The failure of the Annan Plan to be approved by Greek-Cypriots was a serious disappointment for Turkish-Cypriots. This failure was likely to be interpreted as a sign that the Greek-Cypriots did not want to live in a bicomunal and bizonal state. What happened after the referendum of the Annan plan was also a

disappointment for Turkish-Cypriots, because the Greek-Cypriots were rewarded by the European Union despite their ‘No’ vote for the plan, while the Turkish-Cypriots continue to be punished with an embargo.

All in all, the division of Cyprus in 1974 led to radical social disintegration and to cultural schizophrenia. In other words, the emergence of two distinct economic, political, and social systems and polities on the island has greatly aggravated the intercommunal estrangement of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots by removing the possibility of any experience of joint governance and of the development of a joint political culture. From September 1974 to April 2003, there had been almost no contact between the two sides: face-to-face relationship between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots were ‘limited to a few meetings between groups of professionals, journalists, youth organisations and artists that were occasionally organised by various trade unions or peace movements.’⁵⁴¹ The existence of the Green Line, which is an impenetrable *de facto* border running 180 kilometres across the island and cutting the capital city of Nicosia into two, has inhibited the social and cultural links between the two communities. The economic links between north and south, on the other hand, have also been destroyed due to the embargo imposed on the north by the Republic of Cyprus. Furthermore, the national education systems and media have run a negative politics of memory, or a politics of selective memory, reminding young Cypriots only of the injustices and atrocities of the past. All these facts have had negative impacts upon the self-perception of the new generations of both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots as well as their

⁵⁴¹ Dikomitis, *Cyprus and Its Places of Desire*, 60.

perceptions of the other, encouraging radical political views based on bias, prejudice, and ethnic hatred.

7.3. Theoretical Theme: A Hauntological Analysis of Film Characters

‘ . . . the body is a *coming into presence*, in the way and manner of images that come to a television screen, or movie screen, coming not *of* and *from* the depths of the screen, but rather *being* this screen, this screen spaced out, and existing as the screen’s extention . . . but *on* [*à même*] my eyes themselves (my body), as their areality: the eyes themselves come to this coming, they are spaced out, spacing out, themselves a screen, and are less a “vision” than a *video*. (Not “video” = “I see,” but *video* as a generic appellation for the *technê* of coming into presence. *Technê*: “technics,” “art,” “modalization,” “creation.”). . . Its coming, thus, will never be finished; it *goes* as it comes; it is coming-and-going; it is the rhythm of bodies born, bodies dying, bodies that are open, closed, bodies in pleasure, bodies in pain, bodies touching one another, distancing themselves.’

—Jacques Derrida⁵⁴²

What is a film character? How would a hauntology of film describe film characters and their lives, especially those that appear in historical films, memory-films, heritage films, and biopics? A film character is mostly considered to be an ‘imaginary human being’, an embodied consciousness, who has an intentional inner life (i.e., perceptions, thoughts, motives and emotions); however, its definition also includes ‘actual human beings’ such as fictionalised historical characters and ‘non-human fictional entities’ such as smart animals, singing plants, animated machines, gods, aliens, monsters, ghosts, vampires, fantastic creatures, or mere abstract shapes.⁵⁴³ The world of films and its ‘spectral’ beings are sophisticated artifacts springing from intersubjective imagination and

⁵⁴² Derrida, *On Touching*, 222.

⁵⁴³ Maria E. Reicher, ‘The Ontology of Fictional Characters,’ in *Characters in Fictional Worlds: Understanding Imaginary Beings in Literature, Film, and Other Media*, ed. Jens Eder, Fotis Jannidis and Ralf Schneider (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 2010), 111-133.

collective memory. For this reason, film characters are more than just signs ‘in the filmic text’ or pure mental representations ‘in the head’. Instead, they are collective constructs with a normative component and affective powers. Scholars from different traditions of film theory focus on various aspects of characters such as sex and gender in feminist/queer film theory, class in Marxist film theory, imperial power relations and hybrid diaspora identities in postcolonial film theory, race and ethnicity in British cultural studies, object-relations and identification in psychoanalytic film theory, rhizomatic encounters and minor politics in Deleuzian schizoanalytic film theory, or action and focalization in narrative film theory. In place of these theoretical approaches, I propose a Derridean hauntological approach that envisages film characters of mnemopolitical cinema as both ‘subjects of remembering’ who are haunted by the ghosts of catastrophic past events and ‘photographic and phonographic specters’ that stand for the ghosts of social past and that suspend between life and death having an affective power of *haunting*.⁵⁴⁴ To investigate the lives of ‘cinematic bodies’ from a hauntological point of view, we should first think of how the embodied subject is explained in Derridean hauntology.

The French philosophers Jean-Luc Nancy and Jacques Derrida insisted that the body is what *haunts* us.⁵⁴⁵ Bodies haunt us, and they are also haunted. The ghost is a *body-without-presence*; as Derrida explains in his *Specters of Marx*, ‘the

⁵⁴⁴ A hauntological analysis of film characters can focus on three types of relationship: the relationship of the protagonist with its past selves; the relationship of the protagonist with other characters; and the relationship of the protagonist with the spectators. In this chapter, my concern is mainly the individual and intersubjective lives of the protagonists; thus, I will not discuss spectatorship theories, although I consider film characters to be ‘cinematic specters’ that potentially have affective powers of haunting (i.e., uncanny powers that create certain affects in the spectator seeing the ghostly traces of film).

⁵⁴⁵ Nancy, *Corpus*, 2-3; Derrida, *On Touching*, 61.

ghost is a “who,” it is not of the simulacrum in general, it has a kind of body, but without property, without “real” or “personal” right of property.⁵⁴⁶ As he explains elsewhere, the ghost is ‘a body’ in the sense that ‘there is no ghost, there is never any becoming-specter of the spirit without at least an appearance of flesh, in a space of invisible visibility, like the dis-appearing of an apparition.’⁵⁴⁷ He goes on to say that, ‘for there to be ghost, there must be a return to the body.’⁵⁴⁸ Derrida’s hauntology of the self regards the body as the ‘house’ where one’s own spectral consciousness haunts itself, and as the ‘tomb’, or the epitaph, where one’s own past and future, or death, is inscribed. The self, or the ego, as a hauntological term means the embodied consciousness, which is haunted by the autobiographical traces of moral life, namely a series of ghosts (i.e., the memory of past experiences including both the individual’s own actions and the events that happened to him, as well as the ghostly ruins of the other). According to Derrida, ‘the identity of the ghost is precisely the “problem.”’⁵⁴⁹ The self or subjectivity, he argues, is nothing more than the ‘simulacra of identity,’ or the ‘serialisation of spectral singularities.’⁵⁵⁰ For Derrida, the subject is never present to itself as it is always open to the *haunting* of its past ‘selves’ – of childhood, of adolescence, and especially of traumatic moments of his life. It is utterly unable to grasp itself as a coherent unity since the past times of its life never cease fully to haunt the present, or, better put, disrupt the presence of the present. Therefore, an individual

⁵⁴⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 2006), 51.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 173.

could inevitably have difficulty living with ‘this disjunction of the injunctions within him and with the fact that they were *untranslatable* into each other. How is one to receive, how is one to understand a speech, how is one to inherit it when it does not let itself be *translated* from itself into itself?’⁵⁵¹ For this reason, the *phenomenology* of the self, Derrida insists, should evolve into what we may call a ‘phantomenology’. In Derrida’s words, ‘this *living individual* would itself be inhabited and invaded by its own specter. . . . Ego=ghost. Therefore “I am” would mean “I am haunted”: I am haunted by myself who am (haunted by myself who am haunted by myself who am . . . and so forth).’⁵⁵² That is, ‘the phenomenological *ego* (Me, You, and so forth) is a specter.’⁵⁵³ As Derrida defines it, *hauntology* is the ‘ethics’ of living with the other, including the dead one;⁵⁵⁴ for him, learning to live can be possible only at the edge of life, and only the other, the absent other, can teach it:

To live, by definition, is not something one learns. Not from oneself, it is not learned from life, taught by life. Only from the other and by death. In any case from the other at the edge of life. At the internal border or the external border, it is a heterodidactics between life and death.⁵⁵⁵

Echoing Derrida’s ethical conception of the ego, ‘the subject’s obligation to learn to live with the absent others,’ Shane McCorristine problematises the experience of ‘haunting’ and proposes the term of the ‘spectral self’, which defines ‘a subjectivity that was conflicted, hemispheric, and liable to

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 42.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 166.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 169.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., xvii.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., xvii.

hallucinations at any given moment; a mind that was haunted by death, by the past, by fixed ideas; a consciousness frightened by its own existence; and an emotional apparatus seemingly hard-wired to see apparitions of the dead.’⁵⁵⁶

Derrida’s hauntological definition of the self (i.e., the ‘haunted subject’ whose ethical responsibility is to learn to live with the ghosts of the absent others) seems pertinent to opening up a space for the character analysis of what Russell Kilbourn calls ‘memory-films.’⁵⁵⁷ Let me give the classical definition of film characters before moving on to the hauntological conception of characters:

According to the predominant character conception of mainstream realism, protagonists should be individualistic, autonomous, multidimensional, dynamic, transparent, easily understood, consistent, and dramatic. The mainstream film thus conveys an image of humanity that pictures humans as active, reflective, rational, emotional, morally unambiguous, comprehensible, coherent, and autonomous.⁵⁵⁸

In contrast to the film characters of mainstream realist films, the haunted protagonists and side characters of what I will call ‘spectral realist’ films do not fit the above definition – that is, they are not *self-present* subjects. Instead, an image of haunted subjectivity is conveyed that presents characters as the subjects of remembering who are *haunted* by the specters of a catastrophic past; thus, they are more opaque, more ambivalent, less dramatic, rather static, difficult to understand, emotionally diffuse, driven by spectral forces, subjected to internal and external impulses, complex and incoherent, passive and indecisive, fractured, twisted, unsteady, discordant and dispersed. In short, the film character in the

⁵⁵⁶ Shane McCorristine, *Specters of the Self: Thinking about Ghosts and Ghost-Seeing in England, 1750-1920* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3.

⁵⁵⁷ Russell J.A. Kilbourn, *Cinema, Memory, Modernity: The Representation of Memory from the Art Film to Transnational Cinema* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 49.

⁵⁵⁸ Jens Eder, ‘Understanding Characters,’ *Projections* 4:1 (2010): 28.

genre of spectral realist memory-films is a 'ghost', a troubling figure that is neither absent nor fully present to itself and also that resists being fully recognised and known.

Put differently, the protagonist of a spectral realist memory-film mostly emerges as an anti-heroic and inoperative figure, a sum of all the binary oppositions in the film narrative, and forms part of a constellation of other characters who either share a set of common traits (parallels) or represent opposing traits (contrasts). Since the character in a memory-film looks like a web of opposing and shifting traits attached to a proper name, it should not be taken for anything like a person, but rather a ghost, a figure of non-knowledge, a singular embodied memory that does not correspond to the traditional character formation. The protagonist in a memory-film should be considered a 'spectral subject,' or 'differentiated subject,' who 'is made up of many voices and these voices are even opposite to one another.'⁵⁵⁹ For this reason, the protagonist's contradictory, undecidable, and shifting identification does not envelop a discrete core, but its very absence. Basically, it is a figure of non-knowledge that reveals the inconsistent memory and post-memory of catastrophic past events: memory should not be concretised (in transparent, comprehensible, stable, coherent, and autonomous film characters), given an impossible presence in the present, but should be revealed through film characters as inherently unstable, unfixable, and undecidable. Primarily, the experience of wounded/disabled embodiment and unpredictable encounters with spectral alterities (haunting bodies, ghostly traces, etc.) challenge the very subjectivity of those film characters. Through acts of

⁵⁵⁹ Marko Zlomislčić, *Jacques Derrida's Aporetic Ethics* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 334.

remembering one's own past crimes and victimhood, those characters' unhappy consciousness ceaselessly haunts itself, so they appear as reflexive self-haunting ghost mechanisms. In short, the self-perception of these anti-heroic and passive characters changes when they are haunted by encounters with spectral ruins or when their mode of embodiment radically shifts, namely when their bodies are haunted by the specter of disability, or in Derrida's term, by the 'ghost of disfiguration.'⁵⁶⁰

In *The Phantom of the Cinema: Character in Modern Film* (1998), Lloyd Michaels introduces a deconstructive conception of character, or what he called 'the phantom aspect of character', which has been regarded as the first extended study on the hauntology of the film character.⁵⁶¹ In his book, Michaels applies the hauntological concept of the 'presence of absence' to film art with reference to the temporal nature of the filmic medium, and argues that the spectral nature of the filmic medium distinguishes cinema from other performative arts: 'Film characters may be resurrected during projection but only as spectres from the recorded past, not really there in present time as well as space. To the concept of presence of absence must be added the presence of pastness, mediating the immediacy and definition of the perceptual experience.'⁵⁶² What the spectator views on the screen is 'the ghostly representatives of not only fictional characters but of celebrated performers nearly all of whom are now dead.'⁵⁶³ According to

⁵⁶⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 32.

⁵⁶¹ Lloyd Michaels, *The Phantom of the Cinema: Character in Modern Film* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998).

⁵⁶² Michaels, *The Phantom of the Cinema*, 13.

⁵⁶³ Michaels, *The Phantom of the Cinema*, 13.

Derrida's film-hauntological account, even before their death, actors and actresses 'are already specters of a "televised"' and 'are spectralized by the shot, captured or possessed by spectrality in advance,' as their recorded images and voices will be *still* 'reproducible' in their 'absence'.⁵⁶⁴ Moreover, the reincarnation of the *historical persons* of the past, or the ancestors' spirits, in a myriad of 'borrowed bodies', namely the tangible-intangible bodies of the actors and the actresses in historical films, is another spectral power of film. This multi-layered phantomic incarnation is a kind of *fort/da*, or going and coming back: 'Its coming, thus, will never be finished; it *goes* as it comes; it is coming-and-going; it is the rhythm of bodies born, bodies dying, bodies that are open, closed, bodies in pleasure, bodies in pain, bodies touching one another, distancing themselves.'⁵⁶⁵ Cinematic *fort/da* intensifies and mirrors the effect of the endless returns of the absent selves: in Derrida's terms, it is 'the ghost of the ghost of the specter-spirit, simulacrum of simulacra without end.'⁵⁶⁶

However, Michaels's critical conception does not consist of merely being dependent on the temporal nature of the projected image, nor the phantomic incarnation of the character in the performer's body. Following a poststructuralist path, his hauntological analysis of film characters goes further and suggests a critique of the humanist account of character, which is predicated on the notion of a unified, rational, self-determining consciousness. For Michaels, the conventional conception of character as being unified, constant, consistent, and coherent is highly problematic since such a definition fails to account for the split,

⁵⁶⁴ Jacques Derrida and Bernard Stiegler, *Echographies of Television: Filmed Interviews*, trans. Jennifer Bajorek (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 117.

⁵⁶⁵ Derrida, *On Touching*, 222.

⁵⁶⁶ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 158-159.

parasitic, neurotic, protean, and even ‘anti-heroic’ characters that appear in many films. He interrogates how cinematic images create a constantly mediated sense of reality that allows certain philosophical films including Ingmar Bergman’s *Persona* (1966) to project a problematic understanding of human identity. Through the close readings of several films, Michaels shows how the humanist view of the individual as autonomous, rational, and self-determining fails to explain why film protagonists reflect both the melancholy and mystery of personhood and the ‘inner aesthetic’ of the medium itself. Indeed, the spectral self as an anti-humanistic term applies to the ambiguous characters of remarkable memory-films such as Alain Resnais’s *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959), *Last Year at Marienbad* (1961), *Muriel, ou le Temps d’un retour* (1963) and *Je t’aime, je t’aime* (1968), Chris Marker’s *La Jetée* (1962) and *Immunity* (1998, 2008), and Michael Haneke’s *Caché* (2005). All in all, the hauntological analysis of character views film characters as specters, or ‘phantoms’, in the sense that they are irreducible and ungraspable alterities ‘with respect to the bundle of traits that are given and the infinite galaxy of unknown characteristics that are withheld.’⁵⁶⁷

7.4. Cultural Context: Haunted Bodies as Colonial Legacy

Zaim’s Cyprus trilogy is based on the ghostly narratives about the postcolonial ethnic conflict between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots that emerged on the island in the second half of the twentieth century in the form of competing ethnocentric nationalisms and identities, following the end of the British colonial rule. In his trilogy, *Mud* (*Çamur*, 2003), *Parallel Trips* (*Paralel Yolculuklar/ Ta parállila monopátia* [*Τα παράλληλα μονοπάτια*]), co-directed with Greek-Cypriot

⁵⁶⁷ Michaels, *The Phantom of the Cinema*, 35.

Panicos Chrysanthou, 2004) and *Shadows and Faces* (*Gölgeler ve Suretler*, 2011), Zaim mainly focuses on the body of the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subject which is haunted by the ghostly traces of ethnic war, and problematises the ‘disempowered subjectivity’ that has been produced by the postcolonial condition, ethnocentric nationalisms, and the militarist culture of Cyprus. As it is described in *Mud*, the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subject is a *ghostly body* or an *embodied ghost*, while the Turkish-Cypriot film character is an ‘artifactual body, a prosthetic body, a ghost of spirit, one might say a ghost of the ghost.’⁵⁶⁸ The postcolonial condition of Turkish-Cypriots refers to both being forced to live in the uncanny ‘enclaves’ of civil war between 1963 and 1974, and then living in what Yael Navaro-Yashin calls the ‘make-believe space’ of a divided island, namely in the internationally unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).⁵⁶⁹



Figure 40 – Mute protagonist Ali and other disabled side characters. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Mud*.

⁵⁶⁸ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 158.

⁵⁶⁹ Yael Navaro-Yashin, *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

Mud (2003) is the first mnemopolitical film in the post-Yeşilçam cinema of Turkey that deals with the socio-cultural problems of the post-conflict period in Northern Cyprus, and the first film in Turkish cinema that portrays the Cyprus dispute in an unorthodox manner. It is also the first of Zaim's Cyprus trilogy, which received the UNESCO Prize at the 2003 Venice Film Festival but also fell foul of Cypriot censors. Since it was Zaim's 'homage' to the land he was born in, the film defies conventional discourses about Cyprus that have prevailed in Turkey for decades and openly mentions the killing of Greek-Cypriot villagers in revenge for the massacres of Turkish-Cypriots. Following a 'politics of memory' to come to terms with the uneasy past, *Mud* also examines the possible conditions of a 'politics of friendship' in order to establish a peaceful future together in the postwar divided island. Its screenplay is based on a postcolonial narrative that problematises how Turkish-Cypriots, as politically disempowered subjects, are made invisible and marginalised by the great powers (the United States and the former Soviet Union) and the guarantor states (Britain, Turkey, and Greece), even when their Constitution was being written.

7.5. Film Analysis: *Mud*

Mud is a mnemopolitical satirical drama that represents the disjointed times of Turkish-Cypriots and the surreal conditions of the postcolony in northern Cyprus through haunted characters (i.e., the protagonists, Ali, Temel, and Ayşe). Zaim intermingles a surreal aesthetics with a satirical tone as a strategy to depict the bizarre postcolonial condition and spectral socio-political reality of northern Cyprus. With its multi-layered text, daisy-chain plot and network narratives, *Mud*

is a ‘multi-protagonist film’.⁵⁷⁰ The film’s plot takes place on Cyprus near the border between the Greek and Turkish sides, where black mud in a salt-water lake is believed to be a sort of ‘panacea’ having unique healing capabilities. Four Turkish-Cypriot friends in their forties deal with their memories of the war with the Greeks, trying to learn to live with the specters of the ‘disjointed now’ (the violent past/isolated present/hopeless future) of a divided island. Having lost his voice to a mysterious illness, Ali (Mustafa Uğurlu) is a mute soldier who does his compulsory military service at a late period of his life. His sister Ayşe (Yelda Reynaud) is a gynecologist and her fiancé Halil (Bülent Emin Yarar) is an ordinary guy who is obsessed with making easy money by trying to sell some ancient sculptures. And Temel (Taner Birsnel) is a restaurant owner tormented by the nasty things he did to revenge the murder of his friends back in the 1974 war. In contrast to the ‘heroic characters’ of the Yeşilçam war films that were made about the Cyprus conflict,⁵⁷¹ Zaim’s spectropoetic cinema obsessively explores this ‘disjointed now’⁵⁷², or the ‘postcolonial time-lag’⁵⁷³, of Turkish-Cypriots through the fictional lives of these haunted characters, his ambivalent and hesitant protagonists, focusing on three different types of ghostly presences: (i) *the ghostly actual living present*: the ghostly traces of ethnic war upon the characters’ bodies that appear as different forms of impairment (paralysed or lost legs, lost voice, defective vision, dwarf body, and scars that have been inscribed upon their skin as

⁵⁷⁰ María del Mar Azcona, *The Multi-Protagonist Film* (Malden, MA: WileyBlackwell, 2010), 1–45.

⁵⁷¹ For a general character analysis of the Yeşilçam films: Nebat Yağız, *Türk Sinemasında Karakterler ve Tipler: Türk Sinemasının Türk Toplumuna Bakışı, 1950–1975* [Characters and Types in Turkish Cinema: Turkish Cinema’s Representation of Turkish Society, 1950–1975] (Istanbul: İşaret, 2009).

⁵⁷² Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 1.

⁵⁷³ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 284.

traces of past trauma); (ii) *the ghostly past present*: the characters' encounters with spectral alterities (the remnants, or ruins, of spectral others such as the skulls or bones of the victims of ethnic hatred); and (iii) *the ghostly future present*: the characters' concerns about future generations and about conjuring up their ghosts.⁵⁷⁴

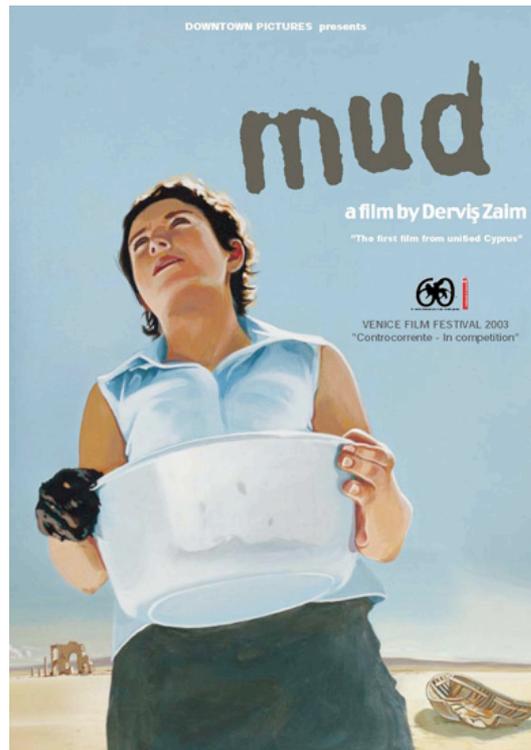


Figure 41 – Film poster for Derviş Zaim's *Mud* (Çamur, 2003).

