Travelling across the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond;

travel writing and travel trends throughout the centuries

ReTraPath

International Interdisciplinary Virtual Conference

22-23 June 2022

Margarita Ioannou

Katerina Gotsi

BANK OF CYPRUS CULTURAL FOUNDATION

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Editors

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΤΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ

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Preface

On behalf of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation I would like to welcome the edition of the Proceedings of the International Interdisciplinary Virtual Conference: "Travelling across the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond; travel writing and travel trends throughout the centuries".

The conference was Co-organized by the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation and the Centre for Scientific Dialogue and Research, as part of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation's research project "Re-inventing age-old Travelling Paths of the Levant in the Digital Era: the example of Cyprus" (ReTraPath) (EXCELLENCE/0918/0190), funded by the Research and Innovation Foundation.

ReTraPath aimed to address in a scientific way an important aspect of travel literature, by researching the history of ideas and culture in Cyprus from the 15th century to the information age of the 21st century and was successful in participating in the wider discussions on travel literature.

This conference explored, analyzed and discussed travelling across the Eastern Mediterranean area since ancient times and travel texts on the same area produced from antiquity until contemporary information society. The challenge of the project as a whole was to combine research and its results with real life needs. The project managed to combine travel literature of earlier centuries to today's cultural Tourism. It was also very successful in disseminating

and exploiting its results both for the scientific community and the wider public, through a number of events such as scientific conferences, workshops for professionals, educational programmes and gaming.

This brings us to our final and most important point: Relevance. It all comes down to relevance. Promoting and Protecting Cultural Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and connecting it in many and fruitful ways to its audiences or non-audiences today is closely related to relevance. Equally important in the process has been the collaboration between decision-makers, professionals and different stakeholders, in particular joint activities between entrepreneurs, public bodies, cultural partners, local communities and the business community. The challenge for museums, heritage and sites as well as host communities is to offer a unique, special, and participatory cultural experience that will bring with it most of the benefits, while, at the same time, will avoid all negative effects. We hope that Retrapath project has been a contribution as far as this aspect of culture is concerned.

Special thanks should go to our Co-organisers from KEDE and especially Professor Achilleas Emilianides and Dr Katerina Gotsi. I would also like to thank Dr Margarita Ioannou who has been the person in charge of the effort on behalf of BOCCF.

Dr Ioanna Hadjicosti
Director & Project Coordinator

Address by Prof. Achilles C. Emilianides, Chairman of the Center for Scientific Dialogue and Research (KEDE)

KEDE is honoured to have participated, through its research associate Katerina Gotsi, to the funded project "Re-inventing age-old Travelling Paths of the Levant in the Digital Era: the example of Cyprus (ReTraPath)".

There are certain key notions even in the title of this project, which merit further consideration.

The Levant, a historical notion that has typically included all of the Eastern Mediterranean, has not simply been historically important; it remains one of the main geographical areas of attraction, a region where geopolitics and conflict are grounded on history, and where the re-interpretation of history might be the balancing act required.

The Digital Era, the revolution that has led to the shift from mechanical and analogue electronic technology to digital electronics, is more evident than ever before in our daily lives. I recall days of old (which in reality were only a few decades before….) when the internet, Google, Facebook, Twitter, Amazon, mobile phones, Netflix, Wikipedia, electric vehicles etc. were simply unknown terms. Our lifestyle has changed before our eyes, and research on age-old travelling paths undoubtedly benefits from interacting with digital

innovation: in this way what is known only to a few becomes disseminated to, and understood by many.

Cyprological research is a challenging field, both due to lack of resources, but also due to lack of a sufficient number of researchers working in the same field. As a result the degree of difficulty for researchers that choose Cyprus as a case study is more advanced, because they can seldom rely on work previously done by others. There is therefore increased original work, and a need to identify original sources.

The scope of this project covering a long period between the 15th and 21st century was an additional challenge. Travel literature is an important field for the understanding of history of ideas and culture, and the project has been successful in researching rare manuscripts and texts which belong to a number of collections. The digitization of a number of old travel books that had not been digitized before would be a substantial contribution on its own, but the project has also developed smart tools with the use of technology, and educational applications for pupils, as well as the wider public.

It has been a privilege for KEDE to participate in this project, and we hope that this will form the basis for additional work in the field that can help the re-invention of travelling paths in the Levant.

Acknowledgements

This publication is part of the research project "Re-inventing age-old Travelling Paths of the Levant in the Digital Era: The Example of Cyprus - ReTraPath (RESTART 2016 – 2020, Excellence Hubs, EXCELLENCE/0918/0190) that was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation. We would now like to take the opportunity to thank Dr Ioanna Hadjicosti, director of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation and coordinator of the project, for her valuable help and constant encouragement as well as all the ReTraPath Consortium members for their collaboration, and the fruitful exchange of ideas and experiences: The Centre for Scientific Dialogue and Research (KEDE), Nicosia; the Department of Informatics, University of Peiraus; the Sylvia Ioannou Foundation, the Rita Severis Foundation, and finally the museologist Ms. Despo Passia.

We would also like to thank IDEK, the Research and Innovation Foundation, Nicosia, for its constant support and valuable help. Finally, special thanks go to Dr Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou, the curator at the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, for his guidance and expert advice.

Ortelius (Abraham), "CYPRI / INSVLAE / NOVA DE= / SCRIPT. / 1573. / Ioannes à Deutecum.f. [Inset:] LEMNOS INSVLAE / descriptionem ex Petri Bellonij / libro de Auibus, hoc in loco / tanguam [sic] parergon adiecimus", 1578 ©BoCCF, A&L-014.

Introduction

"Stories travel and stories stay. Stories cross boundaries and frontiers, settle in different places, and then migrate to or colonize other places. They resurface in different spaces and different times, preserving their ability to entertain, to enlighten, and to bewitch" (Gabriel, 2004, 1). Stories are powerful and resilient, flexible and magical – thus humans' (almost natural) attraction to stories of any sort since the beginning of time. Travel writing is all about telling stories; or, rather, sharing stories. In 21st century digital forms of travel writing - where readers can communicate with other readers or with the authors themselves - this even becomes exchanging stories. Travellers' stories travelled from mouth to mouth long before Odysseus' time and have always haunted human imagination ever since.

