

## Remembering an abandoned city: tracing memories and urban narratives of refugees from famagusta

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*On the background of the theoretical framework defined by the previous article, this contribution presents the outcomes of the empirical study focused on the abandoned city of Varosha within the city of Famagusta (Cyprus), viewed through the lens of Greek-Cypriot refugees. Using the mind map methodology, through structured interviews participants were prompted to draw Famagusta based on the memories of their lost homeland, revealing profound insights into their geospatial perception and personal connection to the place. This study enriches our understanding of Famagusta's urban fabric and serves as a testament to the enduring ties between displaced communities and their home. Therefore, this article demonstrates the potential*

### **Famagusta: from a thriving coastal city to an abandoned ghost town**

Cyprus' key geopolitical location has established it as a strategically desired country to many empires and countries throughout the years. Being at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East, and Northern Africa, it was conquered by one empire after another. It was only in the 1960s that Cyprus gained its independence, following forty-six years of British occupation. But the independence of the island had been short-lived. By the early 1960s, there were several tensions within the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Greek Cypriots sought *enosis* (unification with Greece), whilst Turkish Cypriots supported *taksim* (two state solution) (Ker-Lindsay, 2015). In July 1974, a coup d'état orchestrated by the Greek military government prompted the Turkish invasion to prevent Greek annexation (Ker-Lindsay, 2015). Despite a failed peace conference in Geneva, Turkey resumed its invasion in August, ultimately gaining control of 36% of the

*role that multifaceted layers of a city's mnemonic spatial dimensions could play for informing future urban plans.*

Keywords: Famagusta; mind maps; borders

### **Ricordare una città abbandonata: memorie e narrazioni urbane dei rifugiati di Famagosta**

Sullo sfondo del quadro teorico ricostruito nell'articolo precedente, questo contributo presenta i risultati dello studio empirico sulla città abbandonata di Varosha, nella città di Famagosta (Cipro), osservata attraverso lo sguardo dei rifugiati grecociprioti esiliati durante l'invasione turca del 1974. Utilizzando il metodo delle mappe mentali, attraverso interviste strutturate gli esuli sono stati invitati a

island by the time a permanent ceasefire was reached (Bebler, 2015).

The focus of this research is the coastal city of Famagusta, located in the eastern part of the country. More specifically, the area investigated is Varosha, which has been completely deserted and abandoned since 1974 (Camp, Glen, 1980). Varosha, formerly the Greek quarter of Famagusta, was home to 39,000 residents, predominantly Greek-Cypriots (Chainoglou, 2017). Before the invasion, Famagusta used to be a thriving city, a hub of art and intellectual activity. People described it as the French Riviera of Cyprus. Thriving in the 1970s, it was one of the most popular tourist resorts and had the most important port in Cyprus. It was responsible for over 70% of the island's imports and exports and 80% of the island's tourist accommodation. However, following the 1974 division of the country, it became a ghost town, and it is now a city stripped out of life. Forty-five thousand refugees left their homes and have never returned to this day.

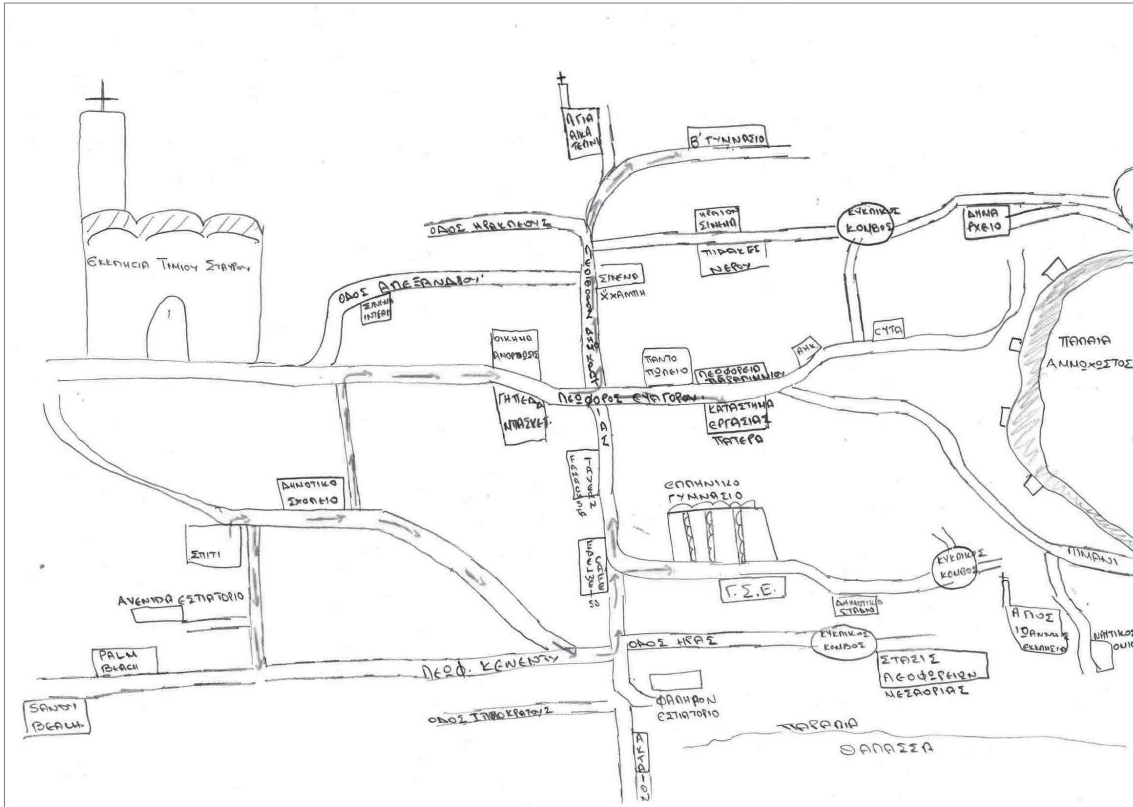
disegnare Famagosta ripercorrendo la memoria della loro terra perduta. Le mappe mentali dei rifugiati hanno rivelato profonde intuizioni sulla loro percezione dello spazio e una forte relazione con il luogo. Questo studio arricchisce la nostra comprensione di Famagosta e funge da testimonianza dei legami duraturi tra le comunità esiliate e il loro territorio, sottolineando l'importanza di preservare e comprendere i molteplici strati delle dimensioni spaziali mnemoniche di una città al fine di progettare un futuro condiviso. Parole chiave: Famagosta; mappe mentali; confini

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### **Mind maps in literature**

My grandfather always used to tell me stories about Famagusta. The 'magical city of Cyprus.' The city where Shakespeare based *Othello* and Elizabeth Taylor used to spend her summer holidays. Never-ending golden sandy bays with crystal clear blue waters. A city overflowing with history, culture, and life. He used to draw Famagusta's streets and neighborhoods entirely from memory, aiming to vividly illustrate the nuances of everyday life in the city. My grandfather's sole connection to Famagusta laid in his memories and drawing was the medium that brought these memories to life. In retrospect, his drawings were perhaps the first glimpses into mapping Famagusta through the memories of its inhabitants.

