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(Nicosia)

## Garden at the Rear

**The Secret Garden as the Informal Part of the House in Nicosia and the Mediterranean**

From Strabo until the Archduke Louis Savator of Austria, surviving travelogues repeatedly refer to the gardens of Nicosia as an identifying element of the city. Either in the form of productive orchards during the Lusignan Era, a compound of exotic plants and animals during the Venetian Rule or an enclosed mystical domestic space with cisterns and small hammams during the Ottoman Rule, gardens hidden at the rear of the house and aside of the daily domestic routines, have claimed their historical place in the Cypriot capital city as heterotopic islands referring mainly to the stimulation of senses. By looking at historical documents and surviving historical gardens such as that of the Dragoman Kornesios, the article highlights the *rear* placement of this architectural element that also reflects its *rear* function. The garden becomes the part of the domestic space that hosts, protects and cultivates all the informal activities of the domestic life. This article further investigates the garden's role as a resilient element in Nicosia's urban fabric as a place of resistance to cultural homogenisation.

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**Hortus Nostrum.<sup>1</sup> The 'Garden at the Rear' as a Recurrent Theme in the History of Mediterranean Architecture. The case of Nicosia.**

The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela travelled along the Mediterranean Sea from Spain to Jerusalem passing by France, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Middle East and then back through Cairo, Messina to end up in Palermo, before returning to his hometown of Tudela, Navarra. His journey focused on a meticulous cataloguing of the Jewish communities that he discovered on the various stops of his journey. At the same time he observed the habits of local people, the qualities of the places, architecture, climate and the natural environment of their cities.<sup>2</sup>

Less than two decades later, the Muslim traveller, geographer and poet Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Jubayr travelled from Andalusia to Mecca. During his two years journey from 1183 to 1185 he successively visited Italy, Crete, Alexandria, Cairo, Mecca, Damascus and eventually, before returning to Andalucía, he made a last stop at Palermo. His initial purpose was to visit Mecca, however, at the same time, under his capacity as a geographer; he documented in detail the places that he visited, while, as a poet, he emphasised on the aesthetics of their geographical, architectural and social qualities (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

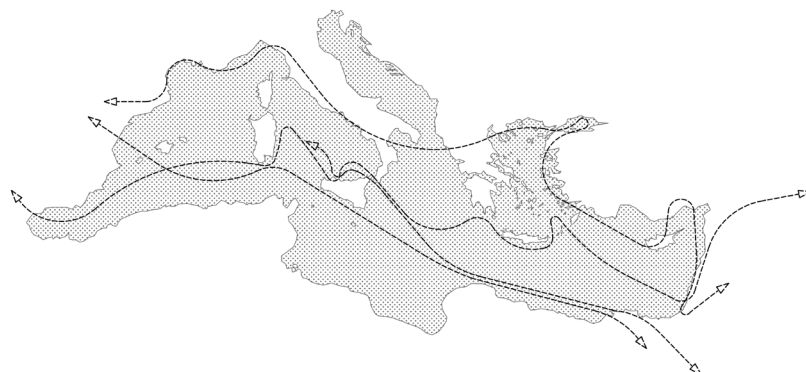
In the narrations of both Benjamin of Tudela and ibn Jubayr, there is a reference to an element that they recurrently encounter in many cities of the European islands, Asia Minor, Middle East or the northern Africa coast. This recurrent element is the secret

garden, which appears as a small contained and hidden natural environment that is part of domestic architecture. The case of Benjamin of Tudela is quite telling: his descriptions of gardens increase and become richer as he penetrates deeper into the Middle East. This proves that the discussion about the Mediterranean tradition of the garden should take into account the Eastern tradition, which perceives the garden as a representation of paradise on earth, and, at the same time, the western tradition of the garden as a site that sustains life.

The same recurrent reference to the gardens can also be found in the narrations of many other travellers that travelled along the Mediterranean from the twelfth century, when the first travelling stories appear, until the nineteenth century when scientific historiography replaced the travelogues. Many travellers referred to the secret garden as a constituting element of the Mediterranean cities and in their texts they described their astonishment and admiration about the sensual impact that the gardens had on the visitor. A number of travellers that left Europe to visit Jerusalem in the middle of this long trip along the Mediterranean, had a quick or longer stop at Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus. Many of them refer in their narratives to the numerous gardens of the city and the environment that they create which is so favourable to the senses. The reference to gardens as an element that identifies many Mediterranean cities reached its peak during the nineteenth century and the British colonial rule when the travels and excursions also became popular in the region (Fig. 2,3).

Fig. 1 Map of the travelling routes of Benjamin of Tudela and Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Jubayr in the Mediterranean during the 12th century. Drawing by the author, 2017.

Drawing by the author, 2017.





Figs. 2-3 Images of a walled garden in Nicosia (left) and Palermo (right). The comparison shows the obvious similarities in the typology of the walled garden that many travellers document in their narratives since the twelfth century.

Photographs by the author, 2016.



Nicosia and Cyprus in general, is a region, which, because of its strategic location, has been a field of a complex overlapping of various stories and cultures. The element of the garden, however, in its form as a domestic outdoor room hidden from the public, became a common and recurrent theme that links all the different layers of history and, which, in different forms and types, was adopted by most of the cultures that have inhabited the island. The Nicosian garden also forms a particular part in the wider Mediterranean garden tradition because, in the case of Nicosia, the garden was a do-

mestic element that each culture used in its experimentation of applying own cultural characteristics on the inherited older traditions and local contexts.

When referring to the qualities of the garden, the travellers' narratives include certain recurrent terms, such as: breeze, fragrance, water, vegetation and pleasure. Most descriptions mention the gardens as places related to pleasure and dedicated to the amusement of the senses. In most descriptions, the garden appears as the unproductive part of the architectur-

al environment. Regardless their rear character, their positioning at the back of the house and, most of times, the hosting of the hidden part of domestic life, the gardens of Nicosia appear so often in travellers' narratives, and the accounts are many times so lyrically refined, that it seems as if the garden is informally recorded historically as the most important and recognisable, but at the same time, most hidden element of the city: its 'shared secret'. It appears to be the element that identified Nicosia for much of its past, especially between the fourteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The purpose of this article is to investigate this part of the 'secret' or 'enclosed' garden in Mediterranean cities and highlight the qualities that make it an architectural and urban element that enriches the domestic and wider urban environment with a sensual dimension. The article focuses on the actual historical presence of this kind of architectural and urban element in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, by investigating the rich body of historical references from travellers to Nicosia from the fourteenth century but focuses on the nineteenth and twentieth century when the references mainly highlight the lyrical 'rear' aspect of the garden. The article also discusses other historical materials, such as historical maps and actual secret gardens that still exist today in the city in various conditions, and focuses on the 'bigness' that paradoxically the sum of the gardens appear to form in the narratives of travellers and the historical documents. The question that the article seeks to form is whether the element of the 'secret garden' can contribute to the understanding of the overlooked aspects of our architectural heritage that usually skips from our interests, by highlighting the immaterial or ephemeral aspect of this heritage. The article also seeks to contribute to the discussion about whether this sensual dimension can possibly be considered part of the architectural heritage and whether it can actually inform the understanding of a contemporary critical approach to regionalist architecture, and possibly a critical tool in the contemporary debate about the balance between locality and universality and the resistance that locality

can form in an homogenising environment.

In order to understand the Mediterranean garden it is necessary to investigate its historical evolution from its origin in the Mesopotamian and Persian cultures, to ancient Greece and Rome, through Mediaeval times, Islam until the nineteenth-century colonialism and its adaptation from the urban society during the twentieth century. The historical investigation establishes the Mediterranean garden as a unique type of garden, that results from the succession and overlapping of various cultural contexts, the ways that each of this cultural context inhabited the local context and the various quality elements that recurrently appear in various forms across the different eras.