The invention of typography in the 15th century gave people the possibility to travel their stories further away – across time and place. The gradual spread of literacy and the mass production of books in the West, along with the increased interest in travelling for various reasons (pilgrimages, Grand Tour, diplomatic missions, exploration, tourism, to name but a few) led to an increased publication of travel books and a broadening of their readership. Tourism and, later, mass tourism expanded the earlier forms of travel writing, to include guidebooks – maybe the most popular and widely used form of travel writing in the late 20th century – travel magazines, brochures,

travel reviews, coffee table photo books, travel documentaries, and travel TV shows.

The digital technologies at the turn of the twentieth century revolutionized both travelling and travel writing. Travel writing has significantly evolved and expanded in terms of the number of travel texts produced globally, as well as in terms of format and means of dissemination. Centuries-old travel texts - long stored, maintained, or even forgotten in museums and libraries archives – are gradually being digitized and uploaded online, becoming for the first time instantly accessible to anyone across the globe. At the same time travel magazines and travel books of any sort (travelogues, novels, collections of travel texts, etc.), along with their 'hard copy' versions can also be purchased (or accessed for free) and read in digital form. What has been even more significant is the emergence of new "born-digital" forms of travel writing that incorporate image and sound (such as travel blogs, vlogs, YouTube videos, and podcasts), which have been very popular, especially among younger generations.

One of the main areas that have attracted travellers and travel writers since the 15th century is the Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus, for example, was not a popular destination for travelers; it was, however - due to its geographical position - an important stopover, since it served as the basis of consulates, and was part of the commercial networking in the Middle East. It was also the last stop on the journey before the pilgrim-

traveller reached Palestine. For that reason travel texts on Cyprus are abundant as well.

The ReTraPath project was all about travellers' stories; stories of pilgrims and Grand Tourists and ambitious explorers of earlier centuries; of 20th-century Commissioners and diplomats and Greek officials and wanderers; 21st-century journalists and young bloggers and vloggers and 'influencers'. The world is changing, Cyprus is changing – and so is the travellers' gaze, their way of seeing and evaluating what the island has to offer. Unlike history, travel writing – at least in most of its forms – does not claim historical accuracy in the documentation of a place and its people. It is the travellers' perspective and their experience of a place that make travel texts appealing to the readers. The portrayals of Cyprus (that has inevitably changed so much throughout the centuries) from so many different - and sometimes very exciting - angles (can help widen our perspective of the country).

The ReTraPath research team wished to unveil the diversity, wealth, and beauty of the travel literature on Cyprus. It thus examined travel texts on Cyprus spanning seven centuries, revealing the beauty of age-old, archived travel books on the one hand, and recognizing modern-day digital forms of travel writing as worthy of study and examination on the other. It additionally attempted to find meaningful ways to make this corpus of information accessible, relevant, and interesting to a wide range of contemporary audiences.

The ReTraPath International Interdisciplinary Virtual Conference in June 2022 "Travelling across the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond; travel writing and travel trends throughout the centuries" brought together scholars from Greece, Cyprus, and Belgium, and tourism sector stakeholders who examine travel literature from different perspectives and employ different sources, approaches, and methodologies. Views and ideas were shared on key themes related to travel writing and travel trends throughout the centuries. A number of papers on different aspects of travel writing were selected and are included in the Conference proceedings in the pages that follow.

Margarita Ioannou (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation) writes about the huge database that was created as part of the programme, after the meticulous examination of a plethora of travel texts on Cyprus from the 15th century to the 21st century. The University of Piraeus research team (Prof. Nikolaos Anagnostopoulos, Konstantina Siountri, prof. Dimitrios Vergados, Dimitrios Tyrovolas & Marios Tyrovolas) presents the educational digital application they created, based on material found in the travel texts. Katerina Gotsi (Centre of Scientific Dialogue and Research) focuses on the evolution of travel guidebooks from the 19th century to the present day. Christodoulos Hadjichristodoulou (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation) identifies and analyses the numerous ecclesiastical monuments that appear in Johannes Oliva's portolan chart of Cyprus (1638) – a very rare map that is part of the BoCCF's Cyprus Map Collection. Finally, Christina Roditou (Costas and Rita

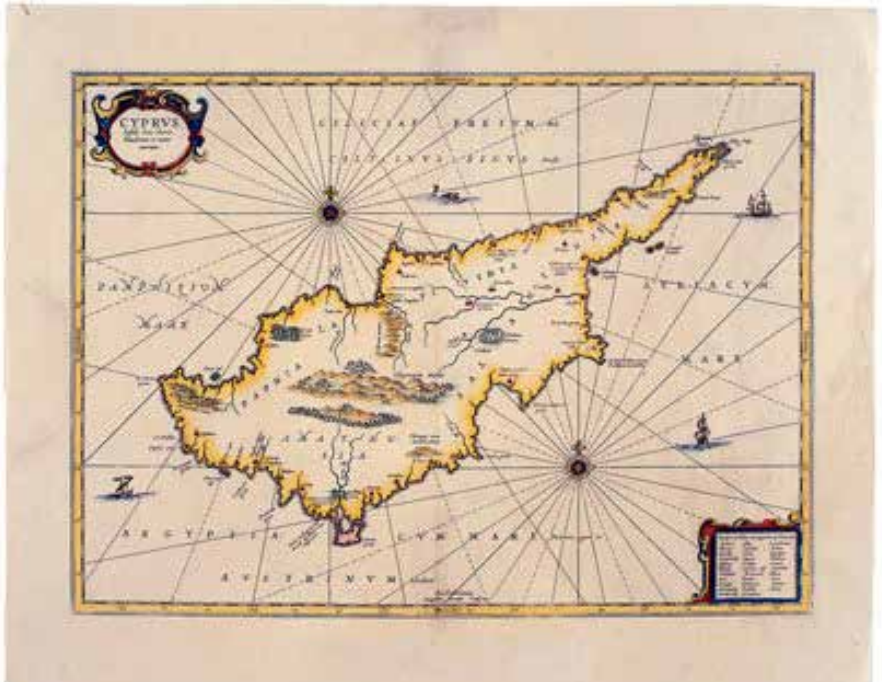
Severis Foundation) explores Cyprus through the lens of British travellers and examines the construction of Cyprus' tourism imagery in Colonial Cyprus.