Mind maps (also known as 'mental maps' or 'cognitive maps') have been used in the fields of neuroscience, psychology, geography, and are frequently mentioned in literature. Their nature, location, and materiality have been comprehended differently by various scholars (Pocock, 1976). The term 'mind

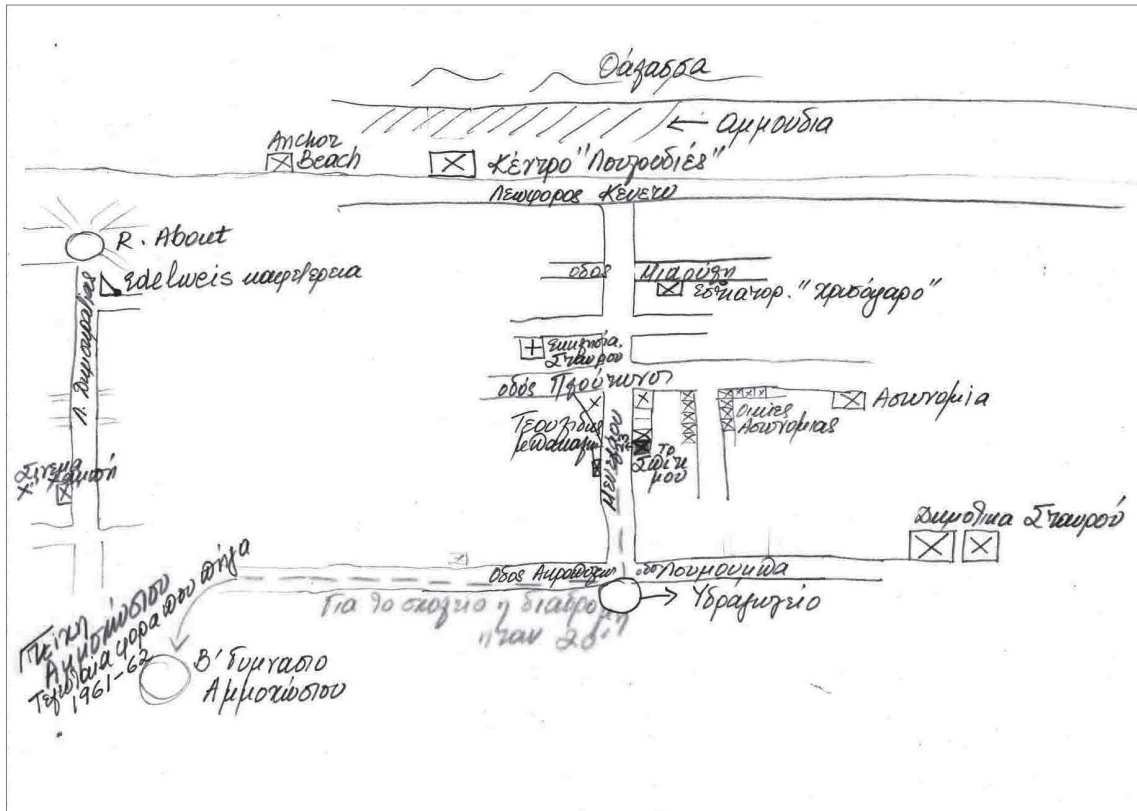


1. Mind Map by Andys Savvides, male, 65 years old. Mr Andys Savvides grew up in Famagusta. When I asked where his home was he insisted on drawing their neighborhood church first which was close to their home. It is evident that the places that were most important to him (like the church) are drawn in a larger scale and in more detail. The second element which has more detail is the All-boys High School Mr Andys attended. The Hellenistic architectural style and the Greek columns are evident on his drawing.

maps' refers to the 'cognitive or mental image of an environment' held by an individual or a group of individuals (Pocock, 1976). The environment described in these maps is formed when separate parts are placed in a certain relational sequence which refers to the locational characteristics of the given context. The mind maps reveal the key qualities of a place and give an insight into the inhabitants' environmental perception. Everyone's perception, graphicacy and spatial orientation is different, so these maps are naturally a subjective source of information. Nevertheless, mind maps remain a potent tool for converting the mnemonic spatial dimensions of a place into physical form, especially within Famagusta's context. For inhabitants, whose only link to their lost territory is through memories, mind maps serve as a vital conduit. Hence, it is evident why the mind map methodology emerged as

the most fitting approach for this research. The research closest to the one presented is a Master's thesis by Klokkari (Klokkari, 2015), which recaptures the image of the city through the memories of the refugees. Klokkari interviews refugees and asks them to draw Demokratias Avenue (Famagusta's main street) from memory, trying to understand the elements that form the collective memory. Even though there is limited research on mind maps regarding the city of Famagusta, there are several studies that have explored the use and importance of cognitive mapping in urban planning. The two main sources used in my research are *The image of the city* by Kevin Lynch (Lynch, 1960) and *The Uprooted City* by Nausicaa Pezzoni (Pezzoni, 2020). Lynch identifies five elements that people use to form mental maps: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (Lynch, 1960). Lynch argues that the legibility of a city depends on the quality of these five elements.

A well-designed city has clear and easily identifiable paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks that allow people to create a mental map of the city and navigate easily. Lynch finishes his book with the following thought-provoking question: «How does a stranger build an image of a new city?». Pezzoni's research, using Lynch's five fundamental elements, strives to answer this question. Pezzoni's survey re-reads Kevin Lynch's elements and uses them to define the contents of the mind maps collected to answer this question from a migrant's perspective. The landmarks become the places of reference in a city. Lynch's 'districts' become the living spaces where the migrants live. The paths are migrants' everyday movements in the city and the nodes are the popular places where most social activities take place. Lastly, the boundaries are the borders that define the city which is 'off-limits' for the migrants also described as the imaginary



2. Mind Map by Despo Nicolaou, female, 67 years old. Mrs Despo started off by drawing the location of the sea at the top of the page. That gave her a better sense of orientation and was used throughout as a reference element to complete the map. She continued from the seashore downwards slowly forming the city's main roads. Churches were frequently used as reference points to locate the city's important landmarks. The walled city of Famagusta was considered a boundary. The last time Mrs Despo visited it was in 1961 – before the violent incidents of 1963 occurred between the two communities.

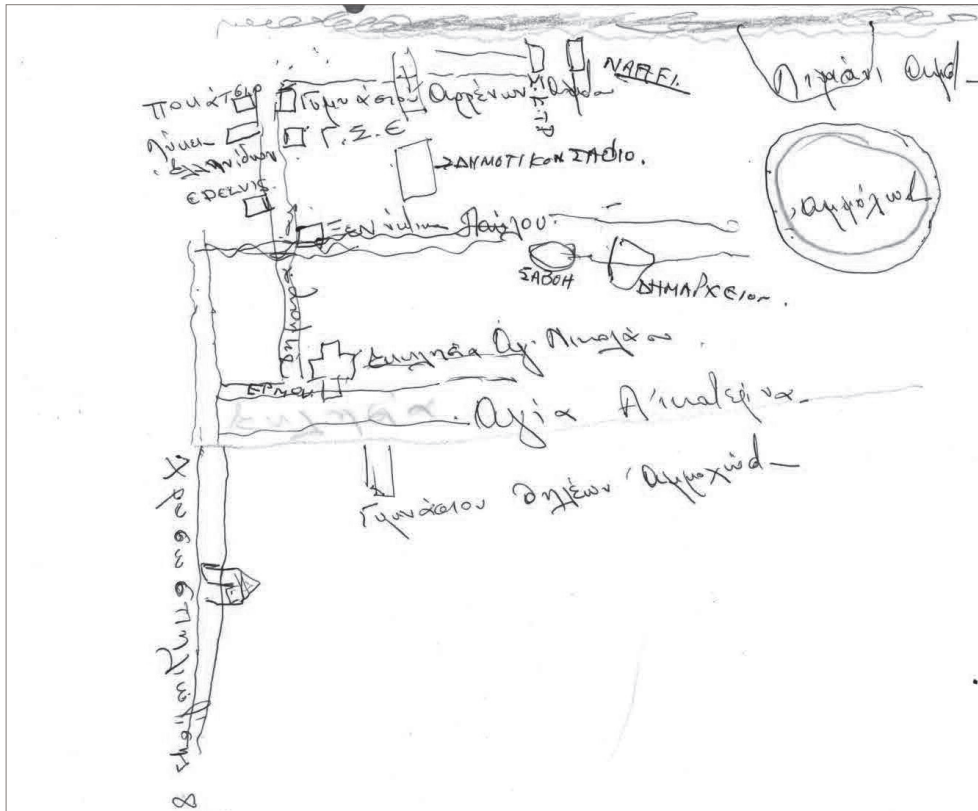
walls of the city (Pezzoni, 2020). The research focuses on how these elements are shown through the mind maps collected from refugees and how these transitory populations perceive the urban fabric. The fundamental difference between Lynch's and Pezzoni's approaches lies in their utilization of mind maps. Lynch employs them to comprehend urban perception and formulates the five categories of 'reading the city' through their analysis. On the other hand, Pezzoni redefines these elements and reverse-engineers Lynch's process by shaping them into interview questions. The mind maps which are then created, allow an in-depth exploration into how specific populations, such as migrants, perceive the urban fabric of their residing cities. At the backdrop of these theoretical references,<sup>1</sup> the research on the abandoned city of Varosha within the city of Famagusta (Cyprus) has critical differences. The