### **The Garden as a Hidden and Walled Entity in Mediterranean History. The Mysticism and Sacredness of the Garden.**

*"To many societies, a garden was a walled enclosure that could contain either a variety of trees or a combination of trees and flowers"*<sup>4</sup>

According to the British historian Linda Farrar the Mediterranean garden is a distinct and, at the same time, quite diverse category in the history of gardens. Its forms and expressions in history depend on the climate and the local conditions of each Mediterranean region, which although quite close to each other, are, at the same time, quite diverse: the harsh climate of the desert means that the ancient Egyptian garden is different to the Roman garden that exists in another part of Mediterranean with more benign climate. According to the landscape Architects Rob Aben and Saskia de Wit the history of the Mediterranean garden includes many local expressions that are related with the local climatic conditions, but also with specific cultural functions, such as the sense of 'sacredness'.<sup>5</sup> In all cases however, the Mediterranean garden, according to Aben and de Wit, appear as variations of an enclosed entity (Fig. 4, Fig. 5). The enclosed character of this part of the domestic architecture can have several explanations, which,



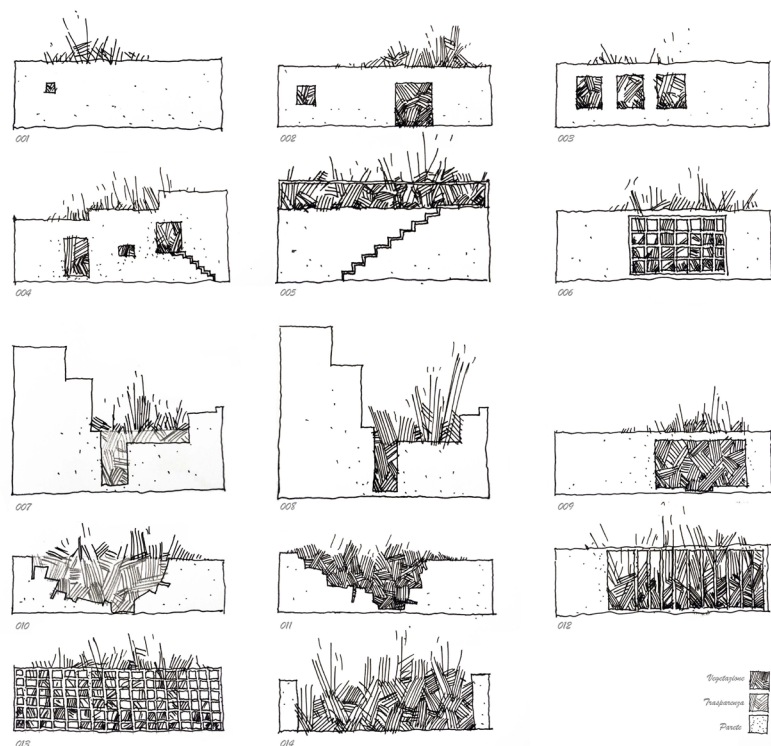
Fig. 4 A photographic documentation of the gardens of Mazara del Vallo, Sicily, according to its closure and size, from the smaller and most enclosed (left top corner) to the bigger and least enclosed (right bottom corner).

Christiana Ioannou, Christos Papastergiou (draftworks architects): *I Cento Giardini di Mazara*. Invited project by the Municipality of Mazara del Vallo. Curators: Marco Scarpinato, Lucia Pierro (Autonomeforme), Sicily, Italy, 2017



Fig. 5 A diagrammatic documentation of the various types of gardens' facades in Mazara del Vallo, Sicily, according to their relationship with the public space, the grade of porosity and the use of materials.

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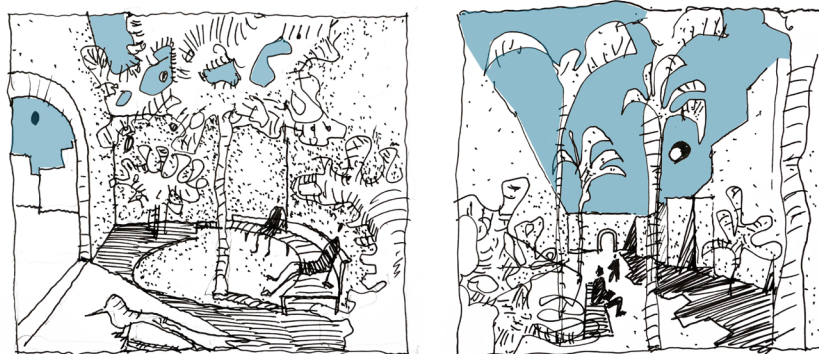


*Facciate di Giardini*

according to Aben and de Wit, can be reduced to two main ones: the response to the climate and the cultural need for daily and familiar expressions of sacredness. The ancient Greek and Roman garden for example protects the domestic life from the daily

heat by turning inwards and creating a protected and cool space at the centre of the house, while the same introvert garden is cooled by the function of stack ventilation during the night.<sup>6</sup> However, Aben and de Wit argue, this inward, enclosed character of the gar-

Fig. 6 Artistic impressions of the 'rear' character of the gardens of Mazara del Vallo, Sicily. The sketches attempt to capture and document the elements that produce the sacred and sensual feeling of the gardens: shadows, nature, water, more or less porous walls and partitions, differentiation of ground levels. Drawing by the author, 2017.



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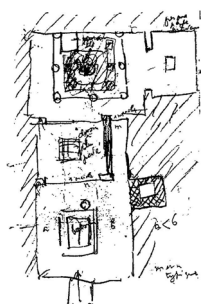
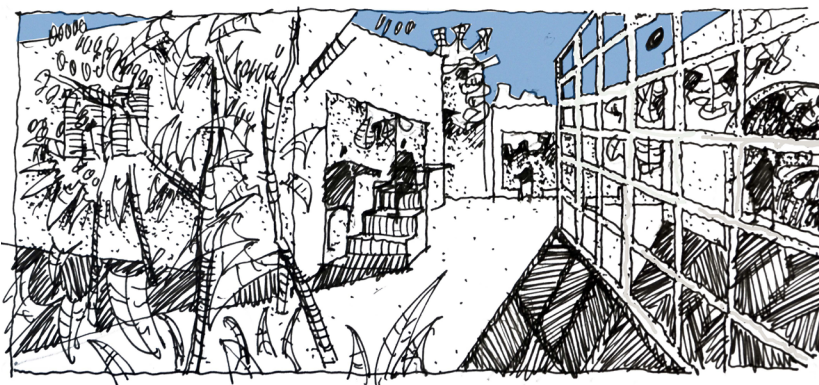


Fig. 7 Le Corbusier's sketch for the 'House of the Tragic Poet' in Pompeii. In his study about the axis as a design tool, Le Corbusier argues that the garden is placed at the rear of the house and is purposefully misplaced to the right of the main axis. As a result the garden is hidden from the entrance and is gradually discovered after the visitor has walked past the entrance, the atrium and the tablinum. The garden can then serve as a place that protects the privacy of domestic life and is not placed at first sight.

Le Corbusier: *Towards a New Architecture*. New York 1986. P. 190.

den is also related to the idea that the garden constitutes a natural entity or a miniature of the actual nature in the form of a sacred entity, as it is depicted for example in the Persian carpets, and the Mesopotamian or Egyptian sacred gardens (Fig. 6).<sup>7</sup>

The idea of enclosure is, according to Farrar, characteristic in the Roman garden or hortus. The hortus holds also, according to Farrar, a characteristic 'rear' character: 'The garden or hortus was usually sited to the rear of the house and would be as large as space would allow; for security there would be high walls around the garden.'<sup>8</sup> The sacredness of this 'rear' and high-walled garden however is not strictly linked with official rituals of the community, but with a common sense of sacredness that was expressed in plain daily life. The Roman gardens become the part of the house that is linked with appreciation of life in all its lyrical forms and in this sense they retain a sacred character. Among the deities that for the Romans have related with the garden is Bacchus, the god linked with wine drinking and merry-making and Venus, who is also considered the 'protectress of the garden' the goddess linked with beauty and fertility.<sup>9</sup> The garden, argues Farrar, many times included a statue of

a 'janiform herm', a two-headed bust depicting Janus, the deity of the doors and openings in his two forms as male and female, or the heads of Hermes and Bacchus, the gods of secrets and frivolity. Ambiguous and mystic objects, such as these two-headed statues, indicated, according to Farrar, that the passage from the main house to the garden for the Romans represented a mystic passage from "one world to another."<sup>10</sup> Roman gardens are also abundant in elements that are related with taking care, as well as sensual appreciation, of the daily sacred sense of leisure: such as water collecting and water flowing, pools, fountains, dinning couches, among others (Fig. 7).