Let the story begin.

September 2022

Margarita Ioannou

Katerina Gotsi



Joannes Janssonius, "CYPRVS, / Insula lœta choris, blandorum et mater / amorum. // Amstelodami, Sumptibus Ioannis Iassonii", 1652 © BoCCF, A&L-039.

Travelling since ancient times: Trends on travel accounts across the Eastern Mediterranean and the ReTraPath Database of travel texts relating to Cyprus (15th-21st centuries)

Margarita Ioannou

Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation

Abstract

Travel literature is a rich and popular genre as well as a valuable source of information for various disciplines. In this context, the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (BoCCF) research team successfully submitted for funding the project titled "Re-inventing age-old Travelling Paths of the Levant in the Digital Era: the example of Cyprus" - ReTraPath (EXCELLENCE/0918/0190). Using Cyprus as a case study, the ReTraPath project covers the period from the 15th century through to the era of our contemporary information society. This article demonstrates the significance of this one-of-a-kind database. Beyond its methodological value as an indexing model for the practice of research in the travel literature of the Levant, the database brings new knowledge to the realm of travel literature (content; profile of travellers; aims of the trips; areas of interest, and how these have evolved over the centuries; the importance

of the travel texts as primary sources), while at the same time it has a leading role in the emerging field of the study of contemporary forms of travel writing. Thus, our research gives new insights into old travel texts and paves the way for the systematic study of contemporary forms of travel texts.

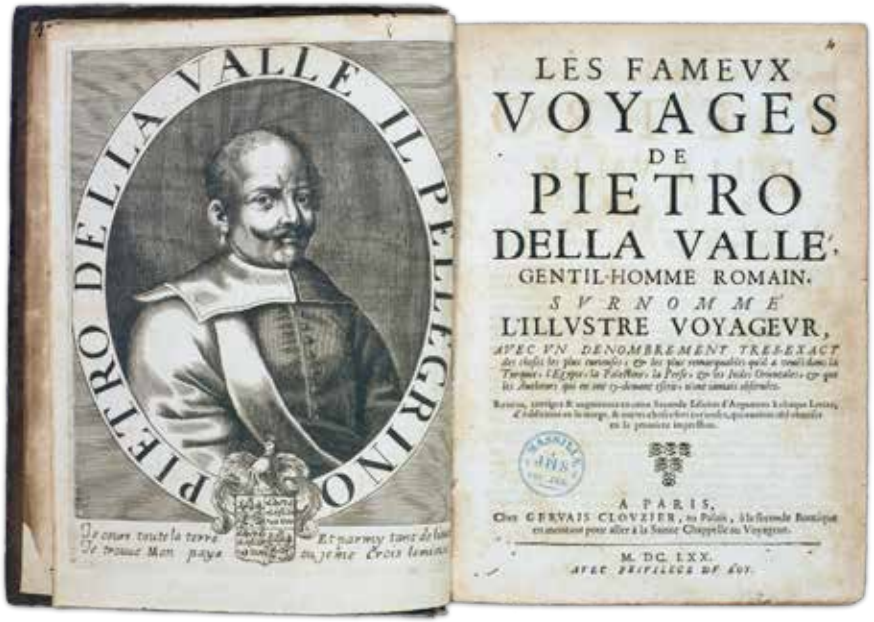
Introduction

Travel literature is a rich and popular genre and a valuable source of information for various disciplines. As a significant part of a country's cultural heritage, it has been the object of research programmes and is now a core topic of scholarly study in university programmes and seminars. New technologies that emerged at the turn of the 21st century also gave rise to new forms of travel books, new means of dissemination, and new audiences, expanding the range of researchers of the genre to include linguists and sociologists as well as IT, marketing, and communication specialists. In this context the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (BoCCF) research team successfully submitted for funding the project titled "Re-inventing age-old Travelling Paths of the Levant in the Digital Era: the example of Cyprus" - ReTraPath (EXCELLENCE/0918/0190).

Using Cyprus as a case study, the ReTraPath project covers the period from the 15th century through to the era of our contemporary information society (Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2022). In this context the ReTraPath project examines the ideological trends

that have influenced and informed travel literature from the 15th to the 21st century, studies the content, structure, and form of travel texts and how these have evolved over the centuries before reaching their final form. Last but not least, it examines cultural contact, interaction, negotiation, local responses, and translations. Apart from the above, technology lies at the heart of this project. In light of this, it is important to mention the digitization of a number of travel books that date back to the 15th century and had not been digitized before that made them available to the global audience, the development of an educational programme for students aged 9-12 years old, and the creation of two interactive maps for the wider public.

As far as the primary sources are concerned, these consist of 200 old rare books written in 8 European languages (Czech, Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Latin, and Swedish) by travelers who visited Cyprus (15th-20th centuries) as well as 30 21st century published or electronic texts on Cyprus, 30 travel blogs and travel websites, 30 travel TV shows, travel vlogs, podcasts and travel documentaries (whether professional or amateur) and 30 newspaper and magazine articles. The primary sources belong for the most part to the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation's Collections (the biggest private collection of travel accounts in Cyprus) (Navari, 2010), the Collection of the Sylvia Ioannou Foundation (Navari, 2016) and the Collection of Costas & Rita Severis Foundation.



Pietro Della Valle, *Famex voyages…. 1665-1684*, © BoCCF, B-136.

Additionally, the researchers have used the resources of the University of Cyprus Library (UCY), the National Library of Greece, and the Aikaterini Laskarides Historical Library in Athens. They also used databases, such as Google Books (2004), Inspiral (2020), Internet Archives (2014), Travelogues (2014), and TravelTrails (2019).

The research team compiled and utilized a comprehensive database that indexed information from the travel texts on Cyprus (15th-21st century). This index database is critical since it compiles a plethora of data based on the content of the travel accounts studied. It includes more than 42 thousand

cells and much more data. This database is vital not only for achieving this project's scientific aims but also for future research on related topics; hence, it is the subject of this paper.