refugees are not in a state of permanence or temporariness but in a stage of forced physical separation. The people fled Famagusta in 1974 thinking that they would soon return. They were housed in refugee camps and, eventually, they were relocated to more stable, yet still provisional, housing. Today, fifty years later, their lives have been shaped by a lingering glimpse of hope, as they have yet to return. This means that they do not have present contact with the city they are asked to draw since their last visit dates decades back. Their connection to their city slowly fades over time and their memories are the sole connection to their city. Their minds' inner landscapes are difficult to be comprehended verbally and the mind map methodology serves as a tool to translate them into tangible, physical forms. Through mind maps the geospatial perception of the lost territory is analyzed, allowing for an assessment of its transformation over time. The participants'

experiences are deeply rooted in the periods preceding and following the 1974 division of the country, affected by both personal and collective recollections. Their city perception is intertwined with trauma and intense emotions potentially impacting their objectivity, memory, and way of drawing.

#### Unveiling memories: structured inquiry, drawing methodology and research limitations

Generally, mental maps can derive from both direct and indirect means. Also, they can use a base map or have a completely 'free-recall sketch' approach (Pocock, 1976). Moreover, the greater the scale of the study area the less likely that the participants will be able to configure the spatial relationships between points. Therefore, in this research, only the area of Varosha and not the entire Famagusta is considered. This research obtains mental



3. Mind Map by Maroulla, female, 74 years old. Mrs Maroulla grew up and lived until 1974 in Famagusta. It was evident that her spatial orientation was distorted and she had trouble remembering the route between different points. She shared that throughout her primary school years she was taking part in the EOKA activities (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) against British rule. She would wake up in the middle of the night to share leaflets while her father would hide several wanted Cypriot EOKA members in their house. The life in Varosha was more pleasant after the independence of 1960 but conflict and murder incidents were always present.

maps from a direct approach and uses a completely blank piece of paper as a base to avoid influencing the results. Also, the set of structured questions is similarly worded, and it is always asked in the same order. An A3 sheet of paper is always given to the interviewees as a fixed variable to avoid result bias. This also applies to drawing mediums which include pencils, coloured pencils and coloured markers. Moreover, the participants are discouraged from using 'Google Maps' at the time of the interview or referring to other means of information that can interfere with their mnemonic spatial perception.

In exploring the city of Famagusta through the lens of memory, a series of questions were posed to participants to elicit their recollections and perceptions. These questions were designed to gradually build a map of their memories of Famagusta.

**Question 1 (Living Spaces):** If this piece of paper represents Varosha, where was your

house located? This question is asked first to help the interviewees orient themselves in the city and initiate a sense of familiarity. It's often observed that people tend to start drawing the place they know best first, that is their home.

**Question 2 (Nodes):** Which were the places you spent most of your time? Following the same logic as the first question, the interview continues with the places the interviewees are most familiar with.

**Question 3 (Landmarks):** Which were the landmarks of Famagusta? These are the places of reference in the city. Now that the mind map is in a more developed stage, the landmarks of the city are placed.

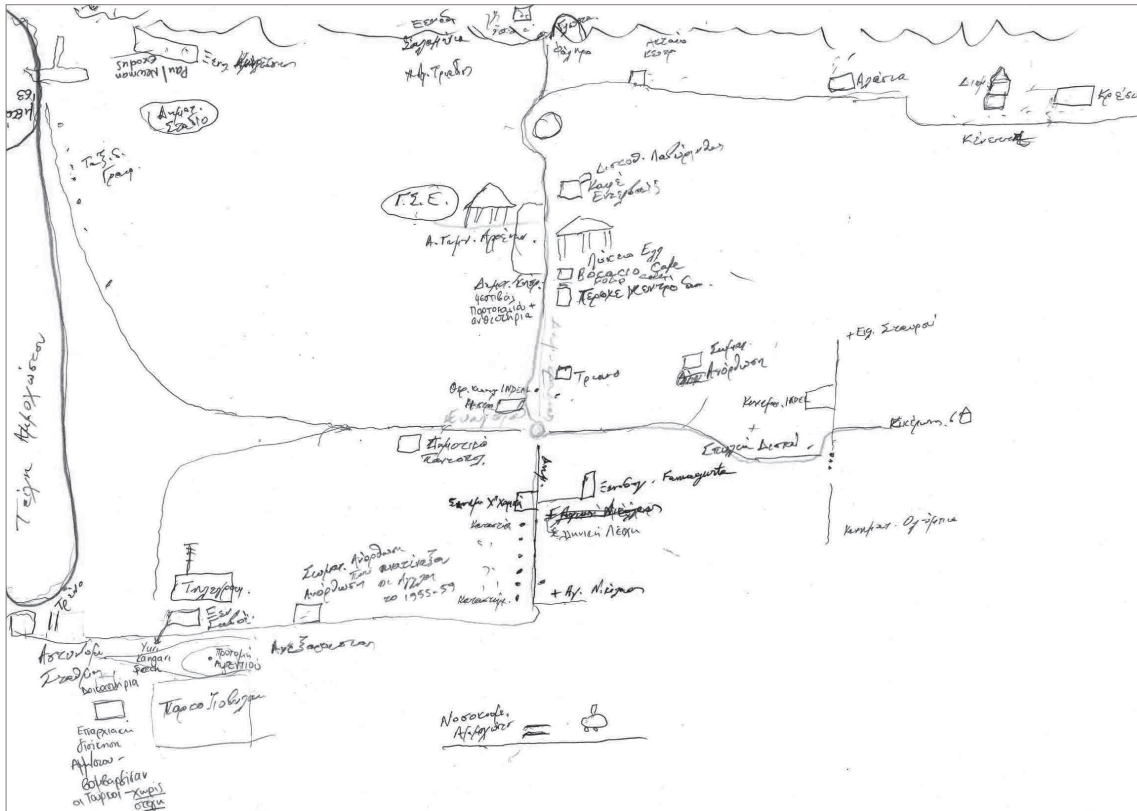
**Question 4 (Imaginary Boundaries):** Which areas or places did you not visit for any reason? It seems fitting to ask this question at this point, as the interviewees have gained a good grasp of the task.