In the Middle Ages the enclosed garden appears as a *hortus ludi*, a pleasure garden which takes the form of an external room, a walled entity that is linked with the pleasure of the senses and hosts all the leisure activities related with the senses: "The hortus ludi is a place of delight, a pleasure garden in which smells, sounds, taste and touch play a role alongside the visual aspect."<sup>11</sup> The hortus ludi is accordingly the space where activities related to the senses take place and which is destined to pleasure the hosts of the house in smaller or bigger social events: "The



Fig. 8 The 'hortus ludi' : a Medieval walled garden combining a grassy and shaded pleasure area with an herb garden, illumination from a 15th-century French manuscript of the *Roman de la rose*.

Courtesy of the British Museum.



hortus ludi was the scene for dining, dancing, conversing, playing, bathing, courting, frolicking and music-making".<sup>12</sup> It becomes clear here that the garden is also linked with informal aspects of socialisation of the residents. Beyond the needs of the private daily life the garden also hosts community events, it is destined to pleasure the hosts of the house in smaller or bigger social events, or accommodates romantic encounters of couples that in the 15th century European poetry appear as 'sacred' themes (Fig. 8).<sup>13</sup>

In the Islamic Mediterranean tradition the enclosed garden also appears as an essential part of domestic architecture, and, similarly to its predecessors, reserves a specific 'sacred' character. The garden represents the order of paradise on earth, and the caring of the garden represents the taming of nature that is linked with prosperity. The enclosed character of the garden is also linked with its pleasure character which, according to the Islamic tradition, must at the same time be hidden from public eye. The Islamic Mediterranean garden becomes a 'private paradise on earth': "The orange

trees, the many colours, the fragrant flowers, the sound and cooling effect of the fountains all point to the eternal spring of paradise."<sup>14</sup>

For Farrar the Mediterranean garden has developed throughout history into an element that hosts the lyrical, or at times, even transcendental part of the domestic life, in the form of an enclosed paradise: "a garden is a place where people aim to capture the beauty of nature in a re-creation of their own form of paradise."<sup>15</sup> This transcendental quality of the enclosed garden is also highlighted by Aben and de Wit, who argue that the enclosure, although setting a physical boundary, at an allegorical level also paradoxically promotes an imaginary expansiveness of a physically limited enclosed landscape: "The enclosed garden is as broad as the landscape, in that it incorporates the expansiveness of the sky, and as contained as a building".<sup>16</sup> Aben and de Wit use Christian Norberg-Schulz's idea of the landscape as an ever extending entity that is however enclosed in a building site. This paradox, of a metaphorically expanding landscape enclosed within the strict

boundaries of the building describes the idea of the 'rear garden' as an 'out-door room' of the house that is metaphorically infinitely expanding. This, according to Aben and de Wit, constitutes the paradox of the enclosed garden: an infinite entity within specific boundaries. The sense of garden as a paradise, a walled entity that can however include a sense of infiniteness also appears in the Persian culture of Pairidaeza, the Garden as Paradise. According to Farrar:

*"The ancient Persian word for a garden was pairidaeza, which literally means a walled garden (pairi = around and daeza = wall). The Greeks when trying to pronounce this word called them paradeisos (plural: paradeisois). Later the Romans translated this word into Latin, and it has now come down to us as a paradise. References do indicate the Pairidaeza lived up to our concept of paradise"*<sup>17</sup>

The idea of the enclosed garden as a paradise, a bounded space that contains a micro-graphic representation of the cosmos is related with the 'rear' character of the garden as the part of the house related with emptiness, the part of the house that is less visited, that remains hidden from curious eyes and, most of times, protected as a secret place that its imaginary content is bigger than its actual content. This rear character also highlights the supportive character that the garden bears in vernacular Mediterranean domestic life; it is not a typically useful part of the house, and it is not related with the daily 'formal' routines of life, but it is an essential part of the daily life in the sense that is related with leisure, escapism and the 'informal' and frivolous expressions that transcend the daily routine. The historical overview in the evolution of the Mediterranean garden proves that the specific type of garden is actually the result of a long process of cultural influences. Every culture either as a field to satisfy daily sensual needs or as a place with religious significance has applied to it a sacred character. The Nicosian garden, and by extension the Cypriot garden, is a particular part of this tradition, because Nicosia can be historically highlighted as a characteristic crossroads of all the above

referred cultures and because on the element of the garden, all these various cultures found a 'petri dish' for applying their diverse understandings of similar concepts, such as that of nature, locality, familiarity, privacy, imagination, sensuality.

### **The Rear Gardens of Nicosia according to the travellers' impressions. The 'view from the exterior'.**

The garden as a significant element of domestic architecture in Nicosia first appears in texts from the fourteenth century during the French-Lusignan rule. It continues to appear during the Venetian and Ottoman periods, and then increases in frequency during the early twentieth century and the period of British colonial rule. The gardens of Nicosia appear so often in travellers' narratives, and the accounts are sometimes so lyrically refined, that it seems as if during some eras the garden was the most important and recognisable element of the city.

For the purpose of this article I will focus on the narratives that are documented from the second half of the nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century, during which the gardens of Nicosia appear in travellers' narratives in a more lyrical manner as a phenomenon that preserves the individual character and identity of the city in an increasingly urbanised environment. The descriptions during that era also have a nostalgic character presenting the gardens as an element that connects the modern city to its rich past, which, according to the accounts, is being sacrificed to urban development. The Greek painter and writer Athina Tarsouli, who visits Cyprus during the 1950s, mentions the importance of gardens in Nicosia in her work *Cyprus*, published in 1955, which was the outcome of her visit:

*"At times, when some of these doors happen to stay open, the passenger ... who will glimpse at the interior of a garden, he will stand, unintentionally, as his sight will rejoice with the small, secluded paradise that will unveil to him ... These old gardens, that during the summer days look like fresh love nests, after the sunset, when the intense*



*daily chiaroscuro becomes softer, they change their expression, they become more mentalist, more mysterious, and they invite you to a silent reverie, under the light blue of the trees.*"<sup>18</sup>

In Tarsouli's description, the garden is more than an impressive or even exotic element of the city, for it becomes a sanctuary that is hidden and shadowy during the day and mysterious and spiritual during the night. Her highly lyrical description establishes what was implied by earlier travelers, namely that the garden is an important identifying element of Nicosia and is a part of the city's subconscious.

The Greek scholar I.M. Panayiotopoulos visited Cyprus in the 1970s and also wrote lyrically about the gardens: "Nicosia ... bears the air of a great capital and at the same time the loneliness of a rural area ... All around the city houses with gardens are being built, flowers everywhere create lyrical paradises."<sup>19</sup> In his description, Panayiotopoulos introduced a new view that understands Nicosia to have become in the second half of the twentieth century a place that bears both an urban and a rural character. He also understands the gardens as an element that balances the urban-rural character of the city. Panayiotopoulos considers the gardens to be a factor that retains the lyrical character of Nicosia's past, while at the same time securing a form of coherence in the new developing urban conglomerate.