The database of travel texts relating to Cyprus (15th-21st centuries) and its importance

To illustrate the value and significance of the database, we shall outline the reasons that are perceived as important for both our research and future research. Indexing facilitates the analysis of primary sources and the subsequent use of the material. Text classification, which refers to analyzing the contents of raw text and deciding which category it belongs to, is a classic research problem that researchers aim to solve in general, even though each researcher must make decisions each time, depending on the material under study. The model of an archetypal travel narrative, as found in the monograph *'Graecia Mendax': Das Bild der Griechen in der Französischen Reiseliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts* was very useful (Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, 2002). The aforementioned model can also be applied to 19th-century texts. However, as the structure, form, and content of travel texts changed in the 20th and 21st centuries, the aforementioned model formed only the basis for our indexing.

The ReTraPath project covered this gap, thereby expanding the existing model – which included 16 main thematic categories (Author; Book & Bibliographical

description; Cyprus toponyms; Geographical position of Cyprus; Cyprus travel overview; Residence & travel in Cyprus; Natural space; Habitation; Society; Nutrition, apparel, health; Finance; Education, region, letters, arts, sciences; Politics; History; Archaeology; Appraisal. See Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, 2002), by adding new thematic subcategories where necessary.

Below are the 64 new thematic subcategories used on travel accounts indexing beginning in the 15th century until the 21st century:

1. Cyprus Travel Overview
   (a) Entry requirements
   (b) Comparisons with other places

2. Residence & Travel in Cyprus
   (a) Tourism Industry (Accommodation, Restaurants, Bars, etc.)
   (b) Beaches
   (c) Shopping
   (d) Places of interest
   (e) Driving in Cyprus
   (f) Activities and (extreme) sports
   (g) Wellness
   (h) Travel tips and suggestions

3. Habitation
   (a) Camps
   (b) Ports/Harbours
   (c) Clubs
   (d) Sports facilities
   (e) Cafes, bars & restaurants

   (f) Public gardens
   (g) Financial institutions

4. Society
   (a) Leisure (measurement of time, social groups with leisure time, developing activities)
   (b) Prominent people living in the town-Foreigners living in the city

5. Finance
   (a) Industry/ Entrepreneurship
   (b) Currency & money

6. Education, Region, Letters, Arts, Sciences
   (a) Games
   (b) Sports
   (c) Festivals and events
   (d) Museums and galleries
   (e) Arts
   (f) Libraries
   (g) References to other writers/ artists/ scientists

7. Politics
   (a) Governance (politics, administrative machinery, justice, military)
   (b) Political parties

8. Book & Bibliographical description
   (a) List of Illustrations
   (b) Advertisements
   (c) List of Advertisements
   (d) Collection/Library & Book ID
   (e) Included in Anthology

The same 16 categories and subcategories are used for the study and review of the travel blog posts and travel website articles, online newspaper and magazine articles, travel TV shows, travel vlogs, podcasts, and videos. However, inevitably the categories referring to Book & Bibliographical descriptions, change as follows:

- *Travel blog posts /Travel website articles*
  1. Title
  2. Subtitle
  3. Blogger(s)/ writer's name
  4. Blog profile
  5. Blog/ Travel website URL
  6. Blog post/ Travel website article URL
  7. Date of publication
  8. Date updated
  9. Date last accessed
  10. Social media
  11. Number of Illustrations
  12. Hyperlinks
  13. Disclaimers
  14. Additional info

- *Online newspaper articles and magazines*
  1. Headline
  2. Subheadline
  3. Newspaper/ Magazine
  4. Newspaper/ Magazine URL
  5. Country/ area
  6. Original language
  7. Date of publication
  8. Date updated

  9. Date last accessed
  10. Social media
  11. List of illustrations
  12. Hyperlinks
  13. Disclaimers
  14. Additional info

- *TV shows, videos, travel vlogs, and podcasts*
  1. Title
  2. Subtitle
  3. Creator(s)
  4. Presenter(s)
  5. Director(S)
  6. Producer(s)
  7. Narrator(s)
  8. Other people involved in the production
  9. TV/ Youtube or other channels
  10. video/ podcast URL
  11. Date of release
  12. Date last accessed
  13. social media
  14. number of views
  15. Additional info

The above (updated) model provides us with an exhaustive and detailed indication of the subject matter of the travel accounts under consideration. Thus, the thematic criteria will be used to ensure that all potential concerns and those deemed relevant by the research team members are taken into account.

Furthermore, the ReTraPath project with this database suggested a more complete bibliographical study

of travel literature on Cyprus, as it included 21st-century travel texts as well. Analysing and indexing travel literature on Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean region often focus on and index primary sources published between the 18th and the mid-19th century (Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, 2006; Navari, 2010; Navari, 2016). Numerous travel accounts on Cyprus, published from the 15th to the 17th century and from the mid-19th century onwards haven't been sufficiently examined or have been entirely excluded from indexing. ReTraPath is the first project which attempts comprehensive indexing of travel literature on Cyprus throughout a 7 centuries time period (15th to 21st century). As the means of dissemination change, new forms of travel writing are emerging that often integrate video and sound: travel blog posts and travel website articles, travel TV shows and documentaries (whether amateur or professional), online newspaper and magazine articles, travel vlogs, and podcasts. All these new forms have changed our perception of travelling and travel writing – and as such, they need to be examined. One of the most important changes that they brought is the easy, instant, (most of the time) cost-free access to their content. Contemporary travel texts on Cyprus are no longer stored in libraries or archives; they are accessible to everyone across the globe. It is also for the first time in world history that the reader can instantly communicate with the author/ creator as well as the other readers/ viewers; the reader/ viewer can make comments, or respond to others' comments, can ask questions about a destination, or answer questions.

Given the above, it is evident that the database includes and categorizes the earliest travel texts from the 15th century onwards, suggests a comprehensive bibliographical study of travel literature on Cyprus, and includes (new) texts from the 21st century.

