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# **CONTENTS**

|                                 |       |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| Contributors                    | 10-15 |
| Letter from the Editor-in-Chief | 16-19 |

## **ARTICLES**

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| CHRISTINA HAJISOTERIOU<br>The Landscape of Adult Education in Cyprus  | 23-48   |
| STELLA THEOCHAROUS, DIONYSIS PANOS, NOLY MOYSSI<br>The streets speak Greek: Hellenization and Identity Formation in Limassol street-naming under Christodoulos Sozos' Mayoralty | 49-96   |
| EVANGELOS DIAMANTIS<br>The Institution of the Judicial Police in the Modern Rule of Law: Examples from continental Europe and prospects for Cyprus                              | 97-119  |
| PASCHALIS PASCHALIS, MARIOS ADONIS<br>'Sunny Side Up': A Lockdown Stop Motion Animation and the Psychology Behind the Film  | 121-130 |

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| ANDREAS CHRISTOFI<br>Kyriakos Matsis. The Physiognomy of a Thinker who Took Part in the EOKA Struggle<br>[Κυριάκος Μάτσης. Η φυσιογνωμία ενός Στοχαστή που Τάχθηκε στον Αγώνα της ΕΟΚΑ]<br>by Doxa Komodromou                        | 133-134 |
| HARALAMBOS ALEXANDROU<br>The Political Murders of 1958: Historical, Political and Social Dimensions<br>[Οι Πολιτικές Δολοφονίες του 1958: Ιστορικές, Πολιτικές και Κοινωνικές Διαστάσεις]<br>by Prometheus Research Institute (INEP) | 135-140 |
| HUBERT FAUSTMANN<br>Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959<br>by David French   | 141-145 |

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| SOFIA IORDANIDOU<br>Reporting Conflict and Peace in Cyprus: Journalism Matters<br>by Sanem Şahin  | 146-148 |
| KYRIAKOS IAKOVIDES<br>Stroumbi. Memories from the 1953 Earthquake<br>[Στρουμπί. Μνήμες από το Σεισμό του 1953]<br>by Kleopatra Papageorgiou-Sofianou  | 149-150 |
| CHRISTINA HAJISOTERIOU<br>Children with Special Educational Needs and Inclusion<br>by Dr Androulla Hadjipanayi  | 151-152 |
| CHRISTIANA MARKOU<br>Unjust Enrichment and Restitution in Common Law and Cypriot Law<br>[Αδικαιολόγητος Πλουτισμός και Αποκατάσταση στο Κοινοδίκαιο<br>και το Κυπριακό Δίκαιο]<br>by Polyvios G. Polyviou | 153-168 |
| Calls for Papers  | 171-173 |





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**LETTER  
FROM THE  
EDITOR-  
IN-CHIEF**



**Dear Readers,**

While we just scrape this spring edition of *The Cyprus Review* in the wake of a new semester, I recount the Journal's initiatives and activities during the first calendar semester of 2024, while assessing the targets set for the remainder of the year. Chief among these initiatives are the three international conferences that the *Review* has co-organised, all of which were a great success.

As this year marks the 20th anniversary of Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004, the first conference was entitled *Cyprus and the EU: 20 years later*. The Conference was organised with the Hellenic Society of International Law and International Relations, the School of Law of the University of Nicosia, as well as the Nicosia and the Kyrenia Bar Associations.

The second conference, on *New Technologies in the World of Communication*, was organised with the School of Law of the University of Padova and the School of Law of the University of Nicosia. Addressed by the Deputy Minister of Research, Innovation, and Digital Policy Dr Nicodemos Damianou, the Conference welcomed speakers mainly from Italy, Greece and Cyprus, who presented papers on issues of copyright, algorithmic management, data protection, AI systems protection under International Public Law, digital constitutionalism, social media bans and political speech, as well as the gig economy.

The third conference was on *Militant Democracy and Constitutionalism*, and was organised with the School of Law of the University of Nicosia and the Centre for European Constitutional Law - Tsatsos Foundation, with the support of Markides and Markides Law Office. Held in memoriam of Alecos Markides (1943-2020), former Attorney-General of the Republic of Cyprus, the Conference was addressed by the Attorney-General of the Republic of Cyprus Mr George L. Savvides. The

speakers presented papers that covered a wide variety of themes, from theoretical discussions on militant democracy to practical case studies.

The collection of articles in this issue encapsulates once again the vision of our journal: to provide a platform for scholars to share their innovative ideas and foster interdisciplinary collaboration, while reflecting the breadth of intellectual curiosity found among Cyprological researchers.

The articles in this volume delve into a wide array of scientific disciplines, thus exploring a diversity of research topics. The first article, by Christina Hajisoteriou (University of Nicosia), examines a relatively neglected area in the country's research agenda, namely that of adult education. Hajisoteriou looks into the significance of adult education in Cyprus, exploring its provision, barriers, opportunities, and the potential it holds to shape a brighter future for the State and its citizens. She argues that it is crucial for Cyprus to develop a more effective adult education system, aligned with the European agenda for lifelong learning and continuous professional development, enabling adults to effectively address contemporary socio-political and economic challenges.

The second article, authored by Stephanie Theocharous (Centre for Social Research and Regional Development Heraclitus), Dionysis Panos (Cyprus University of Technology), and Noly Moyssi (University of Cyprus), offers a historical exploration on how the politics of street naming in Limassol, under the mayoralty of Christodoulos Sozos (1908-1912), mapped the evolution of national identity and the increasingly articulated demands for a union with Greece. The authors identify the period of Sozos' mayoralty as the first instance where city streets became politically contested spaces, being transformed into cultural arenas and facilitating the politicisation of space.

In the third article, Evangelos Diamantis (Hellenic Police Officers School) examines the institution of the judicial police in the modern State of Justice. The aim of the article is to submit an applicable proposal for the establishment of judicial police in Cyprus. By studying the experience of the institution of the judicial police

in other European countries, Diamantis argues for the organisation and establishment of a Judicial Police in Cyprus, which will help to combat in a modern European State of Law.

The fourth and final paper, by Paschalis Paschali and Marios Adonis (University of Nicosia), is an analysis of the short stop motion animated film ‘Sunny Side Up’. Created by one of the authors during the COVID-19 lockdowns, the film was inspired by this unparalleled era and it features the internal dialogue of the protagonist as he cooks in his kitchen. The investigation focuses on the ‘monkey mind’ – a metaphor for the unsettled mind used in Buddhist writings.

As always, the issue is enriched with reviews of a wide thematic range of books that are Cyprological in nature. More specifically, 7 reviews are included herein of recent bibliographical research pertaining to Cyprus. At the end of this issue you can find our two open Calls for Papers: the first is for a Special Section dedicated to the memory of Dr Kypros Chrysostomides on “Cyprus and International Law” and the second one on the subject of “Twenty Years after the Accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU.”

Once again, we extend our sincere appreciation to everyone who has contributed to the realisation of this issue. We invite our readers to delve into its pages, to engage with the authors, to spark discussions, and support academic and research growth in the Cyprological sphere.

**Christina Ioannou**  
**Editor-in-Chief**



# **ARTICLES**



# The Landscape of Adult Education in Cyprus

CHRISTINA HAJISOTERIOU<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*The value of adult education has been recognised as a cornerstone of personal growth, professional development, and social integration. Thus, adult education in Cyprus may play a pivotal role in empowering individuals to navigate the ever-changing landscape of the modern world. However, adult education remains a relatively neglected area in the country's research agenda, with scholars in the field asserting that Cyprus lacks an adult education culture. This article delves into the significance of adult education in Cyprus, exploring its provision, barriers, opportunities, and the potential it holds to shape a brighter future for the State and its citizens. The conclusion is that it is crucial for Cyprus to develop a more effective adult education system aligned with the European agenda for lifelong learning and continuous professional development, enabling adults to effectively address contemporary socio-political and economic challenges.*

**Keywords:** Adult education; lifelong learning; continuous professional development; quality education

## 1. Introduction

Adult education has been acknowledged as fundamental in promoting individual advancement<sup>2</sup>, professional growth, and societal inclusion.<sup>3</sup> Adult education is the practice of engaging adults in continuous formal or informal learning opportunities to acquire new knowledge, competencies and skills for their personal and professional growth, but also for purposes of social development.<sup>4</sup> At its core, adult education seeks to bridge the gap between learning and living, empowering individuals to

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<sup>2</sup> Marina Yurteava, Natalia Glukhanyuk, Anna Muzafarova, & Tatiana Rasskazova, 'Adult education as a contributory factor to the integration into modern socio-cultural environment (2018) *15th International Conference on Cognition and Exploratory Learning in Digital Age*. Budapest: International Association for Development of the Information Society 119-126.

<sup>3</sup> UNESCO, *Recommendation on Adult Learning and Education* (2015) available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002451/245119M.pdf#page=3>

<sup>4</sup> Petros Gougoulakis, 'Popular education movement and social transformation' (2012) *27 Adult Education* 41-58.

acquire knowledge and practical skills that align with their personal ambitions and the demands of an evolving job market.<sup>5</sup> By offering flexible learning pathways and catering to the diverse needs of adult learners, these programmes act as catalysts for personal and professional growth, as well as for fostering social cohesion and cultural understanding.<sup>6</sup>

It has been argued that adult education plays a pivotal role in enabling individuals to navigate the dynamic challenges of the modern era<sup>7</sup>, and therefore it has the potential to shape a socially cohesive society.<sup>8</sup> The pursuit of knowledge and skills beyond one's formative years holds the promise of not only individual enrichment, but also the collective progress of society as a whole. Cabus and Štefánik<sup>9</sup> analysed data from 23 European countries (excluding Cyprus) and found that improved access to adult education for workers with low levels of education contributes to the acceleration of the economic growth of these countries. With populations encompassing diverse backgrounds, experiences, and aspirations (i.e. migrants and refugees, low-skilled, people with disabilities, etc.), the implementation of robust and inclusive adult education programmes emerges as a key imperative.<sup>10</sup>

This article delves into the significance of adult education in the context of Cyprus, exploring its provision, barriers, opportunities, and the potential it holds to shape a brighter future for the State and its citizens. Examining adult education in Cyprus is crucial given the unique socio-cultural, economic, and historical context

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<sup>5</sup> Esther Prins & Brendaly Drayton, 'Adult Education for the empowerment of individuals and communities' in Carol E. Kasworm, Amy D. Rose & Jovita M. Ross-Gordon (eds.) *Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education* (New Jersey: Jossey-Bass, 2010) 209-219.

<sup>6</sup> Pepka Boyadjieva & Petya Ilieva-Trichkova, 'Adult Education as a pathway to empowerment: challenges and possibilities, in John Holford, Pepka Boyadjieva, Sharon Clancy, Günter Hefler & Ivana Studená (eds.) *Lifelong Learning, Young Adults and the Challenges of Disadvantage in Europe*. Palgrave Studies in Adult Education and Lifelong Learning. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023) 169-192.

<sup>7</sup> John Field, Michael Schemmann & Klaus Künzel, 'International comparative adult education research. Reflections on theory, methodology and future developments' (2016) 39(1) *Internationales Jahrbuch der Erwachsenenbildung* 111-133.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Jarvis, 'From adult education to lifelong learning and beyond,' (2014) 50(1) *Comparative Education* 45-57.

<sup>9</sup> Sofie Cabus & Miroslav Štefánik 'Good access to lifelong learning for the low-educated accelerates economic growth: Evidence from 23 European countries,' *HIVA Working Paper Series* (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2019).

<sup>10</sup> Knud Illeris (2016). *Learning, Development and Education: From learning theory to education and practice* (London: Routledge).



of the island.<sup>11</sup> First, Cyprus is a country with a rich history and cultural diversity. Understanding how adult education operates in this setting provides insights into how educational initiatives can be tailored to respect and leverage the Cypriot socio-cultural context. It may inform the development of educational programmes that are socio-culturally sensitive and relevant, fostering a deeper connection between the adult learners and the content as it takes into consideration that adult learning is situated<sup>12</sup> and context-based.<sup>13</sup> In this article, we seek to explore Adult Education in Cyprus via a socio-cultural framework, as the results of such an exploration could be used in further comparative research.

Second, as a country undergoing political challenges due to the unresolved Cyprus political issue (after the 1974 division of the island), as well as evolving societal challenges such as increased migration, adult education becomes instrumental in addressing issues such as unemployment, skills gaps, and social integration.<sup>14</sup> Understanding the specific needs and barriers faced by adult learners in Cyprus can inform the design of targeted educational interventions that contribute to individual empowerment and societal advancement in both in Cyprus, but also in similar settings elsewhere. Moreover, Cyprus is part of the European Union, and examining adult education in this context contributes to the broader understanding of adult education trends and practices within the EU. This is particularly relevant for policymakers and educators seeking to align adult education programmes with European standards and best practices.

Finally, given the globalised nature of the modern world, examining adult education in a specific country provides an opportunity to explore how the nation prepares its adult population to navigate international trends, technological advancements, and the demands of a rapidly changing job market. This understanding is crucial for

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<sup>11</sup> Christina Hajisoteriou 'Adult education in Cyprus: Current affairs, challenges and future prospects,' In: George A. Koulaouzides & Katarina Popovic (eds.) *Adult Education and Lifelong Learning in South-eastern Europe. A Critical View of Policy and Practice* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2017) 89-100.

<sup>12</sup> Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

<sup>13</sup> Banan A. Mukhalalati and Andrea Taylor, 'Adult learning theories in context: a quick guide for healthcare professional educators' (2019) *Journal of Medical Education and Curricular Development*. DOI: 10.1177/2382120519840332

<sup>14</sup> Maria N Gravani, Pavlos Hatzopoulos, and Christina Chinas, 'Adult education and migration in Cyprus: A critical analysis,' (2021) 17(1) *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education* 25–41.

ensuring that adult education programmes are aligned with the skills and competencies needed for global competitiveness.<sup>15</sup>

While Cyprus has made commendable strides in expanding its adult education landscape, challenges persist.<sup>16</sup> For one, this article exhaustively examines the literature that has been published on adult education in Cyprus, indicating both the scarcity of adult education opportunities, but also of research in this field. This showcases the need to nurture a robust culture of adult education in Cyprus so as not only empower Cypriot citizens with the tools they need to thrive but could also pave the way for a dynamic, inclusive, and progressive society. Examining adult education in the specific context of Cyprus is essential to tailor future educational strategies, align with European standards, address local socio-economic challenges, and prepare Cyprus adults for success in a diverse and globalised world.

## **2. The Cyprus Context: The Social and Political Landscape of Adult Education**

This section contains a socio-cultural exploration of the landscape of adult education in Cyprus. Brookfield<sup>17</sup> encourages examining adult education as a socio-cultural product, focusing on its historicity, political context, and philosophical orientation.

Historically, adult education in Cyprus evolved through various formats and approaches, influenced by societal, political, and economic factors.<sup>18</sup> Each historical period left its mark on educational practices. During British colonial rule (1878–1960), education in Cyprus was primarily geared towards the elite and the ruling classes. Adult education was relatively limited and focused on skills necessary for administrative and clerical roles.<sup>19</sup> The limited scope of secondary education further hindered the establishment of adult education.<sup>20</sup> There were few opportunities for the general

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<sup>15</sup> Maria Slowey 'Foundations for new perspectives on comparative adult education and learning: appreciating social and historical contexts,' in M. Slowey (ed.) *Comparative Adult Education and Learning. Authors and Texts* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2016) 44-77

<sup>16</sup> Hajisoteriou (2017)

<sup>17</sup> Stephen Brookfield, *Training Educators of Adults: The Theory and Practice of Graduate Adult Education* (London: Routledge, 2018).

<sup>18</sup> Hajisoteriou (2017)

<sup>19</sup> Maria N. Gravani & Alexandra Ioannidou, 'Mapping adult and continuing education in Cyprus: Key challenges for the future,' (2016) 23(4) *The International Journal of Adult, Community, and Professional Learning* 33-44.

<sup>20</sup> Panayiotis Persianis, 'The British colonial education 'lending' policy in Cyprus (1878–1960): An intriguing example of an elusive 'adapted education' policy,' (1996) 32(1) *Comparative Education* 45–68.

population to access formal education, and adult learning was often informal and community-based. In 1952—towards the end of the British rule—the official foundations for adult education were first laid. The British authorities introduced a five-year programme of Technical and Vocational Training. Thus, the first adult education training programme in Cyprus was introduced on a voluntary basis by a group of primary school teachers in rural areas of the island. The aim of the teachers was to help fight illiteracy, which was particularly high at that time in rural areas of Cyprus.

In 1960, Cyprus gained its independence. Nevertheless, the educational level of Cypriots was very low. Before gaining independence in 1960, Cyprus had a predominantly rural economy, which resulted in the absence of a qualified labour. Consequently, the State and other institutions did not feel the demand to establish vocational training or liberal adult education policies and programmes<sup>21</sup>. After the independence of Cyprus, the country's economy showed a noteworthy growth resulting in a great need for sufficiently qualified personnel in all sectors of the economy. The number of Technical and Vocational Schools was increased to eleven, including two Commercial and Vocational Schools and one Agricultural School. In 1960 the Pedagogical Academy was also founded by the Cypriot government to replace the Teaching College that operated during colonial rule.

Furthermore, after gaining independence in 1960, Cyprus focused on nation-building and expanding its educational system. Adult education began to receive more attention as the government recognised the importance of providing opportunities for lifelong learning. The creation of new administrative positions in the government necessitated the development of adult education to enable civil servants to meet the required qualifications.<sup>22</sup> Adult Education Centres and evening classes were established, allowing adults to pursue basic education and vocational skills. Simultaneously, many of those who had fought against British rule, who had not attained higher educational qualifications in their youth, assumed positions of authority in the newly formed Republic. According to Persianis, the pursuit of academic qualifications by this group became one of the reasons for establishing adult education in Cyprus. Gravani and Ioannidou<sup>23</sup> further explain that ex-fighters 'were registered to Greek universities to upgrade their skills, exhibiting the "good paradigm" of the adult

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<sup>21</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2016).

<sup>22</sup> Persianis (1996).

<sup>23</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2016).

student in a society in which this model was unfamiliar' (p. 35). This is particularly important as there were now universities in Cyprus, at the time.

The Turkish invasion and the division of the island in 1974 caused a great number of Greek-Cypriots to be internally displaced, relocating mainly to the south of the island; those that lost their lands could no longer serve the rural economy.<sup>24</sup> Gravani and Ioannidou<sup>25</sup> explain that adult education programmes were established in refugee camps to assist the displaced in acquiring new skills and competencies, facilitating their reintegration into the workforce, and promoting social cohesion. The Ministry of Labour and the United Nations offered various vocational training courses to aid in this process.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Cyprus experienced significant economic growth and development. Adult education became more relevant in the context of the changing job market, with an emphasis on vocational training and skills development to meet the demands of a growing economy. Cyprus' accession to the European Union in 2004 brought about further changes in the education system, including adult education. The EU's focus on lifelong learning emphasised the importance of continuous education for all age groups. This led to the expansion of adult education programmes in Cyprus as the government invested in promoting lifelong learning opportunities for adults.

A crucial milestone was the approval of the National Lifelong Learning Strategy 2007–2013 by the Council of Ministers in November 2007. Balbinot et al.<sup>26</sup> state that:

Within the Cypriot Lifelong Learning Strategy (CyLLS) the main aim of Adult Education is to increase the participation of adults in Lifelong Learning by: (a) upgrading the skills and competences of people at work in order to secure their employability and to meet the needs of the economy, (b) providing opportunities for training in basic skills and entrepreneurship for economically inactive adults, in order to facilitate their entry to the labour market and reduce the risk of social exclusion and (c) extending the scope of programmes offered in order

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<sup>24</sup> Floya Anthias, 'Cyprus,' in Colin Clarke & Tony Payne (eds.) *Politics, Security and Development in Small States* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 184–200.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Valeria Balbinot, Maria Heracleous, George Manolitsis, Christna Papisolomontos, Alexantra Perti-dou, Maria Pitzoli, Spyros Sofocleous, Eufimia Tafa, Giorgio Tamburlini, Athena Michaelidou, Lefkios Neophytou, Stavroula Valiandes., *Literacy in Cyprus. Country Report* (Cologne: European Literacy Policy Network, 2016) 13.

to enhance active citizenship, civic education, as well as to build occupational skills mainly in literacy, foreign languages and computer literacy.

The 2007–2013 Strategy<sup>27</sup> addressed various areas of lifelong learning, including: a) ensuring access to education and training systems for all Cypriot citizens, while also establishing connections to the labour market; b) initiating research to assess the socio-economic impact of lifelong learning activities; c) enhancing infrastructure to support and improve lifelong learning initiatives; and d) establishing efficient governance mechanisms and tools to enhance lifelong learning systems.<sup>28</sup> Cyprus presented its National Reform Programme towards EU2020 in May 2011, with the objective of promoting development, employability, and social integration.<sup>29</sup> The 2014–2020 National Lifelong Learning Strategy<sup>30</sup> followed the 2007–2013 strategy, outlining four priority areas: a) fostering access and participation in lifelong learning for all, while recognising learning outcomes; b) enhancing the quality and efficiency of education and training; c) encouraging research and development to support lifelong learning; and d) promoting employability and facilitating integration or reintegration into the labour market. The current National Lifelong Learning Strategy 2021–2027 draws upon the following pillars: a) digital transformation; b) green transition and sustainability; c) inclusion and equality; d) validation of non-formal and informal learning; e) health and wellbeing; and f) lifelong learning culture.<sup>31</sup>

The landscape of adult education in Cyprus has also been impacted by the diversification of the population, which includes migrants and refugees.<sup>32</sup> Efforts to make

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<sup>27</sup> General Management of European Programmes ]2nd Progress Report of National Lifelong Learning Strategy 2007-2013 for the period 2010-2014 (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus, 2014) available at [http://www.dgepcd.gov.cy/dgepcd/dgepcd.nsf/page41\\_en/page41\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.dgepcd.gov.cy/dgepcd/dgepcd.nsf/page41_en/page41_en?OpenDocument)

<sup>28</sup> Ibid

<sup>29</sup> Cyprus Planning Bureau, *Cyprus National Reform Programme 2011 – Europe 2020 Strategy for: Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus, 2011), available at [http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/nrp/nrp\\_cyprus\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/nrp/nrp_cyprus_en.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> Cyprus Planning Bureau, *National Strategy for Lifelong Learning 2014-2020* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus, 2014) available at [http://www.dgepcd.gov.cy/dgepcd/dgepcd.nsf/page41\\_en/page41\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.dgepcd.gov.cy/dgepcd/dgepcd.nsf/page41_en/page41_en?OpenDocument)

<sup>31</sup> MoESY – Ministry of Education, Sports and Youth, *Cyprus Lifelong Learning Strategy 2021-2027* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus, 2021), available at [https://archeia.moec.gov.cy/mc/933/lifelong\\_learning\\_strategy\\_2021\\_2027.pdf](https://archeia.moec.gov.cy/mc/933/lifelong_learning_strategy_2021_2027.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> Maria Brown, Maria N. Gravani, Bonnie Slade & Larissa Jögi, 'Integrating migrants through adult language programmes: a comparative case study of four European countries,' in S. Przytuła & L. Sulkowski (eds.) *Integration of Migrants into the Labour Market in Europe* (Leeds: Emerald Publishing Limited, 2020) 155-169.

adult education more inclusive have been ongoing, but limited.<sup>33</sup> Gravani et al.<sup>34</sup> heavily criticise the ‘striking absence of any substantial references to adult migrants or to the notions of multiculturalism, intercultural education or the integration of non-native adult learners’.

Digital transformation has been the last, but not least, factor to impact adult education in Cyprus.<sup>35</sup> With e-learning and online education gaining popularity, adult learners now expect more flexibility and accessibility to pursue their educational goals.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout Cyprus’ history, adult education has played a critical role in empowering individuals to adapt to changing social and economic landscapes. In the following sections, the article moves from describing the history and politics of adult education in the Cypriot context to describing the different types of adult education.

### 3. Formal Adult Education

Formal adult education in Cyprus provides adults with the opportunity to attain official qualifications that can enhance their potential and career prospects. It is available at different levels within the education system, including secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary education, and higher education. There are multiple providers of formal adult education in Cyprus, including multiple ministries, but also other public and private entities.

The Ministry of Education, Sport and Youth is responsible for the Evening Gymnasium and the Evening Technical School.<sup>37</sup> These institutions cater to adults who have left school without a qualification<sup>38</sup> and allow them to update their skills and competencies in their current professions, acquire new skills for different careers,

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<sup>33</sup> Maria Brown, Maria N. Gravani, Bonnie Slade & Larissa Jögi, ‘Comparative cartography of Adult Education for migrants in Cyprus, Estonia, Malta and Scotland,’ in: M. N. Gravani & B. Slade (eds.) *Learner-Centred Education for Adult Migrants in Europe: A Critical Comparative Analysis* (Leiden: Brill, 2021) 43-53.

<sup>34</sup> Gravani, Hatzopoulos & Chinas (2021).

<sup>35</sup> Vasilisa Christidou, Maria N. Gravani & Vassilia Hatzinikita, ‘Distance learning material for adult education: the case of the open university of Cyprus, (2012) 4(2) *Ubiquitous Learning: An International Journal* 33-46.

<sup>36</sup> Maria N. Gravani, ‘Adult learning in a distance education context: theoretical and methodological challenges,’ (2015) 34(2) *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 172-193.

<sup>37</sup> MoESY - Ministry of Education, Sports, and Youth, *Annual Report 2020* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus, 2020) available at [https://archeia.moec.gov.cy/mc/605/annual\\_report\\_2020\\_en.pdf](https://archeia.moec.gov.cy/mc/605/annual_report_2020_en.pdf)

<sup>38</sup> Balbinot, et al (2016).

and obtain the necessary qualifications to continue their education in other institutes, colleges, or universities. The programmes follow the same teaching methodologies, procedures, and legal standards as their daytime counterparts. Adult students can attend these schools free of charge for a period ranging from one to four years, depending on their educational level. Upon completion of their education, they take final exams and receive a Graduation Diploma.<sup>39</sup>

At the higher education level, both public and private universities and colleges in Cyprus offer post-secondary non-tertiary education programmes which can be a step towards acquiring university degrees. Cyprus universities offer both conventional, in-person courses, but also distance-learning programmes. There are also 40 private Institutions of Higher Education that provide academic and vocational undergraduate and post-graduate programmes of study, even though they do not have the status of a university. Even so, higher education is a form of adult education, it is usually examined separately from other types of adult education, and thus, we will no further expand on the topic in this article.

Some noteworthy public providers of tertiary education in Cyprus include the Mediterranean Institute of Management (offering courses in Business Administration and Public Administration) and the Cyprus Forestry College (a regional training centre in the field of forestry). The Cyprus Police Academy provides education and further training to the members of the Cyprus Police.<sup>40</sup> Finally, there's the School for Tourist Guides, which is run by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation and offers tour guide diplomas.<sup>41</sup> In November 2023, it was announced that the Sommelier School and the School for Tourist Guides will join the Cyprus Academy of Tourism and Hospitality Professions, which is part of the Cyprus University of Technology.

Additionally, the Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus is a key provider of formal adult education catering to pre-primary, primary, and secondary-level teachers. It offers optional, as well as mandatory training courses; an example of the latter is pre-service training for secondary-level teachers.. The Institute also conducts seminars for parents, focusing on topics like environmental education, educational psychology, and the integration of curriculum developments within schools.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> MoESY (2020).

<sup>40</sup> MoESY – Ministry of Education, Sports and Youth *Public Institutions of Tertiary Education* (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus), available at <https://www.highereducation.ac.cy/index.php/en/idrymata/dimosies-scholes-tritovathmias-ekpaidefsisi#>

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2016).



#### 4. Non-Formal Adult Education

The primary providers of non-formal adult education in Cyprus consist of the Adult Education Centres, the State Institutes of Further Education, and various public, private, and third sector entities.<sup>43</sup> These entities offer courses that usually provide certificates of attendance or participation that, unlike those provided by formal adult education programmes, do not count as official qualifications.

Adult Education Centres were established in 1952 by the Ministry of Education. Initially in rural areas, they expanded over the years in most urban regions of the Republic. Their mission is to promote the social, financial, and cultural development of adult citizens. A key focus is ensuring educational equality for all adults, and particularly disadvantaged groups like school leavers, prisoners, older workers, individuals with low qualifications, women, and the unemployed. These centres provide adult literacy opportunities<sup>44</sup> and offer a diverse range of interdisciplinary courses during the afternoon and evening for individuals aged 15 and above. Subjects include foreign languages, arts and crafts, cultural programmes, and health education.<sup>45</sup> Tuition fees are minimal and waived for pensioners aged 65 and above. Certificates of attendance are granted, although their impact on employment prospects is limited.

The Ministry of Education is also responsible for the State Institutes of Further Education, which can be found across urban and rural areas. They provide various programmes, such as language courses (English, French, Italian, German, Russian, Greek for foreigners, Turkish, etc.), accounting, computer studies, preparatory courses for Greek university entrance exams, and intensive support courses for Gymnasium and Lyceum.<sup>46</sup> These programmes are available to both adults and pupils, with subsidised fees. Groups like unemployed university graduates, blind people, conscripted soldiers (serving their obligatory military service) from low-income families, and political refugees, are exempt from tuition fees.

The Open School serves as an additional provider of non-formal adult education.<sup>47</sup> Initially piloted in 2005 across a few municipalities, this institution expanded

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<sup>43</sup> MoESY (2020).

<sup>44</sup> Balbinot et al. (2016).

<sup>45</sup> Antri Piliri & Maria N. Gravani, 'Older adults' and young educators' experiences and perceptions of Intergenerational Learning (IGL) in non-formal education: A case study from the Adult Education Centres in Cyprus,' (2023a) 18(2) *Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica –Journal of Theories and Research in Education* 131-149.

<sup>46</sup> Balbinot et al (2016).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.



four years later to five more municipalities (Larnaca, Limassol, Ayia Napa, Aglantzia, and Lakatamia). There are now plenty more Open Schools, such as those in Engomi, Latsia, Agios Athanasios, Mesa Geitonia. Open Schools operate on public school premises and offer a diverse range of afternoon and evening activities, such as sports, theatre, dance, music, and various cultural pursuits. Additionally, they provide Greek language courses for foreigners.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Open Schools host exhibitions, such as art exhibitions, and organise lectures on a wide array of topics, including socio-economic, educational, and scientific subjects. They also conduct computer and environmental education courses.

Over the past twenty years, Free Universities have been established in both urban and rural areas of the island. Some examples are: The Zenonion Free University, the Famagusta Free University in Limassol, the Ierokipion Free University, the Salaminion Free University in Famagusta, the Pyrgos Tillirias Free University, the Open University of the Occupied Municipalities of Keryneia, and the Troodos Free University.<sup>49</sup> Operating in collaboration with local authorities and social partners, these Free Universities offer lecture series on various subjects to promote lifelong learning and social and cultural development. Some are funded and operated by the Greek Orthodox church, for example, Salaminion.

A crucial provider of non-formal adult education is the Cyprus Academy of Public Administration (CAPA) that operates under the Ministry of Finance. CAPA conducts workshops and seminars for civil servants. Its mission is to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of public services.<sup>50</sup> CAPA employs participative, experiential, and interactive teaching methodologies such as discussions, brainstorming, group work, case studies, role-playing, films, and training exercises. Attendees receive certificates of participation, which may enhance their career progression.

## 5. Vocational Education and Training

The third form of adult education in Cyprus revolves around vocational education and training (VET). VET aims to enhance the skills of individuals working in tech-

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<sup>48</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2016).

<sup>49</sup> University of Cyprus (n.d.). *Free Universities*, available at <https://www.ucy.ac.cy/events/free-universities/>

<sup>50</sup> CAPA, *Cyprus Academy of Public Administration (2023)* available at [https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/capa/cyacademy.nsf/index\\_en/index\\_en?OpenDocument](https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/capa/cyacademy.nsf/index_en/index_en?OpenDocument)

nical fields and to provide training to unskilled or semi-skilled workers.<sup>51</sup> This type of education is offered by State and semi-governmental organisations, and private entities. Among the commonly recognised providers of VET in Cyprus are the Cyprus Productivity Centre and Technical Schools offering afternoon and evening classes.<sup>52</sup> Private providers offering VET programmes are subsidised by the Human Resource Development Authority (HRDA), which plays a vital role in the systematic training and development of human resources in the country.<sup>53</sup>

Since 2012, post-secondary non-tertiary education in Cyprus has been provided by Post-Secondary Institutes of Vocational Education and Training that offer a wide range of VET programmes. These institutes aim to equip adult graduates of secondary education with both academic and technical knowledge, enhancing their professional and practical skills.<sup>54</sup> The two-year programmes are offered on a five-day basis and include on-the-job experience. Participants are awarded the qualification of Higher Technician upon completion. Some examples of the courses provided are ‘specialist baker and confectioner’, ‘installation and maintenance of photovoltaic systems and wind turbines’, and ‘organic vegetable production’.

An additional VET provider are private enterprises and semi-governmental organisations that also offer a variety of vocational training courses subsidised by the Human Resource Development Agency (HRDA). These enterprises and organisations operate Centres of Vocational Training (known as KEKs). The HRDA is funded by the Human Resource Development Levy paid by employers and companies in the private and semi-governmental sectors. HRDA operates as a semi-governmental organisation with the mission to create favourable conditions for the development of human resources in Cyprus.<sup>55</sup> Its goal is to support the growth and development of the Cyprus economy through well-planned training initiatives.<sup>56</sup> HRDA also aims to enhance lifelong training of employees in Cyprus, the entrants to the labour market,

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<sup>51</sup> Charalambos Vrasidas & Sotiris Themistokleous, *Adult Education in Cyprus* (2013) available at <http://www.infonet-ae.eu/background-reports-national-affairs-33/1275-adult-education-in-cyprus>

<sup>52</sup> Yianna Korelli, Constantina Kyriacou-Liveri & Aristos Theocharous, *Vocational education and training in Europe – Cyprus. Cedefop ReferNet VET in Europe reports*. (2018) available at <https://www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/country-reports/vocational-education-and-training-europe-cyprus-2018>

<sup>53</sup> Małgorzata Kowalska & Maria Knais, ‘National and European skills competitions – the experience of Cyprus,’ (2021) 113(2) *Edukacja Ustawiczna Dorosłych* 23-34.

<sup>54</sup> Korelli et al (2018).

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Kowalska & Knais (2021).

the unemployed, females out of education or out of the market, and the low skilled and older people.

Established in 1963, the Cyprus Productivity Centre (CPC) was established to operate as a key VET provider in Cyprus.<sup>57</sup> The CPC offers management development programmes and provides vocational training for beginner or experienced technicians.<sup>58</sup> The CPC strives to assist both private and public organisations in optimising their human and capital resources to enhance overall productivity. Kowalska and Knais<sup>59</sup> argue that, nowadays, the CPC has become even more vital as it aims to provide the highest possible level of vocational training. The CPC's responsibilities encompass managing European programmes such as Europass, engaging in international activities through institutes such as the Mediterranean Institute of Management, delivering education and training in management development, and promoting continuous learning and productivity in Cypriot companies and organisations. The CPC also conducts training on health and safety in the workplace for newly recruited individuals. Moreover, it offers advisory services, administrative support, and expertise to the Ministry of Labour, Welfare, and Social Insurance<sup>60</sup>).