⁵⁷⁴ Zaim's ethicopolitical film narratives primarily revolve around seven types of haunted characters: (1) those who are haunted by the spectre of the *ego*, its past crimes and malevolences (Ahmet in *Dot*; Temel in *Mud*; Ruhsar in *Shadows and Faces*); (2) those who are haunted by the specter of homo- and trans-sexuality (Devrim in *Elephants and Grass*; Leyla in *Waiting for Heaven*); (3) those who are haunted by the specter of being situated in a disabled or disfigured body (İldeniz in *Elephants and Grass*; Ali and Ahmet along with other disabled characters in *Mud*; Salih and Michalis in *Parallel Trips*); (4) those who are haunted by the face, body-image, voice-record, and corporeal remnants of the Other, i.e. televisual and radiophonic presences, cinematic/photographic phantoms, pictorial revenants, phonographic ghosts, uncanny puppets, ancient/contemporary sculptures as well as excavated bones and sperm installations (Devrim in *Elephants and Grass*; Ali, Halil, other characters in *Mud*; Salih, Veli and Anna in *Shadows and Faces*; Eflatun and Gazal Efendi in *Waiting for Heaven*); (5) those who are haunted by the specter of the dead, the murdered, and the missing one (Temel in *Mud*; Ruhsar in *Shadows and Faces*; Eflatun in *Waiting for Heaven*; Ahmet in *Dot*); (6) those who are haunted by the specter of future generations (Ayşe and Oya in *Mud*); and (7) those who are haunted by the specter of the state and its embodied military presence (İldeniz in *Elephants and Grass*; Ali in *Mud*).

As a political drama, *Mud* is filled with allegories and surreal elements. Through the anti-heroic, introvert, and inoperative protagonists who resist being fully known, recognized, or identified, the film narrative opens up a critical space to explore how the present, post-1974 time of the unrecognized northern Cyprus is haunted by the specters of its traumatic past, how the political geography of Cyprus is haunted by the specters of external powers, how the disempowered and fractured characters are haunted by the scars of ethnic war that were inscribed upon their bodies and minds, and how they respond to the ‘spectral reality’ of being politically, economically, and culturally isolated, spatially enclosed, and indefinitely stuck in a status of limbo. But what is this strange title, *Mud*? Zaim has said that, ‘In my film, “mud” should be considered as a visual allegory that describes the postcolonial condition, meaning the undecidable situation of the post-1974 Cyprus. It has the power of both “healing” and “troubling”, just like the ancient Greek term *pharmakon*.’⁵⁷⁵ In another interview with the director, he says, ‘Mud is a metaphor for the moral imperative to remember, for the obligation to conjure up the spirits of the dead, the forgotten victims of massacres, and for the mnemopolitical acts of unearthing, excavating, unburying the silenced past.’⁵⁷⁶ In her recent ethnographic work, *The Past in Pieces*, Rebecca Bryant, a political anthropologist of Cyprus, identifies ‘mud’ in Zaim’s film as an epistemological metaphor for the deconstructive concept of *non-knowledge*, undecidability, or ‘the unknowability of the past’:

In the film *Çamur (Mud)*, Derviş Zaim, a Turkish-Cypriot director who has made a name for himself in Turkey, uses mud as a

⁵⁷⁵ Personal interview with Derviş Zaim, Taksim, Istanbul, January 10, 2011; also Derviş Zaim interview with television host Nuriye Akman in her TV show *Akılda Kalan*, Part 37, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation News Channel (TRT Haber), March 6, 2011.

⁵⁷⁶ Personal interview with Derviş Zaim, Bebek, Istanbul, January 6, 2011.

metaphor for the buried past. The mud of the film's title refers to the muddy edge of a salt lake, minerals in which are thought to have healing powers. But we also discover that buried at the edge of that lake are Greek-Cypriots who were killed by a young Turkish-Cypriot during the 1974 Turkish military intervention in the island. The film's claustrophobic atmosphere becomes increasingly oppressive as, almost thirty years later, the man is more and more haunted by this past, until the final scene in which he commits a reckless act that he knows beforehand will lead to his own death. Like struggling in quicksand, the more the protagonist flails, the more he's dragged under. The film is part of a new rethinking of the past, a call to confront the destructive power of denial. And yet the title of the film also points to a lack of clarity in the past, to an element of unknowability.⁵⁷⁷

Thus, 'mud' is an enigmatic metaphor for the unknown histories of a divided (that is, politically disempowered) society and for the contested narratives of human geography. This rich metaphor as the figure of *non-knowledge* draws our attention to the phenomenological reality of the island (i.e., the lived experiences of Cypriots) and enables us to think of the Turkish-Cypriots's own 'wounded consciousness', or the schizoid disorder at the heart of their collective identity, and by doing so, reminds us of the limits of geopolitical discourses and of the blindspots of 'strategic reasoning'.

Zaim insists on portraying his main characters mostly as introvert individuals who resist being known and are exposed to various forms of ghostly encounters by chance: they are definitely anti-heroic, introvert, and inoperative characters who don't speak much, rarely reveal their intentions, mostly act in a hesitant manner, and never seem to be certain on their decisions and actions. As Orson Scott Card explains, characters are the combination of acts – what they have done in the past, what they have been doing in the narrative present, and

⁵⁷⁷ Rebecca Bryant, *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 157.

what has been done to them.⁵⁷⁸ In Zaim's films, characters' unknown pasts and their memories mostly become the primary sources from where the narrative originates. Additionally, that something *happens to them* always precedes the actions of his characters, or rather their *responses*. They look as if they are continuously swimming in a mud. But why are these characters vulnerable figures? Because Zaim situates his characters in a position where they become the representatives of the irrepresentable and of unspeakable violence, i.e. mass killings, exclusion, marginalisation, oppression, discrimination, and isolation. However, in his satirical drama, Zaim never depicts his characters as desperate victims, but rather as desperately resisting and struggling subjects.

The 'disabled body' as an allegorical image is used to problematise the issues of social identities and cultural normativity. One can find many examples of physical and cognitive disabilities in Zaim's filmography. In *Elephants and Grass (Filler ve Çimen, 2000)*, he draws our attention to the invisible spectral body of the 'deep state' and its touching upon the *bare life* of a disabled character, the protagonist Havva's disabled brother İldeniz, who walks on crutches having been crippled while fighting in the Turkish Army against separatist Kurdish rebels (PKK) in Southeast Turkey. In *Dot (Nokta, 2008)*, the protagonist Ahmet is a calligrapher with short-sighted eyes, which is an unusual condition for such a demanding art form, and Eflatun in *Waiting for Heaven (Cenneti Beklerken, 2006)* loses his voice when he is ordered to add the rebel Prince Danyal's figure onto a Western-style painted masterpiece, Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas (The Maids of Honour, 1656)*. In *Parallel Trips (2004)*, an oral history documentary co-directed with Panicos Chrysanthou, Turkish-Cypriot Saim (Aygın) and Greek-

⁵⁷⁸ Orson Scott Card, *Characters and Viewpoint* (Cincinnati, OH: Writer's Digest Books, 2011), 8.

Cypriot Michalis, who became crippled in the 1974 war, tell lesser known stories of the Cyprus conflict through their own experiences of disabled embodiment. For instance, Michalis' personal narrative regarding his postwar experiences of disability reveal other lines of division and exclusion in Cyprus: that is, in addition to his estrangement from the Turkish-Cypriots, Michalis also turns into an 'other', a stranger, an uncanny figure in the eyes of his own Greek-Cypriot community due to his crippled body after the war, which he finds extremely 'offensive'. In *Shadows and Faces (Gölgeler ve Suretler, 2011)*, the tension between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities reaches its peak when the 'mentally deranged' but semi-wise character Cevdet is killed by Anna's son, Hristo. However, *Mud* is undoubtedly the most noteworthy disability-film in Zaim's cinematic corpus. Zaim is not fond of choosing mighty heroes as protagonists. Instead, he chooses disadvantaged people and their lives to shape his film narratives. He never prefers easy solutions, or absolute victories, in the development of his stories. Nor is he obsessed with disempowerment and grief as a theme to make the spectators feel pity for the disadvantaged characters. However, his camera always stays emotionally at a certain distance and never becomes a hegemonic eye that exploits its subjects, however unsettling they seem to us, yet it scrupulously focuses on the lives of these minor characters with an irresistible passion to discover the tactics they employ to cope with the disquieting aspects of life. He does not seem to be interested in making goal-oriented films with happy or unhappy endings. Instead, his characters always appear as individuals struggling in the *mud*, in the *muddle*, or in the *middle* of an undecidable moment, as Zaim seems to give more importance to how events are experienced and responded to than what they lead to. In his *Mud* our director does

not offer resolutions but limits himself merely to the investigation into, or an intimate phenomenological description of, how characters are haunted by their own disembodied organs as well as by the ghosts of the Greek-Cypriots. In the following sections, I will provide a hauntological analysis of the three protagonists (Ali, Temel, and Ayşe) and their lived experiences to deal with the phenomenological reality of Turkish-Cypriots.

7.5.1. The Ghostly Actual Living Present of Ali: The Postcolonial Mute Bodies of Turkish-Cypriots

In the mnemopolitical films of the post-Yeşilçam cinema, mute characters and their silences along with ghostly aural objects, or phonographic ghosts, are presented as the uncanny source of historical non-knowledge. For instance, Yeşim Ustaoglu's *Waiting for Clouds* (*Bulutları Beklerken*, 2003) opens up a space for a post-Kemalist critique of the assimilationist policies regarding 'non-Muslim minorities' starting with the Turkish nation-building process: spectators are presented a silenced character, Ayşe/Eleni, who keeps silent about her Pontic Greek origin and her true identity for half a century after the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923. A similar theme repeats in Serdar Akar's popular nostalgic film *Offside* (*Dar Alanda Kısa Paslaşmalar*, 2000) where the 'unknown identity' of Hacı, one of the main characters, is revealed as a stunning surprise after he died of cancer and was buried according to traditional Muslim mortuary rituals: his Armenian origin. Asuman Suner, a historian of Turkish cinema, argues that by offering 'fictional micro-accounts of coming to terms with the past', these films may enable the audience to unlearn the antagonistic understanding of history and empathise with the victims of the national past:

‘Instead of offering a clear-cut picture of the past, they attract attention to absences, gaps, and silences in the stories. In their fragmented and elusive approach to history, these “micro” interventions are capable of interrupting the totalizing voice of official ideologies and nationalist discourses.’⁵⁷⁹ Silent female characters and their functions have also been problematised and studied by feminist scholars of Turkish cinema such as Asuman Suner, Özlem Güçlü and Eylem Atakav.⁵⁸⁰

In Zaim’s *Mud*, on the other hand, minority politics evolves into a postcolonial critique that allows us to question the colonial legacy of Cyprus, the ‘silence’ of an 18 percent Turkish-Cypriot minority, both in a historical and a contemporary sense, including the periods of British colonial rule (1878–1960), decolonisation and the birth of nation-state (1960–1974), the Greek *coup d’état*, Turkish military intervention and the *de facto* division of the island (1974–present), and European Union membership (2004–present). Deep silence, or muteness, is a ubiquitous and recurrent theme that we often come across in several examples of postcolonial literature and cinema. Silent or mute connect the issues

⁵⁷⁹ Asuman Suner, ‘Elusive Fragments of an Uneasy Past: Representations of Non-Muslim Minorities in New Turkish Cinema,’ in *Turkish Literature and Cultural Memory: Multiculturalism as a Literary Theme after 1980*, ed. Catharina Dufft (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 144.

⁵⁸⁰ Asuman Suner, ‘The Absent Women of New Turkish Cinema,’ in Suner, *New Turkish Cinema: Belonging, Identity and Memory* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 163-78; Özlem Güçlü, ‘Silent Female Characters in the New Cinema of Turkey: Gender, Nation and the Past’ (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, University of London, 2013); Özlem Güçlü, ‘Silent Representations of Women in the New Cinema of Turkey,’ *Sinecine Journal of Film Studies* 1:2 (2010): 71-85; Eylem Atakav, *Women and Turkish Cinema: Gender Politics, Cultural Identity and Representation* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), 108; Gönül Dönmez-Colin, ‘Women in Turkish Cinema: Their Presence and Absence as Images and as Image-Makers,’ *Third Text* 24:1, Special Issue: Cinema in Muslim Societies, ed. Ali Nobil Ahmad (2010): 91–105, esp. 104.

of language and national character, and act as a metaphor for the colonised voice.⁵⁸¹

Mud opens with an aerial shot where we have a bird's eye view of a group of soldiers being assembled and lined up on the northern side. The bodies that appear in this image look like points and line segments that are used to make geometric figures. The power of the image lies in its ability to emphasize how human bodies can entirely lose their individuating qualities through turning into mere quantities in the military order: within the fundamental structure of the State, their *raison d'être* is simply defined as being a means to a destructive end, and hence they acquire their value through being fully functional instruments and their function gets reduced to merely embodying the invisible spirit, or specter, of the State. In other words, the body of the 'unknown soldier' exists as the untouchable body of the State: that is the point where spectrality emerges.



Figure 42 – A striking image where the body of the ‘unknown soldier’ exists as the untouchable body of the State. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Mud*.

⁵⁸¹ South African author J. M. Coetzee’s rewritten novel based on Robinson Crusoe *Foe* (1986), African Caribbean Canadian poet Marlene Nourbese Philip’s collection of poetry *She Tries Her Tongue, Her Silence Softly Breaks* (1989), and Tunisian filmmaker Moufida Tlatli’s *The Silences of the Palace* (1994) are some particularly well-known examples where the readers or viewers are presented with silent or mute characters.

The powerful image of the opening scene is accompanied by the haunting voice of a senior officer with an authoritative tone that resonates around the garrison under the sun on an extremely hot eastern Mediterranean day:

Soldiers! Remember what Cyprus was like thirty years ago. On this island, on Cyprus, there was no security of life or property. You Turks lived under Greek threat. There were massacres, uprooting, raping, and loss. They said that when the Turkish army got here they wouldn't find any Turks alive to save. The Turkish army came to the island. And they made you a region where it is safe to live. Now the Greeks live in the South, in their own region; and now the Turks live in peace in their own region in the North. And it's been like this for thirty years. With nobody getting hurt.

Then he carries on, enforcing a politics of enmity: 'But, according to some news we got lately, the Greeks are again building up their weapons. That is why we must be ready. Repeat now!' The soldiers then shout as loudly as they can, 'We must be ready!' 'Again!' 'We must be ready!' 'Again!' 'We must be ready!' One of the protagonists of the film, Ali, stands among the soldiers, dressed in a khaki-colored military uniform, and as soon as he repeats the words of the senior officer, he suddenly faints and falls down. The senior officer commands the soldiers to take Ali to the infirmary.

This opening sequence where the main character Ali appears as a crippled soldier who suddenly loses his voice is crucially important for making sense of the disabled characters of the film. It is what Derrida calls 'the first coming of the silent ghost.'⁵⁸² The film does not openly tell us what exactly Ali suffers from, but he has difficulty speaking. Ali's disabled body is first colonially oppressed by the British, then racially excluded and targeted by the Greek-Cypriots, and, ultimately, appropriated and confined by the armies of Turkey and the

⁵⁸² Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 11.

unrecognised Turkish-Cypriot state, while Ali himself is rendered voiceless. Denied by the international community, Ali represents the ultimate embodiment of the silenced subaltern that Spivak speaks of in her 1988 essay, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' Throughout the film, Ali appears as a mute body on whose behalf others always speak. For instance, the opening scene is followed by a sequence where Ali is seen at the garrison's infirmary. While checking Ali's eyes with the help of a torch, the doctor asks Ali to say his name, but as Ali stays silent, the other soldier speaks for Ali: 'His name is Ali!' The doctor repeats the question, but Ali does not speak, and the soldier replies on his behalf again: 'His name is Ali!' The doctor gets upset and tells the soldier to be quiet. In another scene, Ali, Temel, Ayşe, and Halil are seen having dinner together and chatting about Temel's art project, which aims to criticise the violations and restrictions on the right to move freely and on the right to property on both sides: according to this UN-sponsored art project, the sculptures of the ex-owners of houses, refugees, and all victims of the 1974 forced migration are to travel from each side to the other and be located in their former houses. When looking at Ali's statue, which is to be located in Ali's former home in South Cyprus, Halil says with a mocking tone, 'So, people who hate each other are going to send each other statues. Ali's statue is going to go in his old house and the Greeks are going to look at Ali's statue and they're going to think about Ali and then there's going to be peace! And this is going to bring about peace between the Greeks and the Turks. That's garbage. Isn't it? Come on!' Temel holds his camera on Ali and his statue, saying, 'This is Ali. This is his statue that will go to the Greek side tomorrow. The statue will be set up in his old house – the house he himself can't

go to, for political and social reasons. If Ali could speak he might talk about this, but he can't so *we are speaking for him.*'

Ali's voicelessness comes to illustrate the silencing of the Turkish-Cypriots; namely, how they, in their recent history, have been treated like 'children' needing ongoing guidance by external powers such as the United States, the former Soviet Union, the European Union, Britain, Greece, and Turkey. Indeed, the people of the island did not have the right to speak for themselves even during the establishment of their nation-state: Three guarantor states (Britain, Greece, and Turkey) decided the future of the island together on behalf of both the Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots without consulting with them. Consequently, Cyprus is called '*mikri mas patriidha* (our small land)' in Greek and '*yavru vatan* (baby-land)' in Turkish. As Christopher Hitchens lucidly explained, the 'colonial legacy' has had two negative impacts upon the Cypriots:

One is that, even at the hour of their independence, the Cypriots were treated as objects rather than subjects in their own country and their own deliberations. The second is that a legacy of intercommunal tension and distrust had been created by outside powers, and then built into an imposed constitution. Most culpable in this were the British, whose crass and occasionally capricious policy had led to the bloodshed and discord in the first place. There are enough villains in the story without inventing new ones; this was not an occasion when Anglo-Saxon phlegm and fair-mindedness were seen to their best advantage.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸³ Christopher Hitchens, *Hostage to History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger* (London: Verso, 1997), 50.



Figure 43 – Ali gets wounded by a bullet fired from the Greek side whilst on guard duty near the Green Line. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Mud*.

Another scene leaves the spectator with the question of how one’s own body can be a powerful mnemonic surface that prevents one from forgetting a catastrophic past event. If the ghostly traces of ethnic war are inscribed upon one’s own body, can one easily manage to forget it? In the scene, we see Ali and Ayşe in the doctor’s office and the doctor examines Ali’s throat to discover the cause of his sudden loss of voice. After the examination, the doctor asks Ayşe if Ali has any other problems. Ayşe shows him Ali’s war wounds, and the doctor says that it’s easy ‘to get rid of this scar’. But what if everyone has ‘scars’, and even more serious wounds and disabilities, in the social world of the film? Would it also be easy to get rid of them too? This is a crucially important question because not only the protagonist Ali, but almost all the minor characters are also disabled. For this reason, history is not only a disputed issue between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, but also between the members of the Turkish-Cypriot community. When Temel invites his friends to confess their crimes against Greek-Cypriots in order to come to terms with the past, Ali starts talking

and tells his sad story, allowing us to see different aspects of his introverted personality and deep silence:

After the massacre we were all in terrible shape. All the relatives... Wives, friends, sons, daughters... We looked for Greeks to get our revenge. Some couldn't run away. We found them. We took them to the mud flats. The Greeks. We took them to the well. We shot them in the head. Shot them and threw them. Shot them and threw them. Some of them we buried. Their heads were outside. We took stuff off the bodies. Clothes, watches... Stuff like that.

Collective memory is by nature a contested field; thus, Ali's reminiscences are not free from opposition. An amputee character, Ahmet (Ali Düşenkalkar), interrupts Ali's monologue, mentioning his alternative memories:

That's all a bunch of crap! I was with you. Just the opposite happened! What you just said happened to you! You were lying there with eighty bodies. You were lying next to your father. Your father's brain was plastered on my cheek. Do you remember the smell? Meat and blood, huh? I remember. I can't forget it. Role play? Crap! You're going to put yourself into somebody else's shoes? Three bullets went into you in '74, Ali. And just the other day you took another one in your leg. You're still carrying one of those bullets in you. Those Greeks! And would they ever put themselves into your shoes? Would they ever think, 'I wonder how Ali feels about this?' I'll tell you. They have no idea what Ali feels; it never crosses their minds. Keep going. Just keep this up! Role play! You're all going to lie down in the dirt. Role play, schmol play. Your brains are going to get plastered on each other's cheeks.

* * *

In the soundscape of *Mud*, the unspeakable speaks only through the silent, wounded, and disabled body of the protagonist Ali, and accordingly what Dolar calls 'the voice of ethics' emerges from within the very silence or muteness of this postcolonial subject, which Dolar described as 'a silence that cannot be silenced.'⁵⁸⁴ In Blanchot's words, 'to be silent is still to speak.'⁵⁸⁵ Silenced

⁵⁸⁴ Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 98.

characters in postcolonial literature and cinema appear as either the silenced subjects of history (the ones whose views about their own future are not asked in the process of decision-making) or the agents of silenced histories (those whose subjective experiences of past events are not mentioned in mainstream historiography). As Övgü Gökçe emphasizes, the narrative of Zaim's *Mud* is based on the unexamined moments in the official histories of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, and are mostly conveyed through 'isolated and non-communicative characters', who are haunted by the specters of their traumatic past experiences. But why do these characters stay silent? This is so, as Gökçe lucidly explains, because 'the ambiguity of the historical imagination concerning these different pasts translates into a difficulty of communication between people.'⁵⁸⁶ Indeed, the phenomenological reality of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots during the 1963 and 1974 events are entirely or partially silenced in the official histories of the island.⁵⁸⁷ Silence, as Trouillot explains, is not merely an absence in the official history but 'an active and transitive process: one "silences" a fact or an individual as a silencer silences a gun. One engages in the practice of silencing. Mentions and silences are thus active, dialectical counterparts of which history is the synthesis.'⁵⁸⁸ And the practices of silencing found in official Greek- and Turkish-

⁵⁸⁵ Maurice Blanchot, *The Writing of the Disaster*, trans. Ann Smock, new ed. (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 11.

⁵⁸⁶ Övgü Gökçe, '(Cannot) Remember: Landscapes of Loss in Contemporary Turkish Cinema,' in *Cinema and Politics: Turkish Cinema and New Europe*, ed. Deniz Bayraktar (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 268.

⁵⁸⁷ Mete Hatay and Yiannis Papadakis, 'A Critical Comparison of Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot Official Historiographies (1940s to the Present),' in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, ed. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (New York, NY: I.B.Tauris, 2012), 27-50.

⁵⁸⁸ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995), 48.

Cypriot historiographies have produced irreconcilably polarised communities through ‘national education’ over the last 40 years.⁵⁸⁹ Scholars from different disciplines have conceptualised this divided society of New Cyprus and its aporias of identity as an ‘unimaginable community’.⁵⁹⁰

To sum up, ‘the actual living present time’ of Ali keeps bringing new absences and disruptions into his life. This ‘mute body’ of Zaim’s *Mud* portrays the ghostly presence of absence, meaning ‘the agents of silenced histories’ as well as ‘the silenced subjects of history.’ Rebecca Bryant points to the absence of Turkish-Cypriots in the official narratives of the Greek-Cypriot side: ‘Indeed, in both official and semi-official books, stories, pamphlets, and other narratives that describe lost villages, it is difficult not to be struck by the forceful, constant presence of Turkey and the peculiar absence of Turkish-Cypriots. In such narratives, Turkish-Cypriots become, by necessity, either oppressed by Turkey or its puppets, but in any case persons without will, ghostly figures in a landscape of memory.’⁵⁹¹ She goes on to say, elsewhere in the same book, that,

In the south, songs and plays celebrating lost villages; memorial services that proceed like funerals; and memory books that attempt to recollect the village in all its quotidian detail suggest a need to remember that in its attention to certain details is inattentive to

⁵⁸⁹ Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 123-184; Yiannis Papadakis, ‘Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the “History of Cyprus”,’ *History & Memory* 20:2 (2008): 128-148; Miranda Christou, ‘A Double Imagination: Memory and Education in Cyprus,’ *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 24 (2006): 285-306; Michalinos Zembylas ‘Children’s Construction and Experience of Racism and Nationalism in Greek-Cypriot Primary Schools,’ *Childhood* 17:3 (2010): 312-328.