One of the most lyrical descriptions of the gardens of Nicosia is that of Franz von Löher, a German jurist and his-

torian, who visited the city in 1876 and, like many educated travellers of the nineteenth century, meticulously recorded his impressions in a travel journal. For him, the gardens in the city constituted a reality that dominated all the other realities:

*"The city lives within fragrant smells. Whenever I stood and walked within the tangle of streets flowering pear and apple trees popped out above the walls and between the passages of the gates, dark shadowy bushes of rosemary and wide-leaved fig trees, and again the red and white-yellow flowers of orange and lemon trees, mulberry and pomegranate trees drew the attention. However, there was no garden with walls so high that would not let cypress trees, palm trees and minarets to go up towards the blue sky.*

*Half Nicosia consists of gardens and one hears everywhere the gurgling noise of water running out of the pipes to refresh the gardens and make them fertile. The city swims within a graceful fragrance and at the corner of the streets where the slightest breeze happens to blow, that is where the mix of fragrances triggers the coolest mood.*"<sup>20</sup>

By using a lyrical form of writing, Löher constructed a strong image of Nicosia in which the gardens dominated (Fig. 9). He also referred for the first time to the senses as the main way to experience Nicosia as a city of gardens: smelling and hearing, more than seeing and touching, constitute the pleasure of feeling the gardens in Nicosia. The gardens are experienced as a distant, elusive, yet overwhelm-

Fig. 9 View of Nicosia, 1858.

Franz von Löher: *Cyprus: Historical and Descriptive: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. New York 1878.



NICOSIA.—See Page 81.

ing phenomenon through the senses. Löher experienced what the German philosopher Walter Benjamin has called the aura of the natural object "as the unique phenomenon of a distance, however close it may be."<sup>21</sup>

One of the most descriptive and detailed texts about the Nicosia gardens was written by Archduke Louis Salvator of Austria, a Habsburg Royal who visited Cyprus in 1873 at the age of 26. In his book, which was originally published anonymously in German in 1873 and then circulated in London in 1881, he referred to the gardens of Nicosia in a detailed manner:

*"When, after passing a pleasant range of hills, Levkosia first bursts upon the sight, with her slender palms and minarets, seated in a desert plain, a chain of picturesque mountains as the background, it is like a dream of the Arabian Nights realised – a bouquet of orange gardens and palm trees in a country without verdure, an oasis encircled with walls framed by human hands. (...). These contrasts form the principal charm of Nicosia."*<sup>22</sup>

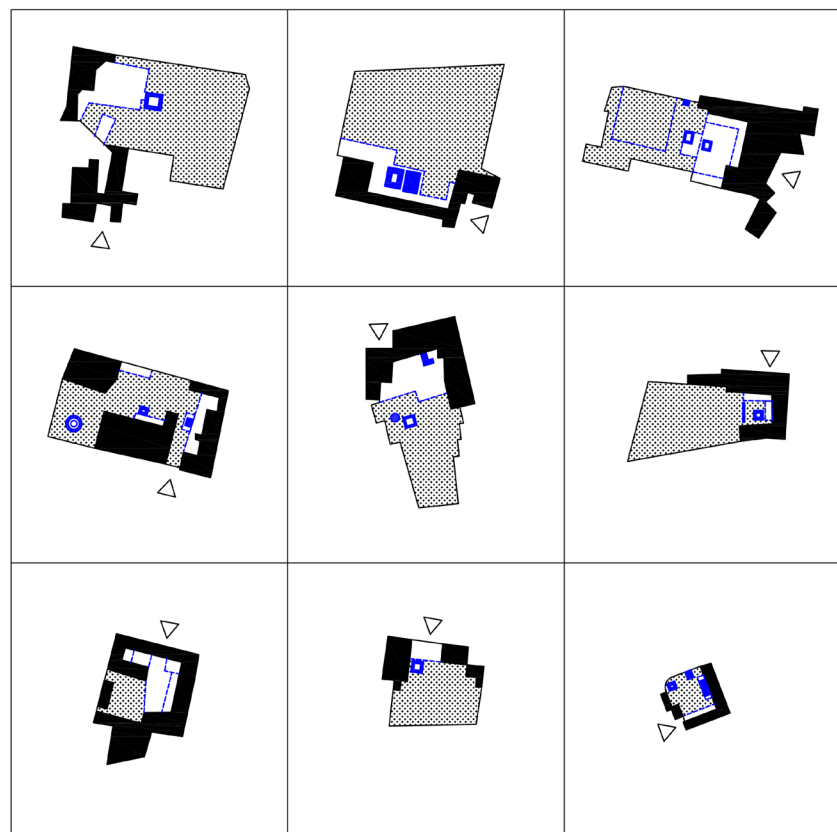
The gardens in Salvator's description appear as a rich self-contained eco-system consisting of both vegeta-

tion and animals. In some cases, the animals referred to by Salvator have ceased to live in the city, or their population has today decreased considerably due to the dramatic lack of nature, as in the case of ravens:

*"Almost every house has an orange garden, with gigantic palms towering over the fruit-trees; and besides these private enclosures there are extensive public gardens within the boundaries of the city, occupying more than one half of the whole extent of it. All these gardens are bounded by clay walls on the side of the street; the side adjoining the open hall of the house is fenced only by a low wooden balustrade; and they are watered either from cisterns or directly from the aqueducts. All sorts of fruits are cultivated there; some are very sweet, orange-shaped lemons (Lemonia gligia), [...] citrons of an extraordinary size. [...] Apricots and other kinds of fruit are equally famous; St. John's bread, pomegranates, and dates. [...] The bunches of dates are wrapped up in soft straw mats to protect them from the millions of ravens, rooks, and jackdaws, which sometimes cover the palm-trees in such numbers that they appear quite black. Vines and mulberries are also frequent [...] The ground by the side of the fruit-trees is occupied by fine vege-*

Fig. 10 Typology of Nicosian gardens including nine gardens from the 1882 condition of the city as mapped by Kitchener, from bigger to smaller, showing the relationship between indoor space (black) and garden (hatched) and the elements (solid blue) and spaces (dashed blue) of the transition between the two. The space of transition is a multivalent boundary between indoors and outdoors, most of times related with the element of water (cisterns, water tanks, fountains).

Drawing by the author, 2020.





*table gardens, watered with the help of a sort of shovel.*"<sup>23</sup>

The accounts by Löher, Louis Salvator, Tarsouli and Panayiotopoulos describe the physical characteristics of the gardens: they dominate the senses, and they contain various architectural elements, such as cisterns and fountains, which also contribute to the senses. Their presence in the city is perceived through their aura. They contain productive vegetation as well as wild and decorative vegetation. They are also bounded by more or less porous borders that result in the perception of the gardens as an elusive yet dominant presence. All these characteristics establish the gardens as a form of paradise, and, as I have discussed above, a form of heterotopia in the city. Ultimately, they constitute a network of sites, which, according to Löher and Louis Salvator, occupy half the size of the walled city (Fig. 10).

### **The "Rear Gardens of Nicosia," according to Cypriot scholars. The "view from the inside".**

The above descriptions demonstrate only a small part of the travellers narratives that extend in more than six centuries. Also, the above descriptions documents the impressions of foreigners, which are constructed within their short stay in the city, and which, as I argued above, define a "view from the exterior" about the phenomenon of the gardens. It is essential however to compare this exterior view with an "interior view" by assessing at the same time descriptions and analysis by native Cypriots scholars. There are a few contemporary Cypriot writers that mention the gardens in their works, often as a nostalgic presence from their childhood, which highlights the historical significance it holds as a legacy from this long tradition. These references contribute to understanding how the gardens affect the mentality of the local community, and become part of a local vernacular. Unlike foreigners or occasional visitors who can be carried away by a superficial view, the Cypriot narrators were born and raised in Nicosia. They spent most of their lives in that city and can be considered a part of the city's subconscious.