Another provider of VET in Cyprus is the Ministry of Education and Culture through its Technical Schools, which offer afternoon and evening classes.<sup>61</sup> Adults attending these classes choose their area of specialisation, and the classes are held twice a week for three academic years. Participants take final exams at the end of each year, and upon completion, they receive a Diploma in their chosen field, which is recognised in the job market. Alternatively, adults have the option to enrol in a one-year training programme that totals 80 hours through weekly evening classes. No examinations are conducted in this programme, and participants receive a certificate of attendance upon completion. Adults, who must be adept in the Greek language, pay tuition fees to participate in these programmes. Attendees encompass early school leavers, secondary education graduates, or higher education graduates.

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<sup>57</sup> Elpida Keravnou-Papailiou *Adult Education in Cyprus*, (2005) Paper presented at the Grundvig 3 Conference 'Quality of training activities', available at [https://www.cut.ac.cy/digitalAssets/108/108056\\_O12-Adult-Education-Cyprus-Keravnou-presentation.ppt](https://www.cut.ac.cy/digitalAssets/108/108056_O12-Adult-Education-Cyprus-Keravnou-presentation.ppt)

<sup>58</sup> Eurydice, *National Education Systems: Cyprus* (Brussels: European Union, 2022) <https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-education-systems/cyprus/>

<sup>59</sup> Kowalska & Knais, 'National and European skills competitions – the experience of Cyprus,' (2021) 113(2), *Edukacja Ustawiczna Doroslych* 23-34.

<sup>60</sup> CPC – Cyprus Productivity Centre, *CPC mission* (2017) available at [http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/kepa/kepa\\_new.nsf/kepa02\\_en/kepa02\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/kepa/kepa_new.nsf/kepa02_en/kepa02_en?OpenDocument)

<sup>61</sup> MoESY (2020).

## 6. Barriers to Adult Education

Papaioannou and Gravani<sup>62</sup> assert that Cyprus lacks an overall adult education culture. They add that adult education has a relatively short history and tradition in Cyprus, which is why it lacks a coherent and up-to-date policy. There's a corresponding scarcity of published studies investigating and evaluating the methodologies, processes, and outcomes of adult education in the country. Gravani and Ioannidou<sup>63</sup> emphasise the dearth of research on the effectiveness of adult education programmes in Cyprus, which would examine factors such as the variety of the offering, participation rates, as well as an assessment of quality, including frameworks, strategies, and evaluation. This section aims to summarise what findings there are on the challenges faced in adult education, including participation rates, opportunities for marginalised groups, funding, and evaluation.

An important challenge facing adult education in Cyprus is the lack of comprehensive statistics regarding adult literacy or skills. Cyprus has yet to participate in international assessments such as the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) or the Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey (ALL), resulting in a scarcity of relevant evaluations and assessments.<sup>64</sup> The absence of such data raises concerns the quality of adult education provided in Cyprus.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, Gravani and Ioannidou<sup>66</sup> report survey data suggesting that most institutions providing adult education do not have adequate evaluation mechanisms in place.

Low rates of participation is another significant concern in adult education. Notably, the Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture<sup>67</sup> cautioned that:

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<sup>62</sup> Eleni Papaioannou & Maria N. Gravani, 'Empowering vulnerable adults through second-chance education: a case study from Cyprus,' (2018) 37(4) *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 435-450.

<sup>63</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2014).

<sup>64</sup> Vrasidas et al (2013).

<sup>65</sup> Dima Project, *State of the art in Adult Education: Strategies, policies, and tools* (2016) available at [www.dima-project.eu](http://www.dima-project.eu).

<sup>66</sup> Gravani, M. N. & Ioannidou, A. (2016). Mapping adult and continuing education in Cyprus: Key challenges for the future. *The International Journal of Adult, Community, and Professional Learning*, 23(4), 33-44.

<sup>67</sup> Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, Education and Training Monitor. Country Analysis (Brussels: European Union, 2019) 55 available at <https://www.educacionyfp.gob.es/inee/dam/jcr:669f016c-bcb1-439b-a06d-4ab01ad284a4/volume-2-2018-education-and-training-monitor-country-analysis-0.pdf>

At 6.7%, adult participation in learning [in Cyprus] remains below the EU average (11.1%). At 10.9%, it is highest among those with tertiary education (ISCED 5-8), but even for them it is significantly below the EU average of 19%. Upskilling and reskilling opportunities are most crucial for low-skilled adults (ISCED 0-2), who currently take least advantage of adult learning. The proportion of low-qualified adults in employment in Cyprus was 62% in 2018 (EU average: 56.8%) and higher than in 2017. During 2017, only around 50 adults aged 25 or above acquired an upper-secondary qualification, highlighting the need for a more substantial upskilling and reskilling effort.

Arguably, individuals with low education exhibit significantly lower participation levels in non-formal education and training compared to those with upper secondary or higher education qualifications. The 2011 Cyprus Report on the Action Plan on Adult Learning attributed this to the fact that the HRDA primarily subsidises single-company non-formal training for employed adults. Nonetheless, the multi-company training scheme for the long-term unemployed was more recently expanded to all registered unemployed<sup>68</sup>. In addition, in 2017, the Department for Social Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities of the Ministry of Labour, Welfare and Social Insurance introduced vocational training for persons with disabilities.<sup>69</sup>

Another barrier for learners is that the programmes they would like to pursue do not come with the recognition and accreditation required for career advancement. According to the Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture<sup>70</sup> ‘the implementation of the qualification framework [in Cyprus] is still at an early stage’ (p. 55). According to Kowalska and Knais<sup>71</sup>, the HRDA, which develops the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), has only classified qualifications in the following industries: construction, tourism, automobile, retail and wholesale.

Furthermore, Gravani and Ioannidou (2016)<sup>72</sup> highlight that participation in non-formal education and training is negatively affected by the absence of a system for recognising and validating prior learning or work experience in Cyprus. Next, a lack of awareness among the public of both the opportunities for adult education and the benefits it can provide leads to low interest in pursuing further education. Geographical location also affects access to adult education programmes, especially in

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Korelli et al (2018).

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Kowalska & Knais (2021).

<sup>72</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2016).

rural areas where educational facilities are limited. Some adults may feel discouraged from pursuing further education due to previous negative experiences of education or a lack of confidence in their abilities. Moreover, the fact that flexible learning options such as part-time courses, evening classes, or online learning, are not always readily available, excludes many adults from pursuing further education. In sum, the adult education offering in Cyprus does not align well with the specific needs and interests of adult learners.

The participation of vulnerable groups is an additional challenge to adult education in Cyprus. Cyprus has yet to develop targeted policies and strategies, nor specific benchmarks, regarding the participation of marginalised groups such as early school leavers, people with disabilities, migrant or minority groups, economically inactive women, the elderly, and the long-term unemployed.<sup>73</sup> The above groups often lack the financial resources or the necessary qualifications to enter programmes of adult education. At the same time, their access to information about opportunities to pursue adult education is limited. Last, what policy exists tends to emphasise a market-oriented approach to adult education, putting employability as the highest priority. As a consequence, adults who—for a variety of reasons—do not participate in the job market, tend to be excluded from adult education policymaking.

This absence of policymaking in the field of adult education, according to Papaioannou and Gravani<sup>74</sup> ‘hinders the development of a suitable educational context for vulnerable adults’ (p. 447). Early school leavers represent one of these vulnerable groups. In Papaioannou and Gravani’s<sup>75</sup> research, early school leavers experienced poverty and reported feelings of inferiority due to the premature discontinuation of their studies. The authors stress that second-chance schools should therefore aim to empower individuals cognitively, socially, and psychologically. However, they also highlight the need for flexibility, as for many such adults, attending second-chance schools may be difficult. They may have work and family commitments, while these schools only offer in-person courses on a full-time basis. At the same time, teachers in these schools are secondary school educators who are not necessarily experienced enough or qualified to teach as adult educators. Further compounding the issue, the curriculum and materials are sourced from secondary education, and thus may not respond to adults’ needs.

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<sup>73</sup> Gravani et al (2021).

<sup>74</sup> Papaioannou & Gravani (2018).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

Another vulnerable group, as mentioned, are migrants and refugees. Cyprus has a highly diverse population, and adults with a migration background may face challenges in accessing education due to language barriers.<sup>76</sup> Although the State provides many language courses (especially for foreigners to help them learn Greek and/or English), and some integration programmes, the Cypriot strategy for adult education still falls short of addressing intercultural education and the inclusion of migrants, refugees, and other non-native adult learners in lifelong learning initiatives<sup>77</sup>. Nicolaou et al.'s<sup>78</sup> study examining language education in Limassol found that educational efforts fall short in adequately and effectively addressing the requirements of adult migrant learners. The language programmes focus on teaching the local national language and do not incorporate the principles of bilingual education or plurilingual instruction, indicating a need for more comprehensive and inclusive approaches. As Gravani et al.'s<sup>79</sup> critical analysis on adult education policies for migrants showed, the adult education system in Cyprus:

is essentially monocultural; the growing presence of a non-native adult population has not acted up to now as the driving force for challenging the predominance of ethnocentric educational policies and for opening up a serious policy debate for the adoption of multilingual and intercultural pedagogies (p. 37).

To this end, civil society has been advocating for increased policy engagement with regards to diversity, multiculturalism, and the integration of these populations into adult education programmes. These organisations are often actively involved in providing adult education and support services to migrants in order to fill in the gap in services not provided by the State. In addition, EU funding often fills the gap for CSOs and NGOs in this regard.

Inadequate State funding is a significant barrier to increasing participation in and enhancing the quality of adult education in Cyprus compared to other European countries. The DIMA project researchers assert that the State sees vulnerable groups

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<sup>76</sup> Gravani et al (2021).

<sup>77</sup> EAEA - European Association for the Education of Adults, *Overview: Adult Education in Cyprus in 2019*, available at <https://countryreport.eaea.org/search/cyprus-reports-2019/overview-adult-education-cyprus>

<sup>78</sup> Anna Nicolaou, Antigoni Parmaxi, Salomi, Papadima-Sophocleous & Dimitrios Boglou, 'Language education in a multilingual city: The case of Limassol,' (2016) 14(2) *London Review of Education* 174–185.

<sup>79</sup> Gravani et al (2021).

as having a lower potential for creating value in the market, and has therefore under-invested in terms of their further education and training opportunities.<sup>80</sup>

The 2013 economic crisis and the subsequent implementation of austerity measures in Cyprus, as pointed out by Gravani and Ioannidou<sup>81</sup>, has further hindered the provision of quality adult education. Insufficient funding also hampers the improvement of working conditions for adult education educators and trainers, leading to financial insecurity and limited opportunities for career advancement. Many educators and trainers are employed on a temporary or part-time basis, significantly affecting the professionalisation of adult education staff.

## 7. Conclusions and Future Prospects

Since joining the EU in 2004, adult education has risen on the Cyprus national agenda. An education system aligned with the European agenda for lifelong learning and continuous professional development would better equip adults in addressing contemporary socio-political and economic challenges.<sup>82</sup> Vrasidas et al.<sup>83</sup> assert that, with the need for workforce reskilling, adult education is a crucial instrument for EU countries looking to combat economic crises.

Cyprus has relatively limited experience in adult education. Therefore, fostering cooperation with countries more experienced in this field can help in formulating and implementing successful policies and strategies on the national level. Comparative studies can be instrumental in driving increased accessibility and training, raising awareness on the range and availability of adult education programmes, enhancing the professionalism of adult education staff, and maintaining standards.<sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> State incentives to encourage research and innovation in adult education are therefore crucial to identify best practices and continuously improve the quality of programmes.

In Cyprus, adult education policies should primarily focus on strengthening efforts to increase accessibility and participation. EU statistics show that although participation in adult education is increasing, it stills remains below the EU average

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<sup>80</sup> Dima Project (2016).

<sup>81</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2016).

<sup>82</sup> Nicoletta Ioannou, 'Formation of Adult Education policy: Key messages and main challenges,' (2023) 3(1) *Adult Education: Critical Issues* 7-25.

<sup>83</sup> Vrasidas, C. et al. (2013).

<sup>84</sup> Field et al (2016).

<sup>85</sup> Slowey (2016).



- i.e. 1.4 pp below the EU average for 2022 (11.9%).<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, there is a lack of national-level research on the barriers to increased accessibility, and thus it is essential to conduct empirical research in this direction to introduce initiatives to overcome these challenges, and actually increase participation.<sup>87</sup> Participation should be especially encouraged for groups at risk of societal and economic marginalisation, such as the long-term unemployed, economically inactive women, migrants, and the elderly.<sup>88</sup> With regards to early school leavers, also a vulnerable group, the provision of a distance-learning curriculum by second-chance evening schools should be considered to facilitate the enrolment of more adults. The State should also provide appropriate and adequate training to teachers appointed in these schools. Moreover, the Ministry of Education and Culture should expand the evening second-chance secondary or technical schools to make them more appealing to diverse learners by tailoring the learning experience to participants' learning styles, interests, and needs, especially in rural regions.

Second, there is a need to ensure that information and guidance services on adult education reach all segments of the population. The 2011 Country Report on the Action Plan on Adult Learning for Cyprus recommended the establishment of Centres of Guidance and Counselling. These would be staffed by qualified counsellors to provide advice to diverse population groups (a proposal that has not yet materialised). A National Forum on Lifelong Guidance can also contribute to this goal. To make adult education more accessible, factors such as affordability, funding incentives, flexibility, and convenience should be taken into account. More funding should be allocated to subsidise fees, particularly for vulnerable adults. Additionally, non-formal and vocational adult education should also be available online. Such programmes should align the principles of distance learning education with those of adult education.<sup>89 90</sup>

Third, enhancing the professionalism of educators and trainers in adult education is essential to improving the overall provision of adult education.<sup>91</sup> The pressing ne-

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<sup>86</sup> European Commission, *Education and Training Monitor – Cyprus* (Brussels: European Union, 2023), available at <https://op.europa.eu/webpub/eac/education-and-training-monitor-2023/en/country-reports/cyprus.html>

<sup>87</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2014).

<sup>88</sup> Hajisoteriou (2017)

<sup>89</sup> Christidou et al (2012).

<sup>90</sup> Maria N. Gravani, 'Adult learning in a distance education context: theoretical and methodological challenges,' (2015) 34(2) *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 172-193.

<sup>91</sup> Nicoletta Ioannou, *Professional Development and Professionalization of Adult Education in Cyprus: Views and Perceptions of Adult Educators*, PhD thesis (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 2018)

cessity to address diversity and plurality in the adult education sector, has mandated the professionalisation of adult educators as a requisite for Member States.<sup>92 93 94</sup> The Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (2019)<sup>95</sup> cautions that, in Cyprus, ‘a distinct professional identity for adult educators has not been articulated, despite a shortage of qualified people in the sector’, and calls for the State to develop policies clearly defining the qualification requirements for adult educators and supporting training programmes adjusted to the needs of adult educators working in diverse fields. The introduction of the ‘Certification of Training Providers and the Certification of Vocational Qualifications’ is a positive step towards reinforcing the professional status of adult educators.<sup>96</sup> However, Gravani and Ioannidou<sup>97</sup> caution against the lack of formal training for adult educators on teaching adults in formal, non-formal, and vocational contexts. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen both the professional status and role, as well as the competences and skills of adult educators and trainers.<sup>98</sup> A national framework should be developed to regulate and accredit qualifications, training, and competencies of adult educators and trainers. Financial incentives should also be provided for supplementary training and higher education, such as postgraduate courses in adult education.<sup>99</sup> Higher education institutions can play a crucial role in providing the subject-matter knowledge, pedagogical skills, and know-how necessary for teaching adults.

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<sup>92</sup> Borut Mikulec, ‘Competences of adult education professionals in the European and Slovene context,’ (2019) 25(1) *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education* 25–44.

<sup>93</sup> Helen Murphy, ‘The professionalization of adult education in Ireland: How a changing national regulatory environment influenced the development of new teacher education qualifications for adult educators,’ M. N. Gravani, G. K. Zarifis & L. Jögi (eds.) *The Role of Higher Education in the Professionalisation of Adult Educators* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020) 128-144.

<sup>94</sup> Antri Piliri, & Maria N. Gravani, ‘The professional status of adult educators: a case study from Cyprus in the era of pandemic,’ (2023b) 29(2) *Andragoška spoznanja/Studies in Adult Education and Learning* 143-161.

<sup>95</sup> Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (2019).

<sup>96</sup> Ioannis Zenios, ‘The trainer of vocational training as part of the two HRDA certification systems: The certification of training providers and the certification of vocational qualifications,’ (Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus, 2013), available at [www.moec.gov.cy/aethee/omadiki\\_mathisi/dek\\_2013/ioannis\\_zenios\\_human\\_resource\\_development\\_authority\\_cyprus.pdf](http://www.moec.gov.cy/aethee/omadiki_mathisi/dek_2013/ioannis_zenios_human_resource_development_authority_cyprus.pdf)

<sup>97</sup> Gravani & Ioannidou (2014).

<sup>98</sup> Ioannis Zenios & Paraskevi Chatzipanagiotou, ‘Steps towards the professionalization of trainers: Good practice from Cyprus,’ in M. N. Gravani, G. K. Zarifis, & L. Jögi (eds.) *The Role of Higher Education in the Professionalisation of Adult Educators* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020) 218–232.

<sup>99</sup> Piliri, & Gravani (2023b).

Last, an evaluation framework should be a top priority in national policymaking on adult education. The 2014–2020 Cyprus Lifelong Learning Strategy called for an improvement of quality and efficiency in education and training.<sup>100</sup> The DIMA project<sup>101</sup> similarly advocated for setting accountability as a priority axis in Cypriot policies. This would require an interdepartmental committee, including social partners, responsible for policy monitoring and evaluation, validating informal and non-formal skills, and measuring participation levels. This goal is addressed in a specific work strand within Cyprus’ Lifelong Learning Strategy for 2021-2027, as outlined by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Youth in 2022 and adopted in September 2022. The objective is to enhance validation and assessment processes in preparation for establishing quality standards for non-formal learning programs and to create connections between validation systems and credit frameworks.<sup>102</sup>

Furthermore, the proposed Cyprus Quality Assurance and Accreditation organisation, tasked with externally evaluating adult education institutions, is in line with the pursuit of quality standards in adult education.<sup>103</sup> The Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture<sup>104</sup> states that while the National Qualifications Authority, responsible for evaluating and validating qualifications obtained through formal, non-formal, and informal learning, is currently functioning, there is a necessity to broaden and solidify its mandate and institutional role. A key element of sustaining quality should involve the active and meaningful involvement of all key stakeholders, providing opportunities for privileged and marginalised groups to define issues and propose solutions for further education. Future research should aim to explore the perceptions of key stakeholders and actors on successful improvement efforts to promote quality adult education.

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<sup>100</sup> Cyprus Planning Bureau (2014).

<sup>101</sup> Dima Project (2016).

<sup>102</sup> European Commission (2023).

<sup>103</sup> GHK, Research voor Beleid (2011).

<sup>104</sup> Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (2019).

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# The streets speak Greek: Hellenization and Identity Formation in Limassol street-naming under Christodoulos Sozos' Mayoralty

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## Abstract

*This paper offers a historical exploration on how the politics of street naming in Limassol, particularly under the mayoralty of Christodoulos Sozos (1908-1912), mapped the evolution of Greek Cypriot national identity and the increasingly articulated demands for a union with Greece. This process entailed not just the replacement of former English and Ottoman names, but a deliberate selection of names that underscored Cyprus' deep-rooted historical, religious, and national ties with Greece. This initiative, undertaken during the mayoralty of Sozos, arguably represented the first instance where city streets became politically contested spaces, transforming them into cultural arenas for projecting a group's self-image and facilitating the politicization of space. These efforts incited the reaction of the British, who perceived their authority over public space being challenged, and the Turkish Cypriots, who were committed to maintaining the status quo that prevailed under Ottoman rule. More than a mere re-naming process, the act of renaming streets mirrored the city's social dynamics and signalled a silent assertion of power. Street names served not only as living testimonials to the city's history but also as markers of its evolving identity, encapsulating narratives that were both shaped by and reflective of the prevailing socio-political context.*

**Keywords:** street naming, Christodoulos Sozos, Limassol, Greek-Cypriot national identity, commemoration

## Introduction

The dawn of the 20th century witnessed an intensified endeavour to Hellenise Limassol's streetscape. This effort was not merely an attempt to replace the city's previously

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English and Ottoman names but represented a strategic move to assert a Greek identity within the city. The new names were carefully selected to emphasise historical, religious, and national narratives that underlined the island's longstanding connections with Greece and the enduring presence of Hellenism in Cyprus. This move, however, incited protest from the Turkish Cypriot community, who resisted this Greek Cypriot effort and insisted on maintaining the status quo that prevailed during Ottoman rule.

The street names served as living testimonials of the city's history, a physical embodiment of the Greek presence, and symbols of the city's elite's aspirations. Street names were not merely informative labels; they embodied narratives that were integral to the city's identity, shaping and being shaped by the sociopolitical context in which they were situated.

The renaming process in Limassol underscored the prevailing romanticism in the Cypriot political scene, echoing notions of national identity and union with Greece. The act of street naming was not simply about bestowing names on city streets; it was also a political act and a reflection of the city's social dynamics. Amid the city's transformation, the (re)naming of streets served as a silent assertion of power, a means of instilling a collective consciousness among the population, and a method of inscribing history onto the cityscape.

The change of street names in Limassol mirrored the city's social, political, and cultural transition as the island of Cyprus shifted from Ottoman to British rule, and then moved towards embracing its Greek identity. Each name inscribed onto the city streets symbolized a chapter in the history of Cyprus, a tribute to its past, and a signal to its future. The renaming process was a manifestation of the ongoing struggle to define and express the city's identity, making the city streets a stage where different national, social, and cultural narratives played out.

This study attempts to shed light on a hitherto unknown aspect of Cyprus's political history concerning the naming of the streets of Limassol during the mayoralty of Christodoulos Sozos (1908-1912). Beginning with the last years of Ottoman rule (1871-1878), it traces the evolution of street nomenclature, revealing the trajectory towards the formation of Greek Cypriot national identity. This progression, through the examination of Limassol's street naming, uncovers the manner in which the demand for the Enosis (union) of Cyprus with Greece gradually intensified and became increasingly articulated in the public space.

The research relied on both primary and secondary sources. Primary material was sourced from prominent repositories, including the Cyprus National Archives, the

Limassol Municipal Archives (with a particular emphasis on the records of the Municipal Council), and the National Archives of the United Kingdom, with a specific focus on the colonial period. Additionally, valuable archival resources were drawn from institutions such as the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus and the Historical Archives of the Paphos Municipal Museum.

Vis-a-vis secondary sources, the research incorporated a wide array of public print materials, including historical books, photographs, chronicles, and written accounts from both visitors and residents during the 19th and 20th centuries. These secondary sources provided essential contextual information and supplementary perspectives to enrich the research findings.

## **Theoretical Background**

Street (re) naming, by its nature, represents both “spatial politics” (dictating control over space) and “territorial politics” (determining who possesses the right to speak). This act of naming can be hegemonic, reaffirming urban control, or counter-hegemonic when contested. Street (re) naming frequently signals a break with the past during periods of political transformation, facilitating the promotion of a new political establishment’s image within the urban environment<sup>4</sup>.

In the realm of public memory geopolitics, street naming functions as a carrier of ideology of the ruling elite through the act of commemoration, inscribing its visions of history over space<sup>5</sup>; it is not merely a means of orientation in the urban space that enables circulation of people and capital. Street names are interpreted as symbols to which people attribute meaning from which stems national identity<sup>6</sup>. Apart from the symbolism it carries, street naming is a political tool used for the legitimization of nationalistic projects and ideological imperatives<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore, it has been used to

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<sup>4</sup> Lawrence D Berg and Jani Vuolteenaho, *Critical Toponymies : The Contested Politics of Place Naming* (Ashgate Pub 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Duncan Light, ‘Street Names in Bucharest, 1990-1997: Exploring the Modern Historical Geographies of Post-Socialist Change’ (2004) 30 *Journal of Historical Geography* 154.

<sup>6</sup> Derek H Alderman, ‘Creating a New Geography of Memory in the South:(Re) Naming of Streets in Honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.’ (1996) 36 *Southeastern Geographer* 51, 54.

<sup>7</sup> Maoz Azaryahu, ‘German Reunification and the Politics of Street Names: The Case of East Berlin’ (1997) 16 *Political Geography* 479-493; Maoz Azaryahu and Arnon Golan, ‘(Re) Naming the Landscape: The Formation of the Hebrew Map of Israel 1949–1960’ (2001) 27 *Journal of Historical Geography* 178 <<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S030574880190297X>> accessed 2 August 2019.

indicate a temporal break with the past in times of changes in political power and is a tool to manifest the political establishment in space<sup>8</sup>.

Within the cultural geography of nationalism, the influence of nationalist imagination becomes apparent through the integration of historical memory and national myths into the physical space via street commemorations. This transforms the urban landscape into a text that speaks to both the inner and outer groups and is subject to various interpretations by members of different imagined communities<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, the commemoration of a historical event or a person can serve to promote the official historical narrative of the in-group while simultaneously undermining that of the out-group. References to the past, particularly those concerning national origins, often encompass the political mythology over history in crafting national identity<sup>10</sup>. This process often serves to validate and support the present, utilizing invented traditions to establish a symbolic environment and reinforce group unity, as seen in the context of the nation.

Street names function as structural components of urban space creating arenas where different interpretations of history intersect, thus revealing the underlying political dynamics of a specific era. In the same way, street naming can become an arena of struggle for racial and ethnic minority groups to inscribe their own narrative, and so be legitimized and accepted within the public realm<sup>11</sup>. The selection of commemorative street names constitutes a deliberate political act closely aligned with the prevailing ideology of the ruling authority. This act aims to legitimize their dominance within the streetscape by inscribing the official narrative into the urban space. Simi-

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<sup>8</sup> Reuben Rose-Redwood, “Sixth Avenue Is Now a Memory”, *Performativity, Politics, and the Production of Social Space* (Routledge 2014); Maoz Azaryahu, ‘The Power of Commemorative Street Names’ (1996) 14 *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 311 <<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1068/d140311>> accessed 24 March 2019; Lawrence D Berg and Robin A Kearns, ‘Naming as Norming: “Race”, Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand’ (1996) 14 *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 99; Graeme Gill, ‘Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names’ (2005) 64 *The Russian Review* 480 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3664605>>; Light (n 2).

<sup>9</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2nd edn, Verso Books 1991).

<sup>10</sup> Azaryahu, ‘The Power of Commemorative Street Names’ (n 5); Maoz Azaryahu and Rebecca Kook, ‘Mapping the Nation: Street Names and Arab-Palestinian Identity: Three Case Studies’ (2002) 8 *Nations and Nationalism* 195 <<http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/1469-8219.00046>> accessed 13 May 2018.

<sup>11</sup> Derek H Alderman and Joshua Inwood, ‘Street Naming and the Politics of Belonging: Spatial Injustices in the Toponymic Commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr’ (2013) 14 *Social & Cultural Geography* 211, 213 <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14649365.2012.754488>> accessed 14 April 2019.

larly, the (re)naming of streets can be a practice mandated to confer recognition upon historically marginalized groups. Changes in the political order following ideological or nationalistic struggles lead to the reconfiguration of street nomenclature, thereby rewriting the historical narrative in a way that strengthens and legitimizes the new ruling elite.<sup>12</sup> Alderman refers to naming as symbolic capital and symbolic resistance. The concept of naming as symbolic capital highlights the idea that place names are employed to bestow prestige and recognition upon the landscapes and those linked to them. On the other hand, the theme of naming as symbolic resistance recognises that place names are not exclusively in the hands of the ruling elites or dominant groups. Naming can be used by marginalized groups seeking to exert more influence in shaping the vision of the past inscribed in the landscape<sup>13</sup>.

Since memory is materialized through commemorative street names, spaces of commemoration often become spaces of political struggles between competing groups who want to dominate and legitimize themselves through the inscription of their own version of history and ideology in the urban space. Thus, commemoration, de-commemoration, and re-commemoration in the streetscape are acts that aim to serve the dominant ideology<sup>14</sup>. These processes often serve to perpetuate hierarchical power structures and fortify the standing of political elites within a given societal context.

Beyond their political symbolism, street names function as tools to legitimize nationalist projects<sup>15</sup> and ideologies. They signify a rupture with the past during political transitions, accentuating the new political image within the urban space. However, the actual control over the material and symbolic infrastructure of streets is

<sup>12</sup> Berg and Vuolteenaho (n 1); Maoz Azaryahu, 'Rabin's Road: The Politics of Toponymic Commemoration of Yitzhak Rabin in Israel' (2012) 31 *Political Geography* 73 <<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629811001788>> accessed 13 May 2018; Derek H Alderman, 'Street Names as Memorial Arenas: The Reputational Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King Jr in a Georgia County' in Lawrence D Berg and Jani Vuolteenaho (eds), *Critical toponymies : the contested politics of place naming* (2nd edn, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group 2016).

<sup>13</sup> Derek H Alderman, 'Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes' in Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Routledge 2008) 196–197.

<sup>14</sup> Guy Puzey and Jani Vuolteenaho, 'Developing a Gramscian Approach to Toponymy', *Names and their Environment: Proceedings of the 25th international congress of onomastic sciences* (University of Glasgow Glasgow 2016) 66.

<sup>15</sup> Brenda SA Yeoh, 'Street-Naming and Nation-Building: Toponymic Inscriptions of Nationhood in Singapore' [1996] *Area* 298.

contingent on people's willingness to accept or reject the narrative presented by the previous political authority.

## **Limassol – Setting the Historical Context**

In 1840-1878, Cyprus was a Sanjak or Liva of the Ottoman Empire in the Vilayet (prefecture) of the islands in the White Sea. The island was partitioned into six Kaza, administered by a Kaymakam (prefect); when the British took over the island, they maintained the administrative division of Cyprus. Limassol acted as the administrative centre, formed by the Nahiehs or Numratta (sub-sections) of Koilani, Avdimou, Episkopi, and the town of Limassol<sup>16</sup>. The consulates of Sweden, Italy, England, Austria, Greece, France, and America were based in Limassol as early as 1869<sup>17</sup>.

In 1878, Cyprus underwent an administrative change as it became a British protectorate through negotiations during the Congress of Berlin, with a tribute paid to the Sultan in exchange. The British administration's arrival on the island marked the onset of various processes linked to modernization, particularly noteworthy among which were advancements in knowledge production and the practices of governmentality.

Limassol is portrayed through the accounts of travellers who began to arrive as soon as Cyprus fell under British possession. According to Saville, Limassol was considered the best town in terms of geographical location on the island and was regarded as “more European in its appearance than any other place in the island and all travellers describe it as comparatively neat, clean and wholesome with tolerably well-built houses of clay and stone.” The town had only one street “a long line of shops and cafes which run parallel to the beach and behind it were most of the best dwelling houses, all standing in gardens”<sup>18</sup>. Von Loher postulated that “Limassol is more European in its appearance than any other town in Cyprus. Houses built of clay and stone pre-

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<sup>16</sup> 3 March 1882 The Cyprus Gazette, ‘The Cyprus Gazette’ (1882); Φίλιος Ζαννέτος, *Ιστορία Της Νήσου Κύπρου - Από Της Αγγλικής Κατοχής Μέχρι Σήμερα (Τόμος Β’)* (1η Έκδοση, Τύποις ‘Φιλοκαλίας’ 1911); Ιωάννης Θεοχαρίδης, ‘Οι Κύπριοι Προγραφέντες Το 1821 Σύμφωνα Με Άγνωστη Οθωμανική Πηγή’ <<http://olympias.lib.uoi.gr/jspui/handle/123456789/6400>> accessed 27 April 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Ευστάθιος Παρασκευάς, *Ευστάθιου Παρασκευά Παλαιμάχου ‘Παλαιαι Αναμνήσεις’ Και Έξι Κείμενα Του Ξενοφώντος Π. Φαρμακίδη ‘Η Λεμεσός Κατά Τον 19ο Αιώνα’* (Τίτος Κωλότας ed, 2η Έκδοση, Κανάλι 9,86 2018); Ξενοφών Π Φαρμακίδη, ‘Τεγονότα Τινά. Συμβάντα Εν Λεμεσώ Κατά Τα Έτη 1870-90’ *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 22 November 1935) 1.

<sup>18</sup> AR Saville, *Cyprus* (1st edn, Harrison and Sons for HMSO 1878) 46–47.

dominate here more especially in the part inhabited by the Turks<sup>19</sup>. Two years after the arrival of the British, Limassol underwent a significant transformation. Indeed, as Baker<sup>20</sup> observes, “no town in Cyprus exhibited the results of British occupation to the same extent as Limassol.” He also praised the efforts of the first commissioner, Colonel Warren, stating that his exceptional ability and energy were instrumental in effecting a thorough cleansing of the town, akin to the legendary cleansing of the “Augean stables.”<sup>21</sup> British administration signified a remarkable increase in population. The first census of the Limassol population in 1881 revealed that out of a total of 5994 citizens, 4060 were Greek-Orthodox and 1528 were Muslims<sup>22</sup>. In the census of 1911, twenty years after the arrival of the British, the population of Limassol had almost doubled<sup>23</sup>, with Christian residents constituting the vast majority<sup>24</sup>.

Limassol was the chief port in Cyprus since 1881<sup>25</sup> from which wine, raisins and carobs were exported<sup>26</sup>. While during Ottoman administration Larnaca surpassed Limassol in terms of prosperity, under British rule the situation was reversed. The conventions in effect during the Ottoman Rule - which favoured the Catholic tradesmen - were no longer in effect, and the competition increased with the Orthodox tradesmen, who were no longer part of the Reaya class<sup>27</sup> and could thus be actively involved in trade<sup>28</sup>. The access to sea meant that Limassol had a pivotal role in terms of the island’s communication with the world. By extension, the port of Limassol at

<sup>19</sup> *Cyprus Historical and Descriptive From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (R Worthington, 1878) 211.

<sup>20</sup> *Cyprus as I Saw It in 1879* (The Echo Library 1879) 257.

<sup>21</sup> (n 17) 256–257.

<sup>22</sup> The Cyprus Gazette, ‘The Cyprus Gazette (No. 82, March 3, 1882)’ (1882).

<sup>23</sup> G. Georgallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926* (2nd edn, Cyprus Research Center 1979) 428; Statistical Service of Cyprus (Cystat), ‘No Title’ (*POP-POPULATION-A74\_18-EN-291119*) <[https://library.cystat.gov.cy/Documents/Publication/POP-POPULATION-A74\\_18-EN-291119.xls](https://library.cystat.gov.cy/Documents/Publication/POP-POPULATION-A74_18-EN-291119.xls)>.

<sup>24</sup> Κώστας Πιλαβάκης, *Η Λεμεσός σ’ Άλλους Καιρούς* (2η Έκδοση, Εκδόσεις Ονήσιλος 1977).