⁵⁹⁰ Vangelis Calotychos, ed., *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998); also Rebecca Bryant, *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Costas M. Constantinou, ‘Aporias of Identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the “Cyprus Problem”,’ *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 42:3 (2007): 247-270.

⁵⁹¹ Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 117.

others. Turkish-Cypriots are not a part of memory books, just as they are not a part of most recollections of life before their departure. In those books' descriptions of the town's history, the Ottoman period is one of spilled blood, seized land, and brave Lapithiotes' participation in the 1821 struggle for Greek independence. Turkish-Cypriots may have lived in the town, but they are absent from the town's history.⁵⁹²

For this reason, the mute protagonist in *Mud* has a political function, which makes him idiosyncratically different from the mute bodies and disembodied voices of the Yeşilçam movies that find their roots in 'dubbing'.⁵⁹³ Ali's silent body calls for a phenomenology of silence, an ethics of listening, or what Gaston Bachelard calls 'a phenomenology of the verb to listen'.⁵⁹⁴ Last but not least, there is one of the few sequences in the film where we hear Ali's voice: whilst on guard duty near the Green Line, Ali *screams* when his body gets wounded with a violent 'touch', that is, with a bullet fired from the Greek side. In addition to his muteness, now the level of ghostliness increases with a crippled leg. Thus, Ali's ideologically marked body in *Mud* allows us to examine codes of identity and the material inscription of the disabled body through the lens of postcolonial theory. By translating the notion of disability into a postcolonial and political context, Zaim's anti-heroic film narrative offers a deconstructive approach in which the disabled film character becomes the 'embodied memory' of ethnic war, and his flesh, or skin, appears as a multi-layered ghostly surface where traces of the damaged present are inscribed. As Connerton once said, 'The skin is a kind of external biographical memory, a system of inbuilt "memory places" for

⁵⁹² Ibid., 131.

⁵⁹³ Nezi̇h Erdođan, 'Mute Bodies, Disembodied Voices: Notes on Sound in Turkish Popular Cinema,' *Screen* 43:3 (2002): 233-249.

⁵⁹⁴ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1994), 182.

reconstructing the history of the person as a locus of remembered events and cultural affiliations.⁵⁹⁵

7.5.2. The Ghostly Past Present of Temel: Unburying the Bones of the Absent Other

Temel (Taner Birsal) is a restaurant owner who ceaselessly remembers the vengeful crimes he committed as a teenager during the 1974 intercommunal war. As he is haunted by the specters of his uneasy past, he thinks he should redeem himself for what he did to his Greek-Cypriot victims. By starting a project of exchanging sculptures, he tries to combine ‘muddy’ aspects of a divided and isolated Cypriot life into a soft fertile clay, and molds the spiritual essence of the postcolonial experience into a solid living structure, impervious to the intrusion of colonialists and ethno-nationalists. According to his UN-sponsored art project, sculptures of forced migrants and refugees are to be located in their former houses on both sides where currently resettled people live: these sculptures juxtapose moments of displacement and estrangement in the cultural and political history of Cyprus, and embody the lost possibilities of relationality between the two communities. By simply looking at each others’ statues, Temel believes people can purify themselves of their hate and this can contribute to the peace process. When the sculpture installation does not work as well as he expects, he decides to make a sperm installation project, which contains the sperm from families in both sides who have lost their family members.

⁵⁹⁵ Paul Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 133.



Figure 44 – Temel turns the filmic medium into a ‘confession room’. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Mud*.

Temel wants to archive the individual stories of the intercommunal war. Despite the fact that people seem reluctant to talk about the past, he tries to open up a critical space for a conversation about it. He visits his friends and encourages them to talk about their personal experiences, feelings, and thoughts of the 1974 war. When he asks Ahmet, an amputee character, to narrate his own account of what happened in 1974, Ahmet’s unexpected response startles him: ‘You lived through some stuff in the war too. Why don’t you talk about that? You only remember me because I was wounded. If I hadn’t been wounded, I would have been a nothing!’ This strange dialogue shows us that Ahmet’s missing leg, the prosthetic body-part, has been a ghost that persistently haunts his whole body and consciousness: when Ahmet attempts to touch his own leg with his hand, the touching hand and the touched leg can never coincide as the latter no longer exists. The body’s capacity to occupy the position of both perceiving object and subject of perception becomes an undecidable and ghostly matter in the case of Ahmet’s experience of his body. His haunted body oscillates between life and death, and he feels like a revenant; thus, his words can be read as: ‘I’m still living but my leg has already died. So I’m haunted by the ghost of my missing leg – the

specter of disability.’ This is what Derrida calls ‘the ghostly revenant (*phantasma*) at the heart of self-feeling’. That is,

The revenant, between life and death, dictates an impossible mourning, an endless mourning – life itself. Barely visible scene of this mourning: it pertains to a *spacing* that is irreducible or even heterogeneous in relation to an ‘extensio’ from which, however, one should not dissociate it.⁵⁹⁶



Figure 45 – Temel asks Ahmet, a character who is an amputee, to narrate his own account of what happened in 1974. Screenshots from Derviş Zaim’s film *Mud*.

* * *

As almost all members of their families and relatives were brutally massacred by their Greek-Cypriot neighbors in 1974, Temel and Halil killed all the Greek-Cypriots they came across to take revenge during the intercommunal war. Temel desperately wants to confess about the bodies buried in the mud of a dried-up salt lake, but fear prevents him from even visiting the location. From time to time he retells his traumatic memories of those days to an unknown spectator, running a simple hand camera: ‘I’ve killed many people, lots of men... On 18 August 1974, in the war... To take revenge... Just because they were Greeks... Their mass graves are unopened and unknown in the mudflats. Never

⁵⁹⁶ Derrida, *On Touching*, 35.

been dug up. Nobody knows. Except those of us that did it: Me, Temel, with Hüsnü and Halil.’ But each time after he finishes his ‘cinematic confession’ he destroys the cassette. Elsewhere in the film, pointing to the broken cassettes and dismantled film strips in his hands, he says, ‘Sometimes I run my camera to tell all this, and then...’ These video séances of Temel invite the spirits of the past to come back, to return to the present, but more importantly, turn the filmic medium, to use Renov’s term, into a kind of profane ‘confession room’.⁵⁹⁷



Figure 46 – The Greek-Cypriot victim’s ‘watch’ as an uncanny reminder of the intimacy of conflict, an intimacy that larger narratives have suppressed. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Mud*.

In another sequence, he shows a watch to Ali, saying, ‘In the war, I didn’t know that you had lived through it. I thought you were dead. I got my revenge. I stuck your photograph in the hand of the Greek I killed and I took his watch. ... Hide the watch. I hid it for years! It’s two after four. Hide it. Or bury it in the mud before anybody sees it. Bury it. No more hiding.’ For Temel, the victim’s watch is a ghostly object which has a kind of occult power to disrupt the presence of the present. Navaro-Yashin has spoken of northern Cyprus as ‘a phantomic space’

⁵⁹⁷ Michael Renov, *The Subject of Documentary* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), especially Ch. 13: ‘Video Confessions’.

full of ghostly objects, objects left behind, that are perceived by Turkish-Cypriots as connected to their ex-owners, the Greek-Cypriots:

The objects left behind (homes, fields, trees, and personal belongings) continued to be associated with members of the community who had fled to the other side. The ascription *Rumdan kalma* (left from the Greeks), used to this day by Turkish-Cypriots in reference to objects, houses, or fields, is a recognition of the previous life of these materialities, as well as of the force or affect they maintain in their post-1974 afterlife. In other words, northern Cyprus is a space where the spectral is visible and tangible.⁵⁹⁸

In her ethnographic fieldwork, Bryant recounts different anecdotes that allow us to sense how the personal belongings of ex-owners exist as ‘the traces of violation’, as ‘history’s remainders, pieces of a past that do not fit’, and persist in haunting the new possessors’ current life in Cyprus: ‘Walls and doors, tables and beds, all carry the traces of their former owners. They carry the traces of one’s violation, and of acts of violation that one has committed.’⁵⁹⁹ In parallel with Navaro-Yashin’s conception of *phantomic space*, Bryant reads these ghostly objects as signs of a *disjointed time*, that is, of a ‘fractured wholeness’, of a divided island, of a politically disempowered society and of disabled individuals:

When the ceasefire line that divides the island was still closed, it was possible to imagine the pre-conflict past as a lost wholeness, represented in many people’s minds by the homes and lands that they had lost. But in visiting their homes what many people encountered instead was a fractured wholeness, in which pieces of the past re-emerged in the form of objects, reminders of a past that does not entirely fit the narratives one has wanted to believe for so long. Questions appear in the form of tables and chairs, clocks and photographs, that remain in what other people now claim as their homes. And they were visible in the objects that people encountered or failed to find in their homes, objects that appeared stranded in the wreckage of a lost wholeness. They were objects

⁵⁹⁸ Navaro-Yashin, *The Make-Believe Space*, 13.

⁵⁹⁹ Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 147.

that carried both one's own and others' memories, and in the space between those memories, new questions emerged.

These intimate objects become uncanny reminders of the intimacy of conflict, an intimacy that larger narratives have suppressed. This is what, in his own analysis of the Uncanny, Lacan describes as the persistent presence of a real that cannot be subsumed in the categories available to us. This is the irruption of the real into the reality that we believe we know. These objects point to remainders of history, and as such become remainders of moments of history that have not been incorporated into one's own narrative. Objects, then, pointed to unanswered questions of an unfinished past that return to press insistently on the present.⁶⁰⁰



Figure 47 – The ghostly encounter with the Greek-Cypriot victim's decomposed body. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim's film *Mud*.

Before facing his own death with a shot in the head, Temel visits the mud flats and digs the graves of his victims. Then he comes across the decomposed body of a Greek-Cypriot victim, but this is not a face-to-face encounter. He takes one of the bones, touches it, caresses it, and starts crying. This ghostly encounter with the remainders of his victim's decomposed body leads to the experience of touch, of touching upon the bones of the absent other, namely, of what Derrida calls 'touching upon the untouchable.'⁶⁰¹ As I said earlier, Zaim's characters are

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 149.

⁶⁰¹ Derrida, *On Touching*, 6.

also disturbed by spectral alterities apart from their own disabled bodies. His cinematic narratives are based on ruptures in the flow of his characters's lives through unexpected encounters with the ghostly traces of the other. In this sense his cinema might be seen as a cinema of encounter, which problematises the structuralist notion of the autonomous subject. His characters are the ones who try to learn to live with the absent others, who try to touch the absent other, the untouchable, the limit of life, the death, or the death of the other. As Derrida lucidly explains,

To touch is to touch a limit, a surface, a border, an outline. Even if one touches an inside, 'inside' of anything whatsoever, one does it following the point, the line or surface, the borderline of a spatiality exposed to the outside, offered – precisely – on its running border, offered to contact. . . . This surface, line or point, this limit, therefore, which philosophy might have 'touched' this way, finds itself to be at the same time touchable and untouchable: it is as is every limit, certainly, but also well-nigh at and to the limit, and on the exposed, or exposing, edge of an abyss, a nothing, an 'unfoundable' unfathomable, seeming still less touchable, still more untouchable, if this were possible, than the limit itself of its exposition.⁶⁰²

7.5.3. The Ghostly Future Present of Ayşe: Bodies to-come, or Ghosts of the Future

Through his disabled female protagonist, Ayşe (Yelda Reynaud), Zaim problematises the postcolonial construction of both femininity and masculinity in a comparative Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot context. What makes Zaim's *Mud* especially significant for the Cypriot postcolonial context is that, while it provides an ethical criticism that morally evaluates the inequalities and injustices of power relations (as between coloniser and colonized, Greek-Cypriot majority and Turkish-Cypriot minority), it also allows us to understand how the

⁶⁰² Derrida, *On Touching*, 103-104.

masculinist politics of postcolonial Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot ethno-nationalisms and their purported 'subaltern' credentials are intrinsically incompatible with the claims of Cypriot women. Indeed, the postcolonial nation-state, the Republic of Cyprus, has replicated and consolidated colonial forms of exclusion and subjugation that it purportedly displaced. In the case of female citizens, the emancipatory thrust of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot nationalisms evolved into an oppressive force. As Cynthia Cockburn concludes in her seminal analysis of the gender order in Cyprus, 'Ethnic othering and gender othering occur simultaneously. Dichotomies are catching. Patriarchal gender relations sustain a nationalist ethnic order. Nationalisms tie women into the patriarchal bargain. In this sense, an anti-racist politics that is not also anti-sexist, and vice versa, is nonsense.'⁶⁰³ Anne McClintock also offers a postcolonial feminist approach to the 'gendered body' of the nation and its disabilities in terms of constructions and practices of masculinity and femininity: 'All nationalisms are gendered; all are invented; and all are dangerous – dangerous [...] in the sense that they represent relations to political power and to technologies of violence.'⁶⁰⁴

In *Mud*, Ali is subverted by the ghostly atmosphere of the dangerous 'present', or by the postcolonial condition, whereas Temel is haunted by the ghosts of a violent 'past'. Ayşe, however, is an obstetrician who conjures up the specters of 'future', bodies to-come, or the ghosts of future generations, in order to disrupt the 'homogeneity' of the present, namely, in order to break the patriarchal image of time in Cyprus. The ghost of the future, or bodies to-come, is

⁶⁰³ Cynthia Cockburn, *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus* (New York: Zed Books, 2004), 224.

⁶⁰⁴ Anne McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven": Gender, Race and Nationalism,' in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, ed. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 89.

just an allegory that implies the ‘heterogeneity’ and ‘irreducibility’ of the future. In one of the sequences of the film, Ayşe experiences the accidental miscarriage of her baby when she begins to sink in the mud. This scene of ‘miscarriage’ implicitly refers not only to the birth of a dead child, the ‘bicomunal nation’ of Cyprus, in 1960 but to the numerous sets of ‘failed’ United Nations-sponsored direct negotiations and indirect talks after 1974, which were to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus dispute. In the rest of the film, Ayşe’s infertile body (along with Oya’s) appears as a ghost in the sense that it becomes the image not only of a Turkish-Cypriot woman negated by the patriarchal orders of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities, but also of a united Cypriot nation as an absence in its failure to be reborn throughout the decades. In other words, in the patriarchal social world of postcolonial Cyprus, the infertile bodies of the female film characters appear as bodies that are haunted by the ghosts of lost futures, or futures that failed to happen; immanent in their existence is the pessimism of Turkish-Cypriots about the future, or what Berardi and Fisher call ‘the slow cancellation of the future.’⁶⁰⁵

In another sequence, Ayşe loses all the members of her family, which arouses in her a fear of annihilation, an existential anxiety, about her family’s future. On another level, this scene could be interpreted as an allegory for the dwindling Turkish-Cypriot community in the face of the postcolonial civil wars and the coming of settlers from Turkey in the post-1974 period. The threat of vanishing without a trace in the new society of Cyprus is presented as one of the greatest fears triggering Ayşe’s anxiety. She does not want the sudden death of

⁶⁰⁵ Franco ‘Bifo’ Berardi, *After the Future* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011); Mark Fisher, *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures* (Alresford, Hants: Zero Books, 2014).

her brother Ali and her fiancée Halil to lead to her extinction. Thus, she decides to give birth to a child, and the only way to actualise it seems to be artificial insemination, namely using her late brother Ali's frozen sperm in the tank. As her own eggs have been damaged, Ayşe fertilises an egg taken from another woman by injecting it with Ali's sperm, grows the embryo in the laboratory, and then implants the embryo in her own uterus. The ghosts of bodies to-come and the ghost of her dead brother meet in her womb. She gets pregnant with a ghostly touch, a touch-without-touching, namely without the real 'touch' of a man. Oya, a client of Ayşe's in her late forties who is also trying for a baby, helps her: it is a significant point that the two women, Ayşe and Oya, take small steps towards reproducing the society of the future in a laboratory without men being physically present.

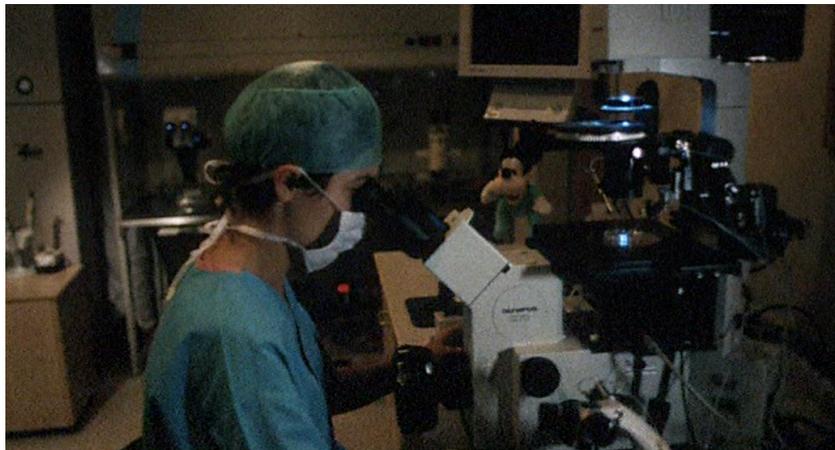


Figure 48 – Ayşe as a character who is obsessed with the specters of ‘the future’, bodies to-come, or the ghosts of future generations. A screenshot from Derviş Zaim’s film *Mud*.

In the closing sequence, we see Ayşe sitting near the seaside and looking at the sea with her twin children. Their backs are to us, and next to them a sculpture is seen. This mise-en-scène with a wide-open horizon line implies the hope for peace, which is very different from what Cynthia Enloe calls the

‘masculinised hope [of nationalism].’⁶⁰⁶ Zaim says that *Mud* is a film about ‘tomb’ and ‘womb’, about ‘fertility’ and ‘an open future’: the anachronistic gesture of ‘Cybele, the matriarchal figure of fertility,’ is used in the film as ‘the opposite of the patriarchal culture,’ which is based on ‘the war of men.’ ‘Women’s endeavor to regenerate a society that comes up against the threat of vanishing as a result of the war of men,’ says the director, is a direct critique of the patriarchal culture of the island.⁶⁰⁷ All these allegories of ‘re-birth’ also allow the spectator to question how the exclusively ethnocentric nature of both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot nationalisms make invisible other forms of oppression like the gender order on Cyprus.

7.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that the anti-heroic, introvert, and inoperative protagonists in Derviş Zaim’s ‘spectral realist’ film *Mud* perform a dual function: On the one hand, these uncommunicative, opaque, ambivalent, less dramatic, obsessive, and dispersed characters are the ‘haunted subjects’ of the disjointed times of postcolonial Cyprus. On the other, they are ‘cinematic ghosts’ with an affective power of haunting that substitutes for the ghostly presence of Turkish-Cypriots: they are troubling figures of non-knowledge that resist being fully recognised and known, and encourage the audience (1) to observe how catastrophic events from the island’s recent past have produced an oppressive present time for Turkish-Cypriots, (2) to unlearn what they think they know about

⁶⁰⁶ Cynthia H. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 44.

⁶⁰⁷ Derviş Zaim interview with Özen Film, ‘Çamur: Derviş Zaim ile Söyleşi [*Mud*: Interview with Derviş Zaim],’ in *The Film Mud’s Press Release*, last modified March 10, 2003, accessed January 25, 2012, <http://www.ozenfilm.com.tr/FilmDetail.aspx?fid=533>.

Cyprus, and (3) to engage and respond critically to the haunting of the cinematic specters.

I have analysed the ways in which haunted protagonists reckon with the specters of the present, past, and future by interrogating their lived experiences and autobiographical narratives. Ali appears as a ‘grotesque body’ who is obsessed with the mud near the border and desperately expects it to heal his throat. Temel never gives up making ‘redundant’ and ‘foolish’ art projects to deal with his catastrophic past and to develop a mutual understanding between the communities of North and South. And after losing the last living members of her family, Ayşe gets anxious about the future of her family and community and feels responsible for the generations to come. She decides to give birth to a child at any price, no matter what happens. But the way she chooses to do so is a highly ‘controversial’ and ‘transgressive’ one, since she performs artificial insemination by using the frozen sperm of her late brother Ali’s. The transgressive and grotesque bodies of Zaim’s ‘ambiguous subjects’ stand for the marginalised bodies of the subalterns – Muslim Turkish-Cypriots – and are ‘defined in opposition to the legitimate self as what is not-the-self (the abject) or the non-representable (the subaltern).’⁶⁰⁸ Zaim’s grotesque, clumsy, and ghostly figures threaten the aesthetic and moral hierarchy of the European cultural hegemony by disrupting the transcendental boundaries of European identity and otherness. Turkish-Cypriots as the ‘internal others’ of Europe have no access to the representational structures of European culture to ‘speak’ for themselves, and are also condemned to ‘exist outside the structures of legitimacy inhabited by the

⁶⁰⁸ Jennifer Wawrzinek, *Ambiguous Subjects: Dissolution and Metamorphosis in the Postmodern Sublime* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 44.

sublime and the beautiful.⁶⁰⁹ Through his grotesque protagonists, Zaim also creates a parody of the colonial eye's depiction of the Cypriots. In his famous book *British Cyprus* (1879), English historian and traveller William Hepworth Dixon described the Cypriots as 'creatures of the lower types clinging to life for life's own sake':

What they are they were; and what they were they are – an indolent, careless and mimetic people, but without a spark of Turkish fire, without a touch of Grecian taste. With neither *beauty of body* nor *sense of beauty in mind* – with neither personal restlessness nor pride of origin – with neither large aspirations nor practical dexterity of hand, they *live on* in a limpid state, like *creatures of the lower types clinging to life for life's own sake*; voluptuaries of the sun and sea; holding on by simple animal tenacity through tempests which have wrecked the nobler races of mankind.⁶¹⁰

In conclusion, in *Mud*, the postcolonial history of Cyprus is filtered through the mediated memory of film characters; and the disjointed present time is represented through the claustrophobic space and the anachronistic gestures of ancient sculptures. Disabled, war-wounded, and obsessive protagonists and side characters are used in the film to show the devastating effects of the ethnic violence, economic and political isolation, discrimination, and inequality of Turkish-Cypriots. In particular, disabled embodiment, for Zaim, is a visual allegory of the haunted subjectivity, or the 'spectral self', of the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot. Zaim ingeniously situates the 'impaired bodies' in the cinematic geography of *Mud* to expose the spectators to the *half-lives* of the Turkish-Cypriots. Therefore, his film inscribes the 'impaired body' as a visual metaphor, a

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 44.