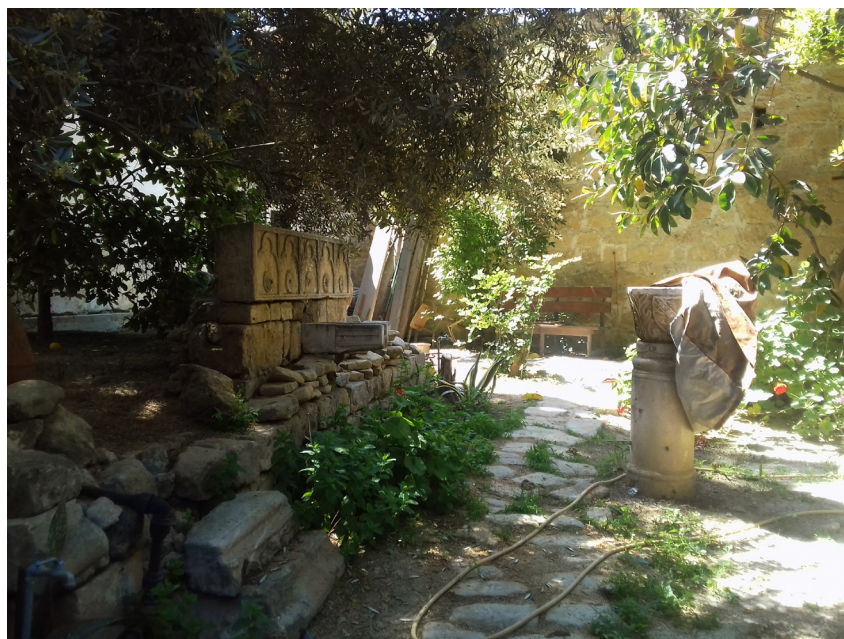
The Cypriot poet Kyriakos Charalambides wrote in 1985 about the garden as an essential part of a typical house in Nicosia, which is usually referred to as the konak:

*"Get into houses, old konaks, pass through the well-crafted doors, with the elaborate windows, cross through the solar room with the gabled roof and the curved timber and exit in the garden. A garden that is all yours, perfectly hidden from the Turks' eye, garden with palm trees, prickly pear trees, olive trees, orange trees, geraniums and jasmines, an incredible sense of existence, of things that you would not suspect, the narrow façade was quiet, but inside kept hidden treasures, kept from the predatory eye."*<sup>24</sup>

Charalambides lyrically described the yard with garden – the avlokipos in Greek – as an essential part of the typical house. He specifically highlighted the mystical character of this type of garden. The garden is hidden at the rear part of the house; one has to cross the house in order to reach to it. At the same time, the garden is present throughout the private territory of the house due to its aura, smells and sight. The hidden garden creates a parallel reality separate from the rest of the city. The avlokipos is part of the domestic environment – and its most frivolous part. Beyond its separation from the urban environment, this type of secret garden is described as including the sense of the unexpected. Upon entering the garden, one should expect to be surprised. The writer extended the concept of the secret garden by using it metaphorically to describe the function of the subconscious: "One contemplates in order to be able to see even more, to intrude within the concepts, to open the door and enter into the inner garden and the hidden fountain."<sup>25</sup> For Charalambides, the element of the secret garden amounts to more than a materiality, becoming instead a concept that resides between a person's psychic state and the perceived reality. It connects what we feel with what we live. According to Charalambides view, the secret garden acts for Nicosians as a memory that recollects the character of the city before its present fragmentation: "And what does their

Fig. 11 A secret garden at the rear of an Ottoman house on Alexiou Komninou Street. Now partially used as a workshop for testing construction samples. Even in its present, deserted condition, the garden still reserves the element of the surprise, containing fragments of past inhabitation, such as fragments from a mediaeval Lusignan palace incorporated with other fragments from various historical periods in a cultural amalgam.

Photograph by the author, 2017.



land mean, what else can it mean other than its complete, indivisible and continuous physiognomy? How can we meet this physiognomy, when we smash it to fragments from our own side?"<sup>26</sup> According to Charalambides, the fragmentation of the city into separate uses, and the fragmentation of the landscape leading to the loss of the continuity that nature once offered to the city, have resulted in the fragmentation of the physiognomy of the city, the loss of the city's identity, and, ultimately, the division between feeling the city and living in it (Fig. 11).

Niki Marangou, a Cypriot writer who grew up in Nicosia, experienced the city's transformation from a traditional walled city to an extended metropolis. In 2006, she was the first to highlight the threshold of this transformation during the first years of the twenty-first century by linking her impressions with those of Nicosian inhabitants a century earlier:

*"It is in the summer heat that I like Nicosia most, when a west wind picks up at night and the scorched city breathes a little. And everyone goes out into the gardens and balconies.*

*At the beginning of the 20th century, when the city walls could no longer accommodate any new houses, the first neighbourhoods were built outside the walls, with beautiful colonial or neo-classical houses in spacious gardens. These are the most beautiful neigh-*

*bourhoods of the city, which have been thankfully preserved, for those built in recent years have never managed to become true neighbourhoods."*<sup>27</sup>

In a poem she included in *Nicosiens*, Marangou constructed an image of the city with the garden at its centre, which centre however holds an elusive and transitory, that is, ephemeral character:

*"In company with the aphid and the grasshopper — I have planted roses this year instead of writing poems — The certifolia from the house in the mourning at Ayios Thomas — The sixty-pedalled rose Midas brought from Phrygia — The Banksias that came from China — Cuttings from the last mouchette surviving in the old city, —But especially Rosa Gallica, brought by the Crusaders — (otherwise known as damascene) — with its exquisite perfume*

*In company with the aphid and the grasshopper — But also the spider mite, the tiger moth, the leaf miner, — The mole and the hover-fly — The praying mantis that devours them all, —We shall be sharing leaves, petals, sky, in this incredible garden — both they and I transitory."*<sup>28</sup>

The poetic image that Marangou constructs is particularly significant because it comes from a person born and raised in Nicosia and who has identified herself with the city.<sup>29</sup> Marangou's imaginary garden becomes



Fig. 12 The dragoman's house, western boundary and main entrance of the garden.

Fig. 13 The dragoman's house. The Fountain at the threshold between the main house and the garden.

Photographs by the author, 2016.



a place that collects species of nature from various parts of the world and various historical periods. The garden allegorically becomes the heart of the city, a place of diversity and wonders that hosts a plethora of cultures and travellers. Marangou also referred to the garden as following the extension of the city outside the walls as part of domestic space and a reproducible urban element that grafted the new city onto the old.

The Cypriot writer Agni Michailidi described in 1977 the house of Chatzigeorgakis Kornosios, which is the best-preserved example of domestic architecture from the Ottoman period:

*"At the void, shaped by the two wings of the house, there is a green garden, framed by many arches. On the one side there is a marble fountain and a double-headed eagle is curved at its centre. The water flows out of the fountain uninterruptedly from the time of the Dragoman and refreshes the herbs and the cypress-trees."*<sup>30</sup>

Michailidi refers to a case where a garden is formed as part of a private house. The culturally established perception of the garden as a private space and an intimate part of domestic life was the outcome of a long period of the privatisation of social life according to Ottoman habits. The Muslim tradition favours the protection of private life, and the locals during the Ottoman occupation adjusted to that

habit in order to protect their privacy from the Ottoman rulers (Fig. 12). The garden during this era consisted of trees and other natural elements, as well as built elements such as cisterns, wells and fountains. The sum of these elements constitutes what the Muslim and the Persian tradition, as I discussed above, believed to be a private miniature paradise on earth. In the case of the house of Chatzigeorgakis Kornosios that Michailidi refers to, the element of the fountain establishes a threshold that distinguishes the house from the garden (Fig. 13). In this sense the fountain resembles the Roman two-headed 'janiform herm' that defines the mystic passage from the main house to the garden. The function of the fountain as part of a 'rite of passage' also reflects on the fact that the historical owner of the house has used mediaeval marble sarcophagus as the sink of the fountain. The house and the garden were built as two separate worlds, each contributing differently to the daily domestic life. The garden hosted the informal activity of the house and was a site where the residents and visitors could enjoy the pleasures of the senses. The garden also promotes the idea that the unbuilt part can be equally as important as the built part of the house, by gathering all the informal activities that are excluded from the main house. The specific example shows that a garden usually contains structures and facilitates functions that do not over-determine domestic life, but rather enhance its sense of informality (Fig.