**Question 5 (Paths):** Which path did you take every day or most often? This final

question is asked last, as interviewees have already formed a map and can recall their journeys more easily.

It should be noted the age of the participants was a limitation in the interviews. Since the Turkish occupation happened in 1974, the participants should not be born later than 1964 (this makes them 10 years old at the time of the invasion to have some memories from the city). Therefore, the age group of the participants ranges from 60 to 90 years old. Moreover, it was evident that the interviewees felt very uncomfortable with drawing. Usually, the participants were asked to do a draft before the final version, thinking that they would draw something the wrong way. In every interview, there was an adaptation period where the interviewees took some time to understand the task and find a way to translate their thoughts into a drawing. Moreover, since mind maps rely heavily on memory, they share similar limitations.





4. Mind Map by Tony Ioannou, male, 76 years old. Mr Tony's shared several important details for Famagusta. His mind map was extremely detailed and his spatial orientation was surprisingly accurate. The Hellenistic architectural character of the highschools is evident in his drawing. Mr Tony drew many important landmarks and shared many stories from Varosha. Some of them are the filming location of Paul Newman's movie *Exodus* and Yuri Gagarin's talk near Savoy Hotel. He also mentioned some incidents between EOKA and the British officials and explained why many of the buildings were destroyed after conflict incidents of 1955-1959. Lastly, he talked about the no longer existing railway connection to Nicosia, Cyprus' capital.

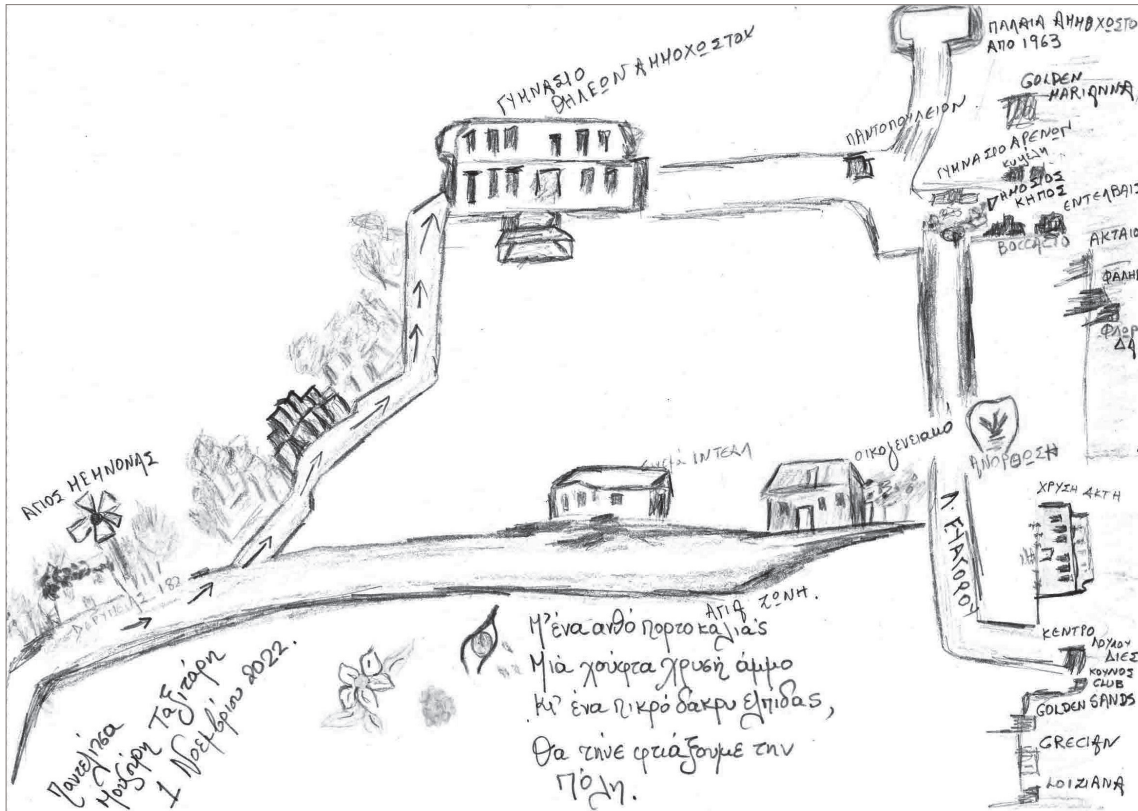
These can include: decay, reconstruction, bias, emotional state, interference, con-fabulation, and selective recall. These limitations cannot be avoided, since they are part of memory's subjective nature, but they should be considered when reading the maps. Also, other media – such as photographs and videos – can be used to complement the analysis. Lastly, the greater the number of maps collected, the more accurate the conclusions drawn.

#### Exploring Famagusta's mnemonic landscape: insights from mind map analysis

The map analysis in this study adopts a methodology akin to Pezzoni's «The Up-rooted City» (Pezzoni, 2020). In contrast to Lynch, Pezzoni focuses on and accentuates the distinctiveness of each map. Lynch, conversely, generalizes the findings from the maps, drawing overarching conclusions

from his research. His focus lies in understanding the broader urban quality and perception of the city, capturing the general perception of the city. Adopting the Pezzoni's methodology, this research emphasizes the importance of each mind map and draws both specific as well as general conclusions. The mind maps collected proved to be exceptionally rich in data, containing multiple layers of information that resisted categorization into singular groups. Instead, these maps spanned across various categories, demonstrating the complexity of the participants' perceptions. To comprehend this complex web of data, the analysis focused on three fundamental pillars: graphical representation, element typology, and level of detail. By systematically evaluating the mind maps through these three lenses, we identified multiple correlations between different categories, providing a structured framework for in-depth interpretation and comprehension.

The graphical representation examines how the interviewee chose to represent the city's map. Every refugee selected a different medium and way of drawing which reflects his mnemonic-spatial perception. Furthermore, the element typology used in the maps is also significant since they represent how each refugee navigates himself within the city. Lastly, the level of detail present on each map indicates how familiar the interviewee was with the city but also, how time, trauma, past and present experiences modified his/her perception. It should be noted that the maps cannot belong to a single category. They are so detailed and multi-layered that they are part of multiple categories. Also, the number of maps collected allows for limited similarities and conclusions to be drawn. The number of interviews and collected maps directly influences the depth and reliability of the analysis. It is commonly understood in social research



5. Mind Map by Pantelitsa Taxitari, female, 67 years old. In this map by Mrs Pantelitsa, it is clear how important the presence of orange groves and gardens were in the residential area of Famagusta. Also, the size of each element is strongly related to the significance it had for each refugee. As you can see Mrs Pantelitsa dedicates a lot more space for her house and garden compared to the rest of the city. She also wrote a small poem on her drawing: 'With an orange blossom, A handful of golden sand and a bitter tear of hope, We will rebuild the city.'