<sup>25</sup> ‘The Port of Limassol, Cyprus’ *Illustrated London News* (London, 29 October 1881) 429.

<sup>26</sup> Baker W. (n 17); A. Green, *Cyprus. A Short Account of Its History and Present State* (Kilmacolm : M Graham Coltart 1914) <<https://archive.org/details/cyprussshortaccou00greeiala?q=Nicosia>>; George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Volume 4, The Ottoman Province. The British Colony, 1571–1948*. (Harry Luke ed, Cambridge University Press 1952); Gordon Home, *Cyprus Then and Now* (JM Dent & Sons Ltd 1960) <<https://archive.org/details/in.gov.ignca.28379/page/n7?q=Nicosia>>; Sir Hutchinson, Joseph Turner and Claude Delaval Cobham, *A Handbook of Cyprus* (Edward Stanford 1907); Charles Harry Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks (1571-1878)* (Oxford University Press 1921); Saville (n 15).

<sup>27</sup> The lowest class representing the mass of subjects in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>28</sup> Hamilton Lang, *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources and Future Prospects* (Macmillan And Co 1878); Luke (n 23); Γεωργίου Σ Φραγκούδη, *ΚΥΠΡΙΣ* (Αλέξανδρος Παπαγεωργίου 1890); Rolandos



socioeconomic and ideological levels constituted the gate of Cyprus for new ideologies, trends, national movements, novelties in the arts, education, and politics<sup>29</sup>.

Before 1890 Limassol had only two quarters, namely Ayia Napa and Katholiki<sup>30</sup>. The riverbed of Garillis formed the natural boundary separating the Christian and Muslim communities. The Muslims resided predominantly in the Western part of the city in derelict houses, beyond the bed of Garillis, known as the “Turkish Mahalla.”<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, there were few Muslims living in other areas of the city. Those were Tsiflikkoudia (Chiftikler) in the west, Arnavout or Arnaouthkia inhabited by Turkish Albanians in the northwest of the city<sup>32</sup>, the “Kkesougloudia”, a Turkish Cypriot neighbourhood owned by a rich ottoman named Koseoglou<sup>33</sup> from Syria<sup>34</sup>, Ayian-don<sup>35</sup> (Ayios Antonios) and Tzamouda at Katholiki quarter in the north of the city<sup>36</sup>. The Turkish-Cypriot community in Limassol developed around places of worship. Turkish-Cypriot craftsmen and merchants were concentrated in the area between the Jedit and Kebir mosques<sup>37</sup>.

In 1896, Colonel Green provided his own description of Limassol, more than a decade after the British arrival on the island. He described the town as extending approximately one mile along a low, shingly beach from the mouth of the little Garillis river in the west. The town had very little depth, with few, if any, buildings boasting notable architectural pretensions. Green remarked that while the streets of Limassol were kept nice and clean, they were exceedingly narrow.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the population of the city saw impressive growth in the period since the first census

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Katsiaounis, ‘Labour Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century’ (University of London 1996).

<sup>29</sup> Katsiaounis (n 25).

<sup>30</sup> In 1912 the British decided the formation of new quarters in the town of Limassol. Therefore, the town was divided into six quarters as follows: Ayia Trias, Ayia Napa, Katholiki, Ayios Antonios, Kiose Oglia, Hambeli or Jami Jedit .

<sup>31</sup> Πιλαβάκης (n 21).

<sup>32</sup> Ξενοφών Π Φαρμακίδης, *Ιστορία Της Λεμεσού - Μετά Λαογραφικών Και Τοπογραφικών Σημειώσεων Και Διαφόρων Γεγονότων Από Της Ιδρύσεως Αυτής Μέχρι Του 1897* (Χρυσοστ Γ Σταυρινίδου 1942).

<sup>33</sup> Φαρμακίδης (n 29).

<sup>34</sup> Today known as the Heroon (Heroes’) Square.

<sup>35</sup> A mixed neighborhood in the west of Djami Jedit

<sup>36</sup> The area derived its name from a small mosque that once stood there.

<sup>37</sup> Akif Akif, Ozay, Selcuk, *Echoes from the Past : The Turkish Cypriot Community of Limassol and Its Heritage - Gecmisten Yankilar: Leymosun Kibris Turk Cemaati ve Mirasi - Ηχώ Από Παλιά : η Τουρκοκυπριακή Κοινότητα Της Λεμεσού Και η Κληρονομιά Της*. (Terra Cypria Supported by UNDP and Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture 2008).

<sup>38</sup> Green (n 23).





Zig-Zag Street, Limassol.

(Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives,  
Research Center of Limassol CYLHA.03.005.020.0004)

conducted by the British in 1881 until the fourth census in 1911, all the while maintaining a Greek-Cypriot majority. This increase in population rendered necessary an improved planning of the city's infrastructure, that included the introduction of street naming geared towards better orientation and navigation within the urban space (Table 1).

### **Interplay of Religion, Nationalism, and Colonial Administration in the early Formation of Greek and Turkish Cypriot Identities**

The reactions towards the colonial government had already manifested since 1884 when the first rallies were held in response to the imposition of unbearable taxation by the British<sup>39</sup>. March 1885 saw the first major uproar against the British during the

<sup>39</sup> Πέτρος Παπαπολυβίου, 'Η Πολιτική Ιστορία Της Λεμεσού Κατά Τη Διάρκεια Της Αγγλοκρατίας', *Λεμεσός, ταξίδι στους χρόνους μιας πόλης* (Δήμος Λεμεσού 2006); Ζαννέτος (n 13); Πιλαβάκης (n 21);

Epitaph procession in Limassol. The clashes resulted in the destruction of the British Club<sup>40</sup>. The movement for the union of Cyprus with Greece was particularly strong in Limassol<sup>41</sup>. A decade later, on the initiative of the then mayor Demosthenes, a rally was organized in Limassol where a resolution was adopted calling for exemption from the heavy taxation imposed by the British<sup>42</sup> and the union with Greece<sup>43</sup>.

An appreciation of the politicization of street naming in Cyprus necessitates a deep understanding of how the island's two major communities, the Greek Orthodox and Turkish Muslim communities, formed their national identities. For the Orthodox community, a pivotal moment was the Greek declaration of independence and the advent of the Megali Idea (*Μεγάλη Ιδέα*). This concept extended the notion of Hellenism beyond the boundaries of the Greek state and underscored the obligation of redeemed Greeks to unify with their irredentist peers. As an embodiment of Greek identity, it depicted a seamless historical progression from Greek antiquity, through Byzantium, to the establishment of the Greek state, deeply entwined with Orthodoxy and the Greek language<sup>44</sup>. It also sparked an irredentist movement seeking the emancipation of Greeks in historically Greek territories, including Cyprus, aimed at constituting an expanded Greek state<sup>45</sup>. The nationalistic doctrine promulgated through the Church-controlled education system served the Church's political aspirations<sup>46</sup>.

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Πλουτής Σέρβας, *Τα Προικιά Της Λεμεσού* (Τυπογραφείο 'Πρόοδος' 1999).

<sup>40</sup> Ζαννέτος (n 13).

<sup>41</sup> Παπαπολυβίου, 'Η Πολιτική Ιστορία Της Λεμεσού Κατά Τη Διάρκεια Της Αγγλοκρατίας' (n 37); Πιλαβάκης (n 21); Σέρβας (n 37).

<sup>42</sup> There were also rallies in Nicosia and Larnaka in which Cypriots protested against the tribute tax (Zinzirier tax). According to the agreement of the concession of Cyprus to England in 1878, tribute was to be paid to the Ottoman Empire, the amount of which amounted to 92,800 pounds per year. This amount, which the British withheld to repay a loan owed by the Ottoman Empire to them since the Crimean War, was paid by Cypriot Muslims and non-Muslims (according to colonial terminology).

<sup>43</sup> J. Foscolo, 'The Agitation Against the Turkish Suzerainty in Cyprus' [1895] *Graphic* 26 <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000057/18950525/038/0026>> accessed 16 August 2019.

<sup>44</sup> Πασχάλης Μ Κιτρομηλίδης, "Νοερές Κοινότητες" Και Οι Απαρχές Του Εθνικού Ζητήματος Στα Βαλκάνια' in Θάνος Βερέμης and others (eds), *Εθνική Ταυτότητα και Εθνικισμός στη Νεότερη Ελλάδα* (3η, 2003); Έλλη Σκοπετέα, *Το Πρότυπο Βασίλειο' Και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις Του Εθνικού Προβλήματος Στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)* (4η, Πολύτυπο 1988).

<sup>45</sup> Πέτρος Παπαπολυβίου, *Η Κύπρος Και Οι Βαλκανικοί Πόλεμοι. Συμβολή Στην Ιστορία Του Κυπριακού Εθελοντισμού* (1η, Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών Κύπρου 1997).

<sup>46</sup> See also Adamantia Pollis, 'Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus' (1973) 5 *Comparative Politics* 575; Michalis Michael, 'History, Myth and Nationalism: The Retrospective Force of National Roles within a Myth-Constructed Past' in Ayhan Aktar, Niyazi Kızılyürek and Umut Özkırmı (eds), *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* (Palgrave Macmillan 2010).

The British rule dissolved the Ottoman administrative structure, where the Archbishop and Mufti led the Orthodox and Muslim communities, respectively<sup>47</sup>. The British introduced a Legislative Council, which - although initially appointing members - allowed for representation of both communities. Concerns over Christian and Muslim representation resulted in separate electoral rolls, religious-based proportional representation, and separate administrative structures. These measures politicized the Christian-Muslim divide and enabled the Church of Cyprus to maintain its dominance over the Orthodox community through active political involvement. The opening of a Greek consulate in Larnaca in 1833<sup>48</sup> contributed to the development of a Greek national identity<sup>49</sup>.

The process of street naming undertaken by the Limassol Municipal Council must be viewed in the context of significant political unrest on the island during that period. The passing of prominent political figure Archbishop Sofronios in 1900, marked the inception of a profound conflict<sup>50</sup> within the political elite<sup>51</sup>. Henceforth, the Church of Cyprus would take the leadership of the nationalist movement on the island that aimed union with Greece (Enosis)<sup>52</sup>. During this protracted decade-long conflict,

<sup>47</sup> A Attalides, Michael, *Cyprus. Nationalism and International Politics* (1st edn, Bibliopolis 2003).

<sup>48</sup> Caesar V CV Mavratsas, 'The Ideological Contest between Greek-Cypriot Nationalism and Cypriotism 1974–1995: Politics, Social Memory and Identity' (1997) 20 *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 717 <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.1997.9993986>> accessed 5 November 2015; Βασιλης Πρωτοπατάς, *Εκλογική Ιστορία Της Κύπρου. Πολιτευτές, Κόμματα Και Εκλογές Στην Αγγλοκρατία 1878-1960* (1η Έκδοση, Θεμέλιο 2012).

<sup>49</sup> Γιώργος Γεωργιάς, *Η Ίδρυση Και Λειτουργία Του Ελληνικού Υποπροξενείου Στην Κύπρο 1833-1864. Μια Ενδεικτική Πτυχή Των Ελληνοτουρκικών Σχέσεων*. (Λευκωσία, Εν Τύποις 2017) 395; Caesar V. Mavratsas, 'National Identity and Consciousness in Everyday Life: Towards a Sociology of Knowledge of Greek-Cypriot Nationalism' (1999) 5 *Nations and Nationalism* 91; Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the Era of British Colonialism. Emergence, Mobilisation and Transformations of Right-Wing Party Politics* (Springer Nature 2017) 84; N Michalis Michael, 'Cities and Ideologies in 19th Century Cyprus: A Traditional Capital and a Modern Port City' (2019) 22 *Chronos: Revue d'histoire de l'Université de Balamand* 85.

<sup>50</sup> The Archiepiscopal Question represented a notable departure from the prevailing socio-political norms in Cyprus. The rupture between the radicals, who embodied the new urban bourgeoisie and nationalist sentiments (Kitiakoi), and the conservative traditionalists, who were represented by the conservatives (Kyriniakoi) and maintained a moderate stance towards the British, marked a significant turning point. This conflict constituted a pivotal juncture during which a majority of the population actively engaged in political affairs.

<sup>51</sup> Katsourides (n 47).

<sup>52</sup> Andrekos Varnava and Irene Pophaides, 'Kyrillos II, 1909-16: The First Greek Nationalist and Enosisist Archbishop-Ethnarch' in Andrekos Varnava and Michalis N Michael (eds), *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age : The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, Their Identities and Politics* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2013); Yiannos Katsourides, *The Greek Cypriot Nationalist Right in the*

Christodoulos Sozos openly aligned with the radicals within the Kitiakoi faction, advocating for Enosis and fostering unity among those opposing the British regime<sup>53</sup>. In the most open and persistent manner, the Municipal Council of Limassol, under the leadership of Christodoulos Sozos, openly declared the request for Union with Greece. In the process of the symbolic construction of the Greek national identity, street naming was utilized for the legitimization of the nationalistic project<sup>54</sup> of Enosis.

On the other hand, Turkish nationalism, triggered by the 1908 Young Turk Revolution (also known as the Committee of Union and Progress, CUP), materialized in Cyprus much later than its Greek equivalent. Until then, opposition to Enosis (union with Greece) was mostly confined to the political and religious elites who, in response to the majority Christian community's demand, advocated for continued British rule.<sup>55</sup>

The first ethnic clashes between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots were observed for the first time in Limassol in 1912. Instigated by the attack of Turkish-Cypriots against Greek-Cypriot students in Nicosia, outbreaks of violence were noted in Limassol resulting in five casualties<sup>56</sup>. According to the then Chief Secretary of the British Government of Cyprus, Charles Orr: "Time will show how far it is politic to move in Cyprus but riots which occurred in Limassol in 1912 resulted in bloodshed showing that "the feeling between the two elements of the population" was one with which it is necessary to reckon and that caution is required if the local government is to carry out successfully its important duty of preserving law and order in the island"<sup>57</sup>.

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*Era of British Colonialism Emergence, Mobilisation and Transformations of Right-Wing Party Politics* (Springer 2017); Paschalis M Kitromilides, 'Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus' (1990) 26 Middle Eastern Studies 3.

<sup>53</sup> Katsiaounis (n 25) 239.

<sup>54</sup> Azaryahu, 'The Power of Commemorative Street Names' (n 5); Berg and Kearns (n 5); Gill (n 5); Rose-Redwood (n 5).

<sup>55</sup> A Nevzat, M Hatay-Middle Eastern Studies and undefined 2009, 'Politics, Society and the Decline of Islam in Cyprus: From the Ottoman Era to the Twenty-First Century' Taylor & Francis <[https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00263200903268686?casa\\_token=t3biRQ48o8IAAAAA:Xg-pAlp8umxX0\\_awKyJN-3hSyIDlJbZVQCjoUxAJYNNX6OaHvdbMC0DIV0cS8wxHdhYaem\\_OHL-j0C](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00263200903268686?casa_token=t3biRQ48o8IAAAAA:Xg-pAlp8umxX0_awKyJN-3hSyIDlJbZVQCjoUxAJYNNX6OaHvdbMC0DIV0cS8wxHdhYaem_OHL-j0C)> accessed 19 February 2019; Niazı Kızılyürek, *Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι, η Τουρκία Και Το Κυπριακό* (1η Έκδοση, Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση 2009); Μιχάλης Ατταλίδης, 'Οι Σχέσεις Των Ελληνοκυπρίων Με Τους Τουρκοκυπρίους' in Γιώργος Τεκεκνίδης and Γιάννος Κρανιδιώτης (eds), *Κύπρος, Ιστορία, Προβλήματα και Αγώνες του Λαού της* (3η, Βιβλιοπωλείο της Εστίας 2009).

<sup>56</sup> Πιλαβάκης (n 21).

<sup>57</sup> William James Orr Charles, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (Robert Scott 1918) 119.

## Naming the Streets of Limassol

The first official street naming list in Limassol was compiled in 1871 (Table 2) as part of the comprehensive registration carried out during the initial general registration effort. Subsequently, the earliest existing list of street names in Limassol dates back to 1883, encompassing a total of 62 names. This compilation retained the street names recorded in 1871 during the initial general registration process, which was facilitated by the implementation of the Turkish Law, wherein the responsibility of maintaining the street signs fell upon the property owners. According to British legislation, the street names served as boundary marks within the towns, and the Director of Survey was empowered to oversee this task. The municipalities faced penalties if they removed the plates that were installed during the survey of 1881. Additionally, the municipality was not authorized to install plates on private property without prior approval from the British authorities. Property owners were granted the right to remove the street signs if they so desired<sup>58</sup>.

The street names in Limassol were typically based on the ownership status of the adjacent properties or the proximity to public spaces such as churches, mosques, and workshops. Contemporaneous written testimonies note that numerous streets were named after prominent Limassol residents, such as Yiangos Giasonides and Theodosios Morides. Other streets bore names of mosques, Catholic churches, and significant landmarks such as Joubbezli Baghdja (Cumbezli Bache - Sycamore tree) and Billardo garshessi<sup>59</sup>.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, the first Governor of Cyprus, tasked Horatio Herbert Kitchener in 1878 to draft a rudimentary map of Cyprus. This was in preparation for a detailed topographical survey of the new British protectorate. The first detailed map of Limassol, completed in 1881 at a scale of 1:2500, featured some but not all street names. While developing this map, Kitchener retained old names, adding or altering only a few. Notably, all street names were subjected to approval from the High Commissioner<sup>60</sup> before being officially adopted<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> 'LRS1/13639 Registrat General to the Chief Secretary, 5 August 1911' (1911); Law 8 of 1885 To Regulate the Duties and Powers of Municipalities 1885 600.

<sup>59</sup> See table 1

<sup>60</sup> The Municipality had the authority to place street signs according to law VIII of 1885. However, this authority required the enactment of a byelaw, therefore the Municipality had no power without the Government's approval to place street signs on private property.

<sup>61</sup> Registrar General to Chief Secretary, 'LRS1/13639/1911 Change in Names of Limassol Streets. Registrar General to Chief Secretary 5 August 1911' 2; Registrar General to Chief Secretary, 'LRS1/13639/1911

In 1881, during the mayorship of Karydes, a decision was made by the Limassol Municipality to assign names to previously unnamed streets<sup>62</sup>. Recognizing an anomaly arising from the rapid increase in new buildings and, consequently, the expansion of building numbers within the city, the Municipal Council took a significant decision on 6th March 1889 during the mayorship of Hadjipavlos. This decision called for a comprehensive revision of the existing numbering system and general street numbering, with the primary objective of providing names to streets that remained unnamed<sup>63</sup>. To facilitate this process, a committee was appointed consisting of “Christian, Lanitis, Ali Aga, and the Secretary of the Municipality, Spyros Araouzos”.

On 17th April of the same year, the Municipality approved an expenditure of £15 to finance the implementation of a standardized numbering system for all buildings within the city. This budget also encompassed the installation of plates displaying street names<sup>64</sup>. Importantly, all street signs were written in English<sup>65</sup>.

Following the approval of the expenditure, a committee composed of Pilavakis, Karagiannis, and Rossides was elected on 22nd May 1889<sup>66</sup>. The primary responsibility of this committee was to survey the various streets of Limassol and classify those that were unclassified. Subsequently, the committee submitted its comprehensive report on 28th February 1890<sup>67</sup>, listing a total of 80 street names (Table 3).

The minutes of 15th May 1890<sup>68</sup> also refer to the then recently named Saripolou Street, illustrating the ongoing efforts to assign names to previously unnamed streets<sup>69</sup>. It also shows the increase of the number of streets that had to be named indicating in this way the spatial expansion of the city.

The compiled list of street names included both the additions made in 1881 and 1889 (Table 4). Intriguingly, out of the 80 streets listed, 23 bear names associated with Greece; this act of street commemoration can be described as the initial endeavor

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Change in Names of Limassol Streets. Registrar General to Chief Secretary 1st July 1911' 1.

<sup>62</sup> 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού, 19 Μαρτίου 1881' (1881); 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού 19 Φεβρουαρίου 1881' (1881).

<sup>63</sup> 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού 14 Μαρτίου 1889' (1889).

<sup>64</sup> 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού 17 Απριλίου 1889' (1889).

<sup>65</sup> 'LRS1/13639 Registrar General to the Chief Secretary, 10 October 1911' (1911); Agnes Smith, *Through Cyprus* (Hurst and Blackett 1887).

<sup>66</sup> 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού 22 Μαΐου 1889' (1889).

<sup>67</sup> 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού 28 Φεβρουαρίου 1890' (1890).

<sup>68</sup> 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού 15 Μαΐου 1890' (1890).

<sup>69</sup> Nikolaos Saripolos (1817-1887). A Greek Cypriot professor of constitutional law at the University of Athens. He authored the Constitution of Greece.



or to inscribe cultural ties to Greece and the Greek identity within the urban space of Limassol. It is interesting how history is presented through naming but especially the way in which naming legitimizes the British power in space. This is not surprising as the first Mayor of Limassol, Christodoulos Karydes<sup>70</sup>, the first Mayor of Cyprus as well as the Members of the Municipal Council were appointed by the British administration<sup>71</sup>. The street names follow the history of the island chronologically. Along with the Greeks (Salamis street), the island was colonized by the Phoenicians (Phoenician street). The naming of the streets then continues from the point where the island was taken by Alexander the Great and then passed under the rule of the Ptolemies. Following the Ptolemies, the island became a Roman province and on the division of the empire it fell to the lot of the Byzantine Empire (Zeno street and St. Barnabas street)<sup>72</sup>. Crusade and Richard street refers to Richard Coeur de Lion who conquered the island in 1191 and then sold it to the Knight Templars<sup>73</sup> (see Crusader Street). The Templars' oppressive rule caused a revolt on the island, leading them to return it to Richard. Richard then granted the island to Guy de Lusignan, the deposed king of Jerusalem<sup>74</sup> (Jerusalem Street). Blondel street commemorates the faithful minstrel of Richard who - according to the legend - saved him from captivity<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> 'CYLHA.05.005.0001.30 - Minutes of the Limassol Municipal Council, 3 December 1878 - Notice' (1878).

<sup>71</sup> Dixon presents Karydes behaving as a subordinate in his interactions with the British officials. "sons of Milton, Byron and Shakespeare" William Dixon H., *British Cyprus* (Chapman and Hall 1879) 306 <<https://archive.org/details/britishcyprus00dixogoog/page/n160>> accessed 23 March 2019. Karydes was appointed by the Commissioner of Limassol and later chief Secretary to Government, Falkland Warren.

<sup>72</sup> Barnabas was the founder of the Church of Cyprus. In 478 AD the Patriarchate of Antioch interfered in the internal affairs of the Church of Cyprus. The then Archbishop of Cyprus Anthemius found the relic of the Apostle Varnava with the Gospel of Matthew and offered it to the Byzantine Emperor Zeno. Zeno convened an extraordinary ecumenical council in Constantinople in 488 AD, where the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus was confirmed. At the same time, Zeno granted three privileges to the Archbishop of Cyprus and his successors (wearing a red cloak at official ceremonies, carrying an imperial scepter, and signing in red ink). Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Χρονολογική Της Νήσου Κύπρου* (Παρά Νικολάω Γλυκει των Εξ Ιωαννίνων 1788) 49.

<sup>73</sup> Λεόντιος Μαχαίρας, Γώργιος Μαυρογένης and Άντρος Παυλίδης, *Λεόντιου Μαχαίρα Εξήγησις: Χρονικόν : Της Γλυκειάς Χώρας Κύπρου η Ποια Λέγεται Κρονακα Τουτεστιν* ([Φιλόκυπρος], 1983).

<sup>74</sup> Nicholas Coureas, "The Conquest of Cyprus During the Third Crusade According to Greek Chronicles from Cyprus", *The Medieval Chronicle VIII* (Brill 2013).

<sup>75</sup> Jean Fiori, *Richard the Lionheart, King and Knight* (Translated by Jean Birrell ed, Edinburgh University Press 1999); David Boyle, *The Troubadour's Song: The Capture, Imprisonment and Ransom of Richard the Lionheart* (Walker Publishing Company, Inc 2005).

The Ottoman period is rather sidelined in the nomenclature of the streets. The British empire and its dominance in space is expressed through the naming of the main and most important streets of Limassol after Victoria, Albert, Prince of Wales, Queen, as well as St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St David and St. George (the four patron Saints of Great Britain and Ireland).

The Greek street names emerged during the process of street naming for those previously unnamed, without strongly expressing the national ideology. Moreover, the fact that street signs were exclusively written in English in a city with a limited percentage of literate residents<sup>76</sup> indicates the influence of British colonization on the urban landscape. Notably, there were street names commemorating Greek heroes of the struggle for independence in 1821-1827, such as Koraes, Kanaris, and Miaoulis<sup>77</sup>, as well as “Enoseos” (Union) Street which was adjunct to the building of the homonymous Association.

The existence of street names that highlight the history of Cypriots and their connections with Greece demonstrates that the demand for unification was still primarily an elite aspiration, as the conditions for the formation of a collective self-awareness leading to the creation of an ethnic group with a distinctive national identity had not yet fully evolved. In simpler terms, the Christian population maintained an ethnic identity but had not yet reached the stage of forming a national identity<sup>78</sup>.

In June 1907, in an article published in the newspaper “Alithia,” the author expressed their concern about the fact that while walking through the streets of Cypriot cities, one cannot discern that Greeks inhabit the island by looking at the street signs. Instead, the streets bear Latin elements and names associated with English history or names commonly found in English cities, which the author describes as “foreign and strange,” given that they are given to streets inhabited by the Greek population. The author specifically mentioned Blondel and Alfred streets in Limassol, along with other English street names, asserting that they have no reason to be commemorated in Cyprus and that naming streets with such names is a disregard towards the homeland’s history, Greek letters, sentiments, and culture of the people. The article further

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<sup>76</sup> Katsiaounis (n 25).

<sup>77</sup> In 1884, the Greek warship “Navarchos (Admiral) Miaoulis” arrived in Limassol under the command of Captain Kriezis, executing a training voyage. The ship’s arrival in Limassol was met with a fervent reception by the Greek inhabitants, who rushed to the sea to greet the crew, chanting slogans in favor of the unification (Enosis) of Cyprus with Greece. Concurrently, events were organized to honor the ship’s crew. It is noteworthy that the road starting from the small pier, where passengers and goods disembarked, was named “Miaoulis Street” until its replacement in 1908.

<sup>78</sup> Anthony D Smith, ‘The Ethnic Origins of Nations’.



commented on how despite the Limassol Municipal Council giving Greek names to certain streets such as Thermopylae, Themistocles, Alexander the Great, Muses, Pallas, Union, Miaoulis, Kanaris, and Amathus, most streets still bear names foreign to history, the city's history, and the broader Greek ethnicity. As stated in the article, the residents of Saint Patrick Street removed the sign with its name. The author suggested taking measures to replace the names of other streets before similar actions, which they consider logical and likely, are taken by Greek residents of the city for other streets. The author also warned that this is not the first time a nation has given "profound and impressive lessons in national dignity" to their rulers and superiors<sup>79</sup>.

### **De-commemorating the traces of the British Rule and the Ottoman past**

In 1908, during the mayorship of Christodoulos Sozos<sup>80</sup>, the Limassol Municipal Council decided to establish a three-member committee comprising the Mayor and Members Nikolaos Kl. Lanitis<sup>81</sup> and Evgenios Zenon. This committee was tasked

<sup>79</sup> Αλήθεια, 'Δελτίον' *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 1907) 1.

<sup>80</sup> During the Balkan Wars, a large number of citizens of Limassol enlisted as volunteers in the Greek Army; among those was also the Mayor of Limassol, Christodoulos Sozos, who was killed fighting at Ioannina.

<sup>81</sup> Christodoulos Sozos studied law at the University of Athens. He served as the Mayor of Limassol from 1908 to 1912 and participated in the Legislative Council for two consecutive terms from 1901 to 1911. He was the first to systematically oppose the British in the Legislative Council, earning their respect. His work as the Mayor of Limassol was monumental, and as a parliamentarian, he showed a particular interest in the protection of Cypriot antiquities and education. He volunteered in the Balkan Wars and fell in battle in 1912. As Mayor, Sozos emerged as the first Cypriot mayor with a vision and plan for his city, introducing remarkable innovations in a region that had recently emerged from Ottoman rule 'Η Κύπρος Αποτίει Φόρον Τιμής Εις Την Ιεράν Μνήμην Του Χριστ. Σώζου Και Των Λοιπών Κυπρίων Ηρώων Του 1912-1913 (Ομιλία Του Ν. Κλ. Λανίτη)' [1953] *Ελληνική Κύπρος* 13; Πέτρος Παπαπολυβίου, 'Χριστόδουλος Σώζος Και Νικόλας Κλ. Λανίτης: Δύο Μεγάλες Μορφές Της Λεμεσού', *Ιστοριογραφώντας την Λεμεσό - Πρακτικά 1ου Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου Προφορικής Ιστορίας 2005* (Κέντρο Μελετών Δήμου Λεμεσού); Κ Κυριακίδης, Χρίστος, 'Ο Χριστόδουλος Σώζος Και η Δράση Του Στο Νομοθετικό Συμβούλιο' (2016) XXXVIII Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 361; Αριστείδης Α Κουδουνάρης, *Βιογραφικών Λεξικών Κυπρίων 1800-1920 (Τόμος Α')*, *Ζ' Επνηξημένη Έκδοσις* (Ζ', Έδρα Ουνέσκο, Πανεπιστήμιο Λευκωσίας 2018); Αλήθεια, 'Χριστόδουλος Σώζος' *Σάλπιγξ* (Λεμεσός, 28 December 1912) 2; Αλήθεια, 'Χριστόδουλος Σώζος' *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 21 December 1912) 2; Αλήθεια, 'Εκείνοι Που Φεύγουν - Χριστόδουλος Σώζος' *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 1 March 1913) 2; Παπαπολυβίου, *Η Κύπρος Και Οι Βαλκανικοί Πόλεμοι. Συμβολή Στην Ιστορία Του Κυπριακού Εθελοντισμού* (n 43). Nikolaos Kl. Lanitis studied law at the University of Athens. He served as a member of the Legislative Council from 1911 to 1916, 1916 to 1921, and 1930 to 1931. Lanitis was also a member of the Limassol Municipal Council from 1908 to 1911.

with renaming all the old streets of the city and assigning names to the new streets<sup>82</sup> Following Zenon's departure, the preparation of the report rested exclusively in the hands of Lanitis. The report was presented before the Municipal Council on 22nd October 1908 (Table 5). In the presence of the Ottoman Vice President Mahmud Shevket Effendi, the Limassol Municipal Council unanimously approved the proposal for street-naming<sup>83</sup>.

In his comprehensive report, Lanitis underscored the profound significance of street nomenclature, positing that street names serve as reflective narratives of a nation's history. He ardently advocated that street names are instrumental in enabling visitors to unravel the shared beliefs and ideologies of the local population<sup>84</sup>. Lanitis advanced the notion that the renaming of existing streets represented a moral obligation for his generation, offering an avenue to honour the city's pathways. Consequently, the Municipal Council embarked on a mission of commemoration, acknowledging individuals entwined with the region's rich and multifaceted history. According to Lanitis, this act of remembrance intended to recognize the enduring struggles of the indigenous people and the deep-seated influence of religion and education on the Greek nation's twenty-five-century-long presence.

Lanitis primarily proposed names irrevocably connected with the history, culture, and traditions of the Greek Cypriots. Simultaneously, he endeavoured to commemorate noteworthy events and distinguished figures from bygone eras. His report offered an exhaustive and detailed delineation explaining the rationale behind the selection of these names. He observed that Cyprus' history is brimming with names deserving of commemoration, sufficient enough to designate all the streets of a large European city. For Limassol, a small town, designations from the "great Greek homeland" would be immortalized in the town's streets. He further argued that places tied to important historical events had to be commemorated in the streets of Limassol, thus serving a dual function: educating the city's residents about their nation's history and acting as a reminder of their duties as inheritors of a glorious Greek past. Lanitis' proposed names, imbued with the homeland history of Greek Cypriots and referring

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After the Cyprus revolt in 1931, he was exiled to Athens by the British Κουδονάρης; Παπατολυβίου, Χριστόδουλος Σώζος Και Νικόλας Κλ. Λανίτης: Δύο Μεγάλες Μορφές Της Λεμεσού'; Πιλαβάκης (n 21).

<sup>82</sup> 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού Ημερ. 12 Ιουνίου 1908' (1908).

<sup>83</sup> Χριστόδουλος Σώζος, 'Σώζος Προς Τον Προσωρινόν Διοικητήν Λεμεσού, 30 Αυγούστου' 9; 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού Ημερ. 22 Οκτωβρίου 1908' (1908).

<sup>84</sup> Νικόλαος Λανίτης, 'Η Ονοματοθεσία Των Οδών Η Προς Το Δημοτικόν Συμβούλιον Έκθεσις' *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 1908) 1.

4. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ ΛΕΜΕΣΟΥ 20

| Παλαιά ὀνόματα.  | Ἐν Λεμεσῷ τῇ | - Νέα ὀνόματα -           |
|--|--------------|---------------------------|
| 72 Ἡ ὁδὸς Βαρυπύου   | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | <u>Πυραῶν</u> ἢ Βεραππίου |
| 73 Ἡ ὁδὸς Ἀφροροϊαίου  | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Ἀφροροϊαίου               |
| 74 Ἡ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐυδερσιᾶτου<br>ἢ Λογερῶν            | —            | Ἡ ὁδὸς Βαρυπύου Κιαγροῦ   |
| 75 Ἡ ὁδὸς Κλοραῖ   | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Παύλου Μεγά               |
| 76 Ἡ ὁδὸς Λαοῦ   | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Λαοῦ                      |
| 77 Ἡ ὁδὸς Λογύρας  | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Λογύρας                   |
| 78 Ἡ ὁδὸς Βυδρῶν   | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Τριβα                     |
| 79 Ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς οἰκίας Καραϊουσιᾶν γέφυρ<br>τῆς οἰκίας Ἀρσείου | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Μαρουσιᾶν                 |
| 80 Μία ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας                                   | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Λαλαίου                   |
| 81 Ἡ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας                                     | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Παναγιῶ                   |
| 82 Ἡ ὁδὸς Ἀγίου Τυππίου                                      | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Τυππίου τοῦ Ἁγίου         |
| 83 Ἡ ὁδὸς Ἀγίου Ἀρσείου                                      | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Ἀγίου Ἀρσείου             |
| 84 Ἡ ὁδὸς Παγιάδου   | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Ἀγίου Παναγιῶ             |
| 85 Ἡ ὁδὸς Ἀγιάδου  | Ἡ ὁδὸς       | Ἀγιάδου                   |

Ἐν τῇ Δημαρχίᾳ. —  
30. 8. 1911.

List of street names by Christodoulos Sozos 1911.  
(Cyprus National Archives SA1\_1041\_1911\_001)

to Greece's myths, traditions, and legends, were slated to replace the "inconsequential names bearing no relation to the city's populace." Lanitis characterized the names bestowed by the English<sup>85</sup> as "demonstrations of considerable indifference," which arrived in Cyprus amidst the wave of modernization in 1878.