⁶¹⁰ William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), 28 [emphasis mine].

signifying palimpsest, or a narrative map that describes mainly the *traces* of ethnic war upon bodies as well as upon minds. In other words, the impaired body is an enigmatic metaphor to spotlight both the division of the territorial body of Cyprus and the disempowerment of the individual bodies of the Turkish-Cypriots. *Mud* prompts us to read the disabled bodies of characters as political inscriptions, as representational surfaces that unfold biographical narratives of postcolonial identity struggles in Cyprus. The specter of disability, the lack of psychological depth to the characters, the sparse dialogue, and the ruins of history in the mise-en-scène create a haunting effect. This tragicomic depiction of everyday life and social relationships in northern Cyprus is an intervention into the cultural forgetfulness of Europe. In this sense, *Mud* has an ethnographic value as a kind of archive of the cultural memory and symbolic meaning of the postcolonial condition of Cyprus. The film also reminds the audience that the politics of denial, hatred, and isolation is not a ‘destiny’ and that ethical responsibility of remembering and forgiving are necessary for reconciliation, peace, and freedom. As Temel once says in one of his confessions, ‘We only have as much as freedom as we are able to control our destiny.’

7.7. Credits

Title: *Mud (Çamur)*

Director and Writer: Derviş Zaim

Cinematographer: Feza Çaldıran

Producers: Marco Müller and Derviş Zaim

Co-producers: Panicos Chrysanthou and Samir

Production Companies: Downtown Pictures and Marathon Filmcilik

Editor: Francesca Calvelli

Music: Michael Galasso and Koulis Theodorou

Sound Design: Emmanuella Di Giunta

Art Director: Adnan Ogun

Country and Year: Turkey, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Italy, 2003

Languages: Cypriot Turkish with English subtitles

Filming Locations: Cyprus and Turkey

Runtime: 97 min.

Release Date: 3 October 2003, Turkey

Actors: Mustafa Uğurlu (Ali), Taner Birsal (Temel), Yelda Reynaud (Ayşe), Bülent Yarar (Halil), Tomris İncir (Oya), Nadi Güler (Sergeant), Serhan Ernak (Soldier), Erdiñ Olgaçlı (Commander), Arslan Kaçar (Mafia member), Muhammed Cangören (Mafia), Yüksel Arıcı (Mafia), Atilla Ulaş (Mafia)

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

The figure of the ‘postcolonial cinematic specter’ plays an important role in the construction and deconstruction of collective/popular memories in Turkish, Greek, and Cypriot societies. With their affective power of haunting, the postcolonial cinematic specters substitute for the ghosts of colonial and postcolonial histories of Cyprus. However, the postcolonial cinematic specters and their hauntings, in the context of the Cyprus problem, have not yet received significant critical recognition. As stated in the Introduction chapter, scholarship on Turkish ‘postcolonial’ films that portray ghostly matters and contested modes of remembering in Cyprus and their spectral realist aesthetics is lacking. Furthermore, no substantial study of postcolonial cinema currently exists in the literature focusing specifically on the damaged historicity of Cyprus and Cypriots.

Given the paucity of academic research on this topic, and the unrecognised status of the relationships between Turkish new wave cinema and postcolonial memory within film studies, this research has sought to fill the gap in the literature with the aim of establishing a theoretically more refined understanding of the relationship between postcolonial ghosts, memory, and film in the context of the Cyprus problem. This study has also attempted to contribute to the current debates on the politics of postcolonial memory in Cyprus from a cinematic perspective. Furthermore, this thesis has provided the first academic introduction to the development of a postcolonial film genre in Turkish cinema.

The major research question of this thesis was: *‘Given that cinema, as a ghostly medium, disrupts the living present of the spectator by conjuring up*

sounds and images from other times and places, what is the function of the postcolonial cinematic specters and their hauntings in contemporary Turkish films on the Cyprus problem?' This was then reformulated and translated into three detailed research questions which guided the main chapters of this thesis. Other questions that arise from this main research question and that have indirectly guided the research process are also addressed in the Introduction chapter. The work contained in the thesis centred on the examination of various dimensions of postcolonial cinematic haunting by focusing on Derviş Zaim's 'The Cyprus Trilogy,' which stands out as the *sui generis* and unique example of a postcolonial film genre in Turkish new wave cinema.

This thesis had three aims. The first was to examine the relationship between the postcolonial ghosts of Cyprus and Turkish cinema through the use of Derridean hauntology within and beyond film studies. The second was to analyse how the postcolonial cinematic specters of Cyprus, which persistently haunt the cultural present of the audience, serve certain counter-epistemic and ethical functions to challenge the accepted interpretations of the colonial and postcolonial pasts and to call for justice for the absent others. The third was to provide improved insights into the dynamics of a deconstructive politics and ethics of memory constructed within the postcolonial film genre in Turkish cinema. To realise this aim, major debates on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus were reviewed, developed and applied in the critical analysis of selected films.

This last chapter presents an overall analysis of the work contained in the thesis. In the following sections, I will first summarise the chapters and present the conclusions. Then I will discuss the theoretical implications of the main

chapters in relation to major debates on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus. Finally, I will suggest some directions for further research.

8.2. Summary and Conclusions

This thesis consists of two parts, each of which includes three chapters. Part 1, ‘Specters of Postcolonial Memory in Cyprus,’ consists of the chapters of literature review, conceptual framework and methodology, and film-historical background of the research problem. Part 2, ‘Derviş Zaim’s Ghostly Screen: The Cyprus Trilogy,’ on the other hand, consists of three monographic film chapters, each of which explores one specific component of the research material. This section summarizes the chapters and presents the conclusions below with reference to the main research questions that guided the chapters.

1. How are ghostly matters in postcolonial Cyprus defined in the literature? What are the major debates, arguments and issues over postcolonial ghosts and memory in the context of the Cyprus problem?

This twofold research question was addressed in Chapter 2 (‘Major Debates on Ghostly Matters and the Politics of Postcolonial Memory in Cyprus’). The literature review here examined a set of key and complementary texts that develop the central themes for dealing with postcolonial memory and ghostly matters of the postcolonial condition on Cyprus, which I discussed in the thesis. Providing different perspectives and a broad range of relevant criteria to examine ghostly aspects of postcolonial subjectivity/geography/history in the context of the Cyprus problem, these texts have been highly influential to the formulation of my research questions and the development of my arguments about the

deconstruction of colonial and postcolonial legacies as well as contested memories. In the following paragraphs, I will summarize the key terms and major arguments that have been discussed in the literature.

Postcoloniality: One of the key terms that has shaped the theoretical discussion in this thesis is ‘postcoloniality.’ The postcolonial condition of Cyprus and Cypriots is determined by an ungeneralisable particularity and unique circumstances. Hence, thinking about the historical contingency of the island’s postcolonial condition enables us to imagine colonial and postcolonial categories in unprecedented and novel ways. For several reasons, ‘postcoloniality’ is an unprecedentedly complex, ambiguous, and confusing term in the context of Cyprus: (1) Cyprus has seen multiple forms of colonisation and *post*-colonisation throughout its history. (2) Postcoloniality does not refer to a period of independent nation-state formation but to a period that has evolved from a desire to unite with imagined motherlands (*enosis* and *taksim*) to a desire to lose state sovereignty through incorporation into the legal structures of European Union. (3) Cypriots have failed to produce critical responses to the British colonial legacy and engage in debate over their own postcolonial condition. (4) The British presence still continues on the island.

Postcolonial subjectivity: The first set of major arguments on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus is focused on the formation of postcolonial subjectivity. These can be summarised as follows: (1) The postcolonial consciousness of Cypriots is a haunted and damaged one in the sense that the experience of British colonialism has radically transformed the self-perception of Cypriots and their perception of the ethnic other. (2) This damaged self-consciousness regards the cultural heritage of the island as a means of self-

orientalisation and self-exoticisation, which serves to attract the ‘touristic gaze’ of Europeans. (3) Postcolonial Cypriot consciousness is also persistently haunted by the specters of dead and missing persons. (4) Postcolonial subjectivity in Cyprus has been constructed not only by complex processes of colonial experience but also by the hauntings of the specters of competing masculinities of anti-colonial and ethno-nationalist movements. (5) The hyphenated nature of postcolonial Cypriot subjectivity creates an *aporia*, ambivalence, or a crisis in defining *who* is a Cypriot. The regulation of mutually exclusive, binary ethno-religious identities in postcolonial Cyprus enables only certain politicised routes and discursive possibilities, and marginalises or disables others.

Postcolonial geography: The second set of major arguments on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus concentrate on postcolonial geography, or the spatial aspect of postcoloniality, and they can be listed as follows: (1) One of the ghostly matters of the postcolonial geography of Cyprus is related to the location of the island on the map; that is, although Cyprus cannot easily be fitted into regional categories such as Europe, Asia, Africa and Near/Middle East, the spatial politics of anti-colonialism ironically resulted in the geopolitical identification of the island with Europe and the West. (2) Another ghostly matter of the postcolonial geography of Cyprus is that the current ethnographic map has produced dominant imaginaries that seek to determine what ethnicities exist on the island and where they must be located. (3) The complexities of the refugee experience in postcolonial Cyprus appear to be another ghostly matter that raises crucially important questions about the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots’ attachment to place and sense of belonging. The refugee problem revolves around the questions of what it means to become a stranger in

one's own homeland, and what it means to live in a house that is persistently haunted by the ghost of its ex-owner. (4) The complex relationship between memory and postcolonial geography in the context of Cyprus is associated with debates on the right to property, the right to freedom of movement, the right to return, and the right to stay. (5) Another major argument that deserves attention is related to the spectrality of post-war geography on Cyprus. The postcolonial geography of the island is haunted by the ruins of intercommunal civil wars and the ghostly objects left behind (homes, cars, and personal belongings) which continued to be associated with members of the other ethnic community who had fled to the other side in 1974. (6) The last ghostly matter of the island's postcolonial geography is related to two important questions: What does it mean to belong to the Turkish-Cypriot political community, whose basic rights and freedoms have been violated for decades by the international community? What are the affective dimensions of living like 'ghosts' under the rule of a 'make-believe state,' or the unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus?

Postcolonial history: The third set of major arguments on postcolonial memory and ghostly matters in Cyprus revolve around postcolonial history, or the narrative aspect of postcoloniality. These arguments can be listed as follows: (1) Both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots have used and even abused history to justify and explain their own notions of justice; namely, both communities choose to emphasise certain events of their collective history and to ignore others in order to justify their claims through the past. (2) For decades, a state-sponsored politics of selective memory has dominated the modes of remembering and forgetting in Cyprus. Two contesting historical narratives and mutually exclusive, 'one-sided' collective memories have been constructed by means of museological practices,

commemorative rituals, and national education systems. (3) This politics of selective memory, which dominates the official and singular narratives of both sides, views the writing of history as a means of continuing the battle between the two communities. Therefore, historiography on Cyprus has turned into an obstacle to reconciliation and resolution. (4) Lack of dialogue between the two communities since the early 1960s reinforces the self-righteous attitudes of both sides over the Cyprus problem and blocks any attempt to engage in a re-appraisal of the darkest parts of the island's past. (5) Forgetting is as essential as remembering in the construction of ethno-national postcolonial identities on the island. A politics of selective memory may also function as a mode of national myth-making, which tells us much about struggles over postcolonial identity within the two communities. (6) The attitudes of the two sides regarding the tragic moments of postcolonial history differ sharply: Turkish-Cypriots adopt a politics of forgetting, claiming that 'it is time to put the past behind us,' whereas the institutions of memory on the Greek-Cypriot side aim to maintain the past as an open wound, preventing its closure, and pursue a politics of exile to create a sense of the temporary. (7) Images of wounded bodies are often used in post-conflict Cyprus as icons of suffering, or signifiers of wounded postcolonial consciousness, namely of postcolonial identity crisis. (8) However, the battle over memory in Cyprus is not limited to the one that has been taking place between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. There is also another battle over memory, an ideological dispute on the national past and identity issues, which has been going on within the Greek-Cypriot community between the supporters of Greek-Cypriot nationalism and the supporters of Cypriotism since the mid-1980s. (9) Furthermore, memories of postcolonial violence in Cyprus may not necessarily

end up in a battle over memory between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots; such memories could also lay the ground for reconciliation between the two communities, encouraging a sense of collective victimhood. (10) Overall, a critical study of postcolonial memory should revolve around the questions of how Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots understand their own colonial and postcolonial histories, and how the negative heritage of these tragic histories came into being. Such a study should also aim to redefine the role of history by suggesting a shift from being a tool of division to being a form of dialogue.

2. What are the analytical and methodological tools that have provided a suitable conceptual framework for the research, and which principal conclusions can we derive from that conceptual framework for identifying and analysing the content of the research material?

Chapter 3 ('Being with Postcolonial Ghosts: Hauntology, Memory and Film') addressed the second research question. In this chapter, I gave an outline of the conceptual framework and methodology of the thesis. To develop a reading strategy for my research material, I have chosen to adopt a primarily hauntological approach that is aligned with a critical politics and ethics of postcolonial memory; hence, I have sought to engage with Jacques Derrida's hauntology, as well as Avery F. Gordon's sociology of ghostly matters, Michael F. O'Riley's theory of postcolonial haunting, and Alfred J. López's hauntology of colonial and postcolonial fictions. My joint reading of Derrida's, Gordon's, O'Riley's and López's theoretical texts has suggested to me the following conclusions for the critical interpretation and analysis of the selected films:

(1) The notion of the ‘postcolonial ghost’ refers to the absent others, or victims, of colonial and postcolonial violence. Postcolonial ghosts are neither paranormal entities roaming outside the world nor are they psychological illusions or alien, irrational, spectral presences inside our heads. Rather, they are *social* entities that can never be reduced to a crude dialectic of mental/material and that insist on invisibly haunting our web of relations with the social world.

(2) The postcolonial ghost is primarily a persistent and troubling figure that challenges what we think we know about the colonial and postcolonial histories; therefore, it marks the crisis in our conventional epistemologies and forms of knowing the colonial and postcolonial past.

(3) Applying Gordon’s sociology of ghostly matters to a postcolonial context, we can argue that the haunting of postcolonial ghosts is also not a supernatural occurrence but rather the unexamined irregularity of everyday life in which repressed or unresolved postcolonial social violence makes itself known. Postcolonial haunting, in this sense, can be a significant departure for an act of unlearning that draws us affectively into a strange and uncanny experience; it opens the way to a ‘transformative recognition.’ This transformative recognition or illumination makes us aware not only of the existence and persistent impacts of some tragic events that happened in the past (regardless of whether it enables us to fully know their nature), but also of how those unresolved matters of colonial and postcolonial histories invisibly persist in affecting our current socio-political conditions.

(4) Besides the ontological and epistemological aspects of the postcolonial ghost, we also need to think about the ethical aspects of being-with-postcolonial-ghosts, interrogating the relationship between spectral intersubjectivity,

postcolonial memory, and justice. As Derrida argues, justice would not be possible without learning to live with ghosts. Therefore, we must reckon with postcolonial ghosts, offering them a hospitable memory out of a concern for justice.

(5) By suggesting a *spectral analytic*, or a post-phenomenological understanding of intersubjectivity, hauntology can help us to study the relationship between social reality and specters of unacknowledged colonial/postcolonial histories.

(6) As Michael F. O'Riley argues, 'the specter of colonialism that appears in the form of social division, civil warfare, and authoritarian regime in many postcolonies is but a remainder and reminder that colonialism has only been reincarnated differently.' In which case, a theory of postcolonial haunting, as he suggests, 'is about what to do with such specters – how to live with them, represent them, dispel them, and use them for posterity.'

(7) As Alfred J. López argues, postcolonial fiction, including both literature and cinema, appears as a place where the specters of colonial and postcolonial histories haunt us.

(8) As Derrida argues in *Specters of Marx*, the medium of the media and film is spectral, and for this reason, hauntology also entails the critical study of tele-technological presence and cinematic specters. Although he never wrote on cinema in particular, he links his hauntology to media theory and film studies in the interview with him by Pascale Ogier in the film *Ghost Dance* (Ken McMullen, 1983) where he claims that 'The cinema is the art of ghosts, a battle of phantoms; [...] it is the art of allowing ghosts to come back. I believe that ghosts are part of the future and that the modern technology of images like cinematography and

telecommunication enhances the power of ghosts and their ability to haunt us.’ He further develops his argument by saying that contemporary political life and public space is haunted by the specters of media and film.

(9) In relation to Derrida’s argument about the specters of cinema, we can claim that postcolonial cinema conjures up the ghosts of colonial and postcolonial histories. In this sense, the postcolonial cinematic specters substitute for the ghosts of the absent others, or the victims of colonial and postcolonial violence. Postcolonial cinematic specters disrupt the living present of the spectator by conjuring up sounds and images from other times and places.

(10) The hauntology of postcolonial film might expose new trajectories to interrogate not only the ghostly nature of film but also the potential of films, or occult virtues, for creating magical surfaces of conjuration for gathering the ghosts of colonial/postcolonial history. Postcolonial cinema can also create what we may call a *memory to-come*, a counter-memory, or a deconstructive politics of memory, as opposed to prevalent grand narratives and dominant discourses of the past. The postcolonial cinematic specter as a figure of non-knowledge, or of *re-memoration* [memory to-come], highlights the limitations of our prevalent modes of knowing the colonial/postcolonial past and the assumptions they make about the social world. Thus, postcolonial cinema can enable us to learn from social specters, ‘postcolonial ghosts’ in the context of this thesis, through its testimonial strategies. A postcolonial film may bring contested memories and the question of the ghost into the political arena and public space as a demand for the future and justice. Overall, the re-thinking and re-presentation of memory and colonial/postcolonial histories through the haunting of cinematic specters has

ethical dimensions and is strongly related to responsibility since the return of ghosts through film gives us the opportunity to learn from them about justice.

3. What is the film-historical background of the research problem? What are the implications of Yeşilçam war cinema's geopolitical aesthetics? What are the narrative conventions of Yeşilçam war cinema's nationalist epic dramas on the Cyprus problem? What are the key features of Yeşilçam war cinema's stereotypical depictions of Turkish, Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot characters?

Chapter 4 ('Specters of Yeşilçam Cinema: Turkish War Films on Cyprus') provided a review of the film-historical background to this study. Focusing on the Yeşilçam war films made between 1959 and 1986, the chapter examines the primary filmic legacy to which Derviş Zaim's 'The Cyprus Trilogy' gives a critical response. These nationalist epic dramas promoted a politics of enmity through military maps and landscapes, the savagely polarised representation of group identities, the legitimisation of ethnocentric exclusion and the antagonistic relations of film characters (Turkish heroes versus Greek villains). The main purpose of these films was the legitimisation of the partitionist aims of Turkey and the reinforcement of the antagonistic socio-cultural regime on the island via the argument that the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities can no longer live together.

Some of the findings can be listed as follows: (1) Cinema is one of the most influential means of discursive practice for determining the iconography of the military landscape as well as legitimising military control over territories. (2) A number of nationalist epics appeared in the Yeşilçam film period as an

expression of state-induced, chauvinistic discourse and territorial claims, promoting a discourse that glorifies and appreciates ‘expansionism.’ (3) The myth of the military-nation, or the idea of ‘Every Turk is born a soldier,’ is prevalent in many nationalist epic films about Cyprus. (4) The myth of the military-nation not only constructs masculinity, but also the ideal role of women in these nationalist epic film narratives. (5) The narrative structure and nationalist, militarist, and warmongering rhetoric of these films was supported by several elements such as a series of patriotic demonstrations and military parades, parade-ground drills, aggressive-defensive arguments for combat, Turkish army uniforms, stirring sequences of naval, ground, and air formations, and enthusiastic crowds of children and civilians saluting, marching, singing patriotic songs, waving national flags as well as offering farewells to their military heroes. (6) The militarist rhetoric of these films aims to construct a history ‘from above,’ namely a historical narrative through black and white, good and evil, homogeneous categories. (7) An antagonistic formation of characters is discernible in all of these films. The heroic Turkish protagonists appear as self-directed characters in the sense that they identify and face the evil Greek-Cypriot enemy alone, and more than that, they are depicted as characters with noble aspirations who have a sincere mission to protect the oppressed Turkish-Cypriots. The Turkish-Cypriots, on the other hand, are mostly referred to as ‘our racial brothers (*ırkdaşlarımız*)’ and as ‘our kinsmen (*soydaşlarımız*).’ The films present various racist stereotypes, depicting the Orthodox Christian Greeks and Greek-Cypriots as barbaric characters who are blind with religious fanaticism, *essentially* fraudulent, perverted, erotomaniacal, blood-thirsty, hostile, aggressive, ruthless, cruel, and bestially savage.

To sum up, the Turkish epic war films about Cyprus narrate the national struggle of Turkish-Cypriots, define heroes and villains, and distinguish the ethno-national ‘we’ from the othered ‘them’. The protagonist of a nationalist epic usually takes the form of a prototypical hero, mostly a young and handsome Turkish military officer, who acts as a mouthpiece for the Turkish state and a national role model for the viewers. Other film characters are described as either oppressed Turkish-Cypriots to be emancipated or Greek-Cypriot EOKA’ists to be defeated and punished and are usually depicted in the easily recognised categories of hero/villain.

4. What is the function of the ‘haunted house’ in Shadows and Faces? What kind of spatial characteristics do ‘home’ and other inhabited places possess in this film in terms of material (security), social (hospitality) and emotional (belonging) factors? How can the film’s phenomenological descriptions of domestic spaces and dwelling unfold a mode of counter-intelligibility regarding the production of social spaces in Cyprus and the intercommunal relations between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots?

Chapter 5 (‘Haunted Houses: The Politics of Postcolonial Human Geography in *Shadows and Faces*’) addressed the fourth research question. This question was formulated to explore the postcolonial ghosts of Turkish new wave cinema in terms of the spatial and visual-affective aspects of their cinematic hauntings. To this end, in Chapter 5, I examined the function of the figure of the ‘haunted house’ in Derviş Zaim’s *Shadows and Faces* (*Gölgeler ve Suretler*, 2011), around the concepts of security, hospitality, and belonging. In so doing, I offered a close reading of how the phenomenological reality of ‘home’ is depicted in Zaim’s film

as being haunted by the shadows of a mass atrocity to come, namely being inherently unhomely for Turkish-Cypriots during the 1963–64 First Intercommunal Civil War in Cyprus. To explore some of the major facets of the haunted geography of postcolonial Cyprus on the film screen, I used a Derridean hauntology of lived spaces as a theoretical framework for the film.

To answer the threefold research question, I argued that Zaim in his film attempts to deconstruct the dominant geopolitical discourses about Cyprus by offering a human geographical approach, which translates into a postcolonial film aesthetics through the theme of haunted houses. With a spectral realist tendency, the director *re-invents* the Ottoman shadow play screen in the form of what I called an ‘affective shadow map’ to provide a cinematic cartography of the human geography of postcolonial Cyprus. Through affective shadow maps and shadowy interior spaces, he presents his characters’ perception of home/homelessness as well as their experience of displacement, and, hence, offers his spectators an opportunity to feel the haunted domestic spaces of the island during the first intercommunal civil war. In so doing, he challenges the geostrategic discourses about Cyprus that make the lived experiences of Cypriots invisible and inaudible. Focusing in particular on material, social, and emotional aspects of the haunted domestic spaces of the island, he problematises the imperialist policies of the great powers, the expansionist and irredentist ambitions of Greece and Turkey, and the ethical responsibility of the Cypriots. He follows a politics of postcolonial human geography to defend the primacy of learning to offer hospitality to the ghostly strangers and of learning to extend a welcome to the specters of the absent others over the lines of division, which means where there is no *unconditional hospitality*, in a Derridean sense, there can be no security and peace.