that larger sample sizes generally lead to more representative and statistically significant results. The size of the sample determines how accurately the sample estimates the population whilst generally, a larger sample size provides more reliable estimates of the population parameters (Babbie, 2016). Thus, studies with larger sample sizes, often exceeding 100, tend to offer more comprehensive insights into complex phenomena and are «more likely to be judged statistically significant» (Babbie, 2016: 478). In contrast, smaller sample sizes may limit the breadth of conclusions that can be drawn. The findings presented in this study derive from the analysis of the 30 maps collected. The study is ongoing, with plans to gather a total of 100 maps, to further enrich our understanding. The level of detail present in the refugees' maps and the similarity they have to the actual form of the city prove Famagusta's urban quality. Its characteristic

and legible environment not only offered security to its inhabitants but also heightened the depth and intensity of their mnemonic experiences. The mind maps collected have several layers of stories and memories. Every element placed on the map was accompanied by memories of love, friendship, and carefreeness. The refugees spoke dearly about their home, their city. Firstly, it is clear that the maps share substantial similarities between them. According to Lynch, this was expected, since people from the same social group tend to produce similar mental maps (Lynch, 1960). Also, it was evident that the location of the sea was an important element in the mind map creation. The placement of the coastline played a vital role in the inhabitants' orientation within the city. Another reference point was the walled city since it is a physical boundary of the Varosha area. In the question

regarding the nodes the refugees usually marked their high schools since most were students at that time. Also, some people mark their friends' houses and the characteristic central bus stop. In a striking 92% of the interviews, the refugees marked the walled city of Famagusta as a boundary. The only interviewee not viewing it as a boundary was the son of a port worker who entered the walled city with his father. This possibly derives from the unofficial segregation of Greek-Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot areas due to the bi-communal conflict incidents of 1963.<sup>2</sup>

#### Graphical representation

Generally, there was a significant difference between males and females in their cartographic representation. Usually, males used a more technical representation of maps whereas females represented cartographic elements more

abstractly. In drawings made by females, the elements were out of scale and the distance between points was disproportionate compared to reality. Moreover, male maps were at times very similar to each other and had the sea placed on the same side of the page. This can be seen between maps 1 – Mind Map by Andys Savvides and 4 – Mind Map by Tony Ioannou where the male participants drew the streets in a strikingly similar way to the actual map of Varosha, in Famagusta. The difference between the cartographic representation can be due to genetic differences between genders since males tend to perform better in spatial orientation tasks compared to females, according to experimental research reviews (Collucia, Louse, 2004). On the other hand, it can be due to environmental factors since the two genders had different urban experiences in the city. An early and influential study by Appleyard in 1970 examined spatial knowledge acquisition in a city in Venezuela (Ekstrom, 2018). The findings indicate that individuals who drove generally exhibited more detailed maps and possessed greater knowledge of the relative locations of roads and landmarks within the city compared to participants riding the bus (Ekstrom, 2018). Since males tended to drive more than females it is natural that they had a greater exposure to the urban fabric and thus understood better the road structure of the city. This is also justified by the map drawn by a bus driver, which is very similar in representation to the actual city map. Several maps are dominated by words and sentences. This was usually the case when the interviewees had little confidence in their drawing skills and expressed that they were not able to draw what they had in mind exactly. Also, in their effort to represent graphically what they imagined they usually started writing to give more justice to what they described. This was usually the case when they spoke about ‘golden sandy beaches,’ ‘crystal clear blue waters,’ and ‘enchanted smells of citrus groves.’ It is evident that they could not capture the essence of these sensory characteristics and chose to describe them in a written form instead. It was more common in females than males to use writing to describe a place. Males were usually using symbols, even abbreviations for names of places and chose quicker ways

to represent what they had in mind. On the other hand, females took more time to connect with their memories, showed in general more hesitation, and took more time to complete their mind maps. It was clear that females chose a more colorful way of representation. Usually, they colored in the trees, the sea, and many of the buildings. They wanted their drawing to look ‘pretty’ and well made and were jokingly referring to themselves as being ‘primary school students again.’ Also, people who had little memory of Varosha used coloring and added several details to their drawings. It seemed that they tried to compensate for the drawing’s lack of information. Moreover, males tended to use monochromatic tools such as pens or pencils and were more concerned with adding everything they remembered rather than creating something ‘aesthetically pleasing.’ Generally, males were more practical in how they drew and usually took less time to complete their drawing. Moreover, both males and females showed some hesitation and preferred using drawing mediums that could be erased such as pencils. This was the case since participants wanted to make sure that they could erase any possible mistakes.

#### *Element typology*

The element definition and categorisation is taken from Pezzoni’s research, which derives from the original categories set by Kevin Lynch. However, the definitions used in this research as well as in the Pezzoni’s previous research vary significantly from Lynch, since many take a new form and meaning compared to the originals:

- *Landmarks* are the places of reference in the city that act as navigation points. Usually, these elements are deeply connected to the city’s identity. For example, the municipal garden and the city’s community market were mentioned in almost every map. These were places of importance and were part of the inhabitants’ daily lives. Moreover, it was evident that places like the Turkish High School were not mentioned in any maps except for two. Interestingly, the political views as well as the lasting bi-communal conflict did not allow inhabitants in the Famagusta city to have many interactions with the Turkish Cypriots or their school. Therefore, this part of the city was not significant for most of the interviewees.

- *Living Spaces* are places where the participants lived. There were many residential areas/neighbourhoods in the city of Famagusta thus there was a mixture of answers in terms of location. Notably, many participants mentioned houses of relatives and friends as well as their own. This highlights the strong bond present in the community.

- *Paths* represent the frequent movements within the city, the routes that the interviewee takes most frequently. These were usually the journeys between home and school or home and work. It was evident that most people did not move by car but they rather moved by foot, bicycle, or bus. Also, men were more likely to drive and own a car than women.

- *Nodes* are places of socialisation also described as gathering points. In the maps, there are very similar places mentioned (Edelweiss Cafe, the Municipal Garden, and the many cinemas) which reveal a very closely knitted community.

- *Boundaries* are the elements that act as borders that confine a place. These can be actual boundaries that make a place physically inaccessible or can be imaginary boundaries that people do not cross for any reason. In the mind maps it is clear that the walled city of Famagusta was viewed as a boundary. The majority of the participants could not cross it, being afraid that they could be physically harmed. This was a result of the bi-communal conflict incidents of the early 1960s, which claimed the lives of many Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. Since the participants were Greek-Cypriots it was expected that the walled city of Famagusta, where Turkish-Cypriots lived, was viewed as an unsafe zone. It is probable that if the Turkish-Cypriots were asked to draw a map the contrary would be the case. Mrs Despo mentioned in her interview that she is «very sad not to have had one single Turkish-Cypriot friend» to know how their community felt.

- *Non-Visual* (taste/smell/sound). Every single map was accompanied by memories of certain smells and sounds. The participants talked endlessly about the orange citrus groves and their astonishing smell. Also, the blue sea and the golden sandy beaches were always mentioned when they described their city. Participants used writing when they tried to explain these sensory dimensions instead of drawing.



### Level of detail

The level of detail varied from map to map. There are several possible explanations for this outcome. Firstly, age was a deciding factor in how the participants remembered the city. The age of the participants at the time of the invasion was a determining factor in what they remember. People of old age (85 years old) had trouble remembering the past since some started showing the first signs of dementia. Similarly, participants who were very young at the time of the invasion did not remember much. Both of these cases produced maps of a low level of detail which usually included only the places visited daily. Another important factor on the detail level was gender. This can be the case of both genetic factors and environmental factors. Females in those times had usually less freedom than males and were sometimes not allowed to leave their houses unsupervised. This was the case with Mrs. Despo (2 – Mind Map by Despo Nicolaou) who shared that her father did not allow her to go out during the day or night alone and that she always had to be accompanied by her male cousin. She felt that she did not experience the urban life of Famagusta as much as she would like to and that limited her memory of the urban fabric. Moreover, males were more likely to go out more often and were not regulated as much by their family/spouse. Thus, maps drawn by men tend to cover a larger city area. Moreover, males were driving whilst females did not. This gave them the chance to understand better the urban structure of the city and memorize more comprehensively the connections between places. People who navigate through a city by driving typically have a better geospatial perception of the area than people who commute by bus (Ekstrom, 2018). Therefore, this explains why males drew the city in more detail than females. Finally, individuals who underwent traumatic experiences within the city exhibited a heightened level of confusion when creating their maps. A poignant example is Mrs. Maroulla, represented by 3 – Mind Map by Maroulla. Upon comparison with the actual city map, her rendition was notably inaccurate. Recalling exact locations proved

challenging, including notable landmarks like the community market. Mrs. Maroulla's formative years were marked by conflict and distressing events, with her father's involvement in EOKA, the Greek-Cypriot group resisting British rule from 1955-1959, being a significant factor. At the age of 12, she was routinely awoken during the night to distribute leaflets for the organization. Additionally, her family often harbored wanted EOKA members, sheltering them from British authorities. Consequently, Mrs. Maroulla's childhood was overshadowed by fear and anguish, understandably influencing her recollection and resulting in a map lacking in detail and accuracy.