<sup>85</sup> 30 street names originally chosen by the British Administration were replaced (see Table 4)

In Limassol, streets were named in commemoration of British Philhellenes. Specifically, Byron Street, named after Lord Byron, who fought alongside the Greeks against the Ottomans, connected to Canning Street, named after the British Prime Minister whose efforts contributed to the establishment of the Greek state. This then linked to Gladstone Street. The commemoration of Gladstone was profoundly tied to the aspirations of Greek Cypriots who believed that British occupation would lead to Enosis. Gladstone, a proponent of the union of the Ionian Islands in 1864, became a symbol of hope for the realization of a similar aspiration in Cyprus<sup>86</sup>. Indeed, street naming was a political act with political implications. According to Papapolyviou, the naming constituted a reflection of the romanticism prevailing in the Cypriot political scene, but at the same time, it reflected the naive and unattainable perception of “British Philhellenism” that had given rise to the so-called “Eptanisian Syndrome” which influenced Cypriot politicians until 1931<sup>87</sup>.

Since the beginning of the British Occupation in 1878, Bishop Kyprianos of Kition welcomed Sir Garnet Wolseley upon his arrival in Larnaca with the words, “We accept the change of government, trusting that Great Britain will assist Cyprus as it did with the Ionian Islands to unite with Mother Greece, to which it is naturally connected.”<sup>88</sup> The union of the Ionian Islands with Greece in 1864 took place during a period when the British government no longer considered the possession of these islands a vital interest due to their other acquisitions. A year before Lanitis’ report on street naming, in 1907, during Winston Churchill’s visit to Cyprus, Greek legislators in the Legislative Council drew parallels between his visit and Gladstone’s visit to the Ionian Islands, which had served as a “precursor to the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece.” Cypriot legislators urged Churchill to fulfill the aspirations of the Cypriots for Union. Churchill, as he had stated, believed that the time had not yet come to fulfill the request of the Greek Cypriots. During his visit to Limassol, Mayor Christodoulos Sozos conveyed in his address “the timeless aspirations of the Cypriot people for union (Enosis) with Greece.” Moreover, a series of events that followed

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<sup>86</sup> ‘Η Στέφης Του Βασιλέως. Ζήτω η Ένωσις!’ *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 14 June 1902) 1; ‘Το Έργον Της Κυπριακής Επιτροπής’ *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 12 October 1889) 1; Katsiaounis (n 25); Robert Holland and Diana Markides, “The Peculiarity of Cyprus, 1878–1931”, *The British and the Hellenes. Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960* (1st edn, Oxford University Press Inc, New York 2006).

<sup>87</sup> Παπαπολυβίου, ‘Χριστόδουλος Σώζος Και Νικόλας Κλ. Λανίτης: Δύο Μεγάλες Μορφές Της Λεμεσού’ (n 79) 36.

<sup>88</sup> Harry Luke, *Cyprus. A Portrait and an Appreciation* (George G Harrap & Co Ltd 1957) 170.

the Greco-Turkish war and Cyprus' offer to Greece by the British in 1913, 1914, and 1915 reinforced the belief among Greek Cypriots that Union was attainable<sup>89</sup>.

In the Turkish-Cypriot quarter, Lanitis proposed the replacement of the Turkish names of four streets with "Syntagmatos (Constitution) Street," "Eleftherias (Freedom) Street," "Isotis (Equality) Street," and "Dikaiosynis (Justice) Street," symbolizing the emblems of the Turkish political transition<sup>90</sup>. The restoration of the constitution was accepted with celebrations in Limassol, in which Greeks also participated. However, each side counted the achievements of the Young Turks differently.<sup>91</sup> Lanitis claimed that the renaming of these streets signified sympathy towards reformative efforts. Furthermore, he suggested that one street in the Turkish Cypriot quarter be renamed "Midhat (Pasha) Street,"<sup>92</sup> to honour the "great Turkish worker of freedom or civilization"<sup>93</sup>. It is of interest to note that the renaming of streets was initiated by the headmaster of the Ottoman School, who conveyed the gratitude of the Ottoman Community of Limassol to Kl. Lanitis through a letter published in Alithia Newspaper expressing appreciation for his proposal to rename five streets within the Ottoman quarter. Furthermore, the Headmaster conveyed his appreciation to the members of the Municipal Council for endorsing the proposal recognising it as emblematic of the robust interrelations between the Greek and Ottoman Communities in Limassol, and emphasizing the significance of the "Ottoman-Greek Collaboration". He further proposed that the name of Midhad Pasha should be attributed to Hambeli street which was regarded as the finest locale within the Ottoman quarters. Regarding the name "Freedom" he recommended assigning it to the street opposite the Ottoman

<sup>89</sup> Κλ Νικόλαος Λανίτης, *Ο Ακρίτας Του Ελληνικού Νότου* (ΑΕΤΟΣ' ΑΕ 1945) 42–47.

<sup>90</sup> 'Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού Ημερ. 12 Ιουνίου 1908' (n 80).

<sup>91</sup> Ελευθερία, 'Κύπρος Και Νεότουρκοι' *Ελευθερία* (Λευκωσία, 19 September 1908) 1; 'Ακρόπολις', 'Η Θέσις Του Ελληνισμού Μετά Το Νέον Καθεστώς' *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 26 September 1908) 2; Θεμιστοκλής Δέρβης, 'Το Σύνταγμα Εν Τουρκία' *Φωνή της Κύπρου* (Λευκωσία, 22 August 1908) 2; Δ Λεοντίδης, Ν., 'Οι Εν Παρισίοις Νεότουρκοι Και Το Πρόγραμμα Αυτών' *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 8 August 1908) 1.

<sup>92</sup> Lanitis referred to the young Turk revolution of 1908 which aimed to overthrow the authoritarian regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. This movement marked the beginning of the transition to modernize the Ottoman empire and signalled the beginning of the Turkish nationalism Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (2nd edn, Oxford University Press 1967).

<sup>93</sup> In 1908, celebrations were held in Limassol by the Ottoman community to commemorate the restoration of the 1876 Constitution and these events also saw the participation of the Greeks. However, each community interpreted the event differently. The Ottomans believed it would lead to cooperation among the various ethnicities within the empire, potentially resulting in the return of Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire. Conversely, the Greeks believed that the overthrow of the established order within the Ottoman Empire would have a positive outcome in addressing the Bulgarian threat in Macedonia.



schools, emphasizing that schools “constitute a wellspring of freedom”. For “Justice” he advocated renaming the street situated behind the Limassol Ottoman fort that was used as a prison by the Ottomans and later the British to serve “as a reminder of reverence for the laws of the homeland”. David street (behind the port) would be renamed “Fraternity” since in that street Greeks and Ottomans coexisted and worked harmoniously. Lastly, he suggested naming the street commencing from the small bridge and culminating at the Muslim Cemetery as “Equality” street, underlining that cemeteries are “places of equality for all, regardless of wealth and status”<sup>94</sup>. However, the headmaster’s proposals for renaming, which evidently stemmed from a different ideological perspective than those of Lanitis, were not taken into consideration. It is worth noting that the new names assigned to the streets of the Turkish-Cypriot quarter in commemoration of the Turkish political transition would be inscribed on the street plates in Greek.

Lanitis’ report can be viewed as a eulogy to national history, culture, language, traditions, and religion, aiming to supplant the “discordant” names imposed on the city’s inhabitants by “irresponsible foreigners who introduced the current of modernization to Cyprus in 1878.” In his report, Lanitis underscores the gravity of the street naming issue, arguing that through these names, history becomes perceptible, and observers can discern the “perceptions and ideology of the population”<sup>95</sup>. The nomenclature of Limassol’s streets served as an expression of the official historical narrative, accentuating the unbroken existence of Hellenism in Cyprus from antiquity to the contemporary era.

It is noteworthy that the uninterrupted presence of the Greek element in Cyprus during the Frankish period is intricately interwoven in the streetscape. The commemoration of Eleni Palaiologina, King John II of Cyprus’s wife, and her struggles in support of the Church of Cyprus, serve as a nexus to the Byzantine era. Her daughter, Carlotta, is honoured for suppressing foreign languages at the Cypriot court and enforcing the Greek language. According to Lanitis, the use of Carlotta’s name functions as a “rebuke” to modern individuals who “often replace the sweet Greek language, our ancestors’ most noble and precious inheritance, with foreign languages”.<sup>96</sup>

Street names were deemed significant educational tools for younger generations, evident in the nomenclature of streets leading to the city’s schools. Prominent phi-

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<sup>94</sup> Αλήθεια, ‘Ωραία Επιστολή Νεότουρκου’ *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 6 November 1908) 2.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού Ημερ. 12 Ιουνίου 1908’ (n 80).

<sup>96</sup> ‘Πρακτικά Συνεδρίας Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Λεμεσού Ημερ. 12 Ιουνίου 1908’ (n 80).

losophers of Cypriot origin, contemporary literary figures, the city of Athens, and notable men of the nation were all commemorated through street names. Particular importance is accorded to Athens as the “intellectual beacon that sends its bright rays to the far corners of the Greek world.” Lanitis emphatically noted that the name of the Greek capital would serve as a reminder for current and future generations of individuals who financed the construction of the city’s gymnasium out of national solidarity. Names associated with the city’s first settlers, Alexander the Great, the defenders of Famagusta during the Ottoman siege, and distinguished Cypriot clergy or saints had to be commemorated.

The implementation and the subsequent reactions

In 1910 the new street names of the city were announced in an article in the Limassol daily “Alithia”. The article included a congratulatory note from the “most notable professor of Greek literature” at the National Kapodistrian University of Athens, Nicolaos G. Politis, applauding Nikolaos Lanitis for his commendable contribution in renaming the streets of Limassol<sup>97</sup>. Politis described Lanitis’ work as being characterized by a profound understanding of history and an enlightened awareness of his national duties and patriotism. Politis indirectly alluded to the Cypriots’ demand for union with Greece. The commemoration of both distant and recent history confirmed the effort to justify the continuous historical trajectory of Cypriot Hellenism, driven by a commitment to the Greek language and tradition.

In May 1911, local newspapers reported on the installation of street signs, signifying a tangible representation of the city’s Hellenic character. These new street name plates, related to local and national history, replaced the dissonant foreign names attributed by the city’s initial administrator<sup>98</sup>.

In June 1911, the Limassol Commissioner reported to the Chief Secretary his surprise at the placement of enamelled plates displaying exclusively Greek street names throughout the city<sup>99</sup>. The Commissioner complained to the Chief Secretary supporting that the absence of English language in the street-name plates posed an inconvenience to the public, newcomers and visitors. This initiative, undertaken without his foreknowledge, was perceived as a challenge due to the strong Greek affiliations

<sup>97</sup> ‘Η Ονοματοθεσία Των Δρόμων Της Πόλεως - Όλα Τα Νέα Ονόματα’ *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 17 December 1910) 2.

<sup>98</sup> *Αλήθεια*, ‘Δελτίον’ *Αλήθεια* (Λεμεσός, 26 May 1911) 1.

<sup>99</sup> Limassol Commissioner, ‘SA1/1041/1911 Limassol Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, 1st June 1911’ 1.

of the names and the difficulties it posed to foreign visitors unfamiliar with the language. The Turkish Cypriot quarter, however, remained unchanged<sup>100</sup>.

Correspondence with the Registrar General unveiled that there was no existing legislation regulating the naming of streets. The Director of Surveys indicated that the initial government-affixed street signs followed Ottoman law, assigning maintenance responsibility to the property owner. Street name signs installed by the Director of Surveys within the towns were considered boundary marks. The municipality could face penalties for removing plates that were placed by the Survey in 1881. As indicated, the municipality was unauthorized to attach plates to private property without government endorsement; owners could lawfully remove them if this happened. Nevertheless, due to the expansion of the city and due to the fact that the property owners were Greek-Cypriots there were no objections to the placement of the plates, annulling in this way the authority of the law<sup>101</sup>

Based on British records, there were changes to the names of 36 streets, while 20 streets were newly named, and only 22 streets retained their original names. Christodoulos Sozos submitted the list of street renamings in a letter dated 30th August 1911 in response to the inquiries of the British authorities<sup>102</sup>.

The British authorities' intervention was deeply political. On 2nd June 1911, a letter signed by 23 Turkish Cypriots, led by Haji Mustapha Hadagi Mehmed Hoja, the Imam and Muderis Mustafa Fakhri, and the Cadi of Limassol and Paphos, Esseyid Adurrahman Niazi, criticized the Municipality's decision to rename streets in Limassol. They claimed that the streets were largely named after Greek Revolutionists, stirring strong emotions among the Muslim inhabitants. They further lamented that the street signs failed to represent Limassol's distinct ethnic and linguistic components of the population, as they were only in Greek. They suggested that if new plates displaying the old names were necessary, they should be written in English, Turkish, and Greek. They appealed to the Government to remove the street signs to safeguard both the official business and the Turkish rights<sup>103</sup>.

In response to the Commissioner of Limassol's letter regarding the matter, Sozos left limited room for the British authorities to act, as the decision of the Municipal Council was based on the law No. 8 of 1885, which granted the municipality the right

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<sup>100</sup> 'SA1/1041/1911 Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, 23 October 1911' (1911).

<sup>101</sup> Registrar General, 'SA1/1041/1911 Registrat General to Chief Secretary, 5 August' 2.

<sup>102</sup> Σώζος (n 81).

<sup>103</sup> 'SA1/1041/1911 Letter from Turkish Cypriots of Limassol to the High Commissioner of Cyprus, June 2, 1911' 2.



to name streets within the municipal area and affix plates bearing these names. He underlined that the decision was unanimous among the Greek and Turkish Cypriot council members.

In his letter, Sozos highlighted the importance of street names in representing the city's history and allowing observers to measure the progression in the city dwellers' perceptions and ideas. He stressed that names were chosen to commemorate important events and notable figures from their national history. Sozos concluded that, barring the Commissioner of Limassol, he received no complaints from the city's residents, whether Christian or Muslim, about the choice of street names.

In his letter, Sozos conveyed that the unanimous decision made by the Municipal Council in 1908 was attended by Ottoman members and the Ottoman Vice President of the Council. He requested the names of the streets in the Ottoman quarter from the Vice President when the Municipality decided to order the street name plates. The Vice President asked for the deferral of the order for the Ottoman quarter's name plates and proposed the replacement of Miaoulis Street with Saadi Street, which the Municipal Council approved. Sozos noted that the request of the Deputy Mayor was endorsed by the Greek-Cypriot members of the municipality "in a gesture of goodwill towards their Ottoman compatriots, with whom they desire to co-exist peacefully as brothers, whose interests are united against the ruling government". Enclosed in his correspondence, Sozos stressed that these street names enabled visitors to understand the history of the Cypriot people, their myths, legends, and their deep-rooted historical traditions. He further asserted that these names were a tribute to the significant events and personalities of their ancestral history.<sup>104</sup>

The British authorities sought further explanations from Sozos about the inaccuracies in the numbering of streets. During their meeting, Sozos exhibited resistance to reverse the Municipality's decision, which had been in effect for two years, and the enamelled iron plates that were affixed to all the 85 streets of Limassol had been in place for a year. Addressing the concerns of the British authorities over the identification of registers and documents by the Land Registry Department, he argued that the new name plates would expedite the Department's tasks during the upcoming registration process. He referenced examples from other municipalities across various countries that had altered their street nomenclature without encountering objections from their respective Land Registry Departments.

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<sup>104</sup> Σώζος (n 81).

However, a similar effort by the Nicosia Municipality in 1912 to rename the streets in the capital of Cyprus faced strong resistance and opposition from both the British colonial government and the Turkish Cypriots. It is worth noting that this confrontation in both Limassol and Nicosia prompted a reaction from the Turkish Embassy in London, which sought British intervention to protect the Muslim residents of the two cities<sup>105</sup>. According to Papapolyviou, this controversy marked the first-ever demand by the Turkish Cypriots for separate majorities in the municipalities<sup>106</sup>. In June 1912, in a note to the Secretary of the State addressing the issue, the High Commissioner reported that English names such as “Byron”, “Gordon”, “Prince of Wales” and “Albert” had been replaced by “Ptolemy”, “Enosis” (Union with Greece), “Eleftheria” (Freedom) and “Ellas” (Hellas). The High Commissioner noted that the renaming of the streets appeared to be more objectionable to the British rather than to Moslem sentiment<sup>107</sup>.

Indeed, the street name plates with white lettering on dark blue ground<sup>108</sup>, the colors of the Greek flag, written exclusively in Greek, confirmed an attempt at Hellenization. The choice of street to carry the name “Enosis” (Union) held significance, with Victoria (Queen of Britain) street’s parallel road named Ellados (Greece) street, and the street connecting Victoria Street and Ellados street named Enoseos (Union) Street. Although the principal avenues of Limassol were not renamed, St. George Street was renamed to George I Street, to commemorate the king of the Greeks. As Kl. Lanitis would admit in a speech on the 40th anniversary of Sozos’ death, with the naming of the city’s streets, they (the then municipal council) engaged through street (re)namings in “high politics and diplomacy.”<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> ‘SA1/625/912 Resolution Passed by the Moslems of Nicosia to the Commissioner, 11 March’ (1912); ‘SA1/625/1912 The High Commissioner of Cyprus to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 7 June’ (1912); ‘SA1/625/1912 Note from the Turkish Embassy in London’ 1.

<sup>106</sup> Παπαπολυβίου, ‘Χριστόδουλος Σώζος Και Νικόλας Κλ. Λανίτης: Δύο Μεγάλες Μορφές Της Λεμεσού’ (n 79).

<sup>107</sup> ‘SA1/625/1912 The High Commissioner of Cyprus to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 7 June’ (n 103).

<sup>108</sup> Registrar General, ‘LRS1/13639 Registrar General to Chief Secretary, 25 October’.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Η Κύπρος Αποτίει Φόρον Τιμής Εις Την Ιεράν Μνήμην Του Χριστ. Σώζου Και Των Λοιπών Κυπρίων Ηρώων Του 1912-1913 (Ομιλία Του Ν. Κλ. Λανίτη)’ (n 79) 15.



St Andrew Street, Limassol. (Patticheion Municipal Museum, Historical Archives, Research Center of Limassol – K. Eleftheriades Archives CYLHA.10.036.006.0003

## **Conclusion**

Street naming reflected the dynamics involved in the legitimation of authority within the public space. The advent of British colonial rule marked a significant transition for the local populace, signifying a departure from an extended period of Ottoman dominion, during which the emergence of a distinct national identity was not formed. Instead, the city's inhabitants were primarily stratified along religious lines. Conse-

quently, the development of national identity was transcribed in the public space with street (re) naming, effectively ingraining itself within the collective identity.

Upon the arrival of the British colonial administration, a meticulously crafted official narrative was promulgated to legitimize the transfer of power and the shift from the Ottoman era to British rule. This narrative was predicated upon the liberal principles espoused by the newly-installed ruling elite, thereby heightening the aspirations of the Greek Cypriot population for union with Greece. The selection of street names, driven by practical reasons such as taxation and urban orientation, concurrently served as both an expression of the new rule. Street names encompassing references to both the contemporary British monarchy (including British Royals such as Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales) and historical allusions (such as figures like King Richard, the Crusades, and St. John's) played a pivotal role in legitimizing the authority of the newly-established ruling class and substantiating their claim over the public domain.

In Limassol, street naming was a tool of control of the public space in the hands of the British authorities for commemorative purposes. In this function, streets imposed colonial power in the urban space. On several occasions, street names had neither historical nor geographical links. Even so, they formed a constant reminder of the power of the colonial authorities. With time, street names became an essential aspect of the symbolic construction of national identity, serving as vehicles of commemoration. National identity was thus shaped by historical conceptions and collective memory, representing a useful past and a political tool for the legitimization of national aspirations and the nationalistic narrative <sup>110</sup>.

This paper documented the first massive de-commemoration that took place in the urban space of Limassol during the mayorship of Christodoulos Sozos. The street renaming process constituted the culmination of the formation of the national identity that found its expression in the urban space. The urban space of Limassol became an arena of struggle between the colonial official narrative and that of the Greek-Cypriot elites which advocated for union with Greece.

The persistent renaming of streets demonstrated the transformative power of street names in shaping the ideological landscape of a city. The complex process of renaming streets in Limassol unveiled the multifaceted relationship between names,

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<sup>110</sup> Maoz Azaryahu, 'King George or King David? On Renaming the Colonial Past in Israel' 15; Azaryahu, 'The Power of Commemorative Street Names' (n 5); Maoz Azaryahu, 'Banal Commemoration, the Written Word, and Beyond' in Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu (eds), *The political life of urban streetscapes: Naming, politics, and place*. (1st edn, Taylor & Francis 2017).

identity, power, and place. This historical review reveals that the renaming of streets was not only a mere administrative act but a crucial component in the utilization of urban space as a vehicle to promote history and identity. The complex interplay between the city's urban space, its social dynamics, and its historical narratives reflects how the street names of Limassol have come to embody the city's evolving identity, inscribing the city's history and national aspirations onto its landscape.

An intriguing aspect of this historical analysis is the exploration of street naming practices during the initial decades of British colonial rule of Cyprus with a particular reference in Limassol. This study significantly contributes to our understanding of how urban space becomes politicized and the power dynamics that underlie such processes. The street names bear witness to the island's rich history, its cultural ties to Greece, the influences of British colonial rule, and the dominant national narrative of the period under examination. From the first British-appointed mayor of Limassol, Christodoulos Karydes, who aligned positively with British authority and accepted the imposed street names, to Hadjipavlou, who, without disrupting his relationship with the British administration, the street nomenclature reflected the shift of the Greek-Cypriot elite towards union with Greece referencing the island's Greek past. The challenge to British authority and the imposition of the national narrative in the urban space culminated with Christodoulos Sozos, who successfully promoted the Hellenization of the city and the collective demand for Enosis (union) with Greece through the renaming of streets and the exclusive use of the Greek language on name plates, provoking reactions from both the British and members of the Ottoman elite.

The study of street naming in Limassol from 1878 to the early 1900s provides significant insights into the island's socio-political transformation from Ottoman rule to British rule. These transformations have profoundly influenced the urban space and influenced the interactions between the emerging national groups on the island, namely Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The intricate intermingling of spatial, social, and economic factors has shaped Limassol's journey, with a particular focus on its growth, modernization, and occasional ethnic conflicts.

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## Appendix

**Table 1** Houses and Persons in Chief Towns of Each District Within Municipal Limits

| Year | Houses | Males     |               |       | Females   |               |       | Total     |               | Total |
|------|--------|-----------|---------------|-------|-----------|---------------|-------|-----------|---------------|-------|
|      |        | Mahomedan | Non-Mohamedan | Total | Mahomedan | Non-Mohamedan | Total | Mahomedan | Non-Mohamedan |       |
| 1881 | 1101   | 3419      |               |       | 2587      |               |       | 6006      |               | 6006  |
| 1891 | 1495   | 802       | 2828          | 3630  | 799       | 2576          | 3375  | 1601      | 5404          | 7005  |
| 1901 | 1793   | 934       | 3202          | 4136  | 953       | 3037          | 3990  | 1887      | 6239          | 8126  |
| 1911 | 2191   | 1166      | 4074          | 5240  | 1100      | 3763          | 4863  | 2266      | 7837          | 10103 |
| 1921 | 2888   | 1343      | 5431          | 6774  | 1195      | 5139          | 6334  | 2538      | 10570         | 13108 |

**Table 2** List showing the names of the streets in Limassol Town in 1871

| The streets of Limassol in 1871   | Street names as they appear in Kitchener's map |
|---|--|
| Ahekli  | Tronbadon                                      |
| Arnavoud Mesoyidi   | St Patrick's                                   |
| Ayianapa Kelissasi  |  |
| Ayio Antoni   | Kolossi street                                 |
| Bayadjilar Jarshessi (Dyer's street)  | St John's                                      |
| Billardo garshessi (The street where there was a casino and a club with a billiard –the first billiard in Limassol. The billiard had made such a great impression on the residents that they named both the building and the street after it) |  |
| Coja Bekir  | Liquor lane                                    |
| Christoghlo Haji Pavli <sup>111</sup>   |  |
| Dabaghane (Tabakhane) <sup>112</sup> Tannery  |  |
| Dare Boyace   |  |
| Dekujku Dash  |  |

<sup>111</sup> Christodoulos Hadjipavli was a renowned merchant, father of the third mayor of Limassol Demosthenis Hadjipavlou (1885-1887 and 1896-1908).

<sup>112</sup> Παρασκευάς (n 14) 78.

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| Deyirmenji Gadi   |              |
| Dirifonas   |              |
| Djami Djedid Cami-i cecid   |              |
| Djamili Monaster  |              |
| Djedid Hamam (New Bath)   | Athanas      |
| Eski Carantina Hanessi <sup>113</sup> the old quarantine  |              |
| Eski Makkeme Meydani (old court square)   | St George    |
| Fethi Effendi   | St. David's  |
| French Monastiri (French Monastery)   | Fisher       |
| Hadji Papas   |              |
| Hadji Pavlo   | Blondel      |
| Hafiz Effendi   | St. Barnabas |
| Haji Yorghis  | Ambeli       |
| Hamam (Bath)  |              |
| Haukoumet (Hükümet, Government )  | Jerusalem    |
| Hekim Bashi (Hekim Bashi: Hekim Baş, surgeon general)   |              |
| Ibsaridi <sup>114</sup>   |              |
| Islam Jarshessi (Islam Jarshessi: İslam Çarşısı, (There is a reference to Müslümanlar Çarşısı [Muslims' Bazaar] at CYLHA.05.005.0028) |              |
| Jankar Jarshessi (Jankar Jarshessi: Shoe-makers Bazaar)   |              |
| Jar   |              |
| Jarmaudi  |              |
| Jikmaz (Jikmaz: Çıkmaç, Dead End Street)  | Crusader     |
| Jikmaz Baghdja (Jikmaz Baghdja: Çıkmaç Bahçe, Dead End Garden)  |              |
| Jikmaz Jopjan Bachi   |              |
| Joumbezli Baghdja (Cumbezli Bache - Sycamore tree Garden)   |              |
| Kala Kebir Jivari (Kala Kebir Jivari: Around the Big Castle )   | St. Filia    |
| Katholidji Kelssasi   |              |
| Kilsa Baghdjarsi  |              |
| Koftioyi  |              |
| Mehmed Ali  |              |
| Meydan Mahelle (Meydan Mahelle: Square Neighbourhood)   |              |
| Ousta Michail   |              |
| Ouzoun Jarshi (Uzun Çarşı, Long Bazaar, (CYLHA.05.005.0167 we have a reference to this at the municipal council meetings)             | Pilgrim      |
| Pavlaki Pavlaki (Pilavaki – Demosthenis Pilavakis   | Canning      |
| Ressam  | St. Andrews  |

<sup>113</sup> Παρασκευάς (n 14) 86.

<sup>114</sup> Παρασκευάς (n 14) 79, 86.

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| Sava Anastasi  |                 |
| Serdar agha Baghdjassi   | King Richard    |
| Soghauh Sou (Soguksu) Cold water   |                 |
| Stiliani (Hadji Stylianou at Katholiki Quarter - See minutes of the Limassol Municipal Council 11 June 1887 and 24 October 1888) | Bishop          |
| Theodossi Moridi <sup>115</sup>  |                 |
| Vania <sup>116</sup>   |                 |
| Vareljeler charshessi (Vareljeler charshessi: Barrel Makers Bazaar)  |                 |
| Vatia garshessi  |                 |
| Yanko Yassonidi <sup>117</sup>   | Lanidi          |
| Yanni  |                 |
| Yel Dehusseini   | Victoria        |
| Yeni Charchi (Yeni Çarşı New Bazaar)   |                 |
| Yorghaki Stilianidi  | The Cut         |
| Yorghañji Yarnandi   |                 |
| Yorghì Adamo   |                 |
| Yorghì Papa Stefano  |                 |
|  | Katholiki       |
|  | Prince of Wales |
|  | Wang Cut        |

**Table 3** Street Names as they appear in Kitchener’s map (1883)

|   |                |    |              |    |                    |
|---|----------------|----|--------------|----|--------------------|
| 1 | Tronbadon      | 10 | Blondel      | 19 | King Richard       |
| 2 | St Patrick’s   | 11 | St. Barnabas | 20 | Bishop             |
| 3 | Kolossi street | 12 | Ambeli       | 21 | Byron              |
| 4 | St John’s      | 13 | Jerusalem    | 22 | Lanidi             |
| 5 | Liquor lane    | 14 | Crusader     | 23 | Victoria           |
| 6 | Athanas        | 15 | St. Filia    | 24 | The Cut            |
| 7 | St George      | 16 | Pilgrim      | 25 | Katholiki          |
| 8 | St. David’s    | 17 | Canning      | 26 | Prince of Wales    |
| 9 | Fisher         | 18 | St. Andrews  | 27 | Wang Cut (Way Out) |

<sup>115</sup> Παρασκευάς (n 14) 86.

<sup>116</sup> Thomas F Pettigrew and Linda R Tropp, ‘A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory.’ (2006) 90 *Journal of personality and social psychology* 751.

<sup>117</sup> Παρασκευάς (n 14) 74.



**Table 4** List of street names in 1890 (According to the minutes of 28th Feb. 1890)

|    | Street Name             | Description   |
|----|-------------------------|---|
| 1  | Albert                  | Prince Albert of England  |
| 2  | Alexander               | Greek History (Alexander the Great)   |
| 3  | Alfred                  | British Royal Family - son of queen Victoria  |
| 4  | Ali                     | Ottoman names   |
| 5  | Anemomylos              | (windmill) Landmarks  |
| 6  | Athania                 | British names   |
| 7  | Ay. Antonios            | Saints and Landmark   |
| 8  | Ay. Fylaxis             | Religion (Landmark - road leading to the village of Ayia Fylaxis)   |
| 9  | Bethlehem               | Cities – Religion   |
| 10 | Bishop                  | Church  |
| 11 | Blondel                 | British names   |
| 12 | Byron                   | British poet and Greece 1821 War of Independence – Philelline   |
| 13 | Canning                 | Prime Minister of England (until 1827)  |
| 14 | Chrysorogiatissa        | Saints - Monastery of Chrysorogiatissa  |
| 15 | Commandaria             | Cyprus wines - connected with the the knights templar   |
| 16 | Cordington              | British admiral who took place at the Battle of Navarino (defeat of the Ottoman fleet - Greek revolution of independence).  |
| 17 | Crusader                | Cyprus History  |
| 18 | David                   | Saint   |
| 19 | Demetra                 | Greek Mythology   |
| 20 | Dervis                  | Ottoman names   |
| 21 | Enosis                  | Union (with Greece) The Enosis lodge was found at this street since its establishment in 1884-1885, after its split from the Isotis lodge.  |
| 22 | Filia                   | British names   |
| 23 | Fisher                  | British names   |
| 24 | Fitchroy Place (square) | Landmark  |
| 25 | Gamvettas               | Gambetta - prime minister of France 1881-1882   |
| 26 | Garillis                | Limassol river crossing Ay. Antonis neighborhood  |
| 27 | Gordon                  | British General who died in 1885  |
| 28 | Hambeli                 | Hambeli street was the centre of commercial activity in the Ottoman period. The name Hambeli derives from the the followers of Hanbeli or Hambali school of thought, one of the four Muslim religious creeds <sup>118</sup> |
| 29 | Hermes                  | Greek Mythology   |

<sup>118</sup> Akif, Ozay & Selcuk Akif, *Echoes from the Past : The Turkish Cypriot Community of Limassol and Its Heritage - Gecmisten Yankilar: Leymosun Kibris Turk Cemaati ve Mirasi - Ηχώ Από Παλιά : η*

|    |                                     |   |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 30 | Hungary                             | European cities   |
| 31 | Ibrahim                             | Ottoman names   |
| 32 | Ifigenia                            | Greek Mythology   |
| 33 | Jerusalem                           | Cities – Religion   |
| 34 | Kanaris                             | Greek Revolution  |
| 35 | Kleopatra                           | Queen of the Ptolemaic Kingdom  |
| 36 | Kolossi                             | Village   |
| 37 | Koraes                              | Greek Revolution  |
| 38 | LeeConnor                           | British names   |
| 39 | Leonidas                            | Ancient Greek History (Spartan king who lost his life at the battle of Thermopylae)                         |
| 40 | Lusignan                            | History of Cyprus   |
| 41 | Macheras                            | Cypriot Historian Venetian era (Leondios Macheras)  |
| 42 | Miaoulis                            | Greek Revolution  |
| 43 | Muse                                | Greek Mythology   |
| 44 | Paphos                              | Towns of Cyprus   |
| 45 | Phoenician                          | History of Cyprus - Colonizers of Cyprus  |
| 46 | Pilgrim                             | Religion  |
| 47 | Plateia Krinis<br>(Fountain Square) | Landmarks   |
| 48 | Prince of Wales                     | Prince Albert of England  |
| 49 | Queen                               | Queen of England  |
| 50 | Richard                             | Richard the Lionhearted - English Kings   |
| 51 | Roman                               | History of Cyprus   |
| 52 | Saafi                               | Ottoman names - See Shafii sect - one of the four Muslim religious creeds                                   |
| 53 | Salamis                             | Ancient Cyprus Cities   |
| 54 | Salsey Square                       | Landmarks (British)   |
| 55 | Sea Lane                            | Landmarks (British)   |
| 56 | Serif                               | Ottoman names   |
| 57 | Sfageiou<br>(Slaughterhouse)        | Landmarks   |
| 58 | Sfalangiotissa                      | Saints (Orthodox)   |
| 59 | Shakespeare                         | English poet and playwright- His play Richard III refer to Richard the Lionhearted (Cultural appropriation) |
| 60 | Sideway of Byron<br>street          |   |

|    |                                |  |
|----|--------------------------------|--|
| 61 | Sideway of Commandarias street |  |
| 62 | Sideway of Hambeli             |  |
| 63 | Sideway of St. Andrew street   |  |
| 64 | Socrates                       | Greek Philosopher  |
| 65 | Soguksu                        | (Κρύο νερό - cold water) - Ottoman names – Landmarks                             |
| 66 | Solon                          | Ancient Greek Philosopher  |
| 67 | St. Andrew                     | Saints - Patron Saint of Scotland  |
| 68 | St. Barnabas                   | Saints (Orthodox) – The founder of the Church of Cyprus                          |
| 69 | St. George                     | The Patron Saint of England  |
| 70 | St. John                       | Saints connected with Knights of St John Hospitaller, 1192-1489 who ruled Cyprus |
| 71 | St. Patrick                    | Saints - patron saint and national apostle of Ireland (British Saint)            |
| 72 | Stasinós                       | Cypriot epic poet  |
| 73 | Thermopylae                    | Ancient Greek History  |
| 74 | Tropatour                      | Troubadour - lyric poets and poet-musicians often of knightly rank               |
| 75 | Victoria                       | Queen of England   |
| 76 | Way out                        | Landmarks  |
| 77 | Yeizulah                       | Ottoman names  |
| 78 | Yildiz                         | (star in Turkish) Ottoman names  |
| 79 | Zenon                          | Ancient Philosopher from Kition (Cyprus city)                                    |
| 80 | Zig Zag                        | Landmarks  |