Shadows and Faces attempts not only to deconstruct selective collective memories and geopolitical imaginaries, but also to show the Cypriots their own historically conditioned and changing affective lives and invite them to come to terms with their tragic past, unfolding the shifting geography of home – from security to suspicion and fear, from hospitality to hostility, and from belonging to exile and homesickness. Some of the significant findings to emerge from this analysis can be listed as follows: (1) With a specific attention to the material, social, and emotional factors, the hauntological analysis of the lived spaces of postcolonial Cyprus in *Shadows and Faces* has shown that one's security in one's intimate space is not only disrupted by the intrusion of others but also by his own suspicion and fears. (2) Hospitality, as depicted in the film, is destroyed primordially by one's hostility and egoism. (3) The sense of belonging and being-at-home also bears the phantom of one's exilic soul, namely man's existential condition of *not-being-at-home*. Taken together, these results verify the idea that space is a dynamic and responsive non-human character in Zaim's postcolonial cinema; in his spectral realist film trilogy, there is a bidirectional relationship between characters and spaces: characters are not only affected by spaces, but spaces are also structured by the feelings of characters.

In conclusion, the major findings of Chapter 5 suggest that Zaim's cinematic thinking of ghosts-as-social-figures is closely associated with 'places' as they are experienced, lived, remembered, shared, and communally interpreted. In his cinematic trilogy of Cyprus, the director visualises the postcolonial geography of the island through haunted houses, ghost towns, uncanny landscapes, enclaves, caves, graveyards, vacant or abandoned locations, military zones, emergency regions, borders, and buffer zones which also evoke the divided

capital of Nicosia. By focusing on the aporetic moment of ‘disintegration’ when Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots were still living together in mixed towns and villages, *Shadows and Faces* provides the most profound critique of the oversimplified binary approach of the Yeşilçam nationalist epic films to the intercommunal relations of the early 1960s and mid-1970s on Cyprus (i.e., Greek-Cypriot vs. Turkish-Cypriot). The film also provides important insights into the neglected sides of Yeşilçam’s one-dimensional, reductive approach – that is, how there was also an emotional interdependency between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots before the conflict, how living together in a shared social space for centuries became their ‘second nature’ in the most hybrid manner, and how an ethics of hospitality was unfailingly translated into the actions and vehicles of their communities.

5. What is the function of the ‘voice’ in the construction of the autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives in Parallel Trips? Why is an oral historical approach in postcolonial documentary film practice relevant, even crucial, in forcing viewers to listen to the stories left out of official histories? And how can such a film offer a ‘contact zone’ between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities for belated encounters?

These research questions were taken up in Chapter 6 (‘Autothanatographical Voices: The Politics of Postcolonial Oral History in *Parallel Trips*’). In this chapter, I scrutinised the role of the ‘voice’ in the narrative construction of postcolonial, cosmopolitanist documentary film practice in Cyprus. I have chosen *Parallel Trips* (*Paralel Yolculuklar/ Ta parállila monopátia* [Τα παράλληλα μονοπάτια], 2004), a postcolonial oral history documentary film about the 1974

Second Intercommunal Civil War, co-directed by Derviş Zaim and Greek-Cypriot director Panicos Chrysanthou, to discuss the postcolonial ghosts of Turkish new wave cinema in terms of the narrative and vocal-affective aspects of their cinematic hauntings. Adopting a comparative approach, I have contrasted colonial, ethno-nationalist, and postcolonial cosmopolitanist documentary film practices on the history of Cyprus by discussing well known examples such as the British colonial documentary film *Cyprus is an Island*, the Hellenic nationalist documentary film *Attila '74: The Rape of Cyprus*, the Turkish nationalist documentary film *The 50 Years of Cyprus*, and the Cypriot cosmopolitanist oral history documentary film *Parallel Trips*. Then I analysed each of the films in turn according to the approach they display toward Cyprus and Cypriots. To determine the function of autobiographical and autothanatographical voices in *Parallel Trips*, I have shown how the film critically responds to the filmic legacies of colonialism and ethno-nationalisms. I have also significantly benefited from Derrida's hauntological reflections on the ghostly nature of the 'recorded voice' to frame the discussion of the chapter.

In this chapter, I argued that *Parallel Trips* is a striking film that neatly deconstructs the colonial and ethno-nationalist film legacies by presenting the voices of Cypriots as signifiers of absent others. To support my argument, I also claimed in the theoretical section of this chapter that we can examine the ghostly nature of autobiographical and autothanatographical narratives in oral history documentaries, especially in *Parallel Trips*, more fully if we pay particular attention to narrative voice. Zaim and Chrysanthou use the voices of Cypriot survivors strategically in their film to conjure up the ghosts of the 1974 conflict and to call for justice for the 'absent others' who have been the victims of an

intercommunal civil war and a military intervention. The autobiographical and autothanatographical voices of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots in *Parallel Trips* point out what is missing, or absent, in the hegemonic voice-over commentaries and official historical master narratives of colonial and ethno-nationalist documentaries: the voice of Cypriots. Indeed, by strategically using the voices of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot survivors, Zaim and Chrysanthou's project seeks to dismantle the 'grand narratives' of British colonialism and Hellenic and Turkish ethno-nationalisms regarding the history of Cyprus.

Some of the major findings that have emerged from the discussion in this chapter can be summarised as follows: (1) The British colonial documentary film *Cyprus is an Island* is remarkable, and close to unique, in the way it connects the 'imperial eye,' or the 'colonial gaze,' of the camera with an authoritative omniscient 'voice-over' that addresses the audience directly. Rendering the voices of the colonised Cypriots inaudible with an expository mode, the documentary manifests a politics of silencing, or a colonial approach to Cyprus and Cypriots. Furthermore, the hegemonic voice-over commentary of the documentary, which illustrates the colonial perception of the island, is also shaped by the key features, including touristic scopophilia, class stratification, and territorial imperative. (2) As for the Greek-Cypriot documentary film *Attila '74*, it represents a classic example of Hellenic nationalist film practice in which the lived experiences, voices, and memory of postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subjects are silenced and suppressed with a primordialist discourse of cultural hegemony, a racially majoritarian logic, as well as a politics of racially selective memory. (3) Likewise, the Turkish nationalist documentary film *The 50 Years of Cyprus* silences the voices of the Greek-Cypriot community by monotonising their voices, or reducing

them to the voices of their political elites. The documentary seems to be based on the Turkish nationalist conviction that Cyprus would have certainly been united with Greece if Turkey did not intervene with its army in 1974. Following the arguments of Turkish official historical discourse, the voice-over commentary of the documentary also reflects the geopolitical and geological assumption that Cyprus is a natural extension of Asia Minor. Furthermore, the film's master narrative also suppresses the voices of the Turkish-Cypriot community by representing them as purely passive 'victims' who must be 'emancipated' from Greek-Cypriot oppression by the Turkish army.

In conclusion, returning to the research questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, it is now possible to state that *Parallel Trips* is a work of oral history that attempts to excavate personal, or minor, histories of the Cypriots to deconstruct the political unconscious of the island and the grand narratives of colonialist and nationalist imaginaries. To achieve this goal, the film uses the autobiographical and autothanatographical voices of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot survivors and their first person ghost stories as a means of promoting a 'counter-memory,' which contains all forms of contested narratives. In so doing, the film forces the viewers to unlearn what they think they know about the past of Cyprus and to find a way of learning to live with the absent others.

6. *What function do the 'haunted (disabled) characters' in Derviş Zaim's mnemopolitical film Mud perform?*

Chapter 7 ('Haunted Bodies: The Politics of Postcolonial Subjectivity in *Mud*') addressed the final research question. The chapter suggested reading the haunted (disabled) bodies of the film characters as a signifier of the damaged historicity of

Turkish-Cypriot postcolonial subjectivity in Zaim's spectral realist cinema. The chapter provides a hauntological analysis of the ambivalent, introvert, hesitant, disabled, anti-heroic, and inoperative protagonists and characters and the disjointed times of their lives that are constituted and deconstituted through ruptures in the non-progressive temporality of Zaim's film narrative.

The chapter argued that the anti-heroic, introvert, and inoperative protagonists in *Mud* perform a dual function: On the one hand, these uncommunicative, opaque, ambivalent, less dramatic, obsessive, and dispersed characters are the 'haunted subjects' of the disjointed times of postcolonial Cyprus. On the other, they are 'cinematic ghosts' with an affective power of haunting that substitutes for the ghostly presence of Turkish-Cypriots: they are troubling figures of non-knowledge that resist being fully recognised and known, and encourage the audience (1) to observe how catastrophic events from the island's recent past have produced an oppressive present time for Turkish-Cypriots, (2) to unlearn what they think they know about Cyprus, and (3) to engage and respond critically to the haunting of the cinematic specters.

By populating the social landscape of *Mud* with a variety of disabled and haunted bodies, Zaim re-contextualises the body of the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot subject as a colonial legacy, and re-defines the silenced and war-wounded bodies of the Turkish-Cypriot film characters as somatic markers of 'otherness' to problematise both the memory of postcolonial intercommunal violence (the one-sided ethno-nationalist modes of remembering) and the damaged present of the postcolonial condition (the postcolonial time-lag). *Mud* portrays a highly claustrophobic atmosphere, the world of Turkish-Cypriots, which disenchant the European discourses of freedom, equality, and human rights. In other words,

disabled, war-wounded, and obsessive protagonists and side characters are used in the film to show the devastating effects of ethnic violence, economic and political isolation, discrimination, and inequality upon Turkish-Cypriots.

The chapter was focused on the individual and social lives of the three anti-heroic and inoperative protagonists (i.e., Ali, Temel, and Ayşe), and examined their narrative function. The main conclusions drawn from the analysis are the following: (1) Ali appears as an asocial and uncommunicative character, who loses his voice to the specter of the *actual living present* time. Within the symbolic order of the film's militarised geography, he substitutes for the postwar 'mute' bodies who are silenced by the specters of great powers and guarantor states of Cyprus (the United States, the former Soviet Union, Britain, Greece, and Turkey). (2) Temel is haunted by the specters of the *past present*, or the victims of the postcolonial ethnic conflicts, and stands for the 'melancholic' subjects of the island whose actual living present time is disrupted by the apparitions of the past trauma. (3) Ayşe, on the other hand, is touched by the ghosts of the *future present*, namely the generations to-come, being a substitute for the 'exhausted' people of the North who have been struggling for a peaceful solution for more than three decades in between despair and hope.

8.3. Discussion

A brief look at the history of Turkish new wave cinema shows that specters of national history, memory, and film share a strong affinity. Many contemporary Turkish film directors – Derviş Zaim, Yeşim Ustaoglu, Fatih Akın, Özcan Alper, Tomris Giritlioğlu, Alphan Eşeli, Orhan Eskiköy, Tayfur Aydın, and others – engaged in spectralities as well as certain forms of a critical politics of memory:

on cinematic modes of remembering the ghosts of unacknowledged histories such as the 1915 Armenian massacres and deportation (*The Cut*, Fatih Akin, 2014), the 1922 Greek-Turkish population exchange (*The Other Side of the Water* [*Suyun Öte Yanı*], Tomris Giritlioğlu, 1991; *Waiting for the Clouds* [*Bulutları Beklerken*], Yeşim Ustaoglu, 2004; *My Grandfather's People* [*Dedemin İnsanları*], Çağan Irmak, 2011), the 1937–39 Dersim massacre against Kurdish people (*38: A Documentary on the Kurdish Massacre in Dersim* [*38: Dersim Katliamı Belgeseli*], Çayan Demirel, 2006), the 1942 Law on Wealth Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) being applied to non-Muslim Turkish citizens (*Mrs. Salkım's Diamonds* [*Salkım Hanım'ın Taneleri*], Tomris Giritlioğlu, 1999), the 1955 Turkish pogrom against non-Muslim minorities [a.k.a. the 6–7 September incidents] (*Pains of Autumn* [*Güz Sancısı*], Tomris Giritlioğlu, 2009), the 1963–74 Cyprus postcolonial intercommunal civil wars (*Mud*, Derviş Zaim, 2003; *Parallel Trips*, Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou, 2004; *Shadows and Faces*, Derviş Zaim, 2011), the 1978 Maraş massacre against the Alawites (*Voice of My Father* [*Babamın Sesi*], Orhan Eskiköy and Zeynel Doğan, 2012), the 1980 Çorum massacre against the Alawites (*Hidden Lives* [*Saklı Hayatlar*], Ahmet Haluk Ünal, 2011), the 1980 military coup [a.k.a. the 12 September *coup d'état*] (*Back Home* [*Eve Dönüş*], Ömer Uğur, 2006; *Zincirbozan*, Atıl İnaç, 2007; *Autumn* [*Sonbahar*], Özcan Alper, 2008; *A Voice Divides the Night* [*Bir Ses Böler Geceyi*], Ersan Arsever, 2012; *Ms. Ayhan* [*Ayhan Hanım*], Levent Semerci, 2013), the 1996 Susurluk scandal that unveiled the shadowy links between the Turkish state, the mafia, drug traffickers, and other illegal elements [a.k.a. Turkey's Watergate] (*Elephants and Grass* [*Filler ve Çimen*], Derviş Zaim, 2001), the 1984–2014 Kurdish question (*Journey to the Sun* [*Güneşe Yolculuk*],

Yeşim Ustaoglu, 1999; *The Photograph [Fotoğraf]*, Kazım Öz, 2001; *Big Man, Little Love [Büyük Adam Küçük Aşk]*, Handan İpekçi, 2001; *On the Way to School [İki Dil Bir Bavul]*, Orhan Eskiköy and Özgür Doğan, 2008; *Trace [Rêç/ İz]*, Tayfur Aydın, 2011; *Where is My Mother Tongue? [Zonê Ma Koti yo?/ Ana Dilim Nerede?]*, Veli Kahraman, 2012). Despite this promising film production on the ghosts of national history between the late 1990s and mid-2010s, however, theoretical reflection on these mnemopolitical films has remained dormant. As the wide range of topics and contexts in the above list was beyond the limits of a Ph.D. thesis, I have preferred to focus specifically on the postcolonial films on the Cyprus problem upon which no study has been produced. I have explained the criteria of selecting the films in the Introduction in detail.

Many political anthropologists and memory scholars have written extensively about the inaccuracies and selective nature of colonialist and ethno-nationalist historical narratives of Cyprus and how they manage to create one-sided collective memories by distorting facts or by merely choosing to focus on *certain* facts. However, these one-sided collective memories are interesting most of all for what they leave unsaid. In these selective narratives no reference is made either to Greek-Cypriot or Turkish-Cypriot sentiment towards postcolonial ethnic violence. In this thesis, I have tried to show that Derviş Zaim's 'The Cyprus Trilogy' powerfully provides new ground on which to discuss the forgotten, overlooked, or intentionally neglected, 'shadowy' aspects of the whole story. The Turkish-Cypriot director conjures up the specters of colonial/postcolonial history to end the politics of silencing that has been prevalent in the narratives of both sides for many decades. The Cyprus trilogy contains scenes of postcolonial civil wars on the island and the postwar period. The main concern of these films is how

the specters of colonial and postcolonial history persist in the cultural present of Cypriots. The trilogy directs its audience to view the Cypriots' postcolonial condition through the characters' eyes in a number of different ways. Secondly, the film trilogy allows us to witness in detail the Turkish-Cypriots' dilemmas in relation to both Greek-Cypriots and Turkey and the ways in which they strive to overcome them. Thirdly, the film trilogy shows how the postcolonial Cypriot characters attempt to deal with their spectral conditions. The film trilogy's prereflective and preconceptual possibilities provide a unique experience for the viewer, which exceeds the limits of textual ethnographic material. Zaim believes that without learning to live with the specters of a tragic past, an open future and a real peace on the island are impossible. At this historical juncture, a postcolonial spectral realist cinema can help us to engage in a post-national, trans-communal and cosmopolitan mode of remembering the colonial and postcolonial pasts of the island.

In *Shadows and Faces*, Zaim depicts the ghostly atmosphere of the postcolonial geography of Cyprus during the early 1960s in a way which is interestingly unlike the Greek and Turkish nationalist conceptions of it. The social landscape of the film is in stark contrast with the mutually exclusive assumptions of Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot ethno-nationalist discourses about the island's postcolonial geography. According to Greek and Greek-Cypriot ethno-nationalist narratives, the island of Cyprus was divided in 1974 after a Greek *coup d'état* and Turkey's military intervention in response. In the period before 1974, there was no serious problem in the relationship between the two communities. The film, however, conjures up the ghosts of a postcolonial past to show us the opposite, namely what has remained forgotten in the popular narratives of the Greek-

Cypriot side. Cyprus was not divided in 1974 after a Greek coup, as usually assumed. It was divided in 1963 when the Greek-Cypriots massacred Turkish-Cypriot men, women and children according to the Akritas Plan. The Green Line has been officially in existence since Christmas Day in 1963, de facto since 1958 (the Mason-Dixon Line), when the first conflicts between the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities of the island resulted in the partition of Nicosia.

Shadows and Faces also challenges the Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot nationalist approaches to postcolonial geography. For Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot nationalists, the recent historical atrocities demonstrate that Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots can never live together. As a Turkish-Cypriot who suffered from Greek-Cypriot oppression, Zaim rejects this 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy and the so-called impossibility of living together with Greek-Cypriots, considering it to be an unjustified claim by Turkish-Cypriot nationalists such as Rauf Denktaş. What we see in *Shadows and Faces* is that even during the first intercommunal civil war, most people in the two communities were perplexed by the eruption of conflict and tried to sustain their good relations with neighbours in mixed towns and villages. Only the younger ones were more eager to follow extremist nationalist paths. In fact, the impossibility of living together with Greek-Cypriots is an unjustified claim because Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots had lived side by side for centuries without any serious conflict. Hence, we should also conjure up the ghosts of precolonial geography. The two communities can live together in peace again if they collaborate with each other to remember the precolonial geography of the island, namely shared lives in cities and villages, and the possibilities of this precolonial geography, and be more critical about what they were taught by their states about the other side. For this reason, both conjuring up

the specters of precolonial geography and coming to terms with the ghostly matters of postcolonial geography via a dialogical approach are necessary; and to this end, the cinematic medium and its creative geography can provide valuable insights into alternative, cosmopolitan modes of remembering. Cinema can enable us to reconsider the ghostly matters of a divided island by drawing our attention to the relational aspects and complexities of human geography.

If I had to point out one questionable aspect of *Shadows and Faces*, I might say that the director's choice of playing the role of a TMT guerrilla fighter as a side character in the film does not seem to contribute to the general aims of the film. Another weakness is that Karagözcü Salih's wise but somehow didactic words that we hear in some scenes threaten to ruin the expressive power of the masterfully interwoven plot. Finally, another flaw of the film is that Ahmet (Buğra Gülsoy) was treated as less than a side character although he usually was much closer to the main characters than others, and one is left wondering why the audience were not allowed to learn more about him.

In *Parallel Trips*, where we hear first-person ghost stories of both Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot survivors, we come to terms with the fact that members of both communities were captured and killed during the 1974 second intercommunal civil war. However, we see little to no acknowledgement of the other community's suffering by Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot nationalist discourses in their selective narratives of the 1974 conflict. Indeed, both communities in general seem concerned only with their own problems, and do not give an inch in acknowledging, for the simple sake of scrutiny, the other community's suffering. Although Greek-Cypriots want to ignore the suffering of Turkish-Cypriots during the 1974 events and portray the killings and losses as being entirely one-sided, the

Turkish-Cypriot community also suffered much as they were killed by their Greek-Cypriot neighbours. The Turkish-Cypriot nationalist discourse, on the other hand, only emphasises that the Turkish army emancipated Turkish-Cypriots from Greek and Greek-Cypriot oppression. But, as we see in *Parallel Trips*, Greek-Cypriot civilians also became victims of Turkey's military intervention. What we learn from *Parallel Trips* is that we need a cosmopolitan mode of remembering to enter into a dialogue with the other side.

The major weakness of *Parallel Trips* lies in Zaim and Chrysanthou's reluctance to delve further into the postwar experience of the survivors. Although we hear about what happened to the survivors and their families during the 1974 conflict, we really do not learn much about what the survivors have done to respond to, or to cope with, the social trauma in the aftermath of the inter-ethnic clash. The bicomunal music ensemble project we are presented with in the documentary, in this sense, provides a relevant but highly limited example of how dominant discursive 'trajectories' on both sides were interrupted by the survivors. In other words, the documentary should have gone deeper into the postwar attitudes of the survivors toward the later effects of a tragic social past. Another weak aspect of the film is about the 'talking heads' that dominate the film. Obviously, showing the survivors full-face has an argumentative value because it emotionalises the atmosphere of the oral history documentary. However, using the personal archives of the survivors in parallel to the talking heads would have portrayed their lives much more richly and accessibly. Another weakness of the documentary is that the first-person narratives of the survivors from both sides were presented with poor subtitles.

Lastly, *Mud* is about the damaged historicity of postcolonial subjectivity. According to Greek-Cypriot nationalist discourse, the Turkish army's presence on the island is the biggest threat to the freedom of both Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots. For Turkish-Cypriot nationalist discourse, however, just the opposite is true: the Turkish army's presence on the island is the only guarantee of their freedom. In *Mud*, Zaim challenges both positions. According to Zaim, both Turkey's military presence on the island and the Western world's hypocrisy in commenting on the human rights record of other countries while they choose to ignore their own gross human rights violations committed against Turkish-Cypriots have turned Turkish-Cypriots into disabled (politically unfree) and ghostly (internationally unrecognised) subjects. The Turkish-Cypriots as disabled phantom bodies are the legacy of British colonialism. Zaim insists that without the political recognition of both sides there will be no equality between the two communities and therefore any peace negotiations are doomed to failure, as the experience of the last 50 years clearly shows us. The dream of a united republic cannot be realised without giving the counterparts equal status. How can we expect the Greek-Cypriot side to accept the two-state solution (the two states, northern Cyprus and southern Cyprus, living under one agreed-upon common political structure) if they remain the only internationally recognised and legitimate part of the peace negotiations? Although Turkish-Cypriots showed their willingness to resolve the dispute by agreeing to the Annan Plan, they were punished by the international community.

The principal weakness of *Mud* is that it was not shot in Cyprus but in Turkey. Even though the director's choice of the film location can be viewed as acceptable, or even inevitable, due to the tough political situation of the island in

the early 2000s, the film was still at its least convincing when trying to express the particularity of the island and its postcolonial condition through the images of another place. Another failing was that the language of the film was too symbolic, so much so that the inflation of metaphorical elements in the film leaves the viewers perplexed, skewing their perception of the surreal political situation of northern Cyprus. Another weakness of the film is that *Mud* is not a film that engages the viewer emotionally, and is as such a very cold film. Even though the relative maladaptiveness of the film characters in *Mud* to their social environment exhibits the surreal political reality of the northern side perfectly, it rarely gives a hint of the troubles they had in their inner world. None of the characters really reveal much about themselves. The director's camera admirably offers a perspective to maintain an unsentimental but responsible attitude toward the troubles of Turkish-Cypriot characters. However, the way Zaim puts an emotional distance between the viewers and the film characters, perhaps unintentionally, resulted in a crumbling story of odd, unidentifiable characters.