### Mapping memories: Famagusta's urban narratives

In this research, the city of Famagusta was explored through mind maps drawn by Greek-Cypriot refugees displaced during the 1974 Turkish invasion. The study dived into the participants' memories and perceptions. The mind maps transcended mere geographical depictions and encapsulated the essence of Famagusta, capturing personal and communal experiences, including lost homes, cherished landmarks, and community ties. Famagusta was revealed not as a merely physical space but rather as a repository of cultural and emotional heritage. The mind maps became vessels carrying the city's history, imbued with the fragrance of citrus groves, echoes of footsteps, and shared moments in communal spaces. Despite the passage of time, the participants clung steadfastly to their memories, revealing their strong connection to the city. Ultimately, this research highlighted the intricate connection between geography, memory, and identity. Famagusta, as portrayed through these mind maps, emerged as a symbol of the complex relationship between refugees and their lost territory. It serves as a reminder of the enduring power of human memory and the significance of understanding the multifaceted layers of the urban fabric through the eyes of its inhabitants.

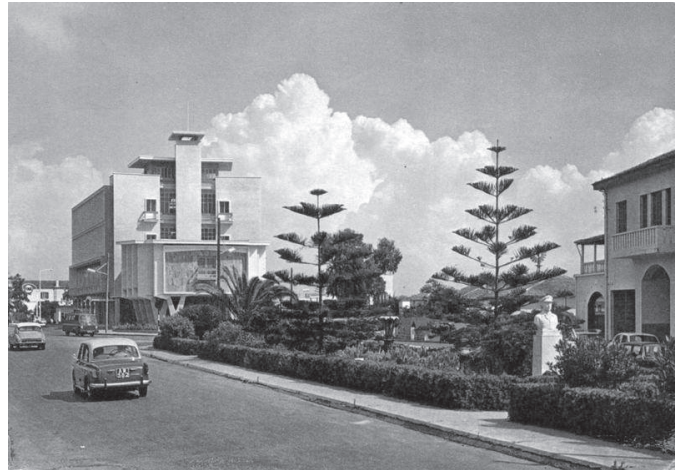
### Notes

1. More details are provided by the previous article «Sul confine. Le mappe degli esuli di Varosha svelano una città dimenticata. On the border. Varosha refugee maps reveal a forgotten city» by Nausicaa Pezzoni.
2. The conflicting ideologies between Greek Cypriots (*enosis*) and Turkish Cypriots (*taksim*) led to the deaths of 364 Turkish and 174 Greek Cypriots in just a few months (Ker-Lindsay, 2015). These violent events caused a growing segregation between the two communities. In 1931, 36 percent of villages in Cyprus were ethnically mixed, by 1960 this dropped to 18 percent, and by the late 1960s it further decreased to just 10 percent (Ker-Lindsay, 2015).

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General view of Famagusta, Cyprus.

Photo: E. Nighic, John Frank Studios.



6. Picture of one of the main commercial streets in Famagusta, a few years before the invasion.  
7. General view of Famagusta showing the Municipal garden where many festivals took place.  
8. The outdoor area of one of the many cinemas of Famagusta.  
Source of pictures 6 and 8-11: 'Φως στο Φως της Αμμοχώστου', ΤΕΠΑΚ.

9. The Municipality of Famagusta is seen on the back, while in the front the memorial of Grigoris Afxentiou, a Cypriot who fought against the English rule during 1955-1959.  
10. The propylaea of the Greek High-School shown during a traditional festival.  
11. Cinema 'Olympia', one of Famagusta's many cinemas.

## The exhibition 'Famagusta m(in)d maps'

*Interview of Despina Petridou, the exhibition's curator*

Famagusta's Cultural Centre seemed the most ideal location to host an exhibition to showcase the mind maps collected. After contacting the administration, we agreed to host an open exhibition to inform visitors on Famagusta's history. One of the objectives was gathering the local community and challenging them to understand Famagusta from the refugees' memory and perspective. The classic cartographic depictions of Famagusta are complemented with mind maps rich in emotional and sensory dimensions, recalling smells, memories and stories all representing their beloved city. The exhibition contained copies of the research thesis, information panels explaining the results, and all the mind maps collected, besides the mind maps from the *Uprooted City* by Pezzoni (2020) and the video interview with the sculptor Filippos Yiapanis. The exhibition's curator, Despina Petridou, answered some questions regarding the exhibition and its trajectory.

*How was the exhibition composed to effectively communicate all of the findings?*  
The exhibition included not only the findings of research but also relevant background information and references, to provide to viewers a holistic image of the context of this research, as well as an opportunity to study the maps in relation to all the data. A colour-coded map of Famagusta, identifying the different regions of the city, accompanied the maps drawn by the refugees during the interview process, in order for the audience to easily identify the areas being described in each map. At the entrance of the exhibition space, informative panels were also displayed, presenting all the background information on the research project, providing an analytical context for the viewers, prior to them studying the maps. Research findings and other data were presented as a visual narrative,

in order to communicate effectively the results of this research, as well as make it accessible to a wider audience.

*Why was Famagusta's Cultural Centre chosen as a venue?*

The Cultural Center of Famagusta Municipality is one of the most prominent viewpoints of Famagusta city in the area. As the exhibition space is located on the first floor of the building it is naturally provided with a clear view of the 'ghost town', which we believed was the appropriate setting to display the findings. The Center is also largely visited by tourists, especially during summer months, so we thought that the relevance of the exhibition to the space would enrich their visit by adding another layer of interpretation of the state of Famagusta. We also wished for the relevance of the physical context of the exhibition to initiate conversations between the visitors about the current state of the city, in relation to how it is being remembered and portrayed by the refugees in their maps.

*What do you think these maps communicate about the lost territory of Famagusta?*  
I think these maps communicate feelings of nostalgia about Famagusta more than anything else. The descriptive text accompanying different spots around the map implies this, as the interviewees were not only portraying their spatial memory of the city but they were also trying to convey the atmosphere and vibrancy of the city. This was a common element in all the maps, differentiating them based on a more personalised framework of remembering and describing an urban environment. Therefore, this unfolds the need for documenting not only the memory of space but also the memory of place and the feelings associated with it.

*How did this exhibition differ from others you have curated?*

This exhibition was different from others as we not only had to display the results and data from a research project, but we also had to convey the stories behind them, the emotions developed during

the process and the individuality of each participant, as the results were so personal. The video installation, presenting the interview of the well-known Cypriot sculptor, Filippos Yiapanis, contributed largely in this, as it provided the viewers with an insight as to how the interview was conducted and what kinds of information and emotions the interviewees shared about their city. The numerous stories unfolding while he is drawing his map, is a representation of the depth and layers of memories, experiences and trauma behind every map drawn.