**Table 5\*** List of Names included in the report presented before the Municipal Council on 22nd October 1908

\*For the purposes of this paper street names are translated in English

| Old street name   | New street names              | About  |
|---|-------------------------------|--|
| The street between the old slaughter house and the old hospital           | Herakleidiou tou Olympionikou | Ancient Greek Olympic winner from Salamina, Cyprus. He competed in stadion, a 600 feet race, in the 143 <sup>rd</sup> Olympic games in 204 BC. |
| The street between the old hospital and the residence of Agat. Frangoudes | Philokypros                   | Ancient King of Soloi (Ancient kingdom in Cyprus)  |

|   |                                    |  |
|---|------------------------------------|--|
| The street between the residence of Agath. Frangoudes and Mich. Argyrides       | Aristokypros                       | King of Soloi 500 bC   |
| The street between the residence of Argyrides and the warehouse of M.K. Schizas | Evelthon                           | King of Salamis  |
| Fisher  | Dighenis Akritas                   | A mythological person symbolizing supernatural strength. He was called “The Hercules of Cyprus”      |
| Pilgrim   | Righena                            | Cypriot queen in medieval times  |
| Jerusalem   | Jerusalem                          |  |
| Filia   | Vasileos Onisilou                  | King of Salamis who fought against the Persians  |
| Athania   | Vasileos Onisilou                  | King of Salamis  |
| Enoseos   | Augustas Theodoras                 | Wife of the Justinian, emperor of Byzantium  |
| Crusader  | Nikiphoros Phokas                  | Byzantine emperor  |
| Sea Lane  | Crete                              | See – Independence of Crete  |
| St. Patrick   | Makedonias                         | Macedonian Struggle (1904-1908)  |
| Ifghenias   | Ifghenias                          | Greek Mythology  |
| Way Out   | Konstantinou Paleologou            | Byzantine Emperors   |
| Cordington  | Mesologgiou                        | Greek city   |
| Commandarias  | Koumandaria                        |  |
| Agoras (Market)   | Agoras (Market)                    | (Αγορά) Market   |
| Ermou (Hermes)  | Ermou (Hermes)                     | Greek Mythology  |
| Parallel to Ermou street  | Syntagmatos                        |  |
| Shaffi  | Shaffi                             |  |
| Miaoulis  | Saadi                              |  |
| The street from Pavlides residence to the Commissioner’s residence              | Vyronos                            | Lord Byron (Philhellene)   |
| From the end of Vyronos street up to the residence of Christian                 | Canning                            | A proponent of the Greek political independence  |
| The street near the Commissioner’s residence                                    | Navarchou Cordictonos (Cordington) | British Admiral – philhellene – Admiral of the British Mediterranean fleet in the battle of Navarino |

HELLENIZATION AND IDENTITY FORMATION IN LIMASSOL STREET-NAMING

|  |                          |  |
|--|--------------------------|--|
| The street from the chamber up to Canning street                             | Gladstone                | British Prime Minister – Philhellene – Union of the Ionian Islands with Greece   |
| St. Nicolaos   | Anapafseos               | (Anapafseos – rest – cemetery street)  |
| Demetra  | Miaoulis                 | Admiral - Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| Shakespeare  | Androutsos               | Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| The street towards P. Georgiades residence to Oasis towards Lusignian street | Karaiskakis              | Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| Louzignian   | Kolokotronis             | Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| Roman  | Athanasios Diakos        | Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| Phoenician   | Kapodistrias             | Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| Hungary  | Othonos and Amalias      | The first king and queen of Greece   |
| Zenonos  | Zenonos                  | Greek Philosophers (born in Cyprus)  |
| Apostolos Varnavas   | Apostolos Varnavas       | Cypriot Saints   |
| Tropatur   | Aftokrateiras Irinis     | Byzantine Emperors   |
| Blondel  | Elenis Paleologinas      | Cyprus Kings – Lusignan Period   |
| Richard  | Vasileiou Makedonos      | Byzantine Emperors   |
| Salamis  | Salaminos                | Ancient Cypriot cities   |
| Bishop   | Archiepiskopou Kyprianou | Archbishop of Cyprus. Executed by the Ottomans – Greek War of Independence   |
| Saripolos  | Saripolou                | Cypriot. Professor of Constitutional, Criminal and International Law, representative of the Kapodistrian University at the 2nd National Assembly (1862-1864) |
| David Street up to the Djami   | Vyzantiou                | Byzantium  |
| The street between Victoria and Djami  | Tsamis                   | Djami (Τζαμί) mosque   |

|  |                        |  |
|--|------------------------|--|
| St John  | Kitiou Kyprianou       | Kyprianos served as the Metropolitan of Kition in Cyprus from 1868 to 1886, was the first to raise the issue of Enosis (Union) with Greece to Sir Garnet Wolsley, the first High Commissioner of Cyprus, upon his arrival. |
| Albert   | Ellados                | Ελλάδος - Greece   |
| Zig Zag  | Zig Zag                |  |
| Victoria   | Victorias              | Queen of England   |
| Prince of Wales  | Eleftherias            |  |
| The street from Prince of Wales street up to the residence of Avgousta Evangelidou | Spartis                | Ancient Greek cities   |
| Gordon   | Enoseos                | (Ενώσεως) Union  |
| Anemomylos street from Garryllis bridge  | Navarinou              | Battle of Navarino   |
| Thermopylae  | Thermopylon            | Battle of Thermopylae  |
| Kanaris  | Kanari                 | Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| The street that connects Victor and Thermopylae street                             | Marathonos             | Battle of Marathon 490bC defeat of Persians by the Greeks  |
| Leonidas   | Leonidas               | Spartan king who fell at Thermopylae fighting the Persians   |
| Vyron (Byron)  | Ptolemeon              | Ptolemaic Dynasty  |
| Alexander  | Megalou Alexandrou     | Alexander the Great  |
| The street from Anna Zavrou residence to the schools                               | Georgiou Gennadiou     | The teacher of the nation (1821)   |
| The street from the schools to the Ptolemy street                                  | Athanasiou Sakellariou | A distinguished Greek scholar, acclaimed writer and publisher who devoted his teaching career to Cyprus, where he imparted his knowledge and experience.   |
| Canning  | Athinon                | Athens – the capital of the Greek state  |
| The street between Rossides and Court Square                                       | Court Square           |  |

HELLENIZATION AND IDENTITY FORMATION IN LIMASSOL STREET-NAMING

|  |                        |  |
|--|------------------------|--|
| Muse   | Themidos               | Ancient Greek Mythology - Goddess of Justice   |
| Liquor   | Aphroditis             | Ancient Greek Mythology – Aphrodite  |
| Socrates   | Socratous              | Ancient Greek Philosopher (Socrates)   |
| The street parallel to Socrates street                     | Ayiou Neophytou        | Cypriot saint  |
| Gamvetta   | Vragadinou             | Marcantonio Bragadin led the defence of Famagusta during the Ottoman conquest in 1571.   |
| the street next to Vragadinou street                       | Marias Synglitikis     | A Cypriot young lady who put on fire the Ottoman flagship and two other warships in the Famagusta harbor after the capture of Famagusta and the death of Bragadino |
| The next street  | Markou Botsari         | Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| Macheras   | Leondios Macheras      | Cypriot Writers, 16th Century  |
| The street next to Leondios Macheras street                | Ayiou Spyridonos       | Cypriot saint  |
| Queen  | Richard and Berengaria | British Kings (Richard the Lionheart)  |
| Chrysoroyiatissas  | Chrysoroyiatissis      | Cyprus Saints  |
| the street before Eleftheriades and Solomonides residences | Vasilissis Karlottas   | Queen of Cyprus Medieval period  |
| Korae  | Pavlou Mela            | Officer in the Greek artillery. A hero of the Macedonia Struggle for liberation was killed in duty in 1904   |
| Stasinou   | Stasinou               | Cypriot epic poet  |
| Solonos  | Solonos                | Ancient Greek Statesmen  |
| Vithleem   | Grivas                 | Greek minister   |
| The street from Karaiskakis to Androutsos street           | Boumboulinas           | Heroes of the Greek struggle of independence (1821-1827)   |
| A street next to it  | Siehtouri              | Hero of the Greek struggle of Independence (1821-1827)   |
| Another street next to it                                  | Tzamadou               | Hero of the Greek struggle of Independence (1821-1827)). The streets of Miaoulis, Sahtouri, and Tsamados run parallel to each other                                |
| St George  | Georgiou tou protou    | King of the Greeks   |

|                                    |                       |   |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| St. Andrew                         | St. Andrew            | Patron saint of Scotland and Orthodox saint   |
| Pallados                           | Andrea Themistokleous | Andreas Themistocleous – the headmaster of the Limassol Gymnasium – proponent of Enosis movement <sup>119</sup> |
| Amathountos                        | Amathountos           | Ancient Cyprus Kingdoms   |
| Fitchroy Place (Plateia Kounapias) |                       | Landmarks   |

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<sup>119</sup> Κλεόβουλος Ι Μυριανθόπουλος, *Δύο Μεγάλοι Μορφαί: Ανδρέας Θεμιστοκλέους, Χριστόδουλος Σώζος* (Τύποις Ο Χειμωνίδη 1938).



# The Institution of the Judicial Police in the Modern Rule of Law: Examples from continental Europe and prospects for Cyprus

EVANGELOS DIAMANTIS<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*The present study examines the institution of the judicial police in the modern State of Justice. The aim of the article is to submit an applicable proposal for the establishment of judicial police in Cyprus. For this purpose, with the methodology of the legal science, the concept of the police in general and the institution of the judicial police in the conceptual classes of continental Europe are examined. In France, the institution of judicial police was born and the general principles of its operation were developed. In Italy, the judicial police is constitutionally enshrined. In Germany, the judicial police is systematically organized at the central and regional levels. Finally, in 2022, a judicial police force was established in Greece under the influence of the mandates of the Treaty of Lisbon, for judicial and police cooperation between the Member States of the European Union. The main characteristics of the judicial police of the above States are attempted to be included in the proposal to establish judicial police in Cyprus, so that the Republic of Cyprus emerges as an efficient, modern and European state of justice.*

**Keywords:** police, Cyprus Police, judicial police, Rule of Law, State of Justice.

## 1. Prologue

This paper aims to highlight the role and importance of the judicial police in the modern Rule of Law. In this paper, a judicial police in Cyprus is proposed to be set up, according to the standards of other European members, in order to make the administration of justice in our island more effective.

The analysis follows the doctrinal view of Law Enforcement. The doctrine of Law Enforcement synthetically uses, perhaps more than any other branch of law, the find-

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ings of Constitutional Law and especially the General Theory of Fundamental Rights and criminal doctrine.<sup>2</sup>

First, our study, for the sake of scientific consistency, investigates the concept of the police itself, attempting to define it.<sup>3</sup> The inquiry then turns to the classical doctrine of public law to focus on the judicial police, as a public service and as an armed force. Third, comparative law is utilized and the police systems of France, Germany, Italy and Greece, in which judicial police have been established and operate, are analysed.

Finally, the general principles of distinguishing the administrative police from the judicial police followed by the conceptual classes of the above countries, but also the rest of the useful scientific data that will be gathered, will help in formulating the proposal for the establishment of a judicial police in Cyprus.

## 2. The Challenges of Defining the Concept of ‘Police’

The study will begin with the question of how intimate the concept of ‘police’ itself is, in order to study the institution of judicial police later. However, even from the commencement of the scientific legal approach, impediments arise. The science of law is unable to provide a single, coherent, and generally accepted definition of the concept of police.<sup>4</sup> There are as many terms that define the police as there are aspects of social life (tourist police, economic police, judicial police, etc). Also, changes have been observed historically in the concept of the police.<sup>5</sup> The impossibility of a single definition of the police results in the polysemy of the latter, as the theory emphasizes.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the definition is the one that ensures the finding and the certainty

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<sup>2</sup> Christina Zarafonitou, *Empirical Criminology, (Εμπειρική Εγκληματολογία)* (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki, 2023) 187 (in Greek), Konstantinos Dimopoulos, *Criminology (Εγκληματολογία)* (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki, 2022) 97 (in Greek), Kalliopi Spineli, *Criminology Modern and older directions (Εγκληματολογία Σύγχρονες και παλαιότερες κατευθύνσεις)* (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki, 2022) 6 (in Greek), Maurice Cousson, *Modern Criminology (Συγχρονη Εγκληματολογία)* (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki, 2009) 175 (in Greek).

<sup>3</sup> Sofia Vidali, *Police Crime Control and Human Rights, (Αστυνομία Έλεγχος του Εγκλήματος & Ανθρώπινα Δικαιώματα)* (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki. 2012) 186 (in Greek).

<sup>4</sup> See Etienne Picard, *The notion of administrative police (La notion de police administrative)*, Vol. I, (Paris: Libraire générale de droit et de jurisprudence 1984), 125 (in French) who emphasizes that the contradictions of the very concept of the police contribute to the impossibility of defining it.

<sup>5</sup> Fritz Werner, ‘Change in the concept of police?’ (‘Wandlung des Polizeibegriffs?’) (1957), 23 *Deutsches Verwaltungsblatt* 806 (in German).

<sup>6</sup> See Charles-Edouard Minet, *Administrative police law (Droit de la police administrative)* (Paris: Vuibert, 2007) 7 (in French).

of the connecting link that is necessary to carry out the (deductive) judicial reasoning, so that the concept of the police, which after all, has a certain legal consequence, can be transferred from the rule of law in the case under consideration. In addition, jurisprudence has not yet devoted itself to the definition of the concept by approaching the police, rather positively, through the imperfect provisions of the legislator or its competences (Befugnis) and duties (Aufgabe), as manifested police measures in each case under consideration. The Professor of Law School of the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Étienne Picard, in his voluminous two-volume doctoral thesis, on the concept of administrative police states in a rather pessimistic tone the following: ‘one must know that it is undoubtedly futile to want at all costs to determine a single valid criterion for actions, police or not, such as searches, arrests, detentions, confiscations, as administrative and judicial acts, as there is no previous definition of the concept of police and the existing definitions are characterized by many contradictions’.<sup>7</sup>

### **3. The Police, as an Armed Force and as a Public**

The police is a state service. However, it shows some particularities in relation to the other services of the State. In public law, the police is characterized as a public service (service public),<sup>8</sup> not ceasing to be an armed force (force publique).<sup>9</sup> The police, as a public service lies in the satisfaction of the collective needs that according to Léon Duguit is justified as a coercive force only insofar as it provides services to citizens.<sup>10</sup> The modern theory of French administrative law emphasizes the impossibility of classifying the constantly appearing new social functions of the State

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<sup>7</sup> See Picard (no 3) 126.

<sup>8</sup> Francois Dieu, Xavier Latour, Christian Vallar, *Gendarmerie, public service, service to the public (Gendarmerie, service public, service au public)* (Paris: Éditions mare & martin, 2016) 123 (in French).

<sup>9</sup> See Cedric Moreau de Bellaing, *Public Force (Force Publique)* (Paris: Economica, 2015) 37 (in French), who links the legalization of violence to the perception of the police as an armed force of coercion, while earlier, Dominique Monjardet, *What the police do. Sociology of law enforcement (Ce que fait la police. Sociologie de la force publique)* (Paris: La dé couverte, 1996) 820 (in French), who, after empirical, and field research, found that the police is a public service, in the interest of all, but also an armed force, with its own interests and stereotypes, its official goals which are not always combined with the values of the police.

<sup>10</sup> See Dimitrios Papanikolaïdis, *General introduction to administrative police theory (Introduction générale a la théorie de la police administrative)* (DPhil thesis, University of Paris 1, 1960) 17 (in French), with further reference to Leon Duguit, *Constitutional Law Treaty (Traité de droit Constitutionnel)* (Paris: Ancienne librairie Fontemoing & Editeurs, 1923) 58 (in French).

and their further simplification, as forms of police competence.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, today, instead of social needs, the public interest defines the public service as an activity undertaken directly or indirectly, by a public legal entity, to satisfy a collective need of public interest under the status even partially of public of law. However, as George Dupuis stresses, the risk of a random and subjective assessment from the legislator, that they will choose those activities, which in their free assessment, satisfy the public interest more substantially, is more than obvious.<sup>12</sup> This risk is greater when this public service is the police itself. Then, as aptly pointed out by Didier Truchet, the public interest can not only limit, but also harm the individual liberties and rights of citizens. Therefore, the public interest can become a dangerous tool in the hands of the police.<sup>13</sup> In conclusion, the very attempt to assist in defining the concept and operation of the judicial police clashes with the impossibility of defining the concept of the police itself.

#### **4. Comparative Consideration of Police Systems**

The same polysemy of the police concept is reflected on all legal orders, as demonstrated by the comparative method of considering the police organization systems of the various legal orders.<sup>14</sup>

##### ***A. The Judicial Police in France***

###### **1. Public Order as a Determination of State Action as Police**

In France, the term ‘police’ is characterized by two conceptual elements. The first element is public order (ordre public) and the other element is the public service (service public). Public policy determines and delimits the responsibilities of state agencies as police or non-police, for this reason French jurisprudence has emphasized its constitutional origin and clarified its conceptual content.<sup>15</sup> The responsibilities of

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<sup>11</sup> See Picard (no 3) 125.

<sup>12</sup> George Dupuis, Marie Jose Guédon, *Administrative Law (Droit administratif)* (Paris :Armand Colin, 1988) 400 (in French).

<sup>13</sup> Didier Truchet, *The functions of the notion of general interest in the case law of the Council of State (Les fonctions de la notion d'intérêt général dans la jurisprudence du Conseil d'État)* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1977) 45 (in French).

<sup>14</sup> Jacques De Maillard, *Polices compared (Polices comparées)* (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 2017) 15 (in French).

<sup>15</sup> Christian Vimbert, ‘Public order in the case law of the Constitutional Council’ (‘L'ordre public dans la jurisprudence du Conseil constitutionnel’), (1994) 24 *Revue du droit public* 90 (in French), Pierre de

state authorities related to public order are the protection of peace, safety, and health, which is called the classic triptych of public order, while the protection of morals and the protection of human dignity constitute the so-called intangible element of public order.<sup>16</sup> Public order is a concept that we feel more than we understand, emphasizes Ronald Drago.<sup>17</sup> Thus, in France, public order is perceived empirically, more sensibly, in the spirit of the legal positivism of the French explanatory School, than mentally, as it happens in Germany, under the influence of a conceptual view of law. The police in France, depending on the object they are called upon to regulate, are called health police, water police, foreigners police and so on. Thus far, it could be argued that the five elements of public policy identify a judicial or administrative action as a police action. But what happens when the current legislator intervenes and includes in the protection of public order new components that need police protection by invoking the economic, climate, energy and any other new crisis? This legislative choice has the effect of having as many police bodies as the legislator decides each time, such as financial police, environmental protection police, energy security police, and so on.<sup>18</sup> As the theory points out, the legislator's intervention in the constitutionally protected concept of public order is impermissible, as its concept expands uncontrollably, but also softens, if the concept of the police itself is not relativized, so that state agencies are equipped with more and more police powers, with whatever this implies for the freedoms and rights of citizens.<sup>19</sup>

## 2. Constitutional Foundation of Judicial Police

The roots of the distinction between the judiciary and the administrative functional activity of the police can be found in the French Revolution and specifically, in the political thought of Montesquieu, for the principle of the distinction of functions.<sup>20</sup> The French have always been skeptical towards concentrating power in one person, after

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Montalivet, *The objectives of constitutional value (Les objectifs de valeur constitutionnelle)* (Paris: Dalloz, 2006) 89 (in French).

<sup>16</sup> Marie-Odile Peyroux -Sissoko, *Intangible public order in French public law (L'ordre public immatériel en droit public français)* (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 2018) 291 (in French).

<sup>17</sup> See Roland Drago, 'Breaches of public order' ('Les atteintes à l'ordre public'), in R. Polin, *Public Order (L'ordre public)*, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1996) 47 (in French).

<sup>18</sup> See Rene Séve, *The measure of public order (La mesure de l'ordre public)* in *Public Order (L'ordre public)* (Paris: Dalloz, 2015) 6 (in French).

<sup>19</sup> See Picard (no 3) 545.

<sup>20</sup> Evangelos Diamantis, *Police Action and Citizen Protection Theoretical and Jurisprudential Approach (Αστυνομική Δράση και Προστασία του Πολίτη Θεωρητική και Νομολογιακή Προσέγγιση)* (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki, 2021) 7 (in Greek).

the monarchy was contested. Thus, there was negation towards the exercise of state functions by a single state service, from which the police did not escape.<sup>21</sup>

Following the above, the principle of distinction between the administrative and judicial police was legislated. The legislative distinction between judicial and administrative police naturally follows from the constitutional principle of the distinction of functions.<sup>22</sup> This principle of law which was proclaimed for the first time, after the French Revolution, by the laws of 16-24 August, 'sur l'organisation judiciaire', presupposes initially that 'judicial functions are distinct and will always remain segregated from administrative functions' and that 'judges cannot, on pain of nullity, interfere in any way with the functions of administrative bodies, nor summon before them commanders, because of their duties'. Therefore, 'the courts, in the context of exercising their administrative function must declare themselves incompetent before the administrative authorities'.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, the principle of the distinction between administrative and judicial police requires that the commissioners not interfere in matters dependent on the judicial function. Any existing justice administration bodies of the administrative function recognize their incompetence, vis-à-vis the measures concerning the judicial police. In fact, this action of the administration falls under the judicial function and falls under the jurisdiction of the court, defined as competent, in the Code of Criminal Procedure of France (articles 13 and 224). Therefore, the competence of the French administrative judge is not limited to all matters concerning the action of the judicial police, which is subordinate to the judicial function.<sup>24</sup>

Consequently, the principle of distinction between administrative and judicial police action, the conceptual content of which is formulated here, in its original and simplest form, historically, as the theory points out, led to a Caesarism in the exercise of police power. This principle of law, during the first period of its application, was designed in a uniform manner, as evidenced by the drafting of articles 16 to 20 of the famous revolutionary 'Code des délits et des peines du trois Brumaire, an quatre (25 octobre 1795) Contenant les Lois relative à l' instruction des affaires criminelles'. This legislative text appears to make only a purely technical separation between two aspects of the same activity or institution of the police. In particular, the police are established to maintain public order, liberty, property, and personal security (Article

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<sup>21</sup> See Picard (no 3) 113.

<sup>22</sup> See Picard (no 3) 198.

<sup>23</sup> See Picard (no 3) 136.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

16). Its main character is alertness. Society, considered as a whole, is the object of its mission (Article 17). The police is divided into administrative police and judicial police (Article 18). The purpose of the administrative police is the usual maintenance of public order in every place and in every department of the general administration. Its main purpose is the prevention of crime. The laws concerning it are part of the Civil Administration Code (Article 19). The judicial police investigate crimes that the administrative police could not prevent from being committed, collects the evidence and delivers the perpetrators to the courts charged by law with their punishment (Article 20). The judicial police is exercised in accordance with the descriptions that will be established. By the commissioners of police, by constables and rangers, by justices of the peace, by the foremen of the grand jury, and by the captains and lieutenants of the national gendarmerie (section 21). All judicial police officers are under the general supervision of the prosecutor, who prosecutes their negligence, abuse of power and offenses against the law (Article 21,22,23).<sup>25</sup>

In conclusion, the modern statutory definition of the concept of judicial police does not seem to be very different to the general provisions of articles 12-14 of the French Code of Criminal Procedure. The origins of the principle of the distinction between administrative and judicial police, as found in the French Revolution, influenced the legislation of other countries as a result of which it is a permanent institution in the establishment of police powers in the modern Rule of Law.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. Structure & Responsibilities of Judicial Police

The police in France is divided into functional, administrative, and judicial. The administrative police (police administrative) ensures the maintenance of public order, as analyzed above. The judicial police (police judiciaire) has as its mission the investigation of crimes and the arrest of their perpetrators.<sup>27</sup> The Central Directorate of the Judicial Police is a directorate of the French National Police for the investigation and fight against serious crimes. It was established in 1907 by the Minister of Interior, Georges Clemenceau, and then structured according to the decree of 5 August 2009 with central and regional Services.<sup>28</sup> Among the responsibilities of the judicial

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> See Picard (no 3) 137.

<sup>27</sup> For the judicial police in France, from the point of view of police law, see Herve Vlamynck, *Police Law (Droit de la police)* (Paris: Vuibert, 2021) 158 (in French).

<sup>28</sup> Aleksander Olech, *French and Polish fight against terrorism*, (Poznan: Kontekst Publishing House, 2022) 90 (in English).



police are the investigation of crimes against persons and property, missing persons, arms trafficking, international fraud, counterfeiting, white collar crimes, drugs, cybercrimes and others. This segregation of the French legal order influenced the police organization systems of many States of the world.

### ***B. The Judicial Police in Germany (Kriminalpolizei)***

In Germany, the concept of the police has a threefold dimension, the substantive, the formal and the institutional. According to the latter, the police as an institution determines the organization and structure of the police (Polizei im institutionellen oder organizational Sinn). The police, in a substantive sense (Polizei im material Sinn) refers to all state actions to prevent risks. Finally, the police, in a formal sense (Polizei im formels Sinn) includes all the powers and duties that according to the law and the Constitution are assigned and exercised by the police, in an institutional sense regardless of whether they have preventive or repressive content. The German legal order, in recent years, has focused on the formal concept of the police, from which the distinction between administrative and judicial police derives.<sup>29</sup>

In 1799, six plainclothes police officers were stationed to the Prussian Kammergericht (higher court of the city of Berlin for criminal and civil cases) to investigate particularly serious crimes. A few years later, the service became an independent branch of the police service, and officers serving in the judicial police were given the rank of Kriminalkommissar as investigators, distinct from the uniformed police called Schutzpolizei.<sup>30</sup>

Currently, in Germany, the Federal Criminal Police Service operates (Bundeskriminalamt - BKA), which is subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior, while in the States there is the Landespolizei. Kriminalpolizei officers investigate crimes and

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<sup>29</sup> For her above discrimination, see Wolf-Rüdiger Schenke, *Police Law (Polizei- und Ordnungsrecht)* (Heidelberg: CF Müller, 2011) 1 (in German), Bodo Pieroth, Bernhard Schlink, Michael Kniesel, *Police Law with Assembly Law (Polizei- und Ordnungsrecht mit Versammlungsrecht)* (München: Verlag CH Beck, 2012) 8 (in German), Volkmar Götz, *General police and regulatory law (Allgemeines Polizei- und Ordnungsrecht)* (München: Verlag CH Beck, 2013) 11 (in German) Markus Thiel, *Police Law (Polizei- und Ordnungsrecht)* (Baden Baden: Nomos, 2016) 31 (in German), Manfred Möllef, Gunter Warg *General police and regulatory law with compulsory administration and notification technology (Allgemeines Polizei- und Ordnungsrecht mit Verwaltungszwang und Bescheidtechnik)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Deutscher Gemeinde Verlag, 2012) 7 (in German).

<sup>30</sup> See Sandra Geithner, Thomas Geithner, Karlhans Liebl, *Cooperation between the protection and criminal police: prejudices, deficits and evaluations (Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Schutz- und Kriminalpolizei: Vorurteile, Defizite und Wertungen)* (Rothenburg: Fachhochschule für Polizei Sachsen University of Applied Sciences) (2005) 8 (in German).



incidents individually or in teams, without wearing uniform. Judicial police officers are graduates of police schools and, based on their performance in criminology and criminal sciences, they follow an additional three-year course at the police academy, in order to acquire the specialization of investigator.<sup>31</sup>

BKA is constitutionally enshrined, located in the State of Hesse and maintains Services in Berlin and nearby, Bonn. Its responsibilities concern, among others, the prevention and suppression of terrorism, forgery, the international trade in drugs and weapons, money laundering from criminal activities, the investigation of crimes, following the order of the investigator, the protection of the direct organs of the State (President of the Republic, Federal Parliament, and Federal Constitutional Court), the protection of federal witnesses, the coordination with liaison officers at Europol and Interpol of international and European judicial cooperation, the management and analysis of intelligence on crime and the provision of administrative and international assistance to other services.<sup>32</sup>

The BKA is currently organized into eleven departments. The President of the BKA is supported by a staff Service called '*Leitungsstab*'. Also, the BKA has established an Operations Center, Criminal Service, Department of judicial and police cooperation with Europol and Interpol, Departments for the investigation of criminal sexual crimes, fraud, terrorism, drugs and other crimes. In addition, the BKA operates, among others, a Joint Counter-Terrorism Center that coordinates police/judicial services and Intelligence Services on terrorism issues, a Joint Center for the Prevention of Terrorism and Extremism located in Cologne and focusing on politically motivated crimes such as right-wing and left-wing extremism, Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, and espionage, National Cyber Threat Prevention Center, Joint Illegal Immigration Strategy and Analysis Center, Joint Financial Crimes Investigation Unit.<sup>33</sup>

### ***C. Judicial Police of Italy***

In Italy, the concept of police is multifaceted. From the so-called normative profile of the police as a set of principles and rules came the Police Law. The objective profile

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<sup>31</sup> See Erhard Denninger, Ralf Poscher, *Police and Justice (Polizei und Justiz)*, in Erhard Denninger, Hans Lisker, *Police Law Manual (Handbuch des Polizeirechts)* (München: C.H. Beck, 2012) 99 (in German).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> See Erwin Quambusch, 'Hunting criminals with amateurs? Or: a vital criminal investigation into the next millennium', ('Mit Dilettanten Verbrecher jagen? Oder: eine vitale kripo ins nächste jahrtausend?') (1999) 27 *Kriminalistik* 99 (in German).

of the police refers to the fields in which the latter intervenes. Here, police actions in public and private accidents and the administrative resolution of private disputes by the police are included. Another facet of the Police in Italy is its structural profile in the sense of public security organization. Also, the police appear with the operational profile related to the coordination of police forces. Finally, the police is presented with the profile in terms of content determined by the typology of police measures during the manifestation of the police operation. Consequently, these many aspects of the police persona add to its concept a strong subjective element.<sup>34</sup>

### 1. Constitutional Enshrinement & Powers

The Italian Judicial Police, as a service, is described in article 109 of the Constitution of the Italian Republic. After the abuses and atrocities of the fascist regime during the monarchical period, the Italian Constituent Assembly felt the need to constitutionally and legislatively enshrine the Judicial Police Service. Thus, in article 55 of the Code of Criminal Procedure it is defined that ‘the judicial police must, even ex officio, take cognizance of crimes, prevent their further consequences, search for their perpetrators, take the necessary measures to secure the evidence and to collect anything else that may be useful for the prosecution of crimes under the criminal law, carrying out all investigations and activities ordered or assigned to it by the judicial authority’.<sup>35</sup> The Judicial Police today consists of carabinieri and policemen of the state security and economic police who are subordinate to the competent Ministry following the rules of discipline, organization and official status of them. In each Prosecutor’s Office there are Judicial Police units, made up of Judicial Police officers and police officers from various bodies of the Italian police forces and services.<sup>36</sup>

The mission of the Judicial Police in Italy is to know of a crime in any way, to notify it (*notitia criminis*) to the competent judicial authorities and in the search for the perpetrator of the crime, and the useful evidence for bringing him to justice, so that they can be tried and if they are found guilty, to be sentenced to the penalty provided by law, acting ex officio or by order of the public prosecutor, who is in charge of the investigation and to whom a suggestive report of each crime is filed. Also, the judicial police have responsibilities to prevent crimes, arrest absconders and fugitives, verify

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<sup>34</sup> On these, see Arturo Lannuzi, *Police Law From the function to the trials of the Police (Diritto di Polizia Dalla funzione ai provvedimenti di Polizia)*, (Rome: Giuridica Editrice, 2015) 9 (in Italian).

<sup>35</sup> See Vito Ingletti, *Judicial Police Law Paperback (Diritto di polizia giudiziaria Copertina flessibile)*, (Rome: Laurus, 2019) 65 (in Italian).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

identities, collect information, conduct searches of places of objects and persons, for every case related to the crime under investigation.<sup>37</sup>

## 2. Constitutional and Statutory limitations

The constitutional enshrinement of the Judicial Police in Italy includes similar constitutional as well as legislative limitations on its action. One of these restrictions is that Judicial Police officers are prohibited from conducting arbitrary personal searches and searches. In addition, the public prosecutor cannot delegate the execution of any procedural act to the Judicial Police officer. Judicial review of these legal restrictions is particularly important. In particular, the Constitutional Court of Italy, by its decision (229/2018), annulled a regulatory act of the police, according to which, ‘the heads of each police station had to report to their own hierarchical scale complaints about crimes within the competence of the judicial function, regardless of the conditions laid down by the code of criminal procedure’.<sup>38</sup> This regulatory act was also accompanied by a corresponding circular with specific instructions issued by the Chief of Police and the Chiefs of other Police Forces. At the same time, the court clarified that ‘Article 109 of the Constitution expressly enshrines the Judicial Police by establishing its functional dependence on the judicial authority, excluding the intervention of other authorities in the conduct of investigations, so that the action of the latter is essentially reserved for the initiative and determination of the judicial authority itself’.<sup>39</sup>

### *D. The Judicial Police of Greece*

#### 1. Historical Review

At the time of the establishment of the Greek State on Ioannis Kapodistrias, there was no Judicial Police. During the period of the absolute Monarchy of Otto, no. 85 of 31.12.1836 Royal Decree was issued, which although never implemented, defined the Judicial Police to be exercised by Mayors, Presidents or Constables and was tasked with examining crimes and misdemeanors, collecting evidence and clues to ascertain the circumstances and to draw up regular protocols for the Ministers.

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<sup>37</sup> Stefano Pesci, ‘The ability of the public prosecutor to effectively guide investigations in relations with the judicial police’ (*‘La capacità del pubblico ministero di effettiva guida delle indagini nei rapporti con la polizia giudiziaria’*) (2018) 1 *Questione Giustizia* 527 (in Italian).

<sup>38</sup> Pesci (no 36) 89.

<sup>39</sup> Giuseppe D’Elia, *Magistrature, polizia giudiziaria e Costituzione* (Magistratura, polizia giudiziaria e Costituzione) (Milano: Giuffrè, 2002) 105 (in Italian).

A century later, in 1939, the International Society of Criminal Law recommended to the League of Nations the assignment to a special Police Corps of the tasks of investigation and arrest of alleged perpetrators of crimes. This Police Force shall be subordinate to and controlled by a judicial authority. At the European level, in February 1990, a European Conference was held in Madrid, with the participation of representatives of the Member States of the European Communities and with the subject of Judicial Police. In Greece, a lively debate developed on the need to establish judicial police, in order to achieve correctness, speed in the awarding of law and the completeness of judicial work, within the framework of the principle of good administration of justice.<sup>40</sup> A first step was taken with article 36 of Law 2145/28.05.1993 in order to issue a Presidential Decree and establish a Judicial Police Service in the District Attorney's Offices of the Territory.