In addition to its critical narrative structure, the spectral realist film style has also been an important part of Derviş Zaim's postcolonial film trilogy. The Cyprus trilogy achieves its affective and intellectual impact not only through its non-conventional narrative structures but also through ghostly images and sounds, as we see especially in *Shadows and Faces*. In his Cyprus trilogy, the Turkish-Cypriot filmmaker Derviş Zaim vindicates the world of Cypriots and its postcolonial condition. Focusing on the Cypriots' miscellaneous responses and reactions to intercommunal violence, Zaim discloses the Cypriots' experiences of social disintegration, political division, economic isolation and cultural alienation. Taking into account the complex relationship existing between Zaim's condition

as ‘witness’ of the post-conflict culture in Cyprus and his experience as a Turkish-Cypriot, the director has found the cinematographic and narrative strategies that best enable him to reveal the ‘minor’ truths of the social world of the Cypriots whose fears have been confirmed with the horrendous events that have taken place in the second half of the twentieth century. The postcolonial world is not depicted in Zaim’s trilogy in utopian or dystopian terms and the figure of the Cypriot is not idealised or regarded as pitiable. The director evinces that the social world of the Cypriots was not only menaced by the involvements of external powers but also by the two communities’ own fears and hostilities.

Derviş Zaim likes to explore diverse styles in his cinema, moving from one form of experimentation to another. Perusing his filmography is like reading all the poems of one poet. Although his style evolves, becoming more sophisticated and balanced in his later works, the central themes of critical remembering and ethics remain the same. Obviously, he is an examiner of cultural memory. His cinematic trilogy of Cyprus that he began in 2003 appears as dissemination, fragmentation, a chain or network of counter-memories, a collage of mnemopolitical narratives, images and sounds, in attempts to reckon with the ghostly aspects of a social reality avowedly too overwhelming and exigent. The chronology of film production in the trilogy, it should be noted, does not correspond with the historical chronology of the Cyprus conflict. *Mud* was made first, in 2003, on the postwar reality of northern Cyprus, and *Parallel Trips* second, in 2004, on the 1974 war, and *Shadows and Faces* last, in 2010, as a film that intersects with another film trilogy (‘the classical Ottoman arts trilogy’), on the 1963-64 intercommunal clash.

The spectral realist style, form and narrative structure of the Cyprus trilogy evolved gradually, and to a certain extent incidentally, from a surrealist eclecticism (the free association and collage-like fusion of unrelated materials in *Mud* that matches the surreal social reality and political ambiguity of northern Cyprus), to a dialogical documentary realism (the conversational first-person accounts of the Cyprus conflict in *Parallel Trips*), then to an expressionist maximalism (the reinvention and politicisation of the traditional Ottoman shadow-play theatre in *Shadows and Faces* as a reaction against the minimalist tendency of other Turkish new wave film directors). Despite the stylistic and formative evolution of the trilogy's visual and narrative features, the films are always critical, always controversial, and often set in politically dangerous situations. Different narrative techniques were employed by Zaim in each film so as to portray the postcolonial identity crisis of the Cypriots. Consequently, the trilogy evolves from the mainly realist narrative of the two first films, *Mud* and *Parallel Trips*, that describe in detail the Cypriots' world, to a more experimental type of fiction in the third film, *Shadows and Faces*, which highlights the ambivalence of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots during the early moments of intercommunal violence.

What is most striking about the film trilogy in terms of Turkish film history is that it gives a critical response to Yeşilçam war cinema's complete disregard for historical contextualisation of any sort. The Yeşilçam war films misuse and abuse the postcolonial intercommunal violence in Cyprus to justify Turkey's expansionist politics and to re-produce the myth of the military-nation. What the pre-conflict relations of the two communities were like and what the causes of postcolonial violence in Cyprus were are left unanswered in Yeşilçam's

nationalist epics. The plots of Yeşilçam films on the Cyprus problem go on to blame the Greek-Cypriots for the intercommunal violence, even though Greek military junta, Greek-Cypriot politicians, EOKA'ists, and ordinary Greek-Cypriot citizens were not 'homogeneously bad' in reality. It becomes evident that this is a convenient embellishment perhaps used to excuse Turkey's aggressive politics of partition. The constant portrayal of Turkish-Cypriots as pure victims of Greek-Cypriot violence in Yeşilçam war films is far from innocent, to say the least, given Turkey's geopolitical interests in the region. In addition to this, there is almost no mention of colonial history, British imperialist politics, that created the conditions for intercommunal civil wars between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots or of how the imperialist antagonisms, or conflicting interests of external powers such as United States, former Soviet Union, Britain, Greece and Turkey, stirred up the tension between the two sides.

We can observe in ethno-nationalist Turkish/Hellenic films that postcolonial violence on the island is often simplified and facts are distorted in cinematic renditions. The inter-ethnic conflicts between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities often become a sub-plot in the effort to valorise the heroic protagonist and his personal journey. However, I would also like to emphasise that films on the Cyprus problem, regardless of their being critical or reductive of their topic, offer an important medium of representation and interpretation that reveals different modes of remembering and forgetting. And such representations can be used to study the nature and effect of a divided Cypriot postcolonial memory, rather than actual facts. For this reason, I have chosen to study Zaim's critical films in relation to other films that reveal dominant forms of remembering and forgetting. This enabled me to show the

contrasts between the state-sponsored ethno-nationalist politics of memory, which have created mutually exclusive selective memories, and the deconstructive politics of memory, which aims to deconstitute the current Cypriot postcolonial memory to structure the conditions of possibility for a socially well-integrated, cosmopolitan memory. In this sense, Zaim's project is an unfinished and open-ended one: it does not aim to end up with a certain form of cristalised, finished memory; instead, it remains always open to new forms of remembering. In this sense, Zaim's cinematic trilogy aims at a cosmopolitan memory, which means nothing more than a 'memory-to-come.'

While *Shadows and Faces*, *Parallel Trips*, and *Mud* are all about memory, loss, and ghostly matters, I have argued in this thesis that they are also about the possibilities of the future. My analysis has aimed to show how Zaim's postcolonial film trilogy challenges the ways in which the social construction of postcolonial memory functions as an ethnocentric and contested field. The film trilogy offers us an opportunity to revisit the specters of postcolonial memory and ask crucially important questions as to what happened in the years of the intercommunal civil wars in Cyprus and in the postwar period. The films suggest that both an introspection regarding the specters of colonial and postcolonial histories of the island and a deconstruction of mutually exclusive collective memories are necessary if Cypriots are to move forward and to have a future for themselves and for their children. Zaim's film trilogy insists on how current Cypriot postcolonial memory suffers from several ailments, including selective historical facts, multiple silencings, glaring inconsistencies, and grand conspiracy theories. The films allow us to reconsider both colonialist and ethno-nationalist reconstructions of history from a critical perspective. The trilogy also encourages

us to think about the spectralities of postcolonial geography of the island and about the disabilities of postcolonial subjectivity of Cypriots. More than this, the film trilogy provides a dialogical platform for a deconstruction of colonial and ethno-national legacies and for a negotiation to take place between the new generations of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities.

8.4. Suggestions for Further Research

Having proposed a hauntology of postcolonial cinema and having provided a hauntological analysis of Derviş Zaim's postcolonial film trilogy on the Cyprus problem, there are several directions in which further research should go. The first is to examine the validity of assumptions regarding the postcolonial film genre in new Turkish cinema by exploring other examples such as *Whispers of the Dead Zone* (*Ölü Bölgeden Fısıltılar*, Fırat Çağrı Beyaz, 2012), a noteworthy postcolonial film that explores the frustrating atmosphere of the post-Annan Plan referendum period in northern Cyprus, and *Code Name Venus* (*Kod Adı Venüs*, Tamer Garip, 2012), another film which focuses on the rise of ethno-nationalisms on the island during the late colonial period of the 1950s.

Secondly, the potentials of a hauntological model for Greek and Greek-Cypriot film traditions should be explored. We know that apart from the Hellenic nationalist film *Cyprus, Ordained to Me* (Ninos Fenwick Mikellidis, 1963), several remarkable documentary and narrative films were produced in Greek-Cypriot cinema on the Cyprus problem: *The Island of Aphrodite* (*To nisi tis Afroditis* [*To νησί της Αφροδίτης*], Georgios Skalenakis, 1969), *How Cyprus Was Betrayed* (*Etsi prodothike i Kypros* [*Έτσι προδόθηκε η Κύπρος*], Georgios Philis, 1974), *Tomorrow's Warrior* (*O avrianos polemistis* [*Ο αυριανός πολεμιστής*],

Michael Papas, 1981), *The Descent of the Nine* (*I kathodos ton ennia* [*Η κάθοδος των εννιά*]), Christos Siopahas, 1984), *The Rape of Aphrodite* (*O viasmos tis Afroditis* [*Ο βιασμός της Αφροδίτης*]), Andreas Pantzis, 1985), *Our Wall* (*To teixomas* [*Το τείχος μας*]/ *Bizim Duvarımız*, Panicos Chrysanthou and Niyazi Kızılyürek, 1993), *The Wing of the Fly* (*To ftero tis mygas* [*Το φτερό της μύγας*]), Christos Siopahas, 1995), *The Slaughter of the Cock* (*I sfagi tou kokora* [*Η σφαγή του κόκορα*]), Andreas Pantzis, 1996), *Roads and Oranges* (*Dromoi kai portokalia* [*Δρόμοι και πορτοκάλια*]), Aliki Danezi-Knutsen, 1996), *The Road to Ithaca* (*O dromos gia tin Ithaki* [*Ο δρόμος για την Ιθάκη*]), Costas Demetriou, 1999), *Under the Stars* (*Kato apo t'astra* [*Κάτω από τ'άστρα*]), Christos Georgiou, 2001), and *Akamas* (*Ακάμας*, Panicos Chrysanthou, 2006).

Thirdly, in addition to Greek/Greek-Cypriot and Turkish/Turkish-Cypriot cinemas, films from other film traditions focusing on colonial and postcolonial Cyprus such as *Exodus* (Otto Preminger, 1960) and *The High Bright Sun* (Ralph Thomas, 1964) also need to be studied. As noted in Chapter 1, the limitations of this research show us that we need a kind of comparative film studies to study postcolonial films on Cyprus. Future film scholars should study British, Greek, Turkish, Greek-Cypriot, and Turkish-Cypriot films on Cyprus from a comparative and transnational perspective. Although one of the selected films, *Parallel Trips*, has been analysed in the thesis in comparison with its British, Turkish and Greek-Cypriot counterparts, the comparative study and analysis of films on the colonial and postcolonial histories of Cyprus should be developed much further. Finally, the hauntological model I have developed in this thesis can also be used to analyse all mnemopolitical films in general from both Turkish cinema and other world film traditions, covering postcolonialist and other perspectives.

8.5. Conclusion

Overall, in this thesis I argued that Derviş Zaim's Cyprus trilogy conjures up the ghosts of the postcolonial history of Cyprus. In so doing, it not only explores the complex postcolonial condition of Cypriots, but also examines the conditions of possibility for coming to terms with the tragic events of a colonial/postcolonial past. Zaim views the partition of the island as the legacy of British colonialism and attempts to show us that a peaceful reconciliation between Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots would be possible if and only if they both learn to live with the ghosts of the absent others, the victims who lost their lives in brutal intercommunal civil wars that have taken place in Cyprus in the aftermath of decolonisation in the 1960s and 1970s. Through his cinematic trilogy, Zaim draws our attention to the haunted places of postcolonial human geography, disjointed times of postcolonial history, and ghostly bodies and autothanatographical/autobiographical narratives of the postcolonial Cypriot subjects. In so doing, he defends the primacy of the lived experiences of Cypriots as opposed to the mainstream geopolitical and macro-historical analyses regarding the postcolonial condition of the island. For this reason, the chapters have focused on the spatial/temporal, vocal/narrative, and embodied/disembodied aspects of postcolonial memory and haunting as presented in Zaim's films. Briefly speaking, Zaim's trilogy allows us to reconsider the impact of British colonialism upon Cyprus and its engagements with the living present; the state of the colonised peoples, both Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots, after the departure of the colonial power; and the consciousness of the Cypriots who wish to speak about their postcolonial condition and experiences *vis-à-vis* European hegemony. In

conclusion, Derviş Zaim's spectral realist film trilogy exposes a critical perspective and new trajectories for deconstructing the legacies of British colonialism, the Greek-Cypriot anti-colonial majoritarian nationalism, Turkish-Cypriot reactionary minoritarian nationalism, Greece's primordialist irredentism, and Turkey's geocentrist expansionism.

Bibliography

- Ackerman Jr., Alan L. 'Visualizing Hamlet's Ghost: The Spirit of Modern Subjectivity.' *Theatre Journal* 53 (2001): 119–144.
- Adorno, Theodor W., and Max Horkheimer. 'On the Theory of Ghosts.' In Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Translated by John Cumming, 215–217. London: Verso, 1997.
- Agamben, Giorgio. 'On the Uses and Disadvantages of Living among Specters.' In Giorgio Agamben, *Nudities*. Translated by David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella, 37–42. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Akbal-Süalp, Zeynep Tül. 'Birkaç İtiraz; Bir Yönetmen Bir Film; ve Biraz Söylenme [Some Objections; A Director and A Film; and Some Mumbblings].' *Antrakt* 77 (February 2004): 42–43.
- AKTI Project and Research Centre, *Ekthesi gia ta Vivlia Istorias kai Logotechnias tis Ektis Dimotikou se Schesi me tin Proothisi tis Vias kai tou Ethnikismou [Report on History and Literature Books of 6th Grade Primary Schools in Relation to Issues of Violence and Nationalism]*. Nicosia, 2004.
- Ali, Barish. 'The Postcolonial Gothic: Haunting and Historicity in the Literature after Empire.' Ph.D. diss., State University of New York, 2005.
- Altınay, Ayşe Gül. *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Anderson, David M. 'Policing and Communal Conflict: The Cyprus Emergency, 1954–60.' In *Policing and Decolonisation: Politics, Nationalism and the Police, 1917–65*, edited by David McBeath Anderson and David Killingray, 187–217. New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Anonymous. 'The Akritas Plan (1963).' In *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History, 1878-2007*, edited by Murat Metin Hakkı, 90–96. New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2007.
- Apeyitou, Eleni. 'Turkish-Cypriot Nationalism: Its History and Development (1571–1960).' In *Colonial Cyprus, 1878–1960: Selected Readings*, edited by Emiliou Solomou and Hubert Faustmann, 247–275. Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 'Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalisation.' *Nêthra Quarterly Journal* 2 (January–March 1998): 1–31.
- Arınç, Cihat. 'Curating Ghostly Objects: Counter-Memories in Cinematic Space.' In *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating*, edited by Jean-Paul Martinon, 183–195. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.

- Arınç, Cihat. 'Derviş Zaim.' In *Directory of World Cinema: Turkey*, edited by Eylem Atakav, 33–36. Bristol: Intellect, 2013.
- Arınç, Cihat. 'Somersault in a Coffin (Tabutta Rövaşata, 1996).' In *World Film Locations: Istanbul*, edited by Özlem Köksal, 52–53. London: Intellect, 2012.
- Arınç, Cihat. 'Derviş Zaim'in Film Coğrafyası: *Gölgeler ve Suretler*'de Kıbrıs Haritası [Derviş Zaim's Cinematic Geography: A Map of Cyprus in *Shadows and Faces*].' *Hayal Perdesi* 21 (March–April 2011): 10–15.
- Arınç, Cihat. 'Against Historicism and Aestheticism: Walter Benjamin's Critical Philosophy of Film.' M.A. thesis, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, 2008.
- Armstrong, Richard. *Mourning Films: A Critical Study of Loss and Grieving in Cinema*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012.
- Arslan, Savaş. *Cinema in Turkey: A New Critical History*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Arslan, Umut Tümay. 'From Absence to Infinity: The Aesthetics of Loss in Turkish Cinema.' Paper presented at the Aesthetics and Politics in Turkey: Art, Film, Literature conference at Sabancı University, Karaköy, Istanbul, December 6-8, 2013.
- Arslan, Umut Tümay. *Mazi Kabrinin Hortlakları: Türklük, Melankoli ve Sinema [Spectres of the Grave Called Past: Turkishness, Melancholia and Cinema]*. Istanbul: Metis, 2009.
- Artuç, İbrahim. *Kıbrıs'ta Savaş ve Barış [War and Peace in Cyprus]*. Istanbul: Kastaş, 1989.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Asmussen, Jan. *Cyprus at War: Diplomacy and Conflict During the 1974 Crisis*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2008.
- Atakav, Eylem. *Women and Turkish Cinema: Gender Politics, Cultural Identity and Representation*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2013.
- Atam, Zahit. *Yakın Plan Yeni Türkiye Sineması: Dört Kurucu Yönetmen: [The New Wave Cinema of Turkey in Close-Up: Four Founding Film Directors:] Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Yeşim Ustaoglu, Zeki Demirkubuz, Derviş Zaimağaoğlu*. Istanbul: Cadde, 2011.
- Author Unknown. 'Telegraph View (Editorial opinion).' *The Daily Telegraph*, April 30, 2007.
- Aydın, Mehmet Ali, ed. *Edebiyatta Kıbrıslı Türk Kimliği [The Turkish-Cypriot Identity in Literature]*. Istanbul: Varlık, 1988.

- Azcona, Maria del Mar. *The Multi-Protagonist Film*. Malden, MA: WileyBlackwell, 2010.
- Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*. Translated by Maria Jolas. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1994.
- Bahcheli, Tozun. 'Turning a New Page in Turkey's Relations with Greece?: The Challenge of Reconciling Vital Interests.' In *Turkish-Greek Relations: The Security Dilemma in the Aegean*, edited by Mustafa Aydın and Kostas Ifantis, 95–120. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Balcı, Dilara. *Yeşilçam'da Öteki Olmak: Başlangıcından 1980'lere Türkiye Sinemasında Gayrimüslim Temsilleri [Being the Other in Yeşilçam: Representations of Non-Muslims in the Cinema of Turkey from the Early Years to the 1980s]*. Istanbul: Kolektif, 2013.
- Barclay, Fiona. *Writing Postcolonial France: Haunting, Literature, and the Maghreb*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Translated by Sheila Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Bazin, André. 'The Ontology of the Photographic Image.' In *What is Cinema?* vol. 1, 9–16. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2005.
- Behdad, Ali. *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994.
- Benjamin, Walter. 'Theses on the Philosophy of History.' In *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, edited by Hannah Arendt, and translated by Harry Zohn, 253–264. New York, NY: Schocken, 1969.
- Benjamin, Walter. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.' In *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, edited by Hannah Arendt, and translated by Harry Zohn, 211–244. New York, NY: Schocken, 1969.
- Benjamin, Walter. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility' (third version). Translated by Harry Zohn and Edmund Jephcott. In *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 4, 1938–1940. Edited by Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, 251–283. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Berardi, Franco 'Bifo'. *After the Future*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011.
- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Bhabha, Homi. 'Anxious Nations, Nervous States.' In *Supposing the Subject*, edited by Joan Copjec, 201–217. London: Verso, 1994.

- Blanchot, Maurice. *The Instant of My Death*, bound with Jacques Derrida, *Demeure: Fiction and Testimony*. Translated by Elizabeth Rottenberg. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Blanchot, Maurice. *The Writing of the Disaster*. Translated by Ann Smock, new ed. London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Blanco, María del Pilar. *Ghost-watching American Modernity: Haunting, Landscape, and the Hemispheric Imagination*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2012.
- Blanco, María del Pilar, and Esther Peeren, eds. *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture*. London: Continuum, 2010.
- Blanco, María del Pilar, and Esther Peeren, eds. *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.
- Blazan, Sladja, ed. *Ghosts, Stories, Histories: Ghost Stories and Alternative Histories*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.
- Blustein, Jeffrey. *The Moral Demands of Memory*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Bollnow, Otto Friedrich. *Human Space*. Translated by Christine Shuttleworth, and edited by Joseph Kohlmaier. London: Hyphen Press, 2011.
- Bounia, Alexandra, and Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert. 'National Museums in Cyprus: A Story of Heritage and Conflict.' In *Building National Museums in Europe, 1750-2010* [Conference Proceedings from European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna, April 28-30, 2011], edited by Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius, 165-201. Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2011. Accessed February 9, 2014. http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064.
- Brewster, Scott. 'Access Denied: Memory and Resistance in the Contemporary Ghost Film.' In *Uncanny Modernity: Cultural Theories, Modern Anxieties*, edited by Jo Collins and John Jervis, 112-127. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Broome, Benjamin J., and Harry Anastasiou. 'Communication Across the Divide in the Cyprus Conflict.' In *Handbook of Ethnic Conflict: International Perspectives*, edited by Dan Landis and Rosita D. Albert, 293-324. New York, NY: Springer, 2012.
- Brunette, Peter, and Davis Wills, *Screen/Play: Derrida and Film Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Bryant, Rebecca. *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.

- Bryant, Rebecca. *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus*. Philadelphia, PN: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Bryant, Rebecca. *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife – Report 2: Life Stories: Turkish-Cypriot Community*. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2012.
- Bryant, Rebecca. ‘On the Condition of Postcoloniality in Cyprus.’ In *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, edited by Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz, 47–65. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Bryant, Rebecca. ‘The Fractures of a Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting Erenköy.’ In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, edited by Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, 168–194. London: I. B. Tauris, 2012.
- Bryant, Rebecca. ‘Betrayals of the Past.’ *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 311–324.
- Bryant, Rebecca. ‘Partitions of Memory: Wounds and Witnessing in Cyprus.’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54 (2012): 332–360.
- Bryant, Rebecca, and Yiannis Papadakis, eds. *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2012.
- Bryant, Rebecca, and Yiannis Papadakis. ‘Introduction: Modalities of Time, History and Memory in Ethnonational Conflicts.’ In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, edited by Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, 1–26. London: I. B. Tauris, 2012.
- Burchill, Louise. ‘Jacques Derrida.’ In *Film, Theory and Philosophy: The Key Thinkers*, edited by Felicity Colman. Durham: Acumen, 2009.
- Burns, James. *Cinema and Society in the British Empire, 1895–1940*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Burt, E. S. *Regard for the Other: Autothanatography in Rousseau, De Quincey, Baudelaire, and Wilde*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2009.
- Buse, Peter, and Andrew Stott, ed. *Ghosts: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis, History*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999.
- Callus, Ivan. ‘Comparatism and (Auto)thanatography: Death and Mourning in Blanchot, Derrida, and Tim Parks.’ *Comparative Critical Studies* 1 (2004): 337–358.
- Calotychos, Vangelis ed. *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.