*How did people react when visiting the exhibition?*

It was quite astonishing to observe how long people spent in the exhibition room on average. Most of the visitors seemed to be studying the maps in great detail, comparing them and trying to navigate through the use of the colour-coded map. Dense information was presented visually, and I believe this helped with audience engagement, as people seemed to understand the different elements of the maps and were able to 'find their way around.' Locals visiting the exhibition, despite of their age, were able to relate very easily as we all have heard infinite stories about this city from our parents and grandparents, even if we never lived there. Some Turkish-Cypriots were also among the visitors of the exhibition, who were also able to project their own experiences and memories of the city of Famagusta, based on the material displayed.

*Was the exhibition successful?*

For me, the success of this exhibition was measured in its capacity to communicate all these personal stories and memories, and spark conversations not only about the past glory of the city of Famagusta, but its future ahead. Even if the documentation of all these personal insights was also filled with trauma, it was very important for me to see many young people visiting the exhibition, and in a way becoming part of this collective memory, as a way of moving forward to a more peaceful and united future in Famagusta city.



«Famagusta Mind Maps»

## Πρόσφυγες της Αμμοχώστου χαρτογραφούν τις αναμνήσεις της πόλης τους

Πώς αντιλαμβανόμαστε τον/τους τόπο/ους που ζούμε; Θυμόμαστε τις διαδρομές τις οποίες κάνουμε, τα ταξίδια που σχεδιάζουμε ή τα μονοπάτια; Θυμόμαστε τις ιστορίες που έχουμε ακούσει, τους ανθρώπους που γνωρίσαμε ή τους αγνώστους τους οποίους προσπεράσαμε; Θυμόμαστε τα πράγματα που έχουμε δοκιμάσει, τους ήχους που ακούγονται ή τη σιωπή της φύσης; Θυμόμαστε τους δρόμους που περνάμε ή τα κτήρια που σκιάζουν τον δρόμο; Ή παίρνουμε αυτά τα μονοπάτια ως δεδομένα γνωρίζοντας ότι θα τα ακουούθουμε ξανά αύριο;

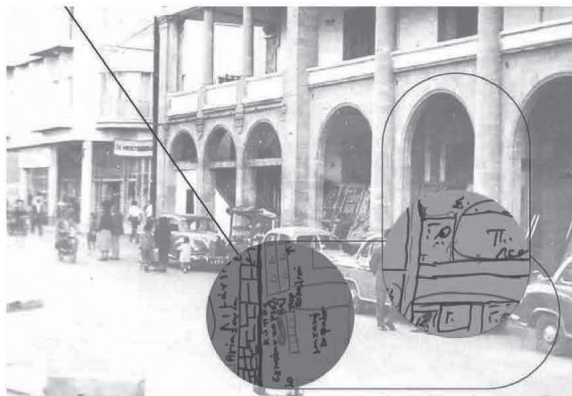
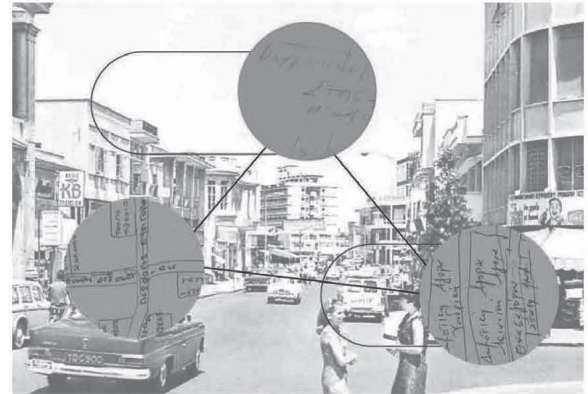


Γράφει η  
Ελένη Παπαδοπούλου

Το Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Αμμοχώστου φιλοξενεί από τις 27 Ιουλίου μέχρι τις 10 Αυγούστου την έκθεση «Famagusta Mind Maps». Μια σειρά «νονοτικών χαρτών» που δημιουργήθηκαν, συλλέχθηκαν και αναλύθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια της διατριβής της αρχιτέκτονος Γεωργίας Κλέφτη με τίτλο: The Mnemonic Spatial Dimensions of an Abandoned Border City: The Case Study of Famagusta, ως τμήμα μεταπτυχιακού τίτλου σπουδών της στην Αρχιτεκτονική και τον Αστικό Σχεδιασμό. Την έκθεση επιμελείται η εικαστικός και επιμελήτρια τέχνης Δέσποινα Πετρίδου και πραγματοποιείται με τη στήριξη του Δήμου Αμμοχώστου, του Οργανισμού Νεολαίας Κύπρου και του Πανεπιστημίου Politecnico di Milano.

Η διπλωματική εργασία διερευνά συγκεκριμένα τον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι πρόσφυγες της Αμμοχώστου μπορούν να «χαρτογραφηθούν» την πόλη με βάση την προσωπική και συλλογική μνήμη, μετά από σαράντα εννέα χρόνια απουσίας από την πόλη τους. Ως μέρος αυτής της εκτεταμένης έρευνας, πρόσφυγες ηλικίας 55 έως 80 ετών ερωτήθηκαν και τους ζητήθηκε να σχεδιάσουν τον δικό τους χάρτη, οπτικοποιώντας τη μνήμη και τις εμπειρίες τους από τον χώρο και τον τόπο, καθώς και τα συναισθήματα που συνδέονται με αυτόν. Αυτά τα «εσωτερικά τοπία του μυαλού» στη συνέχεια αναλύθηκαν για να εξαχθούν συμπεράσματα σχετικά με τον τρόπο ερμηνείας των πόλεων και των τόπων μέσω ενός εξατομικευμένου πλαισίου που επηρεάζεται από το πολιτικό και κοινωνικό υπόβαθρο, την προσωπική ανάμνηση και το τραύμα ενός ατόμου.

Η έκθεση στοχεύει στο να αποκαλύψει αυτές τις υποκειμενικές ταυτότητες και αφηγήσεις που έχουν τις ρίζες τους σε φυσικούς χώρους, να τις αφαιρέσει από την ιδιωτική μνήμη και να τις τοποθετήσει σε μια δημόσια σφαίρα συλλογικής μνήμης, ξεκινώντας νέες συζητήσεις. Αυτό το ερευνητικό έργο σκοπεύει επίσης στο να δημιουργήσει ένα αρχείο αναμνήσεων και αφηγήσεων για τη γεωγραφική φύση της πόλης της Αμμοχώστου μέσα από ιστορίες που παρέχονται από την τελευταία γενιά προσφύγων που είτε γεννήθηκαν, είτε έζησαν είτε εργάστηκαν στην πόλη.



### «ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΑ ΤΟΠΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΑΛΟΥ»

Ένας στους δύο αναφερόταν στη μυρωδιά των πορτοκαλιών, κάτι που δείχνει πως η πόλη ήταν ανοιχτή, με περβόλια και πράσινους χώρους και πως η ζωή ήταν ευχάριστη

Η Γεωργία Κλέφτη κατάγεται από το Παραλίμπι, αλλά είχε πάντα έντονη τη μνήμη της Αμμοχώστου μέσα από τις ιστορίες των παππούδων της οι οποίοι και οι δύο εργάζονταν εκεί πριν τον πόλεμο. «Πάντα μου μιλούσαν με αγάπη για την Αμμοχώστο, την περιέγραφαν ως τη μαγική πόλη της Κύπρου και μου μετέδωσαν αυτήν την αγάπη που είχαν. Η ιδέα γι' αυτό το πρότζεκτ προέκυψε όταν μία από τις καθηγήτρίδες μου μας παρουσίασε μια έρευνα για ένα ανάλογο προσωπικό της προέφυγε αλλά με μετανάστες στην Ιταλία στην οποία ερευνούσε πώς αυτή η ομάδα ανθρώπων αντιλαμβάνεται μια πόλη άγνωστη σε αυτούς. Ο ένας μου παππούς πάντα ζωγράφιζε όταν ήθελε να μοιραστεί μαζί μου αναμνήσεις από την Αμμοχώστο. Έτσι είχα τη σύνδεση και εφάρμοσα αυτή τη μέθοδο σε πρόσφυγες από την Αμμοχώστο και το Βαρώσι», εξηγεί η Γεωργία.