Through the database, we can identify for the first time the transition from a masculine privilege-habit to a gender-neutral activity occurs. Until the 19th-century travellers were male aristocrats (eponymous diplomats, politicians, priests, scientists, tutors, spies, knights, secretaries, nobles, military officers, doctors, merchants, and translators). This is because travel in the Mediterranean was exclusively a male privilege reserved for the aristocracy alone, though members of this class had set the tone. However, from the 19th century onwards, travel was not exclussively restricted to men. Women and men from the rapidly expanding middle classes also made their presence felt among the tourists that visited Cyprus (e.g., Brassey, 1880; Scott-Stevenson, 1880; Smith, 1870). As far as the female travellers are concerned, there were spouses of British officials on the island or British men socializing with British officials. 21st-century travel writers are everyday people with a keen interest in travelling; a few of them are well-established bloggers who earn a living from travel writing, others are occasional or frequent travellers to remote places who share their experiences in the form of a blog or a YouTube channel. Unlike the formal character of travel writing in previous centuries, travel bloggers are not introduced to us by vocational or educational background; often even their country of origin remains unknown - even

their surnames, as they are informally introduced to us by the first name only. What we only get to know about them is what drives and enthuses them, who their travelling companions (if any) are, and why they enjoy travelling (and travel writing). In the case of amateur travel YouTube videos, their creators may even use a pseudonym.

Moreover, the database allows us to identify the aims of the journeys from the 15th century onward. Until the 16th century, the key reason for traveling and visiting Cyprus was either trade or pilgrimage to the Holy Land (see e.g., Fabri, 1556; Noè, 1566; Salignac, 1525; Ludolphus, 1477; Zuallart, 1587). Travellers begin touring western Asia Minor in the mid-17th century, while some travelers to the Greek islands also explore parts of mainland Greece and Cyprus. Within this time frame, pilgrimage travel predominates (see e.g., Cotovicus, 1619; Ecklin, 1659; Rantzau, 1669; Rocchetta, 1610; Surius, 1666; Zuallart, 1587). Occasionally, additional types of travels, such as military missions (e.g., Ferretti, 1580), diplomatic missions (e.g., Des Hayes, 1624), and entertainment travels (e.g., Della Valle, 1664-1663; Moryson, 1617), are identified. Since the 17th century, the journey (Demetropoulos, 2015, 402) has acquired its worth as a means of knowledge and culture (see e.g., Avril, 1692; Fauvel, 1668; Linden, ca 1670). The 18th century was the age of the Enlightenment, the Age of Reason, characterized by a thirst for the expansion and scientific classification of human knowledge and intense anthropological curiosity (see e.g., Tsigkakou, 2002, 14-15; Vingopoulou, 2005, xvii). As

the journey's vision and the nature and purposes of the travelers changed in the 18th century, Cyprus was visited by travellers on scientific missions (e.g., Egmond and Heyman, 1759; Tollot, 1742; Hasselquist, 1766), educational-educative trips (e.g., Bruyn, 1700; 1714), or entertainment journeys (e.g., Newbery, 1706; Pococke, 1743-1745; Sandwich, 1799; Watkins, 1792).

The picture is slightly different near the end of the 19th century. Cyprus in particular was selected as the ideal "place d' armes" because of its geographic location, size, population, defensibility, and commercial potential, following the signing of the Cyprus Convention on 8 July 1878 and the subsequent delegation of Cyprus to England for occupation and administration (see Georghallides, 1979, 6; Hill, 2010, 403-613). Therefore, beginning in 1878, British travellers' interest in the newly acquired "Cinderella Colony" increased (Holland and Markides, 2006, 162; Pemble, 1987, 47-48; Pourgouris, 2018, 186).[1] Particularly English-speaking travellers viewed Cyprus as an alternative to the formerly informative Grand Tour; (see e.g., Angelomatis Tsougarakis, 1990,

[1] The Cinderella story was one of the most frequent metaphors used by British scholars to depict Cyprus. Cyprus was a neglected colony. The emphasis in this parallel to the traditional fairy tale about the young woman who transforms from misfortune to wealth is not so much on the transition itself as it is on the colony's potential for transformation. This phrase was used in the title of an article about the social and economic situation of Cyprus in the London Times on 20 April 1934 and afterwards became a fixed term.

1; Vingopoulou, 2004, 177)[2] however, their trips to the island tended to occur as part of a long journey across the Mediterranean or other parts of the Empire. Simultaneously, citizens of Great Britain at home were keen to see Cyprus. During that time, travel accounts devoted to Cyprus began to appear on the shelves of British libraries, generally emphasising the island's "oriental" character, the kindness of its residents, and its "civilized" prospects (Demetriou and Ruis Mas, 2004, 22-27). Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, numerous guidebooks and travel reports on Cyprus had been published to familiarise the typical traveller with the island. Several of the authors held diplomatic or administrative positions in Cyprus. (Baker, 1879; Donne, 1885; Hamilton Lang, 1878; Sinclair, 1926; Storrs, 1937). However, from the 19th until the mid-20th century travelling for a particular reason or on a specific mission (such as diplomatic, military, or scientific mission) did not prevent travellers from engaging in any of the other common activities of travelers such as tourism and travel. By the 21st century, the aims of travels are stated in the "about us" section of the blogs (see e.g., Cass, 2018; Erika, 2020). Modern travel writers are individuals with a passion for travel!

[2] The Grand Tour - which flourished from about 1660 until the advent of large-scale rail transport in the 1840s and was associated with a standard itinerary through Europe - served as an educational rite of passage for upper-class young European men of sufficient means and rank (typically accompanied by a chaperone, such as a family member) when they had come of age (about 21 years old).

Interrelated to the above, through the database, we can trace the island's most popular destinations and how, if at all, they have changed throughout the years. As West European travellers (15th-19th century) travel through Southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean by land or sea, they take a variety of routes; the choice of their itinerary is frequently determined by the study of works of ancient Greek and Latin literature as well as those of the Greek Orthodox and generally the Judeo-Christian tradition, earlier travel accounts and literary works that are mentioned in their travel accounts. For example, travelers from the 15th to the 19th century arrived and spent most of their time in Larnaca (e.g., Avril, 1692, 39; Fürer von Haimendorf, 1621, 134, 139; Reeve, 1891, 289; Vezien, 1702, 166), or Limassol (e.g., Ecklin, 1659, 418; Lithgow, 1640, 202; Salignac, 1525, 40; Wilde, 1840, 100-102; Zuallart, 1587, 118), or Salamis/Famagusta (e.g., Kinneir, 1818, 176-178; Noè, 1566, 182), or Paphos (e.g., Brassey, 1880, 250; Breydenbach, 1488, 55; Moryson, 1617, 233), or Kyrenia (e.g., Stochove, 1643, 273, 275). Travel writing on Cyprus, in the 20th and 21st centuries, was affected by the rapid advances of science and technology and whatever changes these brought about in travelling – and in travel writing. Over the last decades of the 20th century the airplane replaced the ship as the main means of transportation (see e.g., Kalfiotis, 1983, 15, 85; Galanos, 1985, 5, 8, 9). Alongside the popular destinations established between the 15th and 19th centuries, new destinations such as Nicosia, the largest city of Cyprus and the last divided capital in the world (e.g., "A Guide to