- Camp, Glen D. 'Island Impasse: Peacemaking on Cyprus, 1980–1994.' In *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*, edited by Vangelis Calotychos, 135–158. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.
- Caputo, John D. *Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 1997.
- Card, Orson Scott. *Characters and Viewpoint*. Cincinnati, OH: Writer's Digest Books, 2011.
- Carlson, Marvin. *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- Cassia, Paul Sant. *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005.
- Cassia, Paul Sant. 'Guarding Each Other's Dead, Mourning One's Own: The Problem of Missing Persons and Missing Pasts in Cyprus.' In *When Greeks Think About Turks: The View from Anthropology*, edited by Dimitrios Theodossopoulos, 111–128. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Castricano, Jodey. *Cryptomimesis: The Gothic and Jacques Derrida's Ghost Writing*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Cavell, Stanley. *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film*, enlarged edition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1988.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, new edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Chandra, Satish, and Mala Chandra. *International Conflicts and Peace Making Process: Role of the United Nations*. New Delhi: Mittal, 2006.
- Chapman, James. *Film and History*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Cheah, Pheng. *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Cheah, Pheng. 'Spectral Nationality: The Living on [sur-vie] of the Postcolonial Nation in Neocolonial Globalization.' *Boundary 2* 26 (1999): 225–252.
- Chion, Michel. *The Voice in Cinema*. Translated by Claudia Gorbman. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Christou, Miranda. 'A Double Imagination: Memory and Education in Cyprus.' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 24 (2006): 285–306.

- Cholodenko, Alan. 'The Crypt, the Haunted House, of Cinema.' *Cultural Studies Review* 10 (2004): 99–113.
- Cholodenko, Alan. 'The Spectre in the Screen.' Paper presented at the Screenscapes Past Present Future conference at the University of Sydney, November 29–December 1, 2007. Also published in *Animation Studies Online Journal* 3 (2008). Accessed August 29, 2014. <http://journal.animationstudies.org/alan-cholodenko-the-spectre-in-the-screen/>.
- Clements, Rachel. 'Apprehending the Spectral: Hauntology and Precarity in Caryl Churchill's Plays.' In *Theatre and Ghosts: Materiality, Performance and Modernity*, edited by Mary Luckhurst and Emilie Morin, 65–81. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Cockburn, Cynthia. *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus*. London: Zed Books, 2004.
- Conley, Tom. *Cartographic Cinema*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Connerton, Paul. *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Connery, Christopher, and Vanita Seth. 'Forward: Thinking with Cyprus.' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 227–229.
- Constantinou, Costas M. 'Cyprus, Violent Cartography and the Distribution of Ethnic Identity.' In *The New Violent Cartography: Geo-Analysis after the Aesthetic Turn*, edited by Sam Okoth Opondo and Michael J. Shapiro 195–213. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012.
- Constantinou, Costas M. 'Aporias of Identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the "Cyprus Problem".' *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 42 (2007): 247–270.
- Constantinou, Costas M., and Mete Hatay. 'Cyprus, Ethnic Conflict and Conflicted Heritage.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (2010): 1600–1619.
- Constantinou, Marios. 'Reasons of State and the Constitutional Logic of Quasi-Stateness: The Post-Colonial Contradictions of Cyprus's Integration in the European Confederation.' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 295–310.
- Craps, Stef. *Postcolonial Witnessing: Trauma Out of Bounds*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Critchley, Simon. *Very Little . . . Almost Nothing: Death, Philosophy, Literature*, 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 2004.

- Curtis, Barry. *Dark Places: The Haunted House in Film*. London: Reaktion Books, 2008.
- ‘Cyprus: Intercommunal Violence.’ The USA Library of Congress Country Studies, last modified January 1991. Accessed July 8, 2014. [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+cy0023\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+cy0023)).
- Çeçen, Anıl. *Kıbrıs Çıkmazı [The Cyprus Dilemma]*. Istanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm, 2005.
- Davis, Colin. *Haunted Subjects: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis and the Return of the Dead*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Davis, Colin. ‘État Présent: Hauntology, Spectres and Phantoms.’ *French Studies* 59 (2005): 373–379.
- Davis, Colin. ‘The Skeptical Ghost: Alejandro Amenábar’s *The Others* and the Return of the Dead.’ In *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture*, edited by María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren, 64–75. London: Continuum, 2010.
- Davis, Elizabeth Anne. ‘Archive, Evidence, Memory, Dream: Documentary Films on Cyprus.’ In *Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict and Identity in the Margins of Europe*. London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming.
- Davies, Owen. *The Haunted: A Social History of Ghosts*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Del Villano, Bianca. *Ghostly Alterities: Spectrality and Contemporary Literatures in English*, edited by Koray Melikoğlu. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2007.
- Derrida, Jacques. ‘Above All, No Journalists!’ In *Religion and Media*, edited by Hendrik de Vries and Samuel Weber, 56–93. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*. Translated by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Aporias: Dying–Awaiting (One Another at) the ‘Limits of Truth.’* Translated by Thomas Dutoit. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography*. Edited by Gerhard Richter, and translated by Jeff Fort. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Dissemination*. Translated by Barbara Johnson. London: Continuum, 2008.

- Derrida, Jacques, and Bernard Stiegler, *Echographies of Television: Filmed Interviews*. Translated by Jennifer Bajorek. Cambridge: Polity, 2007.
- Derrida, Jacques. 'Hospitality.' Translated by Gil Anidjar. In Jacques Derrida, *Acts of Religion*, edited by Gil Anidjar, 356–420. New York, NY: Routledge, 2002.
- Derrida, Jacques. 'Le cinéma et ses fantômes.' Interviewed by Antoine de Baeque and Thierry Jousse. *Cahiers du cinéma* 556 (2001): 74–85.
- Derrida, Jacques. 'Living On.' Translated by James Hulbert. In Harold Bloom et al., *Deconstruction and Criticism*, 62–142. London: Continuum, 2004.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Memoires: For Paul de Man*. Translated by Cecile Lindsay et al. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*. Translated by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas. London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Of Hospitality*. Translated by Rachel Bowlby. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Derrida, Jacques. *On the Name*. Translated by David Wood, John P. Leavey Jr., and Ian McLeod. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Derrida, Jacques. *On Touching: Jean-Luc Nancy*. Translated by Christine Irizarry. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Positions*. Translated by Alan Bass. London: Continuum, 2008.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Right of Inspection*. Translated by David Wills, photographs by Marie-Françoise Plissart. New York, NY: Monacelli Press, 1998.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*. Translated by Peggy Kamuf. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Derrida, Jacques. *The Beast and the Sovereign*, vol. 1. Translated by Geoffrey Bennington. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Derrida, Jacques. *The Ear of the Other: Otobiography, Transference, Translation: Texts and Discussions with Jacques Derrida*. Edited by Christie V. McDonald, and translated by Peggy Kamuf. New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1985.
- Derrida, Jacques. 'The Ghost Dance: An Interview with Jacques Derrida.' Translated by Jean-Luc Svoboda. *Public 2* (1989): 60–74.
- Derrida, Jacques. *The Politics of Friendship*. Translated by George Collins. London: Verso, 2005.

- Derrida, Jacques. *The Postcard: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*. Translated by Alan Bass. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Derrida, Jacques. 'The Time is Out of Joint.' In *Deconstruction is/in America: A New Sense of the Political*, edited by Anselm Haverkamp, 14–40. New York, NY: New York University Press, 1995.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Voice and Phenomenon: Introduction to the Problem of the Sign in Husserl's Phenomenology*. Translated by Leonard Lawlor. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2011.
- Dikomitis, Lisa. *Cyprus and Its Places of Desire: Cultures of Displacement Among Greek and Turkish Cypriot Refugees*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2012.
- Dimitrakis, Panagiotis. *Military Intelligence in Cyprus: From the Great War to Middle East Crises*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010.
- Dixon, William Hepworth. *British Cyprus*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1879.
- Dodd, Clement. *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Dodd, Clement H. 'From Federated State to Republic, 1975–84.' In *The Political, Social and Economic Development of Northern Cyprus*, edited by Clement H. Dodd, 15–45. Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, 1993.
- Dolar, Mladen. *A Voice and Nothing More*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006.
- Dommelen, Peter van. 'Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean.' *World Archaeology* 28 (1997): 305–323.
- Dönmez-Colin, Gönül. 'Derviş Zaim(oğlu).' In Gönül Dönmez-Colin, *The Routledge Dictionary of Turkish Cinema*, 362–363. New York, NY: Routledge, 2014.
- Dönmez-Colin, Gönül. 'Women in Turkish Cinema: Their Presence and Absence as Images and as Image-Makers.' *Third Text* 24:1, Special Issue: Cinema in Muslim Societies, edited by Ali Nobil Ahmad (2010): 91–105.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. *The First Partition: Cyprus 1963–1964*. Nicosia: Alfadi, 2008.
- Eder, Jens. 'Understanding Characters.' *Projections* 4:1 (2010): 16–40.
- Ehrlich, Thomas. *Cyprus, 1958–1967*. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. 'One Train May Be Hiding Another: History, Memory, Identity, and the Visual Image.' In *Topologies of Trauma: Essays on the Limit of Knowledge and Memory*, edited by Linda Belau and Petar Ramadanovic, 61–71. New York, NY: Other, 2002.

- Embargoed! Human Rights Group. 'EU's "Invisible Citizens" Protest in Brussels over Discrimination.' Released June 27, 2012. Accessed November 6, 2012. http://www.embargoed.org/news.php?news_id=147.
- Enloe, Cynthia H. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.
- Enloe, Cynthia H. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000.
- Erdoğan, Nezi̇h. 'Mute Bodies, Disembodied Voices: Notes on Sound in Turkish Popular Cinema.' *Screen* 43:3 (2002): 233–249.
- Faustmann, Hubert, and Nicos Peristianis, eds. *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878–2006*. Mannheim and Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006.
- Faustmann, Hubert, and Emiliou Solomou, eds. *Independent Cyprus 1960–2010: Selected Readings*. Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2011.
- Fevziȯlu, Bülent, and Bilgi Fevziȯlu. *Sinema, Plâk ve Bildirilerde Kıbrıs Türklerinin Direniş Yılları, I [The Turkish-Cypriot Community's Years of Resistance as Represented in Films, Music Albums and Academic Papers, I]*. Nicosia: Ajans Yayın Dağıtım, 2009.
- Fisher, Mark. *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures*. Alresford, Hants: Zero Books, 2014.
- Flatley, Jonathan. *Affective Mapping: Melancholia and the Politics of Modernism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Foley, Charles. *Legacy of Strife: Cyprus from Rebellion to Civil War*. London: Penguin, 1964.
- Foucault, Michel. *Fearless Speech*. Edited by Joseph Pearson. Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2001.
- Frampton, Daniel. *Filmosophy*. London: Wallflower, 2006.
- Francis, Doris, and Leonie Kellaher and Georgina Neophytou, 'The Cemetery: A Site for the Construction of Memory, Identity, and Ethnicity,' in *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell, 95–110. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002.
- Fritsch, Matthias. *The Promise of Memory: History and Politics in Marx, Benjamin, and Derrida*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Fritzsche, Peter. 'Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity.' *The American Historical Review* 106:5 (2001): 1587–1618.

- Frosh, Stephen. *Hauntings: Psychoanalysis and Ghostly Transmissions*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Ghosh, Bishnupriya. 'On Grafting the Vernacular: The Consequences of Postcolonial Spectrology.' *Boundary 2* 31:2 (2004): 197–218.
- Gibbons, Fiachra. 'We Know We Can Live Together.' *The Guardian*, May 1, 2004. Accessed August 12, 2010. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2004/may/01/books.featuresreviews/>.
- Gibbons, Harry Scott. *The Genocide Files*. London: Charles Bravos Publishers, 1997.
- Gibbons, Harry Scott. *Peace without Honour*. Ankara: Ada, 1969.
- Gibson, Margaret. *Objects of the Dead: Mourning and Memory in Everyday Life*. Carlton, VA: Melbourne University Press, 2008.
- Given, Michael. 'Corrupting Aphrodite: Colonialist Interpretations of the Cyprian Goddess.' In *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*, edited by Diane Bolger and Nancy Serwint, 419–428. Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002.
- Given, Michael. 'Inventing the Eteocyprits: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity.' *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11:1 (1998): 3–29.
- Given, Michael. 'Star of the Parthenon, Cypriot Melange: Education and Representation in Colonial Cyprus.' *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 7:1 (1997): 59–82.
- Given, Michael. 'Symbols, Power and the Construction of City-Kingdoms of Archaic and Classical Cyprus.' Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1991.
- Gordon, Avery F. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Gökçe, Övgü. '(Cannot) Remember: Landscapes of Loss in Contemporary Turkish Cinema.' In *Cinema and Politics: Turkish Cinema and New Europe*, edited by Deniz Bayraktar, 268–279. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.
- Grivas, Georgios. *The Memoirs of General Grivas*. Edited by Charles Foley. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1964.
- Groom, A. J. R. 'The Process of Negotiation, 1974–1993.' In *The Political, Social and Economic Development of Northern Cyprus*, edited by Clement H. Dodd, 15–45. Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, 1993.
- Gunew, Sneja. *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalisms*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2004.

- Gunning, Tom. 'To Scan a Ghost: The Ontology of Mediated Vision.' *Grey Room* 26 (2007): 95–127.
- Güçlü, Özlem. 'Silent Female Characters in the New Cinema of Turkey: Gender, Nation and the Past.' Ph.D. diss., SOAS, University of London, 2013.
- Güçlü, Özlem. 'Silent Representations of Women in the New Cinema of Turkey.' *Sinecine Journal of Film Studies* 1:2 (Fall 2010): 71–85.
- Hadjipavlou, Maria. *Women and Change in Cyprus: Feminisms and Gender in Conflict*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010.
- Hadjipavlou, Maria. 'The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding.' *Journal of Peace Research* 44:3 (2007): 349–365.
- Hakan, Fikret. *Türk Sinema Tarihi [A History of Turkish Cinema]*. Istanbul: İnkılap, 2008.
- Hakkı, Murat Metin, ed. *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History, 1878–2007*. New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2007.
- Hall, Stuart. 'When was the "Post-colonial"? Thinking at the Limit.' In *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, edited by Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti, 242–260. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Harding, Colin and Simon Poppo. *In the Kingdom of Shadows: A Companion to Early Cinema*. London: Cygnus Arts, 1996.
- Haslem, Wendy. 'Traces of Gothic Spectrality in New Media Art.' *Irish Journal of Gothic and Horror Studies* 5 (December 2008). Accessed November 16, 2009. <http://irishgothichorrorjournal.homestead.com/gothicspec.html>.
- Hatay, Mete. *Beyond Numbers: An Inquiry into the Political Integration of the Turkish 'Settlers' in Northern Cyprus*. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2005.
- Hatay, Mete. *Is the Turkish-Cypriot Population Shrinking?: An Overview of the Ethno-Demography of Cyprus in the Light of the Preliminary Results of the 2006 Turkish-Cypriot Census*. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2007.
- Hatay, Mete, and Yiannis Papadakis, 'A Critical Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot Official Historiographies (1940s to the Present).' In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, edited by Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, 27–50. New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2012.
- Hatay, Mete, and Rebecca Bryant, 'The Jasmine Scent of Nicosia: Of Returns, Revolutions, and the Longing for Forbidden Pasts.' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2008): 423–449.

- Heider, Karl G. *Ethnographic Film*, revised edition. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006.
- Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Hitchens, Christopher. *Hostage to History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*. London: Verso, 1997.
- Hitchens, Christopher. *Cyprus*. London: Quartet, 1984.
- Holland, Nancy J. 'The Death of the Other/Father: A Feminist Reading of Derrida's Hauntology.' *Hypatia* 16:1 (2001): 64–71.
- Holland, Robert. *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954–1959*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Holmgren Troy, Maria, and Elisabeth Wennö, eds. *Space, Haunting, Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2008.
- Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church. 'Koliva: A Symbol of the Resurrection of the Dead.' Accessed January 3, 2014. http://www.holytrinitymaine.org/index_files/Page1050.htm.
- Jacobs, Jane. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Jaikumar, Priya. *Cinema at the End of Empire: A Politics of Transition in Britain and India*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- James, Alan. *Keeping the Peace in the Cyprus Crisis of 1963–64*. New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Jay, Martin. *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.
- Jennings, Ronald. *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640*. New York, NY: New York University Press, 1993.
- John Grierson et al., *The Film in Colonial Development: A Report of a Conference*. London: British Film Institute, 1948.
- Kaplan, Louis. 'Photograph/Death Mask: Jean-Luc Nancy's Recasting of the Photographic Image.' *Journal of Visual Culture* 9 (2010): 45–62.
- Karahassan, Hakan, and Michalinos Zembylas, 'The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in History Textbooks: Towards a Pedagogy of Reconciliation

- and Peace in Divided Cyprus.’ In *Citizenship Education: Europe and the World*, edited by Alistair Ross, 701–712. London: CiCe, 2006.
- Karakatsanis, Leonidas. *Turkish-Greek Relations: Rapprochement, Civil Society and the Politics of Friendship*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2014.
- Karayanni, Stavros Stavrou. ‘Moving Identity: Dance in the Negotiation of Sexuality and Ethnicity in Cyprus.’ *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 251–266.
- Karpat, Kemal H. *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
- Katzlast, Yaakov. ‘Israel to Ask for Military Facility in Cyprus.’ *The Jerusalem Post*, July 2, 2012.
- Keefe, Eugene K. *Cyprus: A Country Study*. Foreign Area Studies. Washington, DC: American University, 1980.
- Kelling, George Horton. *Countdown to Rebellion: British Policy in Cyprus, 1939–1955*. London: Greenwood, 1990.
- Ker-Lindsay, James. *Britain and Cyprus Crisis, 1963–1964*. Mannheim und Möhnese: Bibliopolis, 2004.
- Khair, Tabish. *The Gothic, Postcolonialism and Otherness: Ghosts from Elsewhere*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Kırel, Serpil and Aylin Ç. Duyal, *Derviş Zaim*. Adana: Altın Koza Festival Merkezi, 2011.
- Kızılyürek, Niyazi, and Sylvain Gautier-Kızılyürek. ‘The Politics of Identity in the Turkish Cypriot Community and the Language Question.’ *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 168 (2004): 37–54.
- Kızılyürek, Niyazi. *Doğmamış Bir Devletin Tarihi: Birleşik Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti [The History of an Unborn State: The United Republic of Cyprus]*. Istanbul: İletişim: 2005.
- Kilbourn, Russell J.A. *Cinema, Memory, Modernity: The Representation of Memory from the Art Film to Transnational Cinema*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2010.
- Killoran, Moira. ‘Nationalisms and Embodied Memory in Northern Cyprus.’ In *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*, edited by Vangelis Calotychos, 159–170. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.
- Koca, Ali. ‘Derviş Zaim’s New Film Leaves Cypriot Turks, Greeks in Tears.’ *Today’s Zaman*, March 9, 2011.
- Kochhar-Lindgren, Gray. *Philosophy, Art, and the Specters of Jacques Derrida*.

Amherst, NY: Cambria, 2011.

Koullapis, Loris. 'Ideologikoi Prosanatolismoi tis Ellinokypriakis Ekpaidevsis me Emphasi sto Mathima tis Istorias [Ideological Orientations of Greek Cypriot Education with Emphasis on the Lesson of History].' *Syghrona Themata* 68–69–70 (1998–1999): 276–296.

Koullapis, Loris. 'The Subject of History in the Greek Cypriot Educational System: A Subset of the Greek Nation.' In *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education*, edited by Christina Koullouri, 406–422. Thessaloniki, 2002.

Kovras, Iosif. *Truth Recovery and Transitional Justice: Deferring Human Rights Issues*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2014.

Köksal, Özlem. 'Remembering the Past, Performing the Present: Turkey in Film.' Ph.D. diss., London Consortium, Birkbeck College, University of London, 2011.

Kröger, Lisa B., and Melanie Anderson, eds. *The Ghostly and the Ghosted in Literature and Film: Spectral Identities*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 2013.

Kurtuluş, Hatice, and Semra Purkıs. *Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Türkiyeli Göçmenler [Immigrants from Turkey in Northern Cyprus]*. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014.

Kyle, Keith. *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2003.

Kyriakides, Klearchos A. 'The Sovereign Base Areas and British Defense Policy Since 1960.' In *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878-2006*, edited by Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis, 511–534. Mannheim and Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006.

Kyriakides, Klearchos A. 'The Decolonisation Treaties of 1960 and the Preservation of British Strategic Interests in Post-Colonial Cyprus.' Paper presented at the Postgraduate Seminar on Commonwealth History and Decolonisation, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, February 10, 1994.

Laclau, Ernesto. 'The Time is Out of Joint.' *Diacritics* 25:2 (1995): 86–96.

Lee, Laurie, and Ralph Keene. *We Made a Film in Cyprus*. London: Longmans Green and Company, 1947.

Lee, Laurie. 'Scripting the Film.' In Lee and Keene, *We Made a Film in Cyprus*, 1–57. London: Longmans Green and Company, 1947.

Keene, Ralph. 'Filming the Script.' In Lee and Keene, *We Made a Film in Cyprus*, 58–76. London: Longmans Green and Company, 1947.

- Leeder, Murray. *Cinematic Ghosts: Haunting and Spectrality from Silent Cinema to the Digital Era*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, forthcoming.
- Levinas, Emmanuel. *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*. Translated by Alphonso Lingis. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1979.
- Lewis, Tom. 'The Politics of "Hauntology" in Derrida's *Specters of Marx*.' In *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx*, ed. Michael Sprinker, 134–167. London: Verso, 2008.
- Lim, Bliss Cua. 'Spectral Times: The Ghost Film as Historical Allegory.' *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 9:2 (2001): 287–329.
- Lippit, Akira Mizuta. 'Reflections on Spectral Life.' *Discourse* 30: 1–2 (2008): 242–254.
- Liyanage, Chamindri. *Post-Colonial Haunting and Confused Identities*. Saarbrücken, Germany: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012.
- Loizos, Peter. *Iron in the Soul: Displacement, Livelihood and Health in Cyprus*. Studies in Forced Migration, vol. 23. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008.
- Loizos, Peter. *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- López, Alfred J. *Posts and Pasts: A Theory of Postcolonialism*. Albany, NY: State University Press of New York, 2001.
- Luckhurst, Mary, and Emilie Morin. 'Introduction: Theatre and Spectrality.' In *Theatre and Ghosts: Materiality, Performance and Modernity*, edited by Mary Luckhurst and Emilie Morin, 1–23. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Luckhurst, Mary. 'Giving Up the Ghost: The Actor's Body as Haunted House.' In *Theatre and Ghosts: Materiality, Performance and Modernity*, edited by Mary Luckhurst and Emilie Morin, 163–177. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Maktav, Hilmi. *Türkiye Sinemasında Tarih ve Siyaset [History and Politics in the Cinema of Turkey]*. Istanbul: Agora, 2013.
- Maktav, Hilmi. 'Vatan, Millet, Sinema [Homeland, Nation, Cinema].' *Birikim* 207 (July 2006): 71–83.
- Manisalı, Erol. *Dünden Bugüne Kıbrıs [Cyprus, from Past to Present]*. Istanbul: Gündoğan, 2003.
- Margalit, Avishai. *The Ethics of Memory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Marin, Louis. 'Montaigne's Tomb, or Autobiographical Discourse.' *Oxford Literary Review* 4:3 (1981): 43–58.