Of course, the developments in the European Union in the past two decades, especially after the Treaty of Amsterdam, gave a great impetus to the debate on the establishment of Judicial Police in Greece. However, the Treaty of Lisbon now makes it necessary to establish a Judicial Police in all EU member states, which acts in the single Area of Freedom, Security and Justice of the EU, within the framework of judicial cooperation between the Member States.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, the integration of the Schengen Treaty into European Legislation, as an *acquis*, assigns to the judicial and especially to the police authorities the responsibility of protecting the borders of the EU.<sup>42</sup> Also, the General Data Protection Regulation in combination with article 16 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU is also fully implemented in the field of police and judicial cooperation requiring a strong data protection system to provide

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<sup>40</sup> For the meaning of the principle of good administration of justice see Olivier Gabarda, 'assessment of the administrative penalty' (*L'intérêt d'une bonne administration de la justice*) (2006) 45 *Revue du Droit Public* 153 (in French).

<sup>41</sup> See Anna Benaki, 'Towards a European Criminal Law? Thoughts on the Draft Treaty for the Establishment of a Constitution for Europe' ('Προς ένα Ευρωπαϊκό Ποινικό Δίκαιο; Σκέψεις με αφορμή το Σχέδιο Συνθήκης για τη θέσπιση Συντάγματος της Ευρώπης') (2003) 53 *Ποινικά Χρονικά* 961 (in Greek), Dimitris Tsilikis, 'The cross-border collection of electronic evidence in the EU area – Problems for the planned legislative regulation of electronic evidence', ('Η διασυνοριακή συλλογή ηλεκτρονικών αποδείξεων στον ενωσιακό χώρο – Προβληματισμοί για την σχεδιαζόμενη νομοθετική ρύθμιση της ηλεκτρονικής απόδειξης') (2021) 71 *Ποινικά Χρονικά* 241 (in Greek).

<sup>42</sup> See C-520/2020, where it is emphasized that '*SIS II should be a compensatory measure which contributes to maintaining a high level of security within the area of freedom, security and justice of the European of the Union.*'.

equivalent protection to all natural persons and to protect their rights.<sup>43</sup> The further cooperation of Europol, Eurojust, the European Public Prosecutor's Office and the rest of the criminal enforcement bodies necessitates the establishment of the Judicial Police, which in the Member States is charged with its coordination.<sup>44</sup> An example is the special investigative acts, such as the execution of the European Investigation Warrant, which constitutes an institutional form of judicial assistance in the field of gathering evidence and is acted upon in the EU countries by the Judicial Police, for the sake of the more effective collection of these in the criminal procedure.

## 2. Law 4963/2022

In the above context, Law 4963/2022, Establishment of the Judicial Police and other urgent provisions of the Ministry of Justice, was passed, which aims to assist the work of the judicial and prosecutorial authorities and ensuring the orderly operation of the judicial services, by assigning to specialized personnel of the Ministry of Justice police tasks, as well as tasks that require special scientific knowledge to speed up the administration of justice and efficiency in its administration. Until now, the above tasks were carried out by the staff of the Greek Police and private individuals, creating problems in the functional distribution of responsibilities among the justice sectors, breaking up the service cohesion necessary for the organization and operation, in order to fulfill the principle of good administration of justice.

In Greece there was no Judicial Police. The services with police responsibilities of a judicial nature fall under the administrative and not the judicial function. The police services in Greece are governed by the phenomenon of functional division.<sup>45</sup> The legal content of the functional division lies in the fact that the police services, although they fall under the administrative function and should perform only administrative

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<sup>43</sup> See Antonios Veneris, 'The restriction of the processing of personal data in Directive 2016/680/EU: Right of the data subject or right of the competent authorities?' ('Ο περιορισμός της επεξεργασίας των δεδομένων προσωπικού χαρακτήρα στην Οδηγία 2016/680/ΕΕ: Δικαίωμα του υλοκειμένου των δεδομένων ή δικαίωμα των αρμοδίων αρχών;') (2018) 17 *Ελληνική Επιθεώρηση Ευρωπαϊκού Δικαίου* 477 (in Greek).

<sup>44</sup> See Maria Caiaphas-Gpadi, 'Coordinating bodies for the fight against organized crime in the EU: From police to judicial coordination – The perspective of the protection of constitutional rights', ('Συντονιστικά όργανα για την καταπολέμηση του οργανωμένου εγκλήματος στην ΕΕ: Από τον αστυνομικό στον δικαστικό συντονισμό – Η προοπτική της προστασίας των θεμελιωδών δικαιωμάτων') (2003) 53 *Ποινικά Χρονικά* 165 (in Greek).

<sup>45</sup> For the functional division, instead of many, see Panagiotis Tsoukas (ed.), *Legal Studies of Apostolos Papalamprou (Νομικές Μελέτες Απόστολου Παπαλάμπρου)* (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki, 2008) 103 (in Greek).

tasks (guarding state buildings, guarding persons, being present at public meetings), nevertheless in the context of the intersection of functions they also perform judicial powers, i.e. powers which, according to the principle of separation of functions, are exercised only by the competent judicial authorities according to the Constitution.<sup>46</sup> In relation to the functional element, domestic agencies with police powers exercise a dual function (*Doppelfunktionalität der Polizei*), that is, while the rest of the public Services perform only administrative services, the Greek Police Services simultaneously perform judicial and administrative services. The above analysis leads us to the conclusion that the Judicial Police of Greece from an operational point of view, although it falls under the judicial function, it is not a judicial Service, but is characterized as a police Service, which, however, also exercises judicial powers.

On the other hand, according to the organic criterion, the employees of the Greek Police Services have a dual nature.<sup>47</sup> This means that the same person with police responsibilities is, at the same time, an administrative officer who is hierarchically subordinate to the political and if they are a militarily organized body to their physical leadership, but also a judicial officer falling within the hierarchy of judicial function, under the supervision of the Prosecutor.<sup>48</sup> Because the responsibilities of the police officers of the judicial police action concern the investigation, to solve the crime, in the context of the preliminary investigation, they are called investigative officers.<sup>49</sup> Depending on the extent of this authority, for the investigation of each crime or a specific category of crimes, general and special investigative officers are called respectively. In case of confusion of responsibilities, the specialists are taken over, as opposed to the general ones, because they are presumed to be more experienced and specialized in the investigation of the crime. The employees of the judicial police in Greece are accurately, under the new law, special investigative officers (Article four).

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<sup>46</sup> For the functional division of police bodies, instead of many, see the doctoral thesis of Remy Guérin, *The administrative police and the judicial police under the Fifth Republic: the game of the separation of powers (La police administrative et la police judiciaire sous la Ve République: le jeu de la séparation des pouvoirs)*, (DPhil thesis University Paris 8, 1982) 48-59 (in French).

<sup>47</sup> See For the dual nature, instead of many, see Dimitrios Papanikolaïdis, *System of Administrative Law (Σύστημα Διοικητικού Δικαίου)* (Athens: Sakkoulas 1992), 146 (in Greek).

<sup>48</sup> See Andromachi Markantonatu Skaltsa, *Public Administration & Collective Bodies (Δημόσια Διοίκηση & Συλλογικά Όργανα)* (Athens: Ant. Sakkoulas 2005) 51 (in Greek).

<sup>49</sup> See Theocharis Dalakouras, *Criminal Procedural Law, (Ποινικό Δικονομικό Δίκαιο)* (Athens: Ant. Sakkoulas, 2012) 184 (in Greek).

Until today, in Greece, the police services have the abovementioned characteristics.<sup>50</sup> In Greece, this option was proposed, because it was considered better from an organizational point of view to simultaneously have administrative and judicial responsibilities exercised by the same Service. However, the employees of the judicial police, by legislative choice, are subordinated hierarchically, only to a judicial officer in order to secure independence in their action. Judicial police officers have a dual status, since they are both civil servants and investigative officers, although as mentioned above they are only subordinate to the judicial function for reasons of independence in their action. Therefore, the position that the judicial police has only judicial powers is not correct, and it exhibits, however, all the characteristics of a police service manifesting at the same time measures of administrative and criminal procedural coercion.

The police sector consists of uniformed and armed personnel and exercises, in accordance with Article four of the law, preventive and repressive powers, among which are a) the service of indictments and procedural documents, b) the execution of the decisions of the criminal courts, c) the good order of court sessions, the guarding of court offices, but also of judicial and prosecutorial officers, inside and outside the courts, when it is judged by the supervisor of the regional service that there are security reasons connected to the exercise of their duties, d) the assistance to judicial and prosecutorial officers and their colleagues in the civil sector, when they carry out a preliminary examination or preliminary investigation.

Consequently, paragraph five of article two of the new law establishes a parallel or concurrent authority to conduct a preliminary investigation, both by the already competent police authorities and by the judicial police, providing the prosecutor with the option of choosing the most appropriate Service. In case of doubt, the matter should be resolved according to the principle of the more specific rule of law, since court officials have the necessary expertise and experience to investigate certain crimes.

In addition, par. six of article two of the law establishes the administrative assistance of all state services to the judicial police. In any case, the special conditions for the provision of administrative assistance by the Police Services of the law should be observed in accordance with Presidential Decree 141/1991 and always in the spirit of the principle of proportionality, so that their orderly operation is not disturbed.

Worthy of mention is the provision of par. one of article 43 of Law 3528/2007 according to which, for all matters not regulated in the founding law of the Judicial

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<sup>50</sup> See Zoe Papaioannou, *Police Law (Αστυνομικό Δίκαιο)* (Athens: Sakkoulas 2006) 393.



Police, the Code of Status of Public Political Administrative Officers and Employees of the Legal Entity of Public Law shall be applied proportionally.

### *E. The Lack of Judicial Police in Cyprus*

#### **1. The Organization of the Cyprus Police**

Cyprus, although an independent European State, still lacks judicial police as an independent Service. The judicial powers of the Cyprus police are exercised by an entity, the Cyprus Police, which also exercises administrative police powers.<sup>51</sup>

The judicial powers of the Cyprus Police are divided into various services. The Crime Combating Department (TKE) in the Cyprus Police operates at a central level, which essentially exercises most of its police powers. The existence of a Prosecutor's Office in the Crime Fighting Department is worth mentioning, which promotes cooperation between Police Departments and the Office of the Attorney General, providing legal advice. Criminal cases of particular gravity are forwarded to the Prosecutor's Office, which, after being examined, others are forwarded to the Attorney General's Office with specific recommendations or for legal advice and the rest are returned to the Police Directorates with instructions for criminal prosecution of those involved or for final classification. The Criminal Investigation Department (TAE) also has an auxiliary role in the execution of the judicial powers of the judicial police. Of course, there are also some specialized services, such as the Cybercrime Subdivision and the Drug Law Enforcement Service (YKAN). At a regional level, the judicial powers of the Cyprus Police are exercised by the Provincial Police Directorates and the Port and Maritime Police.<sup>52</sup>

The basic source and boundaries of the action of the police of Cyprus is certainly the Constitution, which is explicitly guaranteed in article 130 as the security force of the Republic.<sup>53</sup> According to the Police Law of 2004, as amended and in force today, the judicial powers of the Cyprus police are determined by the competence of the police to investigate crime and arrest and prosecute lawbreakers. For the execution of these duties, members of the Police have the right to carry weapons. Besides, any

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<sup>51</sup> Artemis Savvidou, 'An Outline of Criminal Law and the Working of Judicial System in Criminal Cases' (1989) *Cyprus Law Review*, 4016 (in English).

<sup>52</sup> Dennis Campbell (Ed), *Introduction to Cyprus Law A. Neocleous & CO*, (New York: Yorkhill Law Publishing, 2000) 465 (in English).

<sup>53</sup> Konstantinos Kompos, *Cypriot Constitutional Law: Theory, Organization and Practice*, (Κυπριακό Συνταγματικό Δίκαιο: Θεωρία, Οργάνωση και Πράξη) (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki, 2021) 176 (in Greek).



member of the Police from the rank of Sergeant or higher, may arrest or order the arrest of any other member of the Police, who is not of the same rank or higher, who commits any spontaneous offense punishable by imprisonment in violation of the aforementioned Law.<sup>54</sup>

It follows from the above that Cyprus does not have a Judicial Police. In other words, in Cyprus there is no separate body, independent of the existing Cyprus Police, which exercises exclusively judicial police powers.

## 2. *Proposal for the Establishment of Judicial Police in Cyprus*

Dealing with new forms of crime, preventing, and suppressing organized crime and terrorism is best done by a specially trained Judicial Police in Cyprus. The judicial police officers of Cyprus with special knowledge in law, criminology, sociology and other related sciences will be able to help in the fight against new forms of crime.

The Judicial Police of Cyprus will have its own Headquarters. Also, the Judicial Police of Cyprus will not be subordinate to the Ministry of Justice and Public Order, but to the Legal Service of the State. The Chief of the Judicial Police of Cyprus will be accountable only to the Attorney General of the Republic of Cyprus. The Chief of the Judicial Police will be appointed by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, based on the proposal of the Attorney General and the Assistant Attorney General.<sup>55</sup>

The organization of the Judicial Police Services of Cyprus is proposed to be provided for in a separate prefecture. The Judicial Police in Cyprus will organize a Central Service and Regional Services. It is proposed that the judicial police officers fall under two Departments. The Armed Department will exercise operational powers, arrests, investigations, confiscations and more. The unarmed Department will be staffed by police officers, graduates of Legal Science, who will assist in the investigative work of the Attorney General and the Assistant Attorney General.<sup>56</sup>

The Cyprus Judicial Police of the Legal Service will cooperate with the Cyprus Police of the Ministry of Justice and Public Order. Finally, the Judicial Police of Cy-

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<sup>54</sup> Kostas Paraskevas, *Cypriot Constitutional Law Fundamental Rights & Freedoms (Κυπριακό Συνταγματικό Δίκαιο Θεμελιώδη Δικαιώματα & Ελευθερίες)* (Athens: Nomiki Bibliothiki, 2015) 150 (in Greek).

<sup>55</sup> Christos Lottidis, *The Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, its complexity and the unsuccessful attempt to revise it, in 1963, (Το Σύνταγμα της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας, η πολυπλοκότητα του και η ανεπιτυχής προσπάθεια αναθεώρησής του, το 1963)* (Athens: Sakkoulas, 2009) 97 (in Greek).

<sup>56</sup> Despina Kyprianou, *The role of the Cyprus attorney general's office in prosecutions: Rhetoric, Ideology and practice* (London: ProQuest LLC, 2014) 203 (in English).

prus will cooperate with Europol and Interpol and the European Public Prosecutor's Office.

In general, the establishment of the Judicial Police in Cyprus will contribute to the consolidation of the Rule of Law and the more effective administration of Justice.<sup>57</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

The Judicial Police is a police service that belongs to the narrow core of the State and its employees enjoy greater guarantees of independence, because they are hierarchically subordinate to the judicial function. Nevertheless, the Judicial Police, like any state agency with police powers, exercises judicial as well as administrative powers, acquiring a dual function, while its employees have a dual character, resulting in the requirement to describe and distinguish their administrative from their judicial powers.

In the French conceptual order, the rule applies that the powers of the judicial police must be distinguished from the powers of the administrative police. This rule comes from the principle of the distinction of liturgies, as it was formed during the times of the French revolution.

Indeed, in Italy the institution of judicial police is constitutionally enshrined. This is because the judicial police must enjoy a degree of independence, as is the case with the judiciary, in order to effectively fulfill its mission.

In Germany the judicial police is systematically organized into central and regional Services to deal with contemporary crime.

In Greece, the judicial police was established in 2022. European integration, in particular, after the Treaty of Lisbon and the establishment of judicial and police cooperation, between the member states of the European Union, in a single area of security, freedom, and justice is the main reason for the establishment of the Greek judicial police parallel to the operation of the European Prosecutor in Greece.

In Cyprus there is no autonomous and independent service that serves as a judicial police. The judicial powers of the Cyprus Police are exercised by Police Services that are subordinate to the Ministry of Justice and Public Order. The Police Services of Cyprus exercise parallel judicial and administrative powers. We hope that this paper will help in its dialogue on the establishment and operation of judicial police in Cyprus, as a member state of the European Union.

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<sup>57</sup> Angelo Constantinou, *Applied Research on Policing for Police The case of Cyprus* (Berlin: Springer Editions, 2021) 109 (in English).

It is proposed to establish the Judicial Police of Cyprus. The new Police will be directly subordinate to the Legal Service of the State and not to the Ministry of Justice and Public Order.

Judicial police officers will be specially trained and with appropriate knowledge of science to fulfil their mission.

The selection of the Chief by the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the Heads of the Legal Service of the State will help to select the most suitable person for the specific position.<sup>58</sup>

In general, the establishment and organization of a Judicial Police in Cyprus helps to combat specific forms of crime, and to more effectively protect the fundamental rights of citizens in a modern European State of Law.

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<sup>58</sup> I. Tzivaras, *Comparative overview of Greek and Cypriot Constitutional Law (Συγκριτική επισκόπηση Ελληνικού και Κυπριακού Συνταγματικού Δικαίου)*, (Athens: Sakkoulas 2010) 107 (in Greek).

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# ‘Sunny Side Up’: A Lockdown Stop Motion Animation and the Psychology Behind the Film

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## Abstract

*This paper describes and analyses ‘Sunny Side Up’, a short stop motion animated film created by one of the authors of this paper during the social distancing and lockdowns of the COVID-19 pandemic. The film was inspired by an unparalleled era where the time to contemplate was abundant. It features the internal dialogue of the protagonist as he cooks in his kitchen. The investigation focuses on the ‘monkey mind’—a metaphor for the unsettled mind used in Buddhist writings. The creator and the protagonist of the film both experience this state of mind at the time of the conception of the film. This takes the form of a psychological analysis of the restless mind, which clearly was the creator’s and subsequently the film’s protagonist state of mind at the time of the conception of the film.*

**Keywords:** COVID-19, film, mental health, lockdown, psychological analysis, restless mind, stop motion animation

## The pandemic and the creative mind

As the coronavirus pandemic swept across the globe, businesses were forced to remain shut, countries closed their borders, and people were required to stay home to slow the spread of the outbreak. It was during this unprecedented time that the idea for ‘Sunny Side Up’—the short stop motion animated film that this paper analyses—came to life. As the Greek philosopher Aristotle said, ‘Man is by nature a social animal’;<sup>3</sup> undeniably, the consequences of the compulsory social distancing were particularly significant to the human state of mind.

Art and creative expression are known to alleviate negative feelings, which was precisely the motivating force behind this three-minute animated film. Created with the meticulous art of stop motion animation, the film utilises a handmade, miniature,

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<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *Aristotle’s Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905).

theatre-like set and one character, a plasticine puppet with a movable metallic bone-like internal structure known as armature. Stop motion is an animation technique that physically manipulates an object so that it appears to move on its own. ‘As a craft, the act of animating in stop motion requires a person to literally place a puppet in their hands and bring it to life, frame by frame’.<sup>4</sup> The animator moves the puppet in small increments between individually photographed frames, creating the illusion of movement when the series of frames is played as a continuous sequence. ‘Sunny Side Up’ consists of more than 4,000 such individual photographs. This technique requires intense concentration as a small mistake can force the animator to reshoot a whole scene and that could mean scrapping days of work. A full day’s work typically harvest a few seconds of animation. Many animators compare the technique with meditation—there is no room for thoughts other than those for the task at hand. Consequently, the animator is required to be entirely present, unknowingly practicing mindfulness, to avoid making mistakes. Constructing the set and puppet and creating the animation are not the only challenges an artist faces when embarking on such a project. Before any manual labour, a story and a script are vital.<sup>5</sup>

### **The film: ‘Sunny Side Up’**

‘Sunny Side Up’, was set in a kitchen—what had become a focal point in most homes during lockdowns. The kitchen was kept minimal and designed to look like a theatrical prop to emphasise its transformation into the ‘centre stage’ of the household. To accentuate the notion of the stage as the main performance room of the house even further, the kitchen was elevated to resemble a catwalk, accessible by wide steps. This is where the film starts, with the character contemplating while sitting on the steps, before standing up and moving to the stage to begin his cooking ‘performance’. No backdrop was designed to represent windows or other parts of the house; similarly, the set was not meant to realistically look like a part of a house. The absence of a backdrop also facilitated the notion of the theatrical stage.

From documenting human history to expressing collective emotions, artists have always been a channel for expressing universal sentiments. Artists record and preserve our human history. They can express our common humanity. And during the lockdowns, our common experience was facing our own minds. And auspicious-

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<sup>4</sup> Ken A Priebe, ‘The Advanced Art of Stop-Motion Animation’ (2011) Course Technology Cengage Learning: xvii.

<sup>5</sup> See the script for ‘Sunny Side Up’ in Appendix I

ly there was excessive activity and lots to observe, especially for people who found themselves living on their own. The script for 'Sunny Side Up' was inspired by just that, the observation of the human mind, or according to a metaphor used to describe the unsettled mind in Buddhist writings, the 'monkey mind'. The script was inspired by Sarah Kane's play 'Crave'— although there are four characters (named A, B, C, and M), critics like Peter Morris said the play consisted of 'just Sarah Kane doing herself in different voices'.<sup>6</sup> This suggests there was only one character in the play experiencing the 'monkey mind' a term that refers to the human mind being unsettled, restless, or confused.<sup>7</sup> Just like in 'Crave', the conversation in 'Sunny Side Up' takes the form of self-talk. Self-talk can be described as an ongoing dialogue within our minds, which can quickly bring up emotions like fear, doubt, self-criticism, anger, and anxiety, depending on what is going on with our lives at the given moment. The term aims to resemble how monkeys swing from branch to branch. In the field of psychology, monkey mind is sometimes used to describe the restless, agitated, and the ceaselessly active nature of the human mind. It is generally used as a metaphor to describe the way our thoughts can jump from one idea to another until reined in by focusing. Other than the negative affective states that can be fuelled by the phenomenon, monkey brain leads to an inability to focus or stay in the present moment, which in turn results in the negative affective states.

### **Enter the restless/monkey mind**

From a psychological perspective, the monkey mind can be attributed to various factors, such as overstimulation. In today's world and societal structure, stimulation and information transmission is constant, challenging the human mind in processing and filtering out irrelevant stimuli. This can lead to the mind jumping from one thought to another trying to address all the stimuli. Another situation where the monkey mind becomes more pronounced is during periods of anxiety and stress, where the mind races to find solutions or to anticipate potential threats. Attention and focus are probably the most interesting factors when it comes to the monkey mind. The human brain is designed to pay attention to novel stimuli and potential threats in the environment, a function that has helped us avoid danger and surprises in the days be-

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<sup>6</sup> Peter Morris, 'The Brand of Kane' (2000) 4 *Arete* 142–150.

<sup>7</sup> Thich Nhat Hanh, *The Miracle of Mindfulness: An Introduction to the Practice of Meditation* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1999).

fore the industrial revolution.<sup>8</sup> Today, the demand on our attention from the environment is constant—anyone can be reached via smartphones and social media, making it challenging to maintain focus on a single task. Even so, the normative cognitive process of the mind is to be working constantly to process, analyse, and synthesize information, and problem solve.<sup>9</sup> It is in the nature of our brain to be restless. It is when the restless mind comes to a point where it has nothing to solve or analyse, that is it has nothing to attend to, that problems arise.<sup>10</sup> This is the time when the ‘inner critic’ kicks in.

The ‘inner critic’ is a term used to describe the internal voice or self-talk that often judges, criticises, and undermines an individual’s self-worth and abilities. The inner critic can be related to the monkey mind as it often fuels the negative thoughts and ruminations that contribute to the negative affective states of the mind. Both the inner critic and the monkey mind can hinder an individual’s ability to focus, to be present, and to make rational decisions. The inner critic can exacerbate the effects of the monkey mind, as it tends to amplify self-doubt, insecurities, and fear of failure; as a result, it can prevent us from pursuing our goals and dreams and expressing our creativity.

The inner critic appears to be activated in the absence of goal-oriented tasks. In times of relative inactivity, the mind finds an opportunity for introspection with the aim of self-improvement; in the absence of clear goals for self-improvement, the mind will seek to identify or create a problem by magnifying even minor issues. Work in the field of neuroscience and neuropsychology has identified a network of interconnected brain regions that are active when the mind is at rest or not engaged on a specific task. These interconnected brain regions are collectively called the Default Mode Network (DMN).<sup>11</sup> The DMN is thought to be involved in a variety of internally focused mental processes, such as daydreaming, mind-wandering, self-referential thinking, and

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<sup>8</sup> Joseph LeDoux, ‘The Emotional Brain, Fear, and the Amygdala’ (2003) 23 *Cellular and Molecular Neurobiology* 727–738; Wolfram Schultz, ‘Behavioral Theories and the Neurophysiology of Reward’ (2006) 57 *Annual Review of Psychology* 87–115.

<sup>9</sup> Marcus E Raichle, ‘The Brain’s Default Mode Network’ (2015) 38 *Annual review of neuroscience* 433–447.

<sup>10</sup> John D Eastwood, Alexandra Frischen, Mark J. Fenske & Daniel Smilek, ‘The Unengaged Mind: Defining Boredom in Terms of Attention’ (2012) 7 *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 482–495.

<sup>11</sup> Marcus E Raichle, Ann Mary MacLeod, Abraham Z. Snyder & William J. Powers, ‘A Default Mode of Brain Function’ (2001) 98 *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 676–682.

rumination.<sup>12</sup> It was first identified in the late 1990s by neuroscientists who observed consistent patterns of brain activity during the ‘resting state’ using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI).<sup>13</sup>

Research in this area has shown that when a person is engaged in a cognitively demanding task, the activity of the DMN typically decreases. This is known as task-negative activity, as it contrasts with the task-positive networks that are active during goal-directed tasks (see Raichle for a review of the literature).<sup>14</sup> The DMN has been linked to various cognitive and emotional processes, including creativity, self-awareness, and introspection. However, excessive activity within the DMN has been associated with rumination, anxiety, depression, and attention-related difficulties, which may explain the monkey mind phenomenon.

The effects of the monkey mind and the resulting inner critic are a universal experience. Differences tend to appear on the frequency and intensity of the monkey mind. Additionally, the experience is affected by environmental factors. In the absence of social interaction—including productive, recreational, and creative activity—our mind engages the DMN, activating the monkey mind with all its consequences. For example, the recent COVID-19 pandemic and the phenomenon of lockdowns led to prolonged periods of isolation for much of the world’s population; people had to stay away from their workplaces, activities, friends, and family. There is now an abundance of research on the mental health consequences of the pandemic that were a direct result of the enforced distancing policies.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Nathan R Spreng, Raymond A Mar & Alice SN Kim, ‘The Common Neural Basis of Autobiographical Memory, Propection, Navigation, Theory of Mind, and the Default Mode: A Quantitative Meta-Analysis’ (2009) 21 *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 489–510.

<sup>13</sup> Raichle (n 6).

<sup>14</sup> Raichle (n 6).

<sup>15</sup> Tarani Chandola, Meena Kumari, Cara L Booker & Michaela Benzeval, ‘The Mental Health Impact of COVID-19 and Lockdown-Related Stressors among Adults in the UK’ (2022) 52(14) *Psychological Medicine* 2997–3006; Demetris Hadjicharalambous, Stavros Parlalis & Koulla Erotocritou, ‘The Psychological Impact of Covid-19 Lockdown Measures on Cypriots’ Mental Health and Quality of Life’ (2020) 4 *JIS Journal of Interdisciplinary Sciences* 15–28; Manuel Serrano-Alarcón, Alexander Kentikelenis, Martin Mckee & David Stuckler, ‘Impact of COVID-19 Lockdowns on Mental Health: Evidence from a Quasi-Natural Experiment in England and Scotland’ (2022) 31 *Health Economics* 284–296; Julia Schmidtke, Clemens Hetschko, Ronnie Schöb & Gesine Stephan, ‘The Effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Mental Health and Subjective Well-Being of Workers: An Event Study Based on High-Frequency Panel Data’ (2021) SSRN Electronic Journal, DOI:10.2139/ssrn.3905073.

The people that were able to handle the lockdowns better were the ones that were able to stay productive and creative at home while in isolation.<sup>16</sup> Those who during the lockdowns did not have much to do, that is, their lockdown environments did not allow them to be productive or creative, where the ones who suffered the greatest.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, those living with family and other loved ones, provided the relationships were healthy, fared better than those in complete social isolation simply because their social interactions kept them busy and helped avoid too much introspection.

### **Reflecting on restlessness in film**

The animation was one of the authors' ways of dealing with the monkey mind, with the complexity of stop motion animation keeping him occupied and focused, which probably saved him from prolonged mental distress. Being able to focus on a task, creative or otherwise, keeps our mind from entering DMN. There are of course a multitude of ways to manage the monkey mind and its consequences besides creative actions. One can learn to master mindfulness, meditation, and other forms of focused attention training that have been shown to modulate DMN activity.<sup>18</sup> By reducing the activity of the DMN, these practices can help individuals maintain a calm and focused mind.

Mindfulness is the awareness and acceptance of the present moment without judgment,<sup>19</sup> which can help us focus on our actual objectives and sensations while silencing the inner critic. Mindfulness can also help us cultivate a sense of gratitude, compassion, and curiosity, which can neutralise the negative effects of the monkey mind.<sup>20</sup> Meditation, breathing exercises, writing, walking, being creative, or simply

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<sup>16</sup> Changwon Son, Sudeep Hegde, Alec Smith, Xiaomei Wang & Farzan Sasangohar, 'Effects of COVID-19 on College Students' Mental Health in the United States: Interview Survey Study' (2020) 22 *Journal of Medical Internet Research* e21279.

<sup>17</sup> Matthias Pierce, Holly Hope, Tamsin Ford, Stephani Hatch, Matthew Hotopf, Ann John, Evangelos Kontopantelis, Roger Webb, Simon Wessely, Sally McManus & Kathryn M Abel, 'Mental Health before and during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Longitudinal Probability Sample Survey of the UK Population' (2020) 7 *The Lancet Psychiatry* 883–892.

<sup>18</sup> Yi Yuan Tang, Britta K Hölzel and Michael I Posner, 'The Neuroscience of Mindfulness Meditation' (2015) 16 *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*: 213–225.

<sup>19</sup> John Kabat-Zinn, *Full Catastrophe Living: Using the Wisdom of Your Body and Mind to Face Stress, Pain, and Illness* (New York, NY: Delacorte, 1990).

<sup>20</sup> John Kabat-Zinn, 'Mindfulness-Based Interventions in Context: Past, Present, and Future' (2003) 10 *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*: 144–156.; Kristin D Neff and Christopher K Germer, 'A Pilot Study and Randomized Controlled Trial of the Mindful Self-compassion Program' (2013) 69 *Journal of clinical psychology* 28–44.

paying attention to our senses and our environment are a few ways that we can be mindful.

For a more target-oriented method to deal with the monkey mind, cognitive behavioural therapy can help individuals become more aware of their thoughts, learn to focus on the present moment, and develop strategies to manage negative thinking processes.<sup>21</sup> The inner critic can also be mitigated by developing self-compassion, which entails treating oneself with kindness, understanding, and forgiveness.<sup>22</sup>

In conclusion, the film narrates an unprecedented situation that many people found themselves in during the lockdowns, engaging in activities that they would not usually do in an attempt to escape from their monkey mind. In a way, the lockdowns provided an opportunity for many of us to rediscover creativity and creative ways to take control of our minds, to reign in the monkey mind. The silver lining in this experience that was unprecedented for our generation was the rediscovery of the artist inside of us and the true purpose of creativity that goes beyond documenting human history, expressing collective emotions, and communicating ideas. At its core, creativity is a medium for peace of mind, silencing the inner critic, self-compassion, self-awareness, and ultimately, better mental health.

‘Sunny Side Up’ made its debut at the 8th International Conference on Typography and Visual Communication (ICTVC) in Thessaloniki, Greece in July 2022. Since then, it has been selected and featured in various short animation and film festivals. More specifically it was selected from over 2,000 multilingual submissions originating in hundreds of qualifying locations worldwide to participate in New York City’s ‘21 islands international Short Film Fest’ featuring 51 films where it won the ‘Audience Award’. It was also featured at the Music and Cinema International Festival of Marseille, France, the International Short Film Festival of Cyprus (ISFFC), and the Animattikon Project (an international animation festival in Pafos, Cyprus), all taking place in 2023.

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<sup>21</sup> Judith S Beck, *Cognitive Behavior Therapy: Basics and beyond (3rd Ed.)* (The Guilford Press 2021); Aaron T Beck, ‘Cognition, Affect, and Psychopathology’ (1971) 24 *Archives of General Psychiatry*: 495–500.

<sup>22</sup> Kristin D Neff, ‘Self-Compassion: An Alternative Conceptualization of a Healthy Attitude Toward One-self’ (2003) 2 *Self and Identity* 85–101.

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## Appendix I

### *Sunny Side Up: Script*

I feel dead. Yesterday made sense. Today doesn't. It's an illusion. It's a matrix. I don't exist. You don't exist. This is not real. There is a pattern. A relentless repetition. There's a theme. A theme as old as I am. How old am I? Was it the chicken first or the egg? I keep coming back to the beginning. It's a vicious cycle. I have to break the pattern.

I feel alive. Today is a good day. I feel connected. We are all one. You make me happy. I want to have what you have. I want to be you. I crave what I'm trained to want. I don't really know what I want. I don't know who I am. People like me make me sick.

I am laughing. It's a good feeling. I'm at peace. My mind is treating me well today.

It's a good teammate. I love it. It's kind of sad actually. It's pathetic. I am pathetic.

I make me sick. I feel sick. It might be serious. I might be dying. Nature is beautiful. Trees are wonderful. I love all animals. I like eating their meat. I'm in love with plastics. I can't save the planet. I am dying. I am dying and I have nothing. I have nothing to lose. Life is meaningless. Same shit different day. The end.

Scan QR code to watch 'Sunny Side Up'



**BOOK  
REVIEWS**



**Kyriakos Matsis. The Physiognomy of a Thinker who  
Took Part in the EOKA Struggle  
[Κυριάκος Μάτσης. Η φυσιognωμία ενός Στοχαστή που  
Τάχθηκε στον Αγώνα της ΕΟΚΑ]**

**Doxa Komodromou**

**Afi**

**Limassol, 2017 [pp. 178]**

**ISBN: 978-9963-681-69-3**

In addition to the preface, introduction and epilogue, the book is structured in seven chapters. In the first chapter, a brief historical review of Kyriakos Matsis' path, from his birth in Palaichori in 1926 to his heroic death in Dikomo in 1958, is listed. In the second chapter, there is mention of the case of the British soldier Frank Davis, who was ordered to throw the grenade into the hideout of the EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) hero and the meeting he had, several years later, with the hero's brother, Giannakis. In the third chapter, the path of the intellectual fighter towards the sacrifice for the country is recorded, while in the fourth and fifth chapters, personal testimonies, thoughts and judgments of people about the hero, are mentioned. The sixth chapter describes the period that preceded the national liberation struggle of Cyprus, along with the hero's political and ideological stimuli that contributed to his spiritual formation. In the seventh chapter, the echo of the hero's sacrifice is recorded in the Greek and British press of the time. An important contribution of the publication is the appendix at the end of the book, which includes information on the fighter's wider interests, which included folklore, poetry and literature.