Independent Travel in Cyprus", 2017; Haenisch, no date; Hung, 2019), Agia Napa (e.g., Cass, 2018; Davies, 2016) and Protaras (e.g., "Simply Cyprus: The divided year-round island," 2019) famous Mediterranean resort towns on the southeast coast of Cyprus, known for their beaches and nightlife, or traditional agrotourism villages such as Vavla ("Things to do in Larnaca for the Curious Traveller," 2018) and Lefkara (e.g., Binny, 2018; "Things to do in Larnaca for the Curious Traveller," 2018) included on travellers itineraries. The coastal villages of the Paphos District are also gaining the interest of visitors: Latchi (e.g., Issit, 2015), Peyia (e.g., Jenkins, 2020), Kouklia (e.g., Jenkins, 2020), and Polis (O' Malley, 2017; Price, 2021). Presently, the arrival location does not appear to be of interest to modern authors. They are more interested in discussing the places visited. This is likely because the only way to reach the island by air is via Larnaca or Paphos airport and the only way to reach the island by sea is via Limassol port. In other words, the place of arrival does not necessitate a stay and tour to that location.

The database can be valuable in terms of what each visitor finds worthy of reference throughout the years. Until the 19th century, for instance, travel writers compiled descriptions of the locations they visited (e.g., an overview of archaeologically and historically significant places, streets, squares, markets, ports, religious buildings, public buildings, private houses, cemeteries, monuments, and landmarks). However, the rise of tourism in Europe (19th century) and the new acquisitions of the British Empire required

travel writers to introduce the already charted sights in a different light (Gephardt, 2005, 293). Cyprus' touristic potentials were quickly recognized by the first British visitors who arrived on the island after 1878 and by travel and guidebook publishers (see Playfair,1881). Based on their experience, the authors provided essential information and advice. Servants and interpreters were essential to the travelers. Mules were the main means of transportation on the island, according to travel accounts (e.g., Baker, 1879, 44, 60, 68, 99, 102, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 128, 129, 130, 134, 140, 141, 142, 144, 172, 174, 175, 200, 201, 215, 218, 219, 230, 256; Dixon, 1879, 66, 120, 303; Donne, 1885, 179; Salvator, 1881, 63) with few car-roads (e.g., Brown, 1879, 22-23) and a railway connection (e.g., Brown, 1879, 23; Forbes, 1885, 180) also available. Few travelers mention impediments to traveling to Cyprus (e.g., not too advanced sanitary conditions at the time of the British takeover; mosquito and locust plagues). However, the vast majority of them make a concerted attempt to portray the island in the most favorable light possible. For example, they focused on the good weather conditions and the perfect climate of Cyprus. This was done by travelers like Lady Brassey (1880, 252-253), Esmé Scott-Stevenson (1880, ix-x, 32-34), and Agnes Smith (1887, 95).

In light of the above, by the early 1900s, enough guidebooks and travel accounts were written about Cyprus to help the average traveler familiarize with the island. It became one of the most popular tourist destinations, especially among the British, thanks to the British Government and the colonial

administration in Cyprus (cf. e.g., Severis, 2000, 194). By the outbreak of World War I, the popularity of travel books had waned. Despite that, by the mid-20th century, many well-researched works on the topography, archaeology (see e.g., Chapman, 1937; Gunnis 1936a; 1936b; Hagarth, 1901; Hogarth, 1902), and history of Cyprus appeared, as well as personal memoirs written by diplomats such as Sir Ronald Storrs, who served as governor from 1926 to 1932 (1937).

In the broader context of the fact that the database helps us understand what island visitors find remarkable, we should also refer to travel takes that make clear political references. Travel writing on Cyprus, at least between the 1960s and 1980s, was informed to a degree by the political developments in the country (see e.g., Floros, 1972, 10; Heaney, 2012, 87) it was also affected by the rapid advances of science and technology and whatever changes they brought about in travelling – and travel writing. However, the database helps us to understand that the difference between the texts in travel books on Cyprus written only a few decades ago and the texts in contemporary travel blogs examined here, often even those in world-class newspaper articles, is dramatic. Today, there is no need for lengthy, often poetic descriptions of places, no long sentences, and not many adjectives; both the image and the poetry (if any) are contained in just one photo. When it comes to videos, then we gradually move even further away from the text. The videos, produced by both professionals and amateurs, have always been primarily image-based; however,

technology, as it advances, offers not only professional video makers, but also amateurs, the tools and devices they need (filters, special effects, subtitles, drones) to produce high quality, impressive travel videos that are very pleasant to watch, very informative when it comes to portraying a destination that they could work exceptionally well without a text. Thus, in our database, we included drone videos, or other videos without text, as examples of the most recent and popular ways of portraying Cyprus and its people.

Conclusion

The novelty and importance of the RetraPath database, as well as its sustainability (international academic audience, but also a wider public audience), are illustrated above. By adding new categories to the Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister's model (2002), the classification we propose may serve as the basis for future research efforts that will not be confined to the study of travel texts until the 19th century but will also explore modern forms of travel texts. The fact that traditional travel texts are being considered alongside electronic texts, blogs, travel websites, travel TV shows, travel vlogs and travel documentaries, podcasts, and newspaper and magazine articles for the first time is significant because it allows scholars to easily combine (using common categorization criteria) textual forms that did not appear to have a connection or relevance until recently, while demonstrating the

line connecting the "old" travel texts to the "new" travel texts.