- Marin, Louis. *To Destroy Painting*. Translated by Mette Hjort. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Markides, Diana Weston. *Cyprus 1957–1963: From Colonial Conflict to Constitutional Crisis: The Key Role of the Municipal Issue*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Markides, Kyriacos C. *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Marks, Laura. *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Mavratsasa, Caesar V. 'The Ideological Contest between Greek-Cypriot Nationalism and Cypriotism, 1974–1995: Politics, Social Memory and Identity.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20:4 (1997): 717–737.
- Mbembe, Achille. 'Life, Sovereignty, and Terror in the Fiction of Amos Tutuola.' *Research in African Literatures* 34:4 (2003): 1–26.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1995.
- McClintock, Anne. "'No Longer in a Future Heaven": Gender, Race and Nationalism.' In *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, edited by Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat, 89–112. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- McClintock, Anne. 'The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term Post-colonialism.' *Social Text* 31/32 (1992): 84–98.
- McCorristine, Shane. *Specters of the Self: Thinking about Ghosts and Ghost-Seeing in England, 1750–1920*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Michaels, Lloyd. *The Phantom of the Cinema: Character in Modern Film*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998.
- Mirbagheri, Farid. *Historical Dictionary of Cyprus*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2010.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 'The Stage of Modernity.' In *Questions of Modernity*, edited by Timothy Mitchell, 1–34. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Montag, Warren. 'Spirits Armed and Unarmed: Derrida's *Specters of Marx*.' In *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx*, edited by Michael Sprinker, 68–82. London: Verso, 2008.
- Morgan, Tabitha. *Sweet and Bitter Island: A History of the British in Cyprus*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010.

- Morin, Edgar. *Le cinema ou l'homme imaginaire: Essai d'anthropologie*. Paris, 1956.
- Morley, Nathan. 'Russia Eyeing Cyprus Bases.' *Cyprus Mail*, June 30, 2013.
- Mulvey, Laura. *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image*. London: Reaktion, 2009.
- Murray, Timothy. *Drama Trauma: Specters of Race and Sexuality in Performance, Video and Art*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1997.
- Naas, Michael. *Miracle and Machine: Jacques Derrida and the Two Sources of Religion, Science and the Media*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2012.
- Naficy, Hamid. *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Naficy, Hamid. 'Between Rocks and Hard Places: The Interstitial Mode of Production in Exilic Cinema.' In *Home, Exile, Homeland: Film, Media, and the Politics of Place*, edited by Hamid Naficy, 125–147. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Nancy, Jean-Luc. *Corpus*. Translated by Richard A. Rand. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2008.
- Nancy, Jean-Luc. *The Ground of the Image*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2005.
- Nandy, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Nash, Catherine. 'Postcolonial Geographies: Spatial Narratives of Inequality and Interconnection.' In *Envisioning Human Geographies*, edited by Mark Goodwin, Paul Cloke and Philip Crang, 104–127. New York, NY: Routledge, 2014.
- Navaro-Yashin, Yael. 'Affect in the Civil Service: A Study of a Modern State-System.' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 281–294.
- Navaro-Yashin, Yael. *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Nayar, Pramod K. 'The Postcolonial Uncanny: The Politics of Dispossession.' In Amitav Ghosh. *The Hungry Tide*. *College Literature* 37:4 (2010): 88–119.
- Necatigil, Zaim M. *The Cyprus Question and the Turkish Position in International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

- Nevzat, Altay. 'Nationalism amongst the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave.' Ph.D. diss., University of Oulu, 2005.
- Oberling, Pierre. *The Road to Bellapais: The Turkish Cypriot Exodus to Northern Cyprus*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- Oktekin, Hare. 'Can You Hear Our Voice?' In *Cypriot Identities: Conversations on Paper*, edited by Karin B. Costello. Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2005.
- O'Brien, Geoffrey. *The Phantom Empire: Movies in the Mind of the 20th Century*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995.
- O'Riley, Michael F. 'Postcolonial Haunting: Anxiety, Affect, and the Situated Encounter.' *Postcolonial Text* 3 (2007): 1–15.
- O'Riley, Michael F. *Postcolonial Haunting and Victimization: Assia Djebar's New Novels*. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Oberling, Pierre. *The Road to Bellapais: The Turkish Cypriot Exodus to Northern Cyprus*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- Orr, Captain C. W. J. *Cyprus under the British Rule*. London: Robert Scott, Roxburghe House, 1918.
- Özgüç, Ağâh. *Türlerle Türk Sineması: Dönemler, Modalar, Tipler [Genres in Turkish Cinema: Periods, Fashions, Character Formations]*. Istanbul: Dünya, 2005.
- Palmer, Sir Richmond. 'Cyprus.' *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 26 (1939): 599-618.
- Panayiotou, Andreas. 'Lenin in the Coffee-Shop: The Communist Alternative and Forms of Non-Western Modernity.' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 267–280.
- Panteli, Stavros. *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. London: East-West Publications, 1984.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'Aphrodite Delights.' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 237–250.
- Papadakis, Yiannis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz, ed. *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2005.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity: Nationalism as a Contested Process.' *American Ethnologist* 25 (1998): 149–165.

- Papadakis, Yiannis. *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the 'History of Cyprus'*. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo [PRIO], 2008.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'Introduction.' *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 231–235.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'Locating the Cyprus Problem: Ethnic Conflict and the Politics of Space.' *Macalester International* 15 (2005): 81–98.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'Nation, Narrative and Commemoration: Political Ritual in Divided Cyprus.' *History and Anthropology* 14 (2003): 253–270.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus".' *History & Memory* 20 (2008): 128–148.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'Perceptions of History and Collective Identity: A Study of Contemporary Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Nationalism.' Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1993.
- Papadakis, Yiannis, ed. *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus (2006).
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'The National Struggle Museums of a Divided City.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17:3 (1994): 400–419.
- Papadakis, Yiannis. 'The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in Cyprus.' *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3:1 (1993): 139–154.
- Patrick, Richard A. *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict, 1963–1971*. Edited by James H. Bater and Richard Preston. Waterloo, Ontario: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography Publications, 1976.
- Peeren, Esther. 'The Postcolonial and/as the Spirit World: Theorizing the Ghost in Jacques Derrida, Achille Mbembe and Ben Okri's *The Famished Road*.' In *Postcolonial Ghosts/ Fantômes post-coloniaux*, edited by Gerry Turcotte, Mélanie Joseph-Vilain, and Judith Misrahi-Barak, with poems by Gerry Turcotte, Les Carnets du Cerpac No. 8, 327–343. Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2009.
- Pérez, Gilberto. *The Material Ghost: Films and Their Medium*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Peristianis, Nicos. 'Cypriot Nationalism, Dual Identity, and Politics.' In *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, edited by Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz, 100–120. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Phillips, John. 'Lagging Behind: Bhabha, Post-Colonial Theory and the Future.' In *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, edited by Steven H. Clark, 63–80. New York, NY: Zed Books, 1999.

- Pile, Steve. 'The Ghostly City: in which the City is Haunted and Haunting.' In Steve Pile, *Real Cities: Modernity, Space and the Phantasmagorias of City Life*, 131–164. London: Sage, 2005.
- Panteli, Stavros. *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. London: East-West Publications, 1984.
- Pay, Ayşe, ed. *Yönetmen Sineması: Derviş Zaim [The Director's Cinema: Derviş Zaim]*. Istanbul: Küre, 2010.
- Peeren, Esther. *The Spectral Metaphor: Living Ghosts and the Agency of Invisibility*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Peterson, Christopher. *Kindred Specters: Death, Mourning, and American Affinity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Plato. *The Republic*. Translated by Tom Griffith, and edited by G. R. F. Ferrari. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Philippou, Stavroula. 'Beyond the History Textbook Debate: Official Histories in Greek-Cypriot Geography and Civics Curricula.' In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, edited by Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, 51–70. London: I. B. Tauris, 2012.
- Pinkerton, Patrick. 'Remembering the Future: The Ethics of the Absolute Beginning.' *Political Perspectives* 3:1 (2008). Accessed August 29, 2014. <http://www.politicalperspectives.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Vol3-1-2009-2.pdf>.
- Polyviou, Polyvios G. *Cyprus: Conflict and Negotiation, 1960–1980*. London: Duckworth, 1980.
- Pollis, Adamantia. 'Colonialism and Neocolonialism: Determinants of Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus.' In *Small States in the Modern World: The Conditions of Survival*, edited by Peter Worsley and Paschalis Kitromilides, 45–80. Nicosia: The New Cyprus Association, 1979.
- Pollis, Adamantia. 'The Role of Foreign Powers in Structuring Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus.' In *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997*, edited by Vangelis Calotychos, 85–102. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998.
- Pollis, Adamantia. 'Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus.' *Comparative Politics* 5 (July 1973): 575–599.
- Power, Marcus, and Andrew Crampton. 'Reel Geopolitics: Cinematographing Political Space.' In *Cinema and Popular Geo-Politics*, edited by Marcus Power and Andrew Crampton. London: Routledge, 2007.
- POST Research Institute, *Pilot Application for the History and Literature Books of the 5th Grade of the Elementary School*. Nicosia, 2004.

- POST Research Institute, *Textual and Visual Analyses of Lower Secondary School History Textbooks: Comparative Analysis of the Old and the New Textbooks*. Nicosia, 2007.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edition. New York, NY: Routledge, 2008.
- Pulham, Patricia, and Rosario Arias, eds. *Haunting and Spectrality in Neo-Victorian Fiction: Possessing the Past*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Radstone, Susannah. 'Cinema/Memory/History.' *Screen* 36:1 (1995): 34–47.
- Radstone, Susannah. 'Cinema and Memory.' In *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, edited by Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, 325–342. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2010.
- Rappas, Alexis. *Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2014.
- Rappas, Alexis. 'The Uncharted World of Cypriot Colonial Servants and the Ideological Foundations of British Rule.' *The Cyprus Review* 23:2 (2011): 57–76.
- Rappas, Alexis. 'The Elusive Polity: Imagining and Contesting Colonial Authority in Cyprus during the 1930s.' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26:2 (2008): 363–397.
- Ratmoko, David. *On Spectrality: Fantasies of Redemption in the Western Canon*. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Reddaway, John. *Burdened with Cyprus: The British Connection*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1986.
- Reicher, Maria E. 'The Ontology of Fictional Characters.' In *Characters in Fictional Worlds: Understanding Imaginary Beings in Literature, Film, and Other Media*, edited by Jens Eder, Fotis Jannidis and Ralf Schneider, 111–133. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 2010.
- Relph, Edward C. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion, 1976.
- Renov, Michael. *The Subject of Documentary*. London: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.
- Richardson, Judith. *Possessions: The History and Uses of Haunting in the Hudson Valley*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Richmond, Oliver P. *Mediating in Cyprus: The Cypriot Communities and the United Nations*. London: Frank Cass, 1998.
- Richter, Gerhard. *Afterness: Figures of Following in Modern Thought and Aesthetics*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011.

- Richter, Gerhard. 'Acts of Memory and Mourning: Derrida and the Fictions of Anteriority.' In *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, edited by Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, 150–160. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2010.
- Richter, Heinz A. 'Benevolent Autocracy, 1931–1945.' In *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878–2006*, edited by Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis, 133–149. Mannheim and Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006.
- Richter, Heinz A. *A Concise History of Modern Cyprus, 1878–2009*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010.
- Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Roberts, Elizabeth. 'Family Photographs: Memories, Narratives, Place.' In *Geography and Memory: Explorations in Identity, Place and Becoming*, edited by Owain Jones and Joanne Garde-Hansen, 91–108. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Ronell, Avital. *Dictations: On Haunted Writing*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Royle, Nicholas. *The Uncanny*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Rubin, Abraham. 'Between Resentment and Reconciliation: The Indeterminacies of Forgiveness in Derrida, Arendt and Jankélévitch.' Paper presented at the Berlin Roundtables: Memory Politics: Education, Memorials and Mass Media conference at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB), October 21–26, 2009.
- Ruffles, Tom. *Ghost Images: Cinema of the Afterlife*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004.
- Salih, Halil Ibrahim. *Cyprus: The Impact of Diverse Nationalism on a State*. Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1978.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York, NY: Vintage, 1994.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin, 1995.
- Sandell, Richard. *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2007.
- Sant Cassia, Paul. *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005.
- Saybaşı, Nermin. 'Bordering the Island.' *Third Text* 22:1 (2008): 85–98.

- Saxton, Libby. *Haunted Images: Film, Ethics, Testimony and the Holocaust*. London: Wallflower, 2008.
- Scherer, John L. *Blocking the Sun: The Cyprus Conflict*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1997.
- Schwab, Gabriele. *Haunting Legacies: Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Sconce, Jeffrey. *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Serdar, Gülgün. *1571'den 1964'e Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'nda Gazavatnâme, Destan, Efsane, Kahramanlık Şiiri [Warlords' Chronicles, Epic Stories, Legends and Heroic Poems in the Literature of Cyprus Turks: from 1571 to 1964]*. Nicosia: Ulus, 1986.
- Severis, Rita C. *Travelling Artists in Cyprus, 1700–1956*. London: Philip Wilson, 2000.
- Severis, Rita C. 'Travelling Artists in Cyprus: Art, Identity and Politics.' In *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878–2006*, edited by Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis, 381–412. Mannheim and Mohnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006.
- Shapiro, Michael J. *Cinematic Geopolitics*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.
- Shaw, Katy. *Hauntology: A Critical Introduction*. Forthcoming.
- Shohat, Ella. 'Notes on the "Post-colonial."' *Social Text* 31/32 (1992): 99–113.
- Simpson, Catherine. "'Like opium': The 30th Istanbul Film Festival.' *Senses of Cinema* 59 (June 2011). Accessed September 17, 2013. [http://sensesofcinema.com/2011/festival-reports/"like-opium"-the-30th-istanbul-film-festival/](http://sensesofcinema.com/2011/festival-reports/).
- Sinha, Amresh, and Terence McSweeney, 'Millennial Cinema: Memory in Global Film.' In *Millennial Cinema: Memory in Global Film*, edited by Amresh Sinha and Terence McSweeney, 1–16. London: Wallflower & Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Smith, Andrew, and William Hughes, eds. *Empire and the Gothic: The Politics of Genre*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Smith, Andrew. *The Ghost Story, 1840–1920: A Cultural History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
- Smith, Robert. 'Deconstruction and Film.' In *Deconstructions: A User's Guide*, edited by Nicholas Royle, 119–136. New York, NY: Palgrave, 2000.

- Smith, Sidonie, and Julia Watson. *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, second edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Smyth, Rosaleen. *Propaganda, Development and the British Colonial Film Unit, 1939–45*. Canberra, ACT: Burgmann College, Australian National University [Press], 1985.
- Smyth, Rosaleen. 'The Development of British Colonial Film Policy, 1927–1939.' *Journal of African History* 20:3 (1979): 437–450.
- Socio-Psychological Research Group, *A Representative Research Among the 200,000 Refugees of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Takis Evdokas, 1976.
- Soja, Edward. 'Thirdspace: Expanding the Scope of the Geographical Imagination.' In *Human Geography Today*, edited by Doreen Massey et al, 260–278. Cambridge: Polity, 1999.
- Solomou, Emilios, and Hubert Faustmann, eds. *Colonial Cyprus, 1878–1960: Selected Readings*. Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York, NY: Penguin, 1979.
- Sonyel, Salahi Ramadan. *Settlers and Refugees in Cyprus*. London: Cyprus Turkish Association Publications, 1991.
- Southern, Nathan. 'Akamas (2006).' *New York Times*. Accessed September 18, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/movies/movie/358745/Akamas/overview>.
- Sözen, Ahmet. 'Cyprus.' In *The Political Economy of Divided Islands: Unified Geographies, Multiple Politics*, edited by Godfrey Baldacchino, 102–118. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 'Ghostwriting.' *Diacritics* 25:2 (1995): 65–84.
- Sprinker, Michael, ed. *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx*. London: Verso, 2008.
- Stefanidis, Ioannis D. *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem*. London: Hurst and Company, 1999.
- Stewart, Garrett. *Framed Time: Toward a Postfilmic Cinema*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Suner, Asuman. 'Elusive Fragments of an Uneasy Past: Representations of Non-Muslim Minorities in New Turkish Cinema.' In *Turkish Literature and Cultural Memory: Multiculturalism as a Literary Theme after 1980*, edited by Catharina Dufft, 137–146. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009.
- Suner, Asuman. *New Turkish Cinema: Belonging, Identity and Memory*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010.

- Suner, Asuman. *Hayalet Ev: Yeni Türk Sinemasında Aidiyet, Kimlik ve Bellek [The Ghost House: Belonging, Identity and Memory in New Turkish Cinema]*. Istanbul: Metis, 2006.
- Suner, Asuman. 'Outside In: "Accented Cinema" at Large.' *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7:3 (2006): 363–382.
- Sword, Helen. *Ghostwriting Modernism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Symons, Stéphane, and Tomek Kitliński. 'The Other Philosophy-Politics of Jacques Derrida: "L'amour des ruines".' *Logos: A Journal of Religion, Philosophy, Comparative Cultural Studies and Art* 47 (2006): 56–79.
- Tachau, Frank. 'The Face of Turkish Nationalism: As Reflected in the Cyprus Dispute.' *Middle East Journal* 13:3 (1959): 262–272.
- Tambling, Jeremy. *Becoming Posthumous: Life and Death in Literary and Cultural Studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. *Memory as a Remedy for Evil*. Translated by Gila Walker. London: Seagull Books, 2010.
- Topçu, Aslihan Doğan, ed. *Derviş Zaim Sineması: Toplumsalın Eleştirisinden Geleniğin Estetiğine Yolculuk [The Cinema of Derviş Zaim: A Journey from Social Critique to Traditional Aesthetics]*. Ankara: De Ki, 2010.
- Trigg, Dylan. *The Memory of Place: A Phenomenology of the Uncanny*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2013.
- Trigger, Bruce G. 'Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist.' *Man [New Series]* 19:3 (1984): 355–370.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Turcotte, Gerry, Mélanie Joseph-Vilain, and Judith Misrahi-Barak, eds. *Postcolonial Ghosts/ Fantômes post-coloniaux*, with poems by Gerry Turcotte, Les Carnets du Cerpac No. 8. Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2009.
- Ubay, Çağkan. 'Rethinking the Collective Memory of the Turkish-Cypriots in the Age of Mass Culture: From *Milieux de Mémoire* to *Lieux de Mémoire* in the Shadow of Prosthetic Memory.' M.A. thesis, University of Vienna, 2013.
- United Nations, Office of Public Information, *UN Monthly Chronicle* 11 (1974).
- Uslu, Ayşe Didem. 'Grotesque and Gothic Comedy in Turkish Shadow Plays.' In *Asian Gothic: Essays on Literature, Film and Anime*, edited by Andrew Hock Soon Ng, 224–236. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008.

- Varnava, Andrekos. *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Virilio, Paul. *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception*. Translated by Patrick Camiller. London: Verso, 1989.
- Volf, Miroslav. *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006.
- Walker, Janet. *Trauma Cinema: Documenting Incest and the Holocaust*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005.
- Warner, Marina. *Phantasmagoria: Spirit Visions, Metaphors, and Media into the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Wawrzinek, Jennifer. *Ambiguous Subjects: Dissolution and Metamorphosis in the Postmodern Sublime*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008.
- Weber, Elisabeth. 'Introduction: Pleading Irreconcilable Differences.' In *Living Together: Jacques Derrida's Communities of Violence and Peace*, edited by Elisabeth Weber, 1–17. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2013.
- Weber, Elisabeth, ed. *Living Together: Jacques Derrida's Communities of Violence and Peace*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2013.
- Weinstock, Jeffrey Andrew. *Spectral America: Phantoms and the National Imagination*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.
- Weber, Elisabeth. 'Suspended from the Other's Heartbeat.' *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 106:2, Special Issue: Late Derrida, edited by Ian Balfour (Spring 2007): 325–344.
- Welin, Gustaf, and Christer Ekelund, *The U.N. in Cyprus: Swedish Peace-keeping Operations, 1964–1993*. London: C. Hurst & Company, 2004.
- Williams, Paul Harvey. *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*. Oxford: Berg, 2007.
- Wolfrey, Julian. *Victorian Hauntings: Spectrality, Gothic, the Uncanny and Literature*. New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002.
- Wolseley, Sir Garnet Joseph. *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley*, edited by Anne Cavendish. Nicosia: Cultural Centre of the Cyprus Popular Bank, 1992.
- Woodward, Rachel. *Military Geographies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Yağız, Nebat. *Türk Sinemasında Karakterler ve Tipler: Türk Sinemasının Türk Toplumuna Bakışı, 1950–1975 [Characters and Types in Turkish Cinema:*

Turkish Cinema's Representation of Turkish Society, 1950–1975. Istanbul: İşaret, 2009.

- Yashin, Mehmet. 'Introducing Step-Mothertongue.' In *Step-Mothertongue: From Nationalism to Multiculturalism: Literatures of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, edited by Mehmet Yashin, 1–21. London: Middlesex University Press, 2000.
- Yashin, Mehmet. 'Poems (1979–2004).' Translated by Taner Baybars. *Postcolonial Studies* 9:3, Special Issue: Cyprus, edited by Yiannis Papadakis (2006): 325–328.
- Young, Robert J. C. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Yüksel, Müberra. 'Conflict Resolution: Film as the Third Party/Mediator.' In *Communication in Peace/Conflict in Communication*, edited by Tuğrul İltir et al., 159–164. Famagusta, North Cyprus: Eastern Mediterranean University Press, 2008.
- Zacharia, Katerina. "'Reel" Hellenisms: Perceptions of Greece in Greek Cinema.' In *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by Katerina Zacharia, 321–354. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- Zaim, Derviş. 'Your Focus is Your Truth: Turkish Cinema, "Alluvionic" Filmmakers and International Acceptance.' In *Shifting Landscapes: Film and Media in European Context*, edited by Miyase Christensen and Nezih Erdoğan, 86–108. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008.
- Zaim, Derviş. 'Ayşe Teker'in Konukları: Derviş Zaim [Ayşe Teker's Guest: Derviş Zaim].' Interview by Ayşe Teker. *Mega Movie* 87 (August-September 2003): 36–38.
- Zaim, Derviş. 'Çamur Bir Yeniden Doğuş Filmi [*Mud* is a Rebirth Film].' Interview by Nadir Öperli and Fırat Yücel. *Altyazı* 22 (October 2003): 32–34.
- Zaim, Derviş. 'Çamur: Derviş Zaim ile Söyleşi [*Mud*: A Conversation with Derviş Zaim].' Interview by Özen Film. In *The Film Mud's Press Release*. Last modified March 10, 2003. Accessed January 25, 2012. <http://www.ozenfilm.com.tr/FilmDetail.aspx?fID=533>.
- Zaim, Derviş. 'Karagöz Perdesi Bir Sonsuzluk Perdesidir [Shadow Play Screen is a Screen of Infinity].' Interview by Barış Saydam and Celil Civan. *Hayal Perdesi* 21 (2011): 32–41.
- Zaim, Derviş. Personal Interview by Cihat Arınç, Bebek, Istanbul, January 6, 2011.
- Zaim, Derviş. Personal Interview by Cihat Arınç, Taksim, Istanbul, January 10, 2011.

- Zaim, Derviş. Personal Interview by Cihat Arınç, Beşiktaş, Istanbul, March 27, 2014.
- Zeitlin, Judith T. *The Phantom Heroine, Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Zembylas, Michalinos. 'Children's Construction and Experience of Racism and Nationalism in Greek-Cypriot Primary Schools.' *Childhood* 17:3 (2010): 312–328.
- Žižek, Slavoj. 'Neighbors and Other Monsters: A Plea for Ethical Violence.' In *The Neighbor: Three Inquiries in Political Theology*, edited by Slavoj Žižek, Eric L. Santner, Kenneth Reinhard, 134–190. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Zlomislić, Marko. *Jacques Derrida's Aporetic Ethics*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.