Οι ερωτήσεις για τις συνεντεύξεις βασίστηκαν στις πέντε κατηγορίες που καθόρισε ο Αμερικανός πολέοδμος Κέβιν Λιντς\* όταν το 1960 ερευνούσε την αμερικανική πόλη και πώς την αντιλαμβάνονταν οι κάτοικοί της. Αυτές είναι οι χώροι διαβίωσης, χώροι/κόμβοι συνάντησης, φανταστικά όρια, δηλαδή σημεία στην πόλη που δεν επισκέπτονταν καθόλου, οι διαδρομές στην καθημερινότητα και ο ρόσημα της πόλης. Οι συνεντεύξεις και η χαρτογράφηση

πραγματοποιούνταν κατά τη διάρκεια μιας συνάντησης.

«Μέχρι τώρα πήρα συνέντευξη από 30 ανθρώπους αλλά θα ήθελα να συνεχίσω την έρευνα μέχρι να φτάσω τους 100 για να μπορέσει να γίνει και μια στατιστική ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων. Παρατήρησα ότι ένας στους δύο αναφερόταν στη μυρωδιά των πορτοκαλιών, κάτι που δείχνει πως η πόλη ήταν ανοιχτή, με περβόλια και πράσινους χώρους και πως η ζωή ήταν ευχάριστη εκεί. Μια άλλη παρατήρηση είναι ότι η τοπογεωγραφική αντίληψη στους άνδρες ήταν πάρα πολύ καλή ενώ στις γυναίκες όχι και τόσο. Τεχνικά δεν ήταν τόσο σωστές αλλά ίσως να έχει να κάνει με το ότι εκείνη την εποχή οι άνδρες οδηγούσαν. Επίσης, πολλοί ήταν συναισθηματικοί όταν αφηγούνταν ιστορίες ή μιλούσαν για τη ζωή τους εκεί, τη στιγμή όμως που σχεδίαζαν τον χάρτη ήταν πολύ ψύχραιμοι, ίσως αυτό να λειτουργούσε κάπως θεραπευτικά γι' αυτούς, ίσως να ήταν ένας τρόπος να έρθουν σε επαφή με κάποια εσωτερικά τραύματα», αναφέρει η Γεωργία όσον αφορά τις παρατηρήσεις της.

«Είναι μια έκθεση αρχιτεκτονικής που δεν βλέπουμε συχνά, έχει κάτι πολύ προσωπικό αφού πρόκειται για μια οπτικοποίηση σε χάρτες των αναμνήσεων μιας πόλης σε μια ιστορική περίοδο από τους κατοίκους που την έζησαν. Είναι ενδιαφέρον το πώς ο κάθε ένας θυμάται την πόλη και σε ποια σημεία δίνει έμφαση. Οι χάρτες έγιναν σε χαρτί Α3, κάποιοι μπορεί να ένωσαν 2 ή 3 κομμάτια χαρτί Α3 ανάλογα με το μέγεθος της περιοχής που ήθελε ο κάθε ένας ή η κάθε μία να εστιάσει. Κάποιοι εστίαζαν μόνο στη γειτονιά, άλλοι στο κέντρο της πόλης ή στη θάλασσα. Στην έκθεση θα τοποθετηθούν με βάση ένα γεωγραφικό νόημα έτσι ώστε να δημιουργείται μια ιστορία. Θα έχουμε επίσης δύο χάρτες της Αμμοχώστου, ένας του 1974 και ένας όπως είναι σήμερα που θα μπορεί κανείς να παρατηρήσει τις διαφορές στην ανάπτυξη. Θα δημιουργήσουμε μια σύνδεση μεταξύ του αρχικού χάρτη και των χαρτών που δημιουργήσαν οι πρόσφυγες έτσι ώστε ο θεατής να μπορέσει να προσανατολιστεί ως προς το

ποιες περιοχές απεικονίζονται και κάποιος που δεν έχει επισκεφτεί ποτέ την Αμμοχώστο να μπορέσει να πλοηγηθεί και να φανταστεί πώς θα ήταν να περπατούσε στην Αμμοχώστο του τότε με βάση τις μνήμες των κατοίκων της. Στην έκθεση θα προβάλλεται επίσης ένα βίντεο-συνέντευξη που έκανε η Γεωργία με τον γλύπτη Φίλιππο Γαπάνη του οποίου η καταγωγή από την Αμμοχώστο επηρέασε σε μεγάλο βαθμό την καλλιτεχνική του πορεία. Ήταν επίσης μια ευκαιρία να ερευνηθούμε το πολιτιστικό κέντρο, το οποίο δεν χρησιμοποιείται αρκετά ή όσο θα έπρεπε για τέτοιες εκδηλώσεις. Είχαμε πάρα πολύ καλή συνεργασία με την ομάδα του κέντρου και κάπως κάναμε την αρχή με την Αμμοχώστο να δοθεί το έναυσμα ώστε να γίνουν περισσότερες εκδηλώσεις στην επαρχία μας», αναφέρει η εικαστικός και επιμελήτρια της έκθεσης Δέσποινα Πετρίδου.

### INFO

\*«Famagusta Mind Maps» | Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Δήμου Αμμοχώστου, Ευαγόρου 35, 5385, Δερύνεια | Εγκαινία έκθεσης: 27 Ιουλίου 2023, ώρα 18:00 | Διάρκεια έκθεσης: 28 Ιουλίου 2023 - 10 Αυγούστου 2023 | Ώρες λειτουργίας: Δευτέρα - Σάββατο: 7:30-15:30.

\*Αμερικανός πολεοδόμος και συγγραφέας. Ο Λιντς συνεισέφερε στον τομέα του αστικού σχεδιασμού μέσω εμπειρικής έρευνας για τον τρόπο με τον οποίο τα άτομα αντιλαμβάνονται και προσανατολίζονται στο αστικό τοπίο. Τα βιβλία του ερευνούν την παρουσία του χρόνου και της ιστορίας στο αστικό περιβάλλον, το πώς τα αστικά περιβάλλοντα έχουν επιπτώσεις στα παιδιά, και το πώς μπορεί να αξιοποιηθεί η ανθρώπινη αντίληψη για τη φυσική μορφή πόλεων και περιοχών ως εννοιολογική βάση για καλό αστικό σχέδιο. Η διασημότερη εργασία του Λιντς, «Η εικόνα της πόλης», που δημοσιεύθηκε το 1960, είναι το αποτέλεσμα πενταετούς έρευνας για τον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι χρήστες αντιλαμβάνονται και οργανώνουν τις χωρικές πληροφορίες καθώς προσανατολίζονται μέσα στις πόλεις.





1. The exhibition's flyer; some of the mind maps exhibited; during the exhibition, the full interview with the famous Cypriot sculptor Filippus Yiapanis was shown. Authors own.  
2. Photos from the exhibition's opening. Authors own.