Nonetheless, based on the example of Cyprus, it is easy to comprehend why Cyprus has remained a popular tourist destination from the 15th century to the present day, regardless of the motives and objectives of the travellers. The reasons and objectives of the journey to the island are defined mainly by the sort of information recorded in travel texts, the interests of travellers, and the locations visited by the visitors, as described in these writings. Thus, it is easy to comprehend how travel, traditionally a masculine privilege, has become accessible to anyone (at no particular cost), regardless of their gender, social, professional, or economic status.

Last but not least, the importance of travel texts as primary sources is emphasised. The database is easily searchable (primary sources) that can be used in research projects studying the natural space, habitation, society, nutrition, apparel and health, finance, education, religion, social sciences, humanities, letters, arts and sciences, politics, history, geography, cartography, archaeology, ethnology, folklore and cultural routes of Cyprus. The travel texts and videos on Cyprus introduced numerous characteristics, interests, ideas, and biases. Most of this information is unique and thus our database is a significant source of information.

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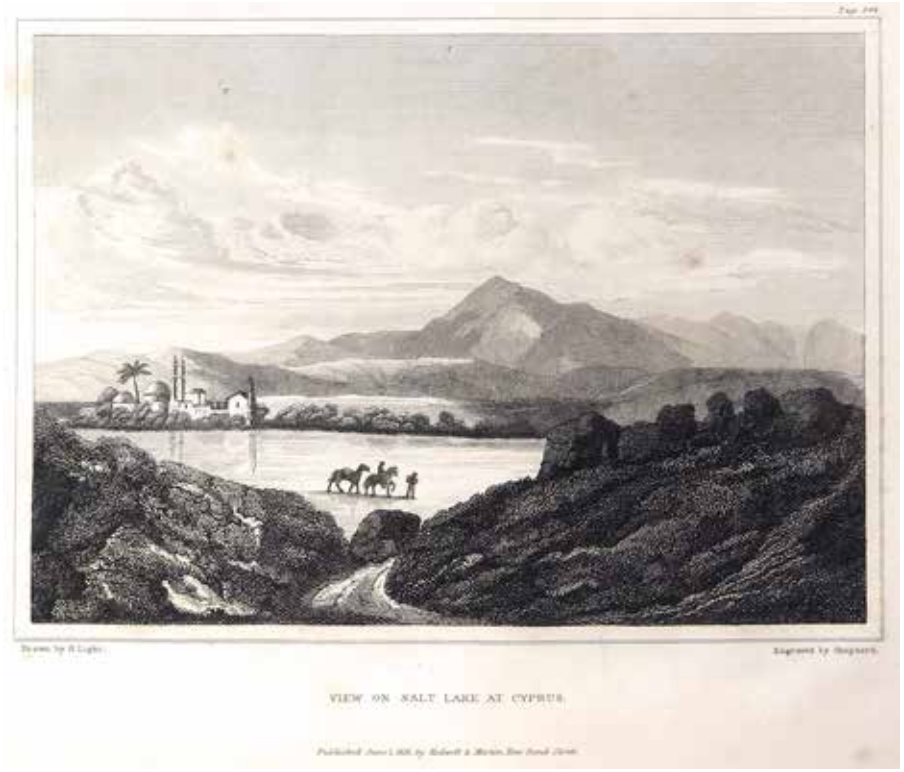

View of the Salt Lakes of Cyprus (detail), 1818, Henry Light, © BoCCF, B.0047; BoCCF, BPP-0398.

The development of Digital Cultural Applications of ReTraPath Project: Results and Challenges

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Abstract

In recent years, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have become an essential tool for professionals working on tangible and intangible cultural heritage since the identity of sites and communities can be preserved through them. Their progress in the last years is crucial for countries like Greece and Cyprus, where cultural resources represent a significant possible source for the local economy and social enhancement. In this context, the research programme ReTraPath, through the

analysis of Cypriot Travel literature, tries to get people acquainted with the period from the 15th century to the era of our contemporary society. This article analyses the application developed within the programme, i.e., the employed technologies, the content, and the structure. Specifically, this tool aims to exploit important cultural and geographic data to reveal valuable historical information while offering the opportunity for youth to educate themselves. Besides, it offers additional educational services to the public, especially to geographically or socially restrained people.

1. Introduction

Information Technologies and Telecommunications' contribution to the context of the modern culture's view is catalytic. It has become evident that they facilitate humanity daily in all fields and spectrums. With the internet, technology, and digital media, human can, at any time, in any area, draw much information in just a few seconds (Tylor, 1871).

At the same time, the capabilities of mobile devices are rapidly increasing, offering on-demand access to information sources containing various data such as photos, and videos, to name a few. Specifically, smartphones have integrated many functionalities such as instant communication, camera, and internet surfing (Oulasvirta et al., 2012) into a lightweight technology that enjoys many advantages such as mobility, portability, interactivity and cheap cost

(Schrock, 2015). Hence, the number of people owning a smartphone keeps increasing continuously.

The use of portable technologies/devices has spread in many fields, such as the economy, tourism, entertainment, and education. Regarding teaching and learning, these technologies can present educational material in a more attractive, pleasant, and interactive way through gamified e-quizzes or drag-and-drop games. Hence, collaborative work is improved, and the knowledge becomes more accessible, individualised, and customised to each student's pace (Drigas and Angelidakis, 2017). Especially concerning children, it is commonly accepted that they are particularly excited about the digital world and the possibilities it can offer them.

For this reason, in addition to the existing educational books in schools today, it is now necessary to create other digital educational manuals whose primary purpose is the interaction, entertainment, and learning of children. The benefits of including digital games in the educational process are many and essential since the students gain control, undertake to solve problems, develop their creativity, and all these elements enhance their cognitive development (Bruner, 1972).

Moreover, the ever-increasing use of mobile phones, tablets, and laptops, which are highly popular among youth/adolescents (Chee et al., 2017; Nikolopoulou, 2018), proves that they can be transformed into powerful tools in the field of education today.

In the relevant literature, school teachers have expressed positively about using mobile devices in classrooms (Christensen and Knezek, 2018; Kousloglou and Syrpi, 2018; Montrieux et al., 2015; Thomas et al., 2014). Many educators have indicated that children enjoy using their mobile phones since they are a part of their daily lives and know how to use them efficiently. The teachers also stated that a critical benefit of these devices is that the students may observe things not done on Blackboard and explore the class itself (Nikolopoulou, 2020).