Fig. 14 The dragoman's house. South-east boundary of the garden with a row of citrus trees.

Photograph by the author, 2016.



Fig. 15 The dragoman's house. Rear view of the house from the garden.

Photograph by the author, 2016.



14, Fig. 15). The effect of informality is enhanced by the structures that are attached to the boundary of the garden, which have an informal character and are related to the senses: seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and feeling. These structures beyond the fountain, also include the open-air kitchen, the hamam, the cistern, the wells and the water pits.

Another case of restored garden is that of the house of Kostas Christodoulou a Cypriot merchant that lived during late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Cypriot architect Theodoros Fotiadis designed the house that was built between 1921 and 1922. The house took the place of three smaller mediaeval and Ottoman houses that existed on the plot. However, the architect preserved some parts of the old houses, such as a small hamam, and other exterior structures, as well as part of the existing mediaeval gardens

by connecting the smaller parts to form a bigger garden. Proof of the partial preservation of the mediaeval gardens is that the architect kept the original mediaeval west door of the garden in Alexios Komninou street. This door is preserved in its original condition until today. The Cypriot archaeologist Dr. Sophocles Sophocleous, who now owns the house, has restored the garden, by sharing an equal attention between the restoration of the material structure of the house, and the immaterial structure of the garden. Dr. Sophocleous' concern for the preservation and restoration of the garden was based on the knowledge that the garden historically served as the 'outdoor room' of the house that shares equal importance and historical significance with the main indoor part of the house. He preserved the existing trees and plants, introduced endemic plants and incorporated existing garden structures, such as the cistern, the



Fig. 16 Image of the rear garden of the Centre of Natural and Cultural Heritage, Residence of Kostas Christodoulou.

Photograph by Sophocles Sophocleous, 2012.



fountain and the hamam (Fig. 16). As Dr Sophocleous did not have much information about the original form of the garden, he used his expertise in byzantine iconography, especially focusing on icons that include gardens in their themes, as a source of information about the original plant species and structures in traditional Mediterranean gardens. That is why in the restoration of the garden of the Kostas Christodoulou house, he uses the methodological triptych 'outlines, flat colours, jewels' of the Byzantine iconography as a tool for landscaping, while, at the same time, he uses plants and bushes that recurrently appear in Cypriot Byzantine icons, such as herbs, cyclamen, ivy, conifers, citrus trees and palm trees. For Sophocleous, the garden should represent original forms of local nature, in similar ways that this nature is maintained in some

natural reserves of the Cypriot countryside, such as the Troodos mountain (Fig. 17, Fig. 18).<sup>31</sup>

It is appropriate to highlight here that the above examples are two different examples of, more or less, speculative restoration of a historical garden. In Nicosia there is no evidence of a surviving garden in its original condition. Moreover, the gardens are not considered a listed element, it is not officially considered as an element of heritage and there is no legislation or even generic rules for the maintenance or restoration of historical gardens. As a result, the outcome of a garden restoration each time depends on the goodwill of the owner, his/her knowledge on the matter, the grade that he or she understands the significance of the garden as an ephemeral form of heritage, the interpretation of the garden as a significant target of restoration or not according to the availability of documents, the assessment of existing fragments in the garden and possibly some orally transferred memories.

Ferrar, in her research in gardening archaeology, points out that gardens have only recently been understood as part of architecture heritage, as architecture itself. She notes that: "In the past archaeological projects concentrated on uncovering buildings and buried sculpture, garden areas were generally overlooked. This was mainly because gardens and courtyards were considered to be just an empty space, as any likely features were deemed to

Figs. 17-18 Images of the garden of Kostas Christodoulou residence, showing the relationship between the inside and the outside and the transitional spaces.

Photograph by Sophocles Sophocleous, 2012.



be too ephemeral and unlikely to leave discoverable traces."<sup>32</sup> Ferrar continues to describe how the quite recent discipline of garden archaeology manages to find evidence of ancient gardens and even reconstruct their physical presence and their social importance by findings of build elements that existed in the gardens, such as paths, pavilions, water tanks or fountains but also by investigating a second category of findings based on organic matter, such as seeds or other plant materials. The second kind of findings may include plants that have been preserved in anaerobic conditions, or recovered from pits, sealed deposits or from traces on potter or plaster found on site, or even the outlines of ancient tree roots that once existed in the sites by casting plaster in the soil. Such organic and ephemeral materials, Farrar argues, are quite elusive and short-lived, hard to constitute evidences and that is why the gardens, which mainly consist of this kind of matter, skipped the attention of archaeology in favour of the more monumental and durable architectural materials and elements. By highlighting this disadvantage that the garden has due to its ephemerality, Farrar also argues for an archaeology that would be able to reconstruct an ephemeral space, by using traces of ephemeral structures or organic matter. The ephemeral and elusive quality of the garden that is linked with the sensual experience of place is closely linked with the Mediterranean version of the garden that I discuss in this article.

### **A Garden out of Control: The Colonial Documentation of the Nicosian Gardens.**

The Mediterranean garden on the other hand, despite its ephemeral and sensual qualities, or maybe because of these, has been rendered the target of political hegemony and control. Among the references to the gardens of Nicosia, there is one that comes not from a traveller or a local, but from someone who moved to Cyprus as a foreigner and lived and worked there for five years during the early years of the British rule. Horatio Herbert Kitchener, who would become a Field Marshal, was a young Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers when des-

patched to Cyprus in 1878 as the officer responsible for mapping the island. From 1878 to 1883, when he completed his mission and left the island, Kitchener declared on many occasions his particular interest in Nicosia and its gardens: "Nicosia is seen in mid-plain, with cathedrals and minarets and patches of green."<sup>33</sup> In another part of his notebook he recorded his personal interest in the nature of the island and the presence of groves and gardens:

*"Cyprus is an island of sudden changes. Both climate and landscape are subject to rapid variations. From the glare of an overpowering sun one may enter the cool shade of a tropical garden, with the murmur of water trickling past as it wanders amongst the groves of oranges, figs and palms."*<sup>34</sup>

Archduke Louis Salvator mentioned that the private gardens were such rich environments that they actually acted as a source of income. He recorded that the British applied a ten per cent tax on the production of fruit and vegetables: "Gardens pay a tax of ten per cent on their produce."<sup>35</sup> The British administration had an interest in recording all the productive plants in Nicosia, which were parts of the gardens of the city, in order to control their taxation. Kitchener, beyond his personal interest in the nature of Nicosia, had an administrative interest as the person responsible for cataloguing the nature that was subject to taxation."<sup>36</sup>

Kitchener's personal and professional interest in the nature of the island is recorded on his maps in several ways. One of his most indicative maps is that of Nicosia.<sup>37</sup> On this map Kitchener presented the condition of Nicosia in c.1880, when the city had not yet extended beyond the Venetian walls (Fig. 19). He documented the built mass of the city, but he focused his attention mainly on the empty sites, which were a considerable part of the whole land area occupied by the city. Kitchener did more on than map than merely draw the boundaries of the empty sites, since he also thoroughly documented the contents of these sites. The trees are represented in detail as units, as are the buildings in their var-