The book draws heavily on both the basic literature on Kyriakos Matsis and his rich archive, which is in the possession of his brother Giannakis. The compilation of the book allows the simple reader, as well as the historical researcher, to study thoroughly and from many aspects the character and ideology of the Cypriot fighter. The primary material published covers the period from 1943 to 1958 and includes anecdotal manuscripts, diaries, letters and photographs. In a handwritten note, on 4 June 1950, a few months after the Union (Enosis) Referendum, Kyriakos Matsis, reflecting the prevailing pre-revolutionary climate, wrote: 'The time for action will come someday. Nothing is won without sacrifice, or freedom without blood.'

The writing style of the book is direct and comprehensible, without affecting its scientificity. The publication completes the bibliography on Kyriakos Matsis and, for this reason, such studies are welcome, proving useful for the general public interested in the history of the national liberation struggle of EOKA.

**Andreas Christofi**

## **The Political Murders of 1958: Historical, Political and Social Dimensions**

**[Οι Πολιτικές Δολοφονίες του 1958: Ιστορικές, Πολιτικές και Κοινωνικές Διαστάσεις]**

**Prometheus Research Institute (INEP)**

**Nicosia, 2022 (pp. 271)**

**ISBN: 9789925767359**

The collective volume *The Political Murders of 1958: Historical, Political and Social Dimensions* is actually the proceedings of a conference held on 18 September 2021, by the Prometheus Research Institute (INEP), which is also the publisher of the proceedings. The co-organiser of the conference was the Antilogos Theatre, which, in the previous months, had staged the play *1958*, choosing the symbolic date of 1 April 2021 for its premier performance.

The subject of the volume, as the title indicates, are specific ‘murders’ of AKEL members in 1958, with the reports going back to 1956 and 1957. The issue began to emerge systematically in the 1990s and especially in the 2000s and has been a point of friction ever since between AKEL and its organisations on the one hand, and the EOKA Fighters’ Associations on the other. In the early 2000s, the formation of the Association of Relatives of those Murdered for their Political Views during the Period 1955-1959 escalated the debate on the matter. The rhetoric is concentrated by AKEL on the demand for the reinstatement of the ‘unjustly murdered’ AKEL members who were victims of ‘extreme right-wing Greek terrorism’. Contrarily, the EOKA Fighters’ Associations assert that EOKA ‘did not murder leftists, but executed traitors’, and that AKEL raises the issue in an effort to ‘benefit politically’; they respond by quoting lists of members of AKEL who contributed to the struggle to dispel the accusations of anti-communism on the part of EOKA.

The volume of 271 pages hosts nine articles by researchers who, with minor differences, echo a common school of thought and view of modern Cypriot History expressed politically by AKEL. This is exactly the importance of this publication in literature; it crystallises AKEL’s view on the specific issues. The first four of the nine articles deal with various aspects of the background of the ‘political murders of 1958’. Only three of the nine articles deal with the essence of the ‘political murder’, while

the last two approach the issue in the light of the theatrical and literary portrayal of specific cases. The effort of some authors to document their writings with references, footnotes and list of bibliography, is noteworthy.

As a preface, an excerpt from the introductory speech at the Conference, by the Chairman of the Board of the Prometheus Research Institute, Menelaos Menelaou, is quoted. The purpose of the publication is also stated in the preface. It's the 'vindication of the memory of people who were murdered for their political beliefs, the need to reveal the motivations that led to the events of 1958, and the goals that this political choice against the Left served'.

In the first text, titled 'Cold War and the Historical-Social Context of the Era', the historian and member of the Board of Directors of INEP, Nikos Kouzoupis, analyses the grid of Cold War realities in the 1940s, while he deals with issues of 'ethnogenesis' and the formation of the Greek and Turkish bourgeoisie. Next, the author records AKEL's positions on the issue of the Union with Greece (Enosis) and the 'split' that arose between the Left and the Right 'on tactical issues' in claiming Union. He concludes by stressing the view, put forward by AKEL since 1955 to justify the policy of refraining from the armed struggle, that the tactic of armed action was a 'wrong tactic' because it served the British policy of 'divide and conquer', which aimed at the violent confrontation of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. He concludes by posing the hypothetical question of what would have happened if the AKEL-proposed tactic of 'massive, political struggle' had been followed.

In the second text, entitled 'How History is Constructed - Censored: The July 1947 Establishment Coup and the Roots of the Greek Cypriot Deep State of the Right', the assistant professor of Sociology at Frederick University, Andreas Panagiotou, further explores the logic of the first article and deals with the background of the 1958 events. Much of the article is spent highlighting the 'censored history' of AKEL's support for Makarios Kykkotis in the annulled metropolitan elections of 1947, and recounting how the victory of the Left, with the election of Archbishop Leontios, was overthrown through the 'suspicious death' of Leontios and the election of the Metropolitan of Kyrenia, Makarios II. The author elaborates on the theory that the events of 1947-1948 had a decisive effect on what he believes to be 'the beginning of a kind of coup in the Greek Cypriot institutions that will lead to the construction and domination of a deep state (which was supplemented by the armed violence of the masked of EOKA and then EOKA B) certainly until 1974, but also in terms of power networks and institutions, until today'.



The third article, by Nikos Moudouros, lecturer at the Turkish Studies Department of the University of Cyprus, is entitled 'Communism will Come this Winter': Anti-communism in Turkey in the 1950s and Cyprus. The article is characterised by scientific methodology and focuses on the 1950s and specifically on the evolution of anti-communism in Turkey, which was the 'most important platform for cooperation' of all the tendencies of the Turkish Right. It is also thoroughly shown that 'the 1950s were the one (decade) characterised by the massification, ideological maturation and diffusion of anti-communism in the core of [the Turkish] society'. The analysis of how Turkish officials perceived the country's geopolitical position during the Cold War, which ultimately led to its orientation towards the West, is interesting. Finally, the way in which the Cyprus issue was dealt with both from the perspective of the country's security issues and the perspective of anti-communism, is highlighted. This explains the spread of anti-communist views in the Turkish Cypriot community, which led to violent attacks against communist Turkish Cypriots. Although the text does not deal with the 'political murders of 1958', it nevertheless sets the stage in a comprehensive way for the sixth chapter, that will deal with the political murders of Turkish Cypriots.

On the following pages of the volume, the article by Alexis Alekou, Ph.D. in History and Political Science, is published, entitled 'The Emergence of Far-Right Violence in Cyprus: From 1948 to 1958'. It is the fourth of the nine articles, and it, too, moves in the logic of the synthesis of the 1958 events' background. The article explains under which conditions the confrontation between Right and Left appeared in the 1940s and analyses the theory that the appearance of organisation 'X' in Cyprus happened as a reaction to the rising of AKEL from 1946 onwards and during the strikes of 1948. He then recounts the strategy followed by Archbishop Makarios III 'on his way to building the title of "Ethnarch"'.

The following ten-page article by Giannakis Kolokasides, Historian and Honorary President of INEP, is entitled 'AKEL's Attitude towards the Political Murders of the Left-Wing Leaders', and it explains the way in which the party handled the unfavourable situation in which it had fallen when it chose to remain outside the armed anti-colonial struggle. The author notes that AKEL initially tried to fend off accusations of treason, by calling for the formation of committees to investigate the evidence of treason, pledging to expel from its ranks any member proven to have betrayed an EOKA fighter. The second issue that, according to the author, AKEL had to face, was to demonstrate why AKEL was being targeted. The third issue that is commented is

the realisation that 'terrorism against the left' did not come from the Right as a whole, but from a fraction of it. The article reproduces the important information recorded in the book by Michalis Poubouris, that the British proposed to arm AKEL but the party refused. The positive thing about the text is that the analysis is interlarded, even though without references, with excerpts from the archival material of the party, despite being inaccessible to most researchers.

The sixth chapter, authored by Niyazi Kızılyürek, professor at the Department of Turkish Studies of the University of Cyprus and entitled 'Political Murders of Turkish Cypriots', is the second text that deals precisely with the specific subject of the volume. The article analyses the successful attempt of the British to split the working class into Greek and Turkish. Next, the context in which the left-wing Turkish Cypriots were targeted is explained and six cases of attacks and murders of Turkish Cypriots by TMT are recorded. The text is interspersed with material that supports the intense anti-communist activity of the TMT, which not only did not hide its anti-communism, but also made sure that it was always proclaimed.

Chapter seven, entitled 'Political Murders of Greek Cypriots, together with chapters six and five, constitute the essence of the volume. Its author, Michalis Michael, historical researcher, and journalist is probably the researcher who has dealt more extensively with the subject of the 'political murders' and has published a monograph and a 45-page booklet with relevant content. The text notes six 'murders' in 1956, one in 1957, and 11 in 1958. The author comments on each case and presents the findings of his research. In some cases, the way the writer presents his findings can be considered sufficient to convince the reader that some executions may indeed have been politically motivated. However, in some other cases, while he proves that the person was a leftist, the findings do not convince that the motives behind the killing were political.

The last two chapters outline the way in which the events of 1958 have been reflected in Greek literature. In the penultimate one, the author Christos Achmiotis, in the most extensive text of the volume (63 pages), presents the way in which he perceives the political developments of the 1940s-1950s and the way in which his personal view contributed to the writing of his novel that deals with the case of Savvas Menikos. The author, employing a deeply emotional and political language, stresses his opinion on the history, not only of the period 1940-1950, but also extends to the very near past, with criticisms of the Anastasiades government, comments on events such as the demonstrations of the 'Os Damai' movement, and expresses his opinion

on the bold and provocative paintings of Giorgos Gabriel. He records his directorial thoughts on the project and his thoughts are condensed into the opinion that ‘the memory of Savvas Menikos has as much weight on many leftists as those of Afxentiou and Matsis on a large part of Cypriots from all factions’.

In the last text entitled ‘The Trauma of 1958: Meeting of History and Literature in the Texts of Greek Cypriot Writers’, Giorgos Myaris, philological writer and ‘Greek neo-Hellenic scholar’, conducts an important recording and provides brief but essential commentary on 12 literature works dealing with the events of 1958. The text is scientific and documented with the necessary footnotes and a list of bibliography at the end. His point of view at the beginning of the article is important and apt, that ‘methodologically in relation to the history of ideas, neither the struggle of EOKA can be approached exclusively with today’s criteria, nor the violent practices (at the expense of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) can be attributed to the set of leading actors, fighters and followers of EOKA or sympathisers. The reality is more complex’. The 12 works commented on by the author are listed in the first Appendix of the volume.

The second Appendix includes the photos and brief details of the 19 ‘unjustly murdered during the period 1956-1958’, who were ‘reinstated’ by the decision of the Cyprus Council of Ministers back in 2012, while the third Appendix includes the photos and brief details of three Turkish Cypriot ‘victims of murderous attacks of the Turkish terrorist organisation TMT during the period of 1958’.

Both from the analyses and the terminology used by some authors, such as ‘extreme right-wing terrorism’ (with the term ‘terrorism’ strongly reminiscent of the colonial-British charges against the armed struggle), it becomes clear to the reader that through the volume a specific view of the events is expressed, which, in certain cases, becomes problematic. So, reasonable questions are raised. For instance, when the nationalistic and liberation aspects of EOKA’s activities are downplayed, and the organization is instead accused of being anti-Turkish and anti-communist—suggesting that EOKA’s actions were ‘playing into Turkey’s hands’ and designed to ‘foster conflict with the Left’—the reader is left questioning: how many AKEL leaders were actually targeted, why there were no widespread executions of leftists by EOKA across Cyprus, and how many Turkish Cypriots executed by EOKA were not members of the colonial security forces. The reader is also confused by the theory that EOKA ‘murdering local AKEL officials aimed to provoke the indignation of the Party’s base to retaliate and thus give EOKA the opportunity of a generalised armed conflict through which it expected that AKEL would be exhausted’. The confusion is created because

through the volume it is assured that EOKA was the strong side of the 'conflict'. The question that arises is why EOKA did not use its power directly, with decisive blows against AKEL, as it did against the British, but had been, supposedly, playing the bipolar provocation-retaliation? In addition, to consider TMT and EOKA as the same, overlooks many essential factors.

On the essence of the 'political murders', the informed reader is puzzled by the absence, even in the form of a footnote, of any mention that for each case the Associations of EOKA Fighters have provided an answer, while for three executions in 1956 and five in 1958 the Associations have provided evidence that they were executed as traitors and not because of their status as AKEL members (*O Agonistis* magazine, vol. 34, special edition 2013). The absence of any reference to AKEL's newspaper *Haravgi* also raises questions. Any references to *Haravgi* would elucidate how the party dealt with the specific events back then, whether a political tone was adopted from the beginning, or if it was discovered later. In addition, the reader would expect sufficient documentation to be convinced that the 'murders' of eight, 18, 19 or 20 leftists over a four-year period (1955-1959), were intended to lead to the 'annihilation of AKEL'. Moreover, the reader would expect sufficient evidence to prove that the listed killings were politically motivated. For example, the case of Savvas Thoupos is noted only in one sentence: 'On 9 August, Savvas Thoupos, father of eight children, was murdered in Tymbou'. Another example of a murder insufficiently documented is the case of Panagis Tsaros, whom the Fighters' Associations include among the victims of the Struggle and whose name is recorded in EOKA monuments. A third example is Giorgos Polemitis, about whom Michalis Michael in his book admits that 'there is not enough information'. Finally, the fact that there is no agreement on the numbers of 'leftists murdered', even among the supporters of this theory, is puzzling. The volume mentions 'about 30 murders of leftists', while only 18 cases are recorded. On the other hand, when, on 12 December 2012, the Council of Ministers of President Dimitris Christofias, at the end of his term, decided to satisfy AKEL's long-standing request for the reinstatement of the 'murdered' as an 'act of national reconciliation' it 'reinstated' 19 that were 'unjustly killed'. In fact, Giorgos Polemitis, who is mentioned in the reviewed volume, is not included in the list of the 19 who were 'reinstated' in 2012, while the list of the 19 includes Pieris Pistolas and Georgios Polytechnis, who are not mentioned in this publication. What raises further skepticism is the report that the investigation to identify 'politically motivated murders' has not been completed in over two decades.

**Haralambos Alexandrou**

## **Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959**

**David French**

**Oxford University Press**

**Oxford, 2015 (pp. 334)**

**ISBN: 9780198729341**

David French's *Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959* offers a comprehensive and insightful analysis of the conflict between the British security forces and the EOKA insurgency in Cyprus, with the latter fighting for the union of the island with Greece (Enosis). His central research question is: 'How did the security forces on the island attempt to defeat and dismantle EOKA?' (p.3). As an experienced researcher and academic, with a robust track record in military strategy and British counter-insurgency research, French brings a wealth of comparative knowledge to this work in order to answer the question. One of the book's strengths is his ability to compare British counter-insurgency measures against EOKA with British strategies used elsewhere.

French's strength lies in his meticulous use of both primary and secondary sources, some of the former only recently having become available, while others were traced by the author and are evaluated for the first time. Armed with this new information, French offers a unique perspective on the conflict. Moreover, the narrative maintains a fair and balanced tone, avoiding bias towards either side, while being outspoken and critical of both sides simultaneously.

After a historical introduction, the second chapter excellently explores the pre-history of the EOKA struggle, covering the period from Makarios III's election to the initiation of the insurgency. French delves into little-known details, such as the ease with which EOKA intelligence penetrated the police force due to politically motivated exclusion of left-wing Cypriots, highlighting the conflict's complexity and showcasing the depth of his research. French skillfully presents the EOKA insurgency through the eyes of the British administration, particularly the military and intelligence branches on the island, revealing their comprehensive understanding of EOKA tactics and procedures. The chapter also sheds light on EOKA's cost-effective campaign ('EOKA

waged an insurgency on the cheap' p.60) and its intelligence capabilities, including the systematic interception of postal communications.

Chapter three provides a valuable overview of EOKA's tactics, finances, weapons, and logistics, as part of a chronological account of the insurgency, which he covers in the remaining chapters of the book. French recognises the internationalisation aspect of EOKA's struggle, i.e., the insurrection as a tool to gain international attention and ideally acknowledgment of the right of self-determination (and therefore the union of the island with Greece) by the United Nations, though he sees it as less central than some, including myself, suggest.<sup>1</sup> The book critically examines the British response during the initial stages of the conflict, emphasising the surprise caused by EOKA's tactics. French raises pertinent questions and offers interesting explanations about the completely wrong British assessment of Greek Cypriot unwillingness to engage in armed insurrection despite the capture of the 'Agios Georgios' ship filled with explosives in January 1955.

Chapter four explores EOKA's dual terrorist campaigns. One was a '*campaign of agitational terror*' defined as '*attacks against security forces and symbols of government in order to undermine the prestige of the British administration, to demonstrate that it was no longer capable of ruling the island and persuade the British government that the price of blocking Enosis was more than it could afford*' (p.106). The other was a '*campaign of enforcement terror: efforts to intimidate and, if this failed, assassinate those Greek Cypriots not supporting the EOKA campaign or who worked against it*' (p.106). The latter proved far more successful than the former. The chapter also analyses the internal reorganisation of British administration to counteract them. French highlights the shortcomings of the Special Branch and the challenges in gathering intelligence. The creation of the highly successful counter-gang "*X-platoon*" comprised of about 20 turned former EOKA members who continued to pretend to be terrorists, though its members were unofficially known as "*The Toads*" (p.148.) proves an interesting development, shedding light on a previously largely unknown aspect of the British efforts to combat EOKA.

Chapter five, titled 'Losing Hearts and Minds', examines the unintended consequences of British collective punishments, ultimately alienating the Greek Cypriot population. French acknowledges the failure of British attempts to sway public opin-

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<sup>1</sup> Hubert Faustmann; 'The United Nations and the Internationalisation of the Cyprus Conflict 1949 – 1958', in: James Ker-Lindsay / Oliver Richmond (ed.): *The Work of the UN in Cyprus. Promoting Peace and Development in Cyprus over Four Decades*. (Houndmills / New York: Palgrave 2001), pp. 3-49.

ion, mainly due to a lack of investment in the improvement of living conditions on the island and the absence of a political vision as attractive and emotionally appealing to the mass of Greek Cypriots as Enosis. He also underscores EOKA's success in intimidating those Greek Cypriots who worked for the British authorities, cooperated with them, or were opposed to the struggle.

In Chapter six, French explores EOKA's counter-narrative and Britain's response to accusations of brutality. The chapter addresses EOKA's efforts to portray British rule as barbaric, examining allegations of mistreatment and torture. While French acknowledges instances of misbehaviour by British forces, he contends convincingly that EOKA's propaganda machine massively exaggerated the scale of abuses.

Chapter seven covers the period of Sir Hugh Foot's governorship and the descent into large-scale intercommunal violence. French effectively intertwines the political context of the Foot and Macmillan Plan with the escalating violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. What French misses here is what the British colonial official Reddaway called 'choice of evils' in dealing with the militants of both sides. The British clearly favored the Turkish Cypriot community and militants in the summer of 1958, after suddenly facing Turkish Cypriot resistance to their rule in the context of the Foot plan. The massive one-sidedness during Operation Matchbox, with mass arrests of suspected EOKA fighters and suspects and only a token number of their Turkish Cypriot counterparts, is the most significant manifestation of the British attempt not to further alienate the Turkish Cypriots, on whose loyal support the British rule on the island during the emergence rested. French fails to see the political dimension here, which is one of the few and rare flaws of the book.

The final chapters delve into the political landscape, detailing the Macmillan Plan and the London and Zurich agreements. French adeptly analyses the last major offensives by EOKA and TMT, showcasing the effectiveness of British security forces in combating EOKA once again.

In the conclusion, French emphasises that Enosis did not occur due to effective British counter-measures and diplomatic victories. However, he also recognises British failures, especially in providing security for the civilian population. The inability to separate insurgents from civilians and the lack of a compelling vision for the future contributed to the British failure to win over the hearts and minds. In his own words:

*'Enosis did not happen because, in every arena where the insurgency was conducted, the British were able to take effective counter-measures. On the island, the security forces twice, in the spring of 1957 and again in the autumn*



*of 1958, succeeded in containing EOKA's campaign of agitational terrorism. On the diplomatic plain, the British repeatedly came out on top. Greece could never muster sufficient support at the UN to persuade the General Assembly to put pressure on the British to concede. In the wider international arena, EOKA's propaganda campaign and Greek efforts to embarrass the British at the European Court of Human Rights had only a marginal impact. They caused the British to change some of the ways in which they conducted their counter-insurgency campaign, but they did not persuade them that the political cost of continuing to fight Enosis was too high. The British public never demanded that their government surrender the island. The Greek Cypriot belief that they would achieve Enosis because it was their manifest destiny proved to be a naïve illusion' p. 302. [...]*

*'The British, likewise, could not achieve what they most wanted. The government had failed to achieve what must always be the first task of any government faced by an insurgency, to provide security for the civil population' p.303.*

Therefore, they did not manage to 'root out the terrorists,' nor were they able to stop the EOKA enforcement terrorism to intimidate the Greek Cypriot population. The result was that *'those Greek Cypriot civilians who did not support the insurgents willingly had perforce to do so unwillingly'* p. 303. For him, the main reason for the British failure to defeat EOKA was that British policies *'failed to divide the insurgents from the civilian population because its strategy fell between two stools. In terms of brutality, the British campaign was a "pale shadow" of what they did in Kenya. But British measures, curfews, cordon and search operations, collective fines, arrests without warrants, detention without trial, were fundamentally coercive'* p. 303. He also points out another reason for the inability of Britain to defeat EOKA, a reason which is too often still a taboo in Greek Cypriot public discourse about the struggle: *'EOKA's ruthless brutality towards alleged and real traitors instilled far more fear from EOKA into those Greek Cypriots not supporting the cause than the British could in order to get them to cooperate given their relatively mild treatment of civilians'* p.303. Despite all the British successes during the counter-insurgency, French acknowledges the ultimate weakness of the British position as colonial rulers; they never stood a chance in the struggle for the hearts and minds. *'Once the insurgency had begun, the British could never craft a vision of the future that had a more powerful emotional appeal for Greek Cypriots than Enosis.'* p.303.



Despite its many strengths, the book has one notable weakness. French oddly did not conduct oral history research. He missed the opportunity to gather firsthand accounts from EOKA and TMT veterans still alive at the time of writing the book, which would have been particularly helpful to counter his source bias of evaluating mainly British documents to answer the question of British (mis)conduct and torture. Additionally, the absence of references to a significant body of secondary literature that he evaluated limits the book's engagement with alternative perspectives and interpretations in the research-based chapters of his book.

In summary, *Fighting EOKA* by David French is a well-written, a well-researched must-read for those interested in the detailed dynamics of the EOKA struggle on the island. It provides sufficient and balanced information to understand the high-level politics that shape the developments on a political level, forming the background to the insurgency and counter-insurgency on the island. French's expertise in insurgency studies, combined with a meticulous examination of primary sources, makes this book an essential contribution to the understanding of this crucial period of modern Cypriot history.

**Hubert Faustmann**

## **Reporting Conflict and Peace in Cyprus: Journalism Matters**

**Sanem Şahin**

**Springer Nature Switzerland AG**

**Switzerland, 2023 (pp. 215)**

**Softcover ISBN: 978-3-030-95012-5**

The book *Reporting Conflict and Peace in Cyprus: Journalism Matters* deals with a thorny issue, which we do already, and will constantly find in front of us: The role of journalism in times of conflict.

The role of journalists in conflict situations will be a matter of debate and constant redefinition because conflicts will increase more and more.

The war in Ukraine, Israel's invasion of Gaza, the political changes in the Sahel countries after the expulsion of France, and the West's (so far) verbal confrontations with China are preparing humanity for the return of conflicts and wars. The active involvement of the West, if wars cease to be a regional issue, also places European and American journalism in front of new questions and new challenges. So, what is the role of journalism in times of crisis, wars, massacres and genocides?

Sanem Şahin's book covers the entire range of topics covered by the term 'journalism': profession, industry, institution, ideology, and craft, through the prism of many years of Cypriot experience. The chapter following the introduction describes the major theories on journalism, peace, and conflict. The third chapter analyses the historical context of the conflict and the role played by the Media. The fourth chapter focuses on the profession, on its degrees of autonomy, professional organisations, and education. The fifth chapter highlights the relations between peace and journalism in Cyprus, while the last chapter, the sixth, describes the changes brought about by digital journalism in Cyprus.

The greatest virtue of the book is that the author's field research through personal interviews with professionals on both sides of the Green Line highlighted many weaknesses of Cypriot journalism. Among many apt observations, I single out the author's finding that the privatisation of the media did not bring the pluralism it had promised when the state monopoly was abolished (p. 71). I also point out, through concrete and well-known examples, the interventions of the ownership to the jour-

nalists that set the real content of the free press that typically exists (pp. 108-109). Among many others, I furthermore single out the misunderstandings and distortions created by the 'double mediation' model which is widely used by Turkish Cypriot newspapers (p. 128).

The views of journalists hosted by the author allow not only academics, but equally seriously journalists and politicians, to revisit the weaknesses of the press in all its forms (newspapers, televisions, radios, and online media).

However, the book suffers from a serious methodological weakness. The author strives to stand in the middle of the Green Line and examine both media systems with the same criteria and from the same perspective. However, this starting point is not just incomplete, it is wrong. She mentions, for example, that the Greek Cypriots present the issue of the conflict as a matter of international occupation (p. 54). Elsewhere, she states that for the Greek Cypriots, Turkey is a country that invaded and divided the island and remains an obstacle to solving the problem (p. 97).

The issue goes beyond the opinions of Greek Cypriot journalists because it is a matter of international legitimacy. In the many pages that the author devotes to describing the conflict, the UN's condemnations of Turkey have found no space at all.

Through eliminating the condemnation of Turkey by international organisations and bringing a state (the Republic of Cyprus) and a pseudo-state that does not enjoy legitimacy to the same fate, the author brings the two parties at an equal distance. Thus, the abuser is equated with the victim.

The initial - methodological bias of the author creates many additional biases in the process. For example, she aptly cites illiteracy as a barrier to newspaper reading, particularly in the past (p. 62). However, a bigger obstacle to the impact of the media, even in the occupied territories, is their colonisation by Turks who have nothing to do with Cyprus: not historically, not educationally, not culturally, not even emotionally. The planned settlement that Ankara has been perpetrating in the occupied territories has altered the composition of the population. As a result, that cultural cohesion that would allow the increase in press circulation and even the recognition of its role is missing. However, the author, making a biased reading of modern reality, loses sight of aspects of it, which, were she to incorporate into her research, would depict reality more faithfully.

The undifferentiated way in which it deals with the political elites in both parts of the island is also detrimental to the completeness of the investigation. Both in the free part of Cyprus and in the occupied part, there were politicians who have been

promoting the vision of a united Cyprus, and others who have undermined it. Considering them, in terms of context analysis, blurs the internal dividing lines that have always existed.

The author's attitude regarding the role of Turkey, in my opinion, does injustice to the serious, original, and in-depth work that she has done to highlight the management of the conflict by journalists in Cyprus.

**Sofia Iordanidou**

## **Stroumbi. Memories from the 1953 Earthquake [Στρουμπί. Μνήμες από το Σεισμό του 1953]**

**Kleopatra Papageorgiou-Sofianou**

**En Typosi**

**Paphos, 2021 (pp. 203)**

**ISBN: 9789925586240**

*In sad contrast with the Coronation celebrations, the close of the year was overshadowed by the earthquake which shook Cyprus and did much serious damage at the western end of the island on the 10th September. The main shock, which occurred at 6.03 a.m. that day, was followed by a succession of lesser tremors which persisted at increasingly long intervals for seven weeks. Tremors of diminishing intensity were felt at later dates, the latest at Christmas. Forty people lost their lives and one hundred were seriously injured.*

*By good fortune, most of the able-bodied inhabitants of the villages were out in their fields at the time of the earthquake, so that, by comparison with the severe damage to house property, casualties were light.<sup>1</sup>*

The above is an abstract from the British administration's annual report for the year 1953. Despite the obvious attempt to downplay the significance of the event, the 10th of September earthquake in Paphos was by far the greatest natural disaster in Cyprus during the British era.

The book by Kleopatra Papageorgiou-Sofianou, *Stroumbi. Memories from the 1953 Earthquake*, is one of the few books about the 1953 earthquake. In a way the above book is a sequel of her previous book, that she co-wrote with her husband, Chrysostomos A. Sofianos, about Stroumbi, their common birthplace, published in 2011, where one can find detailed reports on the impact of the earthquake for the village.<sup>2</sup>

Stroumbi is one of the six villages in the district that was completely destroyed, while in another 35 villages in the Paphos district, between 50% and 90% of the buildings were destroyed. Out of the 40 deaths, 14 were Stroumbi inhabitants.

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<sup>1</sup> Κρατικό Αρχείου Κύπρου (ΚΑΚ) SA1 1413/1950/4, Colonial Reports, Cyprus 1953.

<sup>2</sup> Χρυσόστομος Α. Σοφιανός-Κλεοπάτρα Ι. Παπαγεωργίου, *Στρουμπί. Ένα Κεφαλοχώρι της Πάφου*, Λευκωσία 2011.

The book, written in Greek by Papageorgiou-Sofianou, starts with the history of the village, from prehistoric times up to 1953. It then presents the earthquake events in the village through press reports, as well as the British administration's response and the measures taken to restore normality the soonest possible. Emphasis is given on the encouragement given by the British to the inhabitants (they were promised free land) to build a new village near the destroyed one. Only seven inhabitants were not in agreement and did not sign the decision made by the Stroumbi villagers to abandon their old village.

The biggest part of the book contains a number of personal stories (51 in total) of the inhabitants of Stroumbi about the day of the earthquake and the aftermath. I consider the idea of the author brilliant. This way, we are able to see how the tragic event traumatised the people and how they handled it. Almost all the villagers mentioned that, following the tremor, they developed a constant fear of earthquakes. Athinoula Filippou Konioti stated that, from that day on, she could not live in an apartment unless on the first or the ground floor (p.181). Along with the fear, at that time Stroumbiotes also felt astonished and thankful to the people of Cyprus for their help (clothes, food, etc.), that reached them even from distant villages. Chrysostomos Sofianos remembers a truck from the village of Athienou (p. 59-60) containing bread.

The new village, Kato Stroumbi (below the old village, thus the word 'Kato', meaning below), built after the earthquake, was the new home for the devastated people, although some, after a number of years, decided to return to the old village.

The recorded statements in this book I consider a treasure regarding the 1953 earthquake and a valuable tool for every new researcher who wants to study and write about the greatest natural disaster in Cyprus during the British era.

**Kyriakos Iakovides**

# **Children with Special Educational Needs and Inclusion**

**Dr Androulla Hadjipanayi**

**Germanos Publications**

**Thessaloniki, 2022 (pp. 278)**

**ISBN: 978-618-5389-48-2**

*Children with Special Educational Needs and Inclusion* is a profoundly insightful and comprehensive exploration of one of the most pressing issues in education today. Authored by an expert in the field, this book offers a compelling and thought-provoking journey into the world of inclusive education and the challenges faced by children with special educational needs.

The book author, Dr Androulla Hadjipanayi, is a former secondary education Chemistry teacher who currently serves as teaching personnel for the University of Nicosia. Dr Hadjipanayi sets out to examine the historical background of Special Education in an attempt to set the foundations for Inclusive Education. Her book is a crucial resource for policymakers and curriculum developers in framing the policy framework of Inclusive Education. It also challenges all head-teachers, teachers, and parents to reconsider their approach and mindset regarding their actions and methods to support all children, and especially children with special educational needs. It offers a critical examination of Special Education, prompting a stimulating idea that education should be inherently inclusive. This perspective provokes thought, especially for those of us engaged in the field of social justice across various settings and subjects.

The monograph is structured to use the notions of Special Education and Inclusive Education as an umbrella under which various aspects related to special educational needs are examined. The first chapter provides a brief historical background and a theoretical framework of Special Education and Inclusive Education, while unpacking the concept of special educational needs. The author's goal is to move the debate from the medical and psychological approach to children with special needs to the discourse and practice of inclusion. In the second chapter, the concept of differentiated teaching as a strategy to promote inclusion in the classroom is examined, while shedding light on teachers' views on differentiated instruction and the barriers to the

successful implementation of differentiated instruction. An important addition in the book is the third chapter, which explores the issue of 'giftedness' in education, and thus the key aspects of the education of gifted and talented children. From chapter four to chapter twelve, which is the last chapter of the book, the author thoroughly examines the notion of learning difficulties and pays attention to specific learning difficulties. Each chapter focuses on reflecting on the definition, etiology, diagnosis, and suggesting strategies for addressing various learning difficulties, including dyslexia, emotional and behavioural problems, attention deficit disorder (ADD) and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), mental retardation, autism spectrum disorder, Asperger syndrome, auditory impairment, visual impairment, speech disorders, and cerebral palsy.

The author's passion for the subject matter is palpable throughout the book, making it engaging and accessible even for those with a limited prior knowledge of the topic. Complex concepts are explained in a clear and straightforward manner, making it a valuable resource for both educators and parents seeking guidance in navigating the inclusive education landscape. Furthermore, *Children with Special Educational Needs and Inclusion* is not limited to the context of a specific country or educational system. It draws from international literature, and thus perspectives and experiences, making it relevant and adaptable to diverse educational settings.

In conclusion, this book is an essential addition to the library of anyone interested in Inclusive Education. It offers a holistic understanding of the challenges and opportunities inherent in supporting children with special educational needs and advocates for a more inclusive and equitable educational system. It is a must-read for anyone dedicated to ensuring that every child, regardless of their abilities, receives the education and support they deserve.

**Christina Hajisoteriou**



## **Unjust Enrichment and Restitution in Common Law and Cypriot Law**

### **[Αδικοιολόγητος Πλουτισμός και Αποκατάσταση στο Κοινοδίκαιο και το Κυπριακό Δίκαιο]**

**Polyvios G. Polyviou**

**Nomiki Bibliothiki**

**Athens, 2022 (pp. 632)**

**ISBN: 978-960-654-658-7**

This article, intended to be a book review, uses the extensive and valuable work of the author as a compass in the attempt to map the law of unjust enrichment in Cyprus. It aspires to assist other legal scholars and practitioners in making effective use of the 600-page book of the author and in quickly accessing the main rules and principles of unjust enrichment in the various cases and (even) other branches of law in which unjust enrichment may be of relevance.

The book, titled *Unjust Enrichment and Restitution*, significantly enriches Cypriot legal literature, which, due to legal scholars like the author, has gradually been ceasing to be or to be considered poor. The book deals with unjust enrichment, a mysterious and peculiar area of law that, in the minds of many lawyers, is associated with certain provisions of the Cyprus Contracts Law, Cap. 149 (which indeed concern it) or with certain constituent elements or criteria established by Common Law and reproduced in Cypriot jurisprudence. For others, unjust enrichment means a cause of action ‘thrown’ into a pleading somewhere among several ‘and/or’ that separate it from other more primary causes of action, which is rarely pursued in the end.