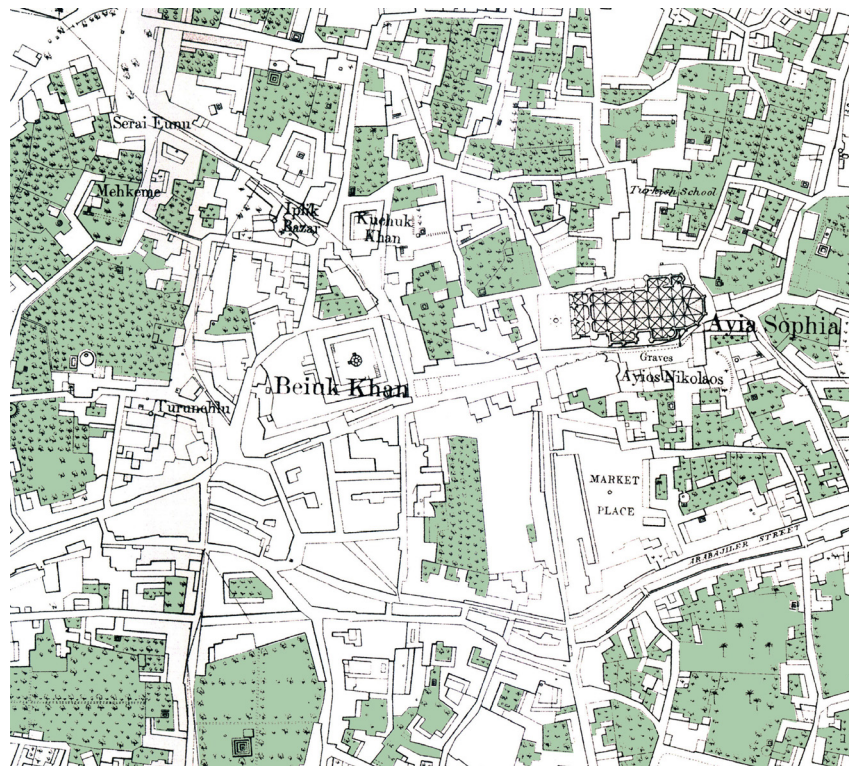
Fig. 19 Kitchener's map of Nicosia.

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Fig. 20 Part of Kitchener's map of Nicosia with gardens highlighted by the author.

© Department of Lands and Surveys of the Republic of Cyprus.



ious sizes. He also documented the objects contained in gardens, such as the wells, cisterns, open-air kitchens, and small hamams, probably in order to record the capacity of each owner to sustain the production of the garden. With the exception of some important public buildings, such as the cathedral and the market, most of the buildings appear as a general mass, whereas the gardens appear in full detail (Fig. 20). As a result, one perceives the map as a collection of gardens, rather than

a collection of buildings. Kitchener probably did this mainly for taxation purposes, but the outcome is unique, appearing as the first, and probably the only, document that records the extensive presence of public and private gardens in the city in the late nineteenth century. His interest in the voids and vegetation of the city rather than its built mass can be linked to the similar shift of view in Nolli's map of Rome,<sup>38</sup> made a century before Kitchener's map.

Kitchener's map is quite telling about the historical significance of the gardens in Nicosia. It is also helpful for comparing the present condition of the gardens in the city with that at the end of the nineteenth century. The voids that the gardens constitute in the city in Kitchener's map are not seen as a leftover or by-product of the built mass. On the contrary, the space of nature in the various forms of gardens becomes the focus of interest and the main spatial form of the city, with the built mass acting as a complement. At the same time, the many travellers' references to the gardens highlight the way that gardens existed in the history of the city. Either as part of the domestic environment or in its wild form, the garden has always been the centre of interest, a self-sustained world that refers to the senses and identifies the city. This persistent presence of gardens as a centre of interest in the history of Nicosia is explicitly presented in Kitchener's map, and it raises the question whether the garden can be a tool for re-evaluating the role of domestic gardens in contemporary Nicosia. A generic understanding of the garden, as an aesthetic addition to the built mass or an outcast growing as the by-product of the city's expansion, which is often adopted by contemporary house design, contradicts the Mediterranean approach, where the garden is identified as an 'outdoor room' of the house that hosts an essential part of daily domestic life. The rear garden, as an outdoor room at the back of the domestic space also survives in many cases of domestic architecture during the twentieth century in Cyprus. The collective desire for the garden is so well established in the collective subconscious that has led residents of Cypriot houses to use creatively some of the new building regulations, established during the twentieth century, as opportunities of garden-making. One such example is the ten feet free space surrounding the building.

**Olga's Garden. The "Affective Garden" that becomes a "Garden of Resistance".**

This distinctiveness of the Mediterranean secret garden is also evident in the dichotomy of the garden de-

sign that took place during Renaissance between a more central European and a Mediterranean or Southern European approach. Aben and de Wit argue that, while until the Middle Ages the enclosed garden contributes to the sense of place and 'place-making' in the Renaissance place becomes an abstract notion: "Whereas in the Middle Ages space had meaning as a place, with respect to a single object, space in the Renaissance took on the sense of distance, the relationship between objects."<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, while in the Middle Ages the enclosed garden is appreciated with all the senses, in the Renaissance era that follows, the garden is mainly linked with the sense of vision and the appreciation comes from more rational functions, such as observation and contemplation. An example is the Palladian villa which establishes a relationship with its surrounding landscape mainly through an 'optical experience': "Through this profanation of the garden the optical experience of space gained more and more ground as the principle of underlying urban design."<sup>40</sup> Also, during Renaissance the garden ceased to appear as a strictly enclosed entity, it opened and merged with the landscape, while it became a subject of a visual appreciation. Can this difference between closeness and openness or between senses-oriented appreciation and visual contemplation also elevate the enclosed garden as a distinct category in evaluating architectural heritage and locality?

The above dichotomy, between closeness and openness or between senses-oriented or affective experience and visual experience is also obvious in contemporary Cypriot cities, between the garden as a place that preserves the long tradition of domestic experience linked with a subjective interaction with elements of nature on the one hand and contemporary structures that promote the abstract understanding of urban space as a commodity, while focusing mainly on the visual experience of the 'view' on the other hand. One such case of contradiction is that between an existing traditional garden and the newly built high-rises that gradually surround it at the city of Limassol, Cyprus. *Olga's House* produced by the Cypriot artist



Fig. 21 Olga and her landscape designer visitor. Still from *Olga's Garden* produced by Maria Loizidou and Danae Stylianou, presented at the 15th Limassol International Documentary Film Festival, 20 September 2020, Limassol.



Fig. 22 . Olga's garden and the new skyline. Still from 'Olga's Garden' produced by Maria Loizidou and Danae Stylianou, presented at the 15th Limassol International Documentary Film Festival, 20 September 2020, Limassol.



Maria Loizidou and the Cypriot Film maker Danae Stylianou<sup>41</sup> is a documentary film that focuses on this specific contradiction. The garden of Olga is an example of a twentieth century garden that incarnates the long tradition of the Cypriot rear garden. The documentary is built on the conversation between Olga, the resident of the house that takes care of her garden for more than four decades and a landscape designer who is interested in information about the 'secrets of the garden' as she states in the film (Fig. 21). The documentary highlights the dichotomy between the 'sacred character' of the garden which is built around the tone of the protagonists' discussion, the closure of the garden by high walls and the dense nature on the one hand and the surrounding city of the high-rises, busy construction sites and the noisy traffic on the other hand, which has emerged during the last decade and rapidly transforms the surrounding urban environment. The strategically placed film frames present to the viewer the garden as an 'island' placed within a contemporary sea of urban frenzy, and implies in

this way, the role of the garden in this environment as a small place that still 'resists'.

The virtual expansiveness of nature within the garden due to the enclosure of the garden, which, according to Aben and de Wit, is an essential part of the identity of the Mediterranean garden, is also an important part of Olga's experience of the garden, as described in the film. The film however shows how the rapidly transformed skyline consisting of tall buildings has destroyed the imaginary expansiveness of the sky over the walls of the gardens. The potential presence of hundreds of eyes overlooking the garden cancels its 'sacredness' and, as a result, Olga's ritual of gradually introducing a visitor to an extremely personal matter that is her garden has now been rendered a paradox. The documentary presents Olga's persistence in the daily routine of caring of her garden as a form of resistance to the destruction of the effectiveness and sacredness of her garden. The documentary eventually contributes to the discussion about how the high-

rise frenzy of the city, built on stereotypes about the abstract and universal values of progress, development and profit, as dictated by the market economy, has challenged an element of locality that took centuries of cultural interchange to take its form (Fig. 22).

practice that the Mediterranean garden although its ephemerality, or even because of that, is a valuable topographical element, an essential part of the sentimental topography of a city and can help us perceive its qualities as an ephemeral form of heritage.

The British architectural historian Kenneth Frampton in his influential text "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance"<sup>42</sup> highlights the difference between the term 'culture' and the term 'civilisation', as a difference between a more concrete, local and experience-based understanding of our relationship with the place we inhabit and a more abstract, de-localised and visually based understanding of reality. As a field of debate between these two terms he uses the example of 'Critical Regionalism'.<sup>43</sup>

According to Frampton, the tactile quality of space, the one that consists in appreciating all the senses beyond merely focusing on sight is a tool that can counterbalance the universalising approach that can potentially homogenise and flatten the peculiarities of local and regional architectural expressions. The example of the enclosed garden that continued to evolve in a Mediterranean context as an element of a vernacular architectural expression is based on these sensual qualities that Frampton describes. The Mediterranean 'rear garden' can be part of an architectural practice and research that performs this critical 'Resistance' to homogenisation, and single-dimensional understanding of architecture. According to Frampton this kind of resistance should be the task of architecture today. 'The garden at the rear', the enclosed garden can become a critical architectural element which, especially due to its 'rear' function, can be considered an important tool for understanding the character of the historical vernacular architecture in a Mediterranean context and project its future. Through the persistence in her daily routines of taking care of her garden and her persistent rituals in gradually introducing a new visitor to her garden, Olga, the protagonist of the film performs in her own way one such form of resistance. Olga's case can remind in architectural



- 1 The title is a paraphrase of the Latin expression 'Mare Nostrum' used by Romans since 30 BC to describe the Mediterranean Sea.
- 2 Benjamin of Tudela: "The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela" In: Thomas Wright (ed). *Early Travels in Palestine*. London 1848.
- 3 Ronald J.C. Broadhurst: *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: being the chronicle of a mediaeval Spanish Moor concerning his journey to the Egypt of Saladin, the holy cities of Arabia, Baghdad the city of the Caliphs, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Norman kingdom of Sicily*. London 1952. P. 348-50.
- 4 Linda Farrar: *Gardens and Gardeners of the Ancient World. History, Myth and Archaeology*. Oxford 2016. Preface xiv.
- 5 Aben, Rob and Saskia de Wit: *The Enclosed Garden. History and development of the Hortus Conclusus and its Reintroduction into the Present-day Urban Landscape*. Rotterdam 1999.
- 6 Aben and de Wit: 1999, p.30.
- 7 Aben and de Wit: 1999, p.26.
- 8 Farrar: 2016, p.128.
- 9 Farrar: 2016, p.140.
- 10 Farrar: 2016, p.159.
- 11 Aben and de Wit: 1999, p.44.
- 12 Aben and de Wit: 1999, p.42.
- 13 A representation of this kind of erotic use of the garden appears for example in the fifteenth-century French poem Roman de la rose (*Romance of the Rose*) that belongs to the British Museum collection.
- 14 Aben and de Wit: 1999, p.68.
- 15 Aben and de Wit: 1999, preface xiv.
- 16 Aben and de Wit: 1999, p.10.
- 17 Farrar: 2016, p.64.
- 18 Αθηνά Ταρσούλη: "Κύπρος, στο Χαραλαμπίδης". Κυριακος (επιμ.): *Λευκωσία. Μια Πόλη στη Λογοτεχνία*. Αθήνα 2008. P. 279.
- 19 Ι.Μ. Παναγιωτόπουλος, Η Κύπρος, ένα ταξίδι, Αστήρ, Αθήνα 1974, στο Χαραλαμπίδης, Κυριακος (επιμ.), Λευκωσία. Μια Πόλη στη Λογοτεχνία. Αθήνα: Μεταίχμιο 2008. P. 258–62.
- 20 Franz von Löher: "Cypern', στο Ενεπεκίδης". Κ. Πολυχρόνης (επιμ.): *Λευκωσία 1878. Ώρα Μηδέν. Η Φυσιогνωμία και η Ζωή της Κυπριακής Πρωτεύουσας κατά την Αλλαγή της Ξενοκρατίας*. Λευκωσία 2002. P. 46–56.
- 21 Walter Benjamin: "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction". In: Hannah Arendt (ed), Harry Zohn (translator): *Benjamin, Illuminations*. New York 1969. P. 97.
- 22 Archduke Louis Salvator of Austria: *Levkosia, the Capital of Cyprus*. London 1983. P. 9.
- 23 Salvator of Austria: 1983, P. 26–27.
- 24 Χαραλαμπίδης: 2008, P. 265.
- 25 Χαραλαμπίδης: 2008, P. 266.
- 26 Χαραλαμπίδης: 2008, P. 267.
- 27 Marangou, Niki, Baltenas, Arunas and Paknio: *Nicosienses*. Nicosia 2006, P.25.
- 28 Marangou: 2006, P.38.
- 29 Marangou, who died in a car accident in 2013, was one of the most important contemporary Cypriot writers and poets, and she characteristically identified herself with Nicosia.
- 30 Αγνή Μ. Μιχαηλίδη: "Χώρα, η παλιά Λευκωσία 1977". Κυριακος στο Χαραλαμπίδης (επιμ.). *Λευκωσία. Μια Πόλη στη Λογοτεχνία* Αθήνα 2008. P. 285.
- 31 Christou Vassos et al. (eds), *Twelve Traditional Cyprus Houses*, Nicosia 1995, P.28.
- 32 Farrar: 2016, preface xv.
- 33 Marangou: 2006. P. 60.
- 34 H.H. Kitchener: "Notes from Cyprus". In: Rodney Shirley (ed.): *Kitchener's Survey of Cyprus 1878–1883*. Nicosia 2001. P. 57.
- 35 Salvator of Austria: 1983, p. 27.
- 36 In addition to his work surveying the island, one of Kitchener's key responsibilities was to set up and manage the Land Registry, the predecessor of what is now the Department of Land and Surveys in the Ministry of the Interior. The department owes a big part of its present organisational structure to Kitchener at the end of the nineteenth century. The cartographic historian Rodney Shirley, in his study of Kitchener's survey of Cyprus, comments that Kitchener's responsibility for the Land Registry went hand in hand with the survey project and formed the basis for fair and rational measures to reform the system of land transfer and crop taxation throughout the island. As early as 1881 the antiquated tithe arrangements had been much simplified and indeed abolished on over forty kinds of fruits and vegetables. Kitchener: 2001, P. 22.
- 37 For the purpose of this research I refer only to his map of Nicosia at 1:2,500 scale, which remains a main reference map in the Department of Land and Surveys.
- 38 What is widely known as *Nolli Map of Rome* was the iconographic survey of Rome prepared between 1736 and 1748 by the Italian architect and surveyor Giambattista Nolli. For

the production of the map Nolli used the Fig.-ground effect for representing the built mass in black and the public spaces, including streets, piazzas and public interiors in white. In this way he highlighted the public and accessible spaces of the city as a big network of spaces on the foreground with the built mass of the city as the background.

**39** Aben and de Wit: 1999, p.83.

**40** Aben and de Wit: 1999, p.84.

**41** *Olga's Garden* produced by Maria Loizidou and Danae Stylianou, presented at the 15th Limassol International Documentary Film Festival, 20 September 2020, Limassol.

**42** Kenneth Frampton: "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance". In: Hal Foster (ed.): *The Anti-Aesthetic*. Washington, 1983. P. 16-30.

**43** Frampton: 1983, p.26.