The book itself can be considered proof that unjust enrichment is actually much more than the above. It is a branch of law that, as emerges from the Preface and Chapter 1 of the book, has two main pillars in Cyprus: (a) the Contracts Law, Cap. 149, certain provisions of which are part of the law of unjust enrichment, and (b) relevant Common Law and principles of equity embodying the contemporary relevant law. The primary remedy is not (compensatory) damages, as typically in contract law and tort law, but restitution<sup>1</sup> partly governed by certain provisions of Cap. 149 as

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<sup>1</sup> Restitution is determined by reference to the benefit accruing to the Defendant rather to the loss suffered by the Claimant.

well as associated jurisprudence, hence the title of the book, which refers not only to unjust enrichment but also to restitution. According to the author, this branch of law combines elements of both unjust enrichment and restitution, with restitution being the remedy for unjust enrichment, which functions as the legal basis for its claim. This is so even though restitution is often articulated as part of the very principles or provisions of unjust enrichment.

In Chapter 2, titled *Cypriot Legal System and Unjust Enrichment*, the author explains the structure and hierarchy of the rules of law in Cyprus, with reference to Article 29(1)(c) of the Courts Law of 1960 as well as the rules of interpretation of Cap. 149, which essentially mandate recourse to English jurisprudence and generally to Common Law and Equity. The analysis in this chapter may be considered self-evident for the Cypriot lawyer, but, being concise, it is limited to what is absolutely necessary to facilitate full understanding of the pillars and sources of the law of unjust enrichment.

Chapter 3 addresses whether unjust enrichment is necessary in modern law, answering this question affirmatively since there are cases where it is necessary (or fair) to provide a remedy, yet there is neither a contract nor tortious behaviour, making it impossible to seek a remedy based on contract law or tort law. This chapter also highlights the views of foreign judges and scholars against recognising unjust enrichment as a separate category of law (contrary to the approach in England), with the author opposing this view and returning to this issue in Chapter 4. The author concludes that the law of unjust enrichment indeed exists as a category of law separate from the traditional categories of contract law and tort law. Chapter 3 inevitably leads to the question of whether unjust enrichment directly creates an actionable right. This question is inextricably linked to whether unjust enrichment constitutes an independent cause of action. The author, correctly in the opinion of the writer, disagrees with the position that unjust enrichment does not create an actionable right. Indeed, from the moment unjust enrichment consists of specific constituent elements or criteria, which, if satisfied, allow a person to successfully ring a claim seeking a remedy, unjust enrichment cannot but constitute an actionable right and consequently an independent cause of action.

Interestingly, as highlighted in Chapter 28 of the book, Cypriot courts do not adopt these views, agreeing with older English jurisprudence that unjust enrichment is neither a separate category of law nor an autonomous cause of action. The author identifies confusion and errors in this Cypriot jurisprudence. It must be said how-

ever, that for the practicing lawyer, these issues can only have limited significance. More important for the practicing lawyer is the fact that, if unjust enrichment is properly pleaded and relevant evidence is presented to satisfy the relevant criteria, the Claimant will secure a remedy.

In Chapter 5, the author provides a historical overview offering the reader interesting historical information regarding the 'birth' and evolution of the widely known categorisation of obligations into contractual and non-contractual, with a third category recognised since the 2nd century AD initially as the obligation arising from the erroneous payment of an amount and later as an additional category of obligations arising from events that did not concern either a contract or a tort. It was in Roman law that the category of unjust enrichment was first recognised, thus creating the need to define its scope and content and develop relevant rules and methodologies for its application. By the mid-1700s, it was decided that a person to whom an undue amount is paid by mistake must return it based on the principle that it is not right and fair to retain it.<sup>2</sup> Despite objections relating to the generality of such terms and criteria, this basic theory, according to which the goal is to neutralise and prevent enrichment acquired unfairly and unjustifiably, i.e., without reasonable cause, was reinstated in the 1900s<sup>3</sup> and has remained valid ever since. Perhaps the first case of unjust enrichment in England was decided in 1979 and involved a payment made by mistake by the Claimant bank to the Defendant, who was ordered to return the corresponding amount.<sup>4</sup> Basic criteria for providing a remedy based on unjust enrichment began to be formulated then, with the fundamental principles recognised by significant English jurisprudence during the 1990s and thereafter. The author effectively highlights that the law of unjust enrichment is a product of case law despite the existence in Cyprus of relevant legislative provisions.

The author dedicates a short chapter, namely Chapter 6, to terminology and particularly to the distinction between unjust enrichment in its narrow sense and unjust enrichment in its broader sense, which covers cases where the remedy of restitution is used not only to deprive the Defendant of unjust enrichment, but also for purposes of protecting the Claimant's property rights or when the defendant has acquired a particularly significant benefit. In Chapter 7, the author lists and explains certain theoretical and practical difficulties arising mainly due to the recognition of unjust

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<sup>2</sup> *Moses v. Macferlan* (1760) 2 Burr. 1005.

<sup>3</sup> *Fibrosa Spolka v. Fairbairn* [1943] AC 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Barclays Bank Ltd v. W J Simms, Son and Cooke (Southern) Ltd* [1979] 3 All ER 522.

enrichment as a separate category of law, which aligns with the fact that the book is far from a simple textbook and constitutes an extensive study -a research project-contributing to legal knowledge in this specific branch of law.

The book begins to address more practical issues in Chapter 8, which refers to the four questions that must be answered for a Claimant to establish unjust enrichment and achieve a remedy, as they arise from English literature and jurisprudence. The first three criteria of unjust enrichment are the ones established by Common Law; the author comprehensively analyses each one of them in Chapter 9. The fourth one refers to the existence of a defense.

Chapter 9 is one of the most important chapters of the author's extensive study, as it explains the criteria or constituent elements of unjust enrichment. Regarding the first, i.e., the acquisition of a benefit by the Defendant, the author explains that the concept of 'benefit' covers both positive benefit, such as a right, an object or an amount, and negative benefit, such as the discharge from an obligation. Regarding the second, i.e., the existence of a relationship between the Defendant's benefit and the Claimant's loss, and the third, specifically that the benefit must be unjust, i.e., without legal basis or reasonable cause, the author succinctly records the various interpretative approaches. He further explains how the Defendant's fault or reprehensible behaviour, such as coercion, can turn a benefit into an unjust one, thus satisfying the second criterion. In the same chapter, the author deals with the payment of an amount by mistake, which is the classic case of unjust enrichment, as well as with the case of payment if the consideration disappears. The author further emphasises the need for proper pleading of unjust enrichment by the Claimant, who bears the burden of proof.

In Chapter 10, the author addresses the case of undue payments to public authorities when there is no authorisation, i.e., when they have been demanded based on an unconstitutional law or when they are simply made voluntarily by the citizen. As the author explains, such payments can be recovered both for reasons of public interest and based on unjust enrichment.

The author dedicates (and rightly so, in the opinion of the writer) a separate chapter, specifically Chapter 11, to the relationship between contract and unjust enrichment. While unjust enrichment often appears in pleadings as an alternative cause of action when the primary cause is breach of contract, this chapter clearly, and with reference to English and other foreign jurisprudence, highlights that there can be no unjust enrichment where there is a contract. Consequently, pursuing a claim based

on unjust enrichment where the parties have made contractual arrangements will most likely fail. Contract law is what should be applied to decide the dispute. The co-existence of the two branches of law is not excluded, yet this occurs only where a parallel situation or dispute arises that is not covered by the existing contract between the parties. The author proceeds with explaining three different cases in which unjust enrichment can occur while there is or was a contract. The first case is widely known and refers to a contract that is defective or voidable (for example, due to duress), and is annulled after the liable party has obtained a benefit from the contract, such as a payment. This payment is considered wealth (enrichment) that has been unjustly secured and can thus be recovered based on unjust enrichment. The author dedicates the entire Chapter 14 to this case. The second case refers to an unjust benefit acquired by the liable party within the framework of a contract, which is not annulled, yet it is considered fair to deprive that party of the said benefit. The third case refers to the implied or quasi contract, which as a legal fiction is recognised by courts to provide a solution to problems that cannot be resolved by contract law (or tort law).

In two relatively short chapters, specifically Chapters 12 and 13, the author discusses the principle of free acceptance, which, according to the prevailing judicial view, is part of the law of unjust enrichment, and the remedy of Quantum Meruit, which often also serves as a cause of action, respectively. Free acceptance refers to the case where the Defendant explicitly requested the provision of service outside of a contract and when, while he did not request it, the Defendant had the opportunity to refuse it, yet he did not, resulting in its acceptance while knowing that compensation would be expected. In both cases, the Defendant is obliged to pay reasonable remuneration for the service received. Regarding Quantum Meruit, this is not 'monopolised' by the law of unjust enrichment, as it can also arise in a contractual context. As the author explains, there are cases, such as when one party to a contract refuses to perform what was promised, where the Claimant may be able to choose between contractual damages (for breach of contract) and reasonable remuneration for the work or service provided.

In the law of unjust enrichment, Quantum Meruit covers or may be relevant in cases of provided services, which the Defendant freely accepted, or which were provided within the framework of a void contract or with the prospect of a contract that ultimately was not concluded. The latter is not a clear case and has generated relevant English jurisprudence. Regarding the former, although the author does not state it expressly, it seems that the underlying principle is that of free acceptance (discussed

in Chapter 12 of the book), with Quantum Meruit being the relevant remedy. The author rightly clarifies that in Cyprus, Quantum Meruit is codified, specifically in Article 70 of the Contracts Law, Cap. 149, and therefore, there are certain differences with Common Law, which is the focus of Chapter 13. Article 70 of Cap. 149 is studied by the author in Chapter 28, which deals with unjust enrichment in Cypriot law.

Chapter 14 is the largest chapter of the book, spanning almost one hundred pages. It deals with voidable contracts, which, as mentioned earlier, result, if annulled, in unjust enrichment that can be reversed and returned to the Claimant. According to contract law, a contract is voidable if consent is defective due to duress, undue influence, fraud, misrepresentation, and mistake. The chapter analyses each of these reasons for defective consent with reference to both English and Cypriot case law, making this chapter essentially a chapter on contract law (rather than unjust enrichment). In the opinion of the writer, this extensive chapter could have been omitted from the author's work, making it not only strictly on-topic but also significantly shorter and thus more accessible to the reader, especially the practicing lawyer. After all, as the chapter itself suggests, unjust enrichment only comes into play *after* the voidable contract is annulled based on rules belonging to contract law and because any enrichment loses its legal basis from the moment of annulment, thus becoming unjust. It is, however, indeed a fact that within the framework of voidable contracts, contract law and the law of unjust enrichment, otherwise separate branches of law, are, one might say, in the same relay team, with contract law handing the baton to the law of unjust enrichment to 'run' towards the remedy of restitution.

Chapter 14 is complemented by Chapter 15, which is very short and could have formed part of Chapter 14. In this chapter, the author refers to cases where, despite the existence of a voidable contract, the remedy of rescission and consequently, restitution is not available to the Claimant. This is when the restitution of the Defendant to the pre-contractual state is impossible or when third-party rights (such as those of a bona fide purchaser) have been created, or when the voidable contract has been affirmed by the Claimant. In these cases, despite the existence of a voidable contract, the law of unjust enrichment may not successfully be invoked leading to the Claimant's restitution.

Chapter 16 is one of the most important chapters of the book, as it deals with the available defenses to claims of unjust enrichment. Even if the three criteria (or constituent elements) of unjust enrichment are satisfied, the Claimant may not succeed in their corresponding claim. This will be the case when the Defendant successfully

invokes one of the defenses, which are analysed with reference to relevant examples and English and other foreign case law. These defenses, namely the Defendant's change of position, estoppel, illegality, transferred loss, reverse restitution, bona fide purchase, agency, and public policy, are obviously broader in the sense that they do not apply only within the framework of unjust enrichment.

The author dedicates a separate chapter, specifically Chapter 17, to one of these defenses, namely illegality, which presents difficulty, as it is not clear whether, and under what circumstances, a benefit obtained based on an illegal contract should be restored. The author refers to the strict approach of Cypriot jurisprudence according to which, in the absence of special circumstances, the courts do not intervene nor provide assistance to a party to an illegal contract. This approach shows that Article 65 of Cap. 149 does not apply to illegal contracts. On the other hand, in Common Law, the rule is in favour of restitution (return of enrichment) except if doing so would equate the relevant claim with the application of the illegal contract. The author deals more extensively with the issue of claims based on or concerning an illegal contract in Chapter 28, where he comparatively and critically analyses the relevant jurisprudence of the Full Bench of the Cyprus Supreme Court contrasting the opposing positions of the majority and minority.

In Chapters 18 and 19, the author deals with two interesting issues of unjust enrichment. More specifically, Chapter 18 focuses on whether a person is entitled to recover expenses and costs incurred in providing assistance, such as in the form of services to another, who was in a state of actual and serious need. As the author explains, there seems to be a distinction in Common Law between the case where the Claimant and Defendant had a prior legal or other relationship that justified the offer and one where such a relationship is absent. Recovery is possible in the first case only, an approach with which the author disagrees, believing that recovery should be possible in both cases.

Chapter 19 deals with restitution in the case of torts. As explained in the said chapter, this case does *not* refer to claims for ordinary damages (covering the loss suffered by the Claimant), but to damages equivalent to the benefit gained by the Defendant (to deprive them of that benefit). A Claimant can, in certain cases, choose between the two types of damages. Obviously, the former type of damages would not fit into a work on unjust enrichment, and even regarding the latter, there is relevant disagreement which the author highlights, explaining his own opinion. The question of *when* a Claimant can choose the type (and consequently, the amount) of

damages they will claim in a tort case is interesting, since, as the author explains by reference to the rule against double compensation, typically both cannot be claimed. The choice can be made at the hearing stage, when the Claimant will present relevant evidence, something that emerges from English case law cited by the author. Indeed, this was generally the prevailing approach, which obviously favoured the pleading of different alternative causes of action and/or remedies. In the opinion of the writer, this possibility may be somewhat limited by the new Rules of Civil Procedure.

The author ensures to tackle every aspect of unjust enrichment. Thus, in Chapter 20, the author specifically addresses torts recognised in equity, namely breaches of fiduciary duties, which can result in unjust benefits, such as bribery. The author explains that, in Anglo-Saxon law, in such cases, the benefit in question is considered to belong to the Claimant through a constructive trust, which is recognised in this case to ensure that justice is served.

In Chapter 21, the author discusses the relationship between contractual damages and unjust enrichment, reminding readers that the traditional method of calculating contractual damages refers to the computation of the claimant's loss due to the breach of contract. This calculation assumes the possibility of accurately estimating the profit the claimant would have earned had the contract been performed properly. When this is not possible, a second method of calculating contractual damages refers to the lost expenditure, i.e., the costs and expenses incurred by the Claimants within the contract that were wasted (thrown away) due to the defendant's breach. The author also highlights a third method of calculation, which focuses on the benefit gained by the defendant from the breach of contract, aiming to strip it from him. There are cases where the (more) common remedies of compensation are insufficient (e.g., when the benefit gained by the defendant arises from a violation of a *fundamental* contractual obligation or is particularly large). In such exceptional cases, 'benefit deprivation' (restitutionary) damages (i.e., of the third of the aforementioned types) may be awarded.

As observed by the author, Cypriot case law is aligned with the English approach regarding the aforementioned triple categorisation of the aggrieved party's claims for contractual damages. Evidently, it is the third category of damages that is related to unjust enrichment. Of course, as the author acknowledges, there is the view that compensation based on the defendant's benefit, which serves as a remedy in contract and tort law, is different from restitution based on unjust enrichment law, where the goal is not only to neutralise the defendant's benefit, but also to reverse it (to the



Claimant). The author explains that, nevertheless, the former can be considered as part of unjust enrichment law (in its broader sense) and also reflects the influence of unjust enrichment in various other areas of law. The present writer agrees with the second of these observations, aligning with the view that contract or tort cases where restitutionary damages may be awarded do not, for this reason, escape the boundaries of contract or tort law becoming part of unjust enrichment law.

Similarly, in Chapter 22, the author deals with proprietary restitution, highlighting the relationship between proprietary rights and unjust enrichment. In cases where the Defendant appropriates property belonging to the Claimant, which still exists and is in the defendant's possession, either in its original or a transformed form, it can be recovered by the Claimant asserting his proprietary rights against the Defendant. Resorting to unjust enrichment is neither necessary nor appropriate in such cases, according to English case law cited by the author. However, the author and other scholars cited by him believe that this absolute separation is not justified. According to this view, if the right to trace, locate, and secure assets was not recognised to the claimant, the defendant would unjustly enrich himself, and thus, the concept of unjust enrichment continues to play a role in this (proprietary) context. This is certainly correct, but in the opinion of the writer, unjust enrichment as a mere concept differs considerably from unjust enrichment as a cause of action and, even more so, as a branch of law. The concept of unjust enrichment can be one of the reasons why the law recognises various actionable rights and consequently the right to a remedy, but not all those rights are or can be considered part of unjust enrichment law. Care is needed to ensure that unjust enrichment -a concept that is inherently general and broad- does not threaten the clarity of the classic categorisation of obligations into contractual, tortious, and others. Moreover, if unjust enrichment is to be recognised as a (distinct) branch of law (as opposed to a mere concept or principle), it must be confined within sufficiently distinct boundaries governed by clear rules and criteria.

In Chapter 23, the author discusses tracing, which, as rightly pointed out, is not a claim or a remedy, but a process by which the claimant seeks to identify his property, which may have been transformed into something else by the defendant, so that he can recover it. This process is available even if the claimant's property has been mixed with other assets, such as when it is sold and converted into money deposited into a bank account along with other funds. The object of tracing is not the property in any form, but the right to recover it, along with any further benefit derived from it (for example, if the claimant's property was converted into shares which may have yield-

ed dividends or increased in value). As the author explains, the basis of this right to recover can be traced to principles and/or ideas of unjust enrichment. Consequently, it could be said that tracing is a process facilitating the pursuing of a cause of action, including that of unjust enrichment. This chapter again proves that the author's work seeks to cover every aspect of unjust enrichment, no matter how remote, as it even touches upon tools (or processes) of broader application,<sup>5</sup> simply because they can be used within the framework of unjust enrichment, though in this case, it is mainly property rights that the Claimant seeks to assert against the Defendant, unjust enrichment being an inevitable consequence in the case of the Claimant not managing to trace and recover his property.

Similarly, Chapter 24 deals with constructive trusts because it is a way of addressing the problem of unjust enrichment, especially when the defendant acquired title to property belonging to the claimant in a culpable manner. In such cases, particularly in countries like the USA and Canada, it is recognised that a trust has been created with the claimant as the beneficiary (without the parties' intention) to neutralise and reverse unjust enrichment. As the author explains, English case law is more reserved, recognising a constructive trust only where the titleholder is aware of the (reprehensible) facts associated with his possession. Interestingly, in such cases, a constructive trust is recognised as a matter of law and is not based on general principles of fairness and justice. Again, the relationship between constructive trusts and unjust enrichment is that, if a constructive trust is not recognised to lead to restitution, the Defendant will ultimately unjustly be enriched.

The author, faithful to his (evident) goal not to omit any issue related to unjust enrichment, dedicates Chapter 25 to subrogation. The reader's mind immediately goes to the principle of subrogation in the field of insurance, which arises explicitly or implicitly from the contract between the insurer and the insured. The author explains that, apart from subrogation in contract law, there is also subrogation, as a remedy, in cases of unjust enrichment. The issue is complex, and, in the writer's opinion, the reader would benefit from reading the chapter in combination with commentary on relevant case law.<sup>6</sup> Essentially, if the elements of unjust enrichment are satisfied, meaning that the defendant gained an unjust benefit at the claimant's expense without any relevant defenses, subrogation can be used as an equity tool to

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<sup>5</sup> It is worth mentioning that there are extensive works exclusively dedicated to tracing. See for example, Smith, L.D., 1997, *The Law of Tracing*, Clarendon Press.

<sup>6</sup> 'Equitable Subrogation: Standing in the Shoes of a Third Party with a Secured Interest', *Butterworths Journal of International Banking and Financial Law*, November 2013, 621.

avoid unjust enrichment through the claimant's restitution. Interestingly, it emerges from this chapter that a defective or invalid security held by a lender, such as a bank, does not necessarily mean that the bank will fail in claiming its corresponding rights. Conversely, the bank may be subrogated to the unpaid seller's right of lien over the property (even if the seller has already been paid from the funds secured by the borrowing buyer from the bank), allowing it to be considered a secured creditor for the recovery of the owed amounts. In this respect, the subrogation tool is used to prevent the borrowing buyer's unjust enrichment.

The author also addresses the issue of rectifying a document prepared by the contracting parties when they have recorded their agreement incorrectly, as some scholars believe that rectification is an equity tool to prevent unjust enrichment. In Chapter 26 of the book, the author asserts the view (and rightly, in the writer's opinion) that rectification belongs to contract law, and although it may result in preventing unjust enrichment, this is not enough for it to be considered as one of the procedures and remedies for addressing unjust enrichment issues.

Chapter 27 is dedicated to improvements to movable or immovable property, which essentially involve the provision of (improvement) services to someone else's (the defendant's) property, movable or immovable. This chapter largely focuses on proprietary estoppel, as the author argues that many such cases (especially those involving improvements to immovable property) are decided with reference to proprietary estoppel rather than unjust enrichment. The provision of unsolicited services as a benefit in the context of unjust enrichment (as opposed to the classic benefit in the form of payment of a sum of money) is commented on by the author in Chapter 9, where he explains the criteria for unjust enrichment one by one, as well as in Chapter 12, which analyses the principle of free acceptance. Chapter 12 emphasises, with reference to English case law, that the mere offer of improvement services does not by itself create an obligation for the defendant to pay the claimant for those services. The chapter concludes that the prevailing view based on case law is that such an obligation arises when there is free acceptance of the offered service. It emerges from Chapter 27, however, specifically its (small) part *not* referring to proprietary estoppel, that beyond free acceptance, an obligation to pay may also arise when the claimant undertakes improvements (such as repairs) on property he genuinely believes to be his, for example, because he was unaware of a defect in the title to the property he purchased.

As already mentioned, Chapter 27 largely focuses on proprietary estoppel, the application of which can provide a solution in cases where the claimant seeks pay-

ment for unsolicited improvement services to the defendant's property. The author discusses the components of proprietary estoppel, which requires the existence of clear assurances by the defendant to the claimant, the claimant's reliance on them, and, consequently, the claimant's suffering of detriment. The author devotes significant parts of the chapter to the relevant principles and developments in the law of proprietary estoppel, but rightly acknowledges that it is a separate category of law. Considering the view of foreign scholars opining that unjust enrichment has little to do with proprietary estoppel, the author defends his choice to include it in his book by referring to many common elements of the two and to the useful parallel that can be drawn between them. In the writer's opinion, given the research-oriented nature of the work, which deals extensively with theoretical issues of law categorisation, the author's choice is reasonable and also encourages fruitful reflection and further research on the exact boundaries of unjust enrichment law.

However, it has to be said that proprietary estoppel and unjust enrichment are two clearly different and distinct categories of law. They are related to each other in that they can be 'employed' to resolve the same claim, specifically, that for compensation for unsolicited provision of improvement services to property, but they remain two distinct categories with different constituent elements or criteria. Indeed, such a claim can succeed on both bases (if both are invoked as alternative causes of action), or fail on one basis but succeed on the other. Indeed, in a very recent English case concerning a claim for compensation for improvement services to a property,<sup>7</sup> the action was brought based on *both* proprietary estoppel and unjust enrichment. The court examined the case considering one and then the other basis separately and dismissed the claim for proprietary estoppel (because the assurances given by the Defendant to the Claimant were not sufficiently clear). However, the claim succeeded based on unjust enrichment, something that more generally highlights the caution a lawyer must exercise when 'building' their client's case by choosing its legal characterisation. Had the claim been raised solely based on proprietary estoppel, it would have failed, and the Claimant would not only have received no compensation for their services, but would also have been ordered to pay the costs of the proceedings.

In its last (substantive) chapter before the Epilogue, specifically in Chapter 28, the book deals with unjust enrichment and restitution in Cypriot law. The chapter focuses on domestic law regarding unjust enrichment, but as the author would likely agree, Cypriot law on the subject is not exhausted in that chapter. Indeed, as the

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<sup>7</sup> *Mate v. Mate & Ors* [2023] EWHC 238 (Ch).

author explains in Chapter 3 of the book, common law and equity (when there is no contrary Cypriot provision or jurisprudential approach) form part of Cypriot law. It is not accidental that in this purely ‘Cypriot-themed’ chapter, extensive reference is made to English jurisprudence. It is therefore submitted that the entire book, and not just Chapter 28, effectively deals with Cypriot law on unjust enrichment. After all, it is on very few points throughout the book that the author highlights existing differences between Common Law and Cypriot law. Moreover, as the author emphasises by reference to Article 70 of Cap.149, which incorporates principles of unjust enrichment and restitution, the said provision ‘does not abolish common law.’

Article 70 essentially combines, as the author rightly observes, the principles of ‘free acceptance’ and *quantum meruit*, which are discussed in previous chapters of the book, specifically Chapters 12 and 13, respectively. According to the author, it also covers the mistaken non-gratuitous payment by the Claimant to the Defendant, which, as previously mentioned, is the classic case of unjust enrichment. In the opinion of the writer, while the generality of the wording of Article 70 indeed permits its application to this case too, nonetheless, Article 72 of Cap.149 explicitly and specifically addresses it, so the mistaken payment of money should be excluded from the scope of Article 70. The author, through a review of relevant Cypriot jurisprudence, demonstrates that the core of unjust enrichment in Cyprus is examined with reference to the four criteria or components of unjust enrichment established by common law and analysed in previous chapters of the book. Furthermore, as the author notes, despite some judicial confusion relating to the source and nature of the principles of unjust enrichment, Cypriot courts are generally correctly guided by the recent English jurisprudence. This reinforces the above-expressed view that the whole of this book is effectively on the Cypriot law of unjust enrichment.

Cap.149, specifically Articles 68 and 69, cover some other cases of unjust enrichment, specifically the provision of necessities to a person incapable of contracting and the payment of a third party’s debt, respectively. Article 69 refers to both the case where the Claimant has been legally compelled to pay and the case where the Claimant and the Defendant are jointly liable to pay but the primary responsibility lies with the latter. This would appear to apply to the case where a guarantor fully or partly repays the loan of a borrower. After a brief discussion of these two cases, where the Claimant is entitled to receive corresponding compensation, Chapter 28 of the book addresses the application of quantum meruit, stating that the relevant common law principles are adopted in Cyprus in conjunction with Article 70 of Cap. 149. As indi-

cated, this principle in Cyprus also applies to cases involving contracts, specifically when the contract is silent on the amount of the Claimant's remuneration. The burden of proof lies with the Claimant, who must positively prove both the performance of the works and the reasonable remuneration for them based on objective criteria.

Next, the author deals with Articles 64 and 65 of Cap.149, which set out the consequences concerning the obligations of the parties in the case of voidable and void contracts, respectively. While Article 64 relates to other articles of Cap.149 concerning the factors that render a contract voidable (such as Article 19), it clearly falls within the law of unjust enrichment, since it refers to the reversal of the benefit acquired in the absence of a valid contract and thus unjustly. Analysing Article 65, the author inevitably addresses the issue of claims based on or related to illegal contracts, emphasising that despite its wording (which does not seem to exclude a void contract due to illegality), Article 65 does not apply to illegal contracts since such application would be against public policy.

In the Epilogue of his work, the author attempts to draw some conclusions regarding the fundamental issue of categorising unjust enrichment and of the precise content of the corresponding law. Clearly, the author does not reject the broader sense of the law of unjust enrichment, which includes not only unjust enrichment in the strict or narrow sense, encompassing the relevant four criteria or components established by common law, but also cases where the appropriate remedy is restitution (neutralising the unjust enrichment acquired by the Defendant), even if the enrichment is the result of committing a tort, a breach of contract, or an infringement of property rights.

The writer's view aligns with the school of thought that the author clearly documents, recognising the logic inherent in it. More specifically, according to this view, the cases involving a tort, a breach of contract or some other behaviour which gives rise to a right of action under a recognised branch of law, do *not* fall within the law of unjust enrichment. Conversely, depending on the cause of the Defendant's unjust enrichment, they fall within one of the traditional categories of law, such as contract law and tort law. In the writer's view, the fact that in such cases the most appropriate remedy may be restitution (rather than ordinary compensation) is not sufficient to 'evict' those cases (of committing a tort for example) from the corresponding branch of law, namely tort law. Bringing them or regarding them as falling within the (separate) branch of unjust enrichment threatens the clarity of traditional legal categorisation, which has always focused on the wrongful or culpable behaviour (such as

breach of contract and committing a tort) and *not* on the remedy for the detriment that behaviour caused.

If one were to attempt a different categorisation (focusing on the remedy instead), it would be more appropriate to include all cases covered by unjust enrichment, both in its narrow and broader sense, under the umbrella of the law of restitution (rather than the law of unjust enrichment), as all these cases share the (common) remedy of restitution. Consequently, in this respect, the choice of the title of the work, 'unjust enrichment *and* restitution', is fully understandable and proves to be correct. Indeed, the author's choice to cover *all* cases where there is unjust enrichment in the hands of the Defendant effectively rendered the (alternative) title 'law of unjust enrichment' a risky choice, which the author skilfully avoided.

Undoubtedly, the work of this great Cypriot jurist is a valuable contribution to legal knowledge in Cyprus. The present writer sought to use it as a compass for critically exploring the deep and mysterious waters of unjust enrichment, extracting and presenting the main principles and conclusions of the extensive research work of the author in a compact contribution. An attempt was made to map these waters and to provide a safe 'raft' for new researchers and legal practitioners, thereby facilitating their understanding of the content and limits of this peculiar branch of law and, additionally, of a number of other branches of law, which the author so successfully highlighted as related to unjust enrichment.

Mapping unjust enrichment law, the core of the said branch of law is doubtless the three legal criteria (or ingredients), specifically (a) a benefit to the Defendant, (b) which is unjust and (c) correlates with the detriment suffered by the Claimant. These three criteria, established by common law, are also encompassed in Article 70, Cap.149. Their generality suggests that the cases of unjust enrichment are not closed and that, therefore, courts may bring, under unjust enrichment law, a variety of cases in which these criteria are met, when those cases do not fall within any other recognised branch of law, such as contract law or tort law.

So far, however, there is a number of specific cases, which have already been recognised as cases of unjust enrichment. The classic one is the case of a mistaken payment to the Defendant codified in Cyprus in Article 72, Cap.149; a non-classic extension of this case is that of a mistaken payment to public authorities. Another case is the one of a voidable contract, which has been annulled by the aggrieved party after the Defendant has received a benefit, which in Cyprus is codified by Article 64, Cap.149. There are three exceptions that may prevent a successful unjust enrichment



claim in this case: third party rights, impossible restitution, and affirmation of the contract. Additionally, there is the case of void contracts that led to a benefit for the Defendant (not including in Cyprus, as opposed to Common Law, the case of illegal contracts) codified in Cyprus in Article 65, Cap.149. Another case covers the unsolicited provision of services, including improvements to movable or immovable property. In this case, the Claimant may be entitled to fair remuneration if said services have been freely accepted by the Defendant or when the Claimant has provided them genuinely believing that the property was his own. Two additional cases refer to the provision of services under a void contract (which may be seen as coming under the broad umbrella of Article 65, Cap.149), and service provision with the prospect of a contract which has eventually not been concluded, respectively. The remedy in these three cases (of service provision) is Quantum Meruit, a restitutionary remedy specifically linked to the fair (or market value) of the services offered. The said remedy also appears codified in Article 70, Cap.149, as part and parcel with unjust enrichment, hence the reason why it may also be regarded as a cause of action. Finally, another two cases, namely the incurrance of costs and expenses in aiding the Defendant in need (or under necessity), codified in Article 68, Cap.149, and the legally compelled payment of the debt of another party, codified in Article 69, Cap.148, would seem to complete the map of unjust enrichment law in Cyprus as (heavily influenced) by Common Law. The main remedy to unjust enrichment is restitution (including Quantum Meruit), though, in appropriate cases, subrogation (in the shoes of a secured third party) may also be utilised.

There are certain other branches of law related to unjust enrichment. More specifically, in some tort cases, restitutionary (as opposed to compensatory damages) may be claimed by (and awarded to) the Claimant. Also, in cases of equity torts, (such as breach of fiduciary duties), a constructive trust may be recognised to ensure that the Defendant is deprived of the unjust benefit and that that benefit is returned to the Claimant. Furthermore, in cases involving a violation of property rights, tracing and constructive trusts are equity tools that may be employed to ensure restitution. These cases should not be placed on the 'unjust enrichment law' map in the view of the writer. Yet, as the main remedy in all these cases is restitution, they can be placed together with all unjust enrichment cases under the law of restitution, this law being understood to cover all cases in which restitution is the main appropriate remedy.

**Christiana Markou**







## CALL FOR PAPERS

*The Cyprus Review* invites submissions for a Special Section dedicated to the memory of Dr Kypros Chrysostomides on

### ***“Cyprus and International Law”***

*The Cyprus Review* invites submissions for a Special Section dedicated to the memory of Dr Kypros Chrysostomides (1942-2022) on *Cyprus and International Law*.

The Republic of Cyprus has been a unique study in Public International Law due to the Cyprus Problem, one of the intractable international conflicts. Kypros Chrysostomides was a distinguished lawyer whose research work focused on the international law aspects of the Cyprus Problem. His book *“The Republic of Cyprus. A Study in International Law”* remains the leading analysis on the issue nearly three decades after the original Greek edition was published, and more than two decades after the publication of the English edition. In 2022, Kypros Chrysostomides was honoured with the “Lifetime Achievement Award” in the Cyprus Review Annual Book Awards (CRABA 2022) at the University of Nicosia, in recognition of his significant body of published work, especially on the international aspects of the Cyprus Question. The special section, dedicated to his memory, purports to examine aspects relevant to the application of International Law in the Republic of Cyprus. Although we seek predominantly legal contributions, we welcome papers which apply interdisciplinary approaches between International Law and International Relations.

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## CALL FOR PAPERS

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The Republic of Cyprus joined the EU in 2004. Since then, the EU has dominated strategic considerations, as well as the public debate. The decision to apply for EU membership was predominantly driven by political considerations. Successive Governments and the political elite saw the EU as a safeguard for the island’s future security and as a forum where a favourable solution to the political problem was likely to be reached. Furthermore, EU membership was understood by the Republic of Cyprus as an effort to overcome the drawbacks associated with its small size and to minimise the shortcomings resulting from its internationally vulnerable position. By becoming part of the EU, the RoC aspired to no longer feel defenceless, to enhance its position to negotiate, and to have its voice more effectively heard by becoming part of a powerful and important regional group. However, euroscepticism seems to have increased since accession, especially following the handling by the EU of the 2013 financial/banking crisis.

This special section of *The Cyprus Review* (CR) invites papers that seek to assess and evaluate specific aspects of the EU-Republic of Cyprus relations. We welcome contributions that incorporate theories of integration or draw on empirical data, but also papers that reflect on specific thematic areas or focus on interdisciplinary approaches. Contributions may refer to the interrelationship between the EU and Cypriot policy priorities, foreign, financial, banking, social, justice, competition, governance etc.

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