Significantly, the usefulness of internet-enabled mobile devices should be exploited even more in history and cultural heritage classes as it may help youngsters build an awareness of their own identities by learning about their own and others' history and cultures (Anderson et al., 2010; Bodenhamer, 2012; Mayr and Windhager, 2018). Integrating new technologies in history lessons and using digital games as educational tools will improve educational practice and strengthen teachers' work. Games can support cognitive processing and skill development and stimulate learners' interest (Mitchell and Savill-Smith, 2004).

In this paper, a mobile pedagogical application developed in the framework of the ReTraPath programme is presented. Through specific thematic units, the application aims to familiarize children aged nine to twelve (9-12) with the travel routes to Cyprus starting from the 15th century and ending in the contemporary era. The application aims to motivate

learners and facilitate collaborative problem-solving by employing travel stories about important historical and current community locations, cultural maps, and quizzes.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides a short retrospect of the ReTrapath project, Section 3 refers to the methodology of the article; Section 4 focuses on the implementation of the digital application, and Section 5 concludes our work.

2. The ReTrapath Project

The research project "Re-inventing age-old Travelling Paths of the Levant in the Digital Era: the example of Cyprus" (ReTraPath) provided a comparative analysis of both old rare travel books and new forms of travel writing to give insights into the evolution of travel literature in Cyprus, covering a period spanning seven centuries, from the 15th century to the modern era. The primary sources were books written in various European languages by travellers who visited Cyprus between the 15th and the 20th century, as well as published and electronic texts of the 21st century.

During the project, rare and old travel books were digitised, thus being made available to the public, helping disseminate this historical information through the scientific community and anyone interested in the tourism culture (ReTraPath - Cultural Foundation, 2022). The procedure aims to reinvent modern travelling in Cyprus using old and new texts

contributing to the development of cultural tourism, on which the local economy heavily relies, providing alternatives for more sustainable growth.

The rare books studied are from the Cultural Foundation's Collection of Manuscripts and Incunabula, the Sylvia Ioannou Foundation's Collection, and the Costas and Rita Severis Foundation's Collection. The project partners are the Centre for Scientific Dialogue and Research, Katerina Gotsi, and the University of Piraeus Research Centre, led by Professor Dimitrios Vergados of the Department of Informatics [Figure 1].

As stated in the project technical annexe, the collected content was used to create a game (educational application) for students aged 9-12 and two interactive maps of Cyprus containing touristic and cultural attractions. The proposed project is innovative because of the interdisciplinary consortium and the scientific approach adopted during the analysis of the literature (i.e., travel texts regarding the Eastern Mediterranean, which span seven centuries). It is also important to say that information technologies and Augmented Reality were used in disseminating findings which helped utilise results to international audiences and local society.

Following a call for proposals, the project was funded as part of the "Excellence Hubs" programme of the Institute of Research and Innovation's "RESTART 2016-2020" programme.

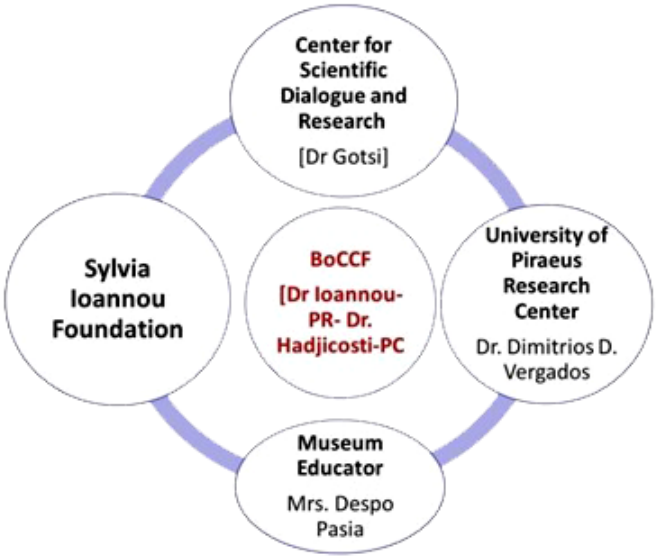

Fig. 1 The organization of the project, Source: Conference Presentation[1] "Combining old rare books collections and blogs to recreate the traveller's experience" Ioannou M. and Gotsi K.

3. The methodology of the research

Implementing virtual tours with multimedia presentations and online operations using smart IT technologies allows for a more compelling user experience. In parallel, digital applications make it possible to "transfer" visitors in space and time, combining cultural theory and knowledge with new technologies. Information is offered to the public in an atmosphere of relaxation, association, and creativity.

[1] Retrieved online on 01-09- 2022, https://cisco-online.com.cy/Global/Research%20Projects/2.%20ReTraPath/1.%20Conference%20Presentation_%20Using%20%20digital%20

Knowledge and learning come to the public through a productive and efficient interactive application design (Nikonanou, 2006).

In the context of the ReTraPath research project, essential information and photographic material have been selected and included in the presented educational application regarding:

a. traveller's stories (i.e., name of traveller, time of travel, route),
b. location (geographical position of Cyprus, Cyprus travel overview, name of city/settlement),
c. socio-demographic factors, and
d. cultural heritage reported in the Cypriot travel literature.

Through this application, audiences unfamiliar with travel literature will get in touch with some fascinating aspects of travel literature about Cyprus, such as how the traveller's gaze towards Cyprus changes depending on several conditions, i.e., gender, profession, specific interests, and affiliations. Furthermore, the proposed application aims to open a dialogue between the research community and the public audience to make archival material and collections known to students.

The game was aimed to achieve three main goals (Schrier, 2014): a) The pedagogical goals outcomes (teaching facts and data, concepts, and resource management); b) The balance between historical accuracy and gameplaying; c) The given skills to students to develop historical thinking. The choice of

the title and the content of each thematic section of the final digital game application of ReTraPath was determined by the specialists in this field (Museologists - Museum Educators) that comprise the research team. The University of Piraeus undertook the development of the smartphone application through coding, creating a light, quick, and efficient digital game compatible with the project requirements.

4. The implementation of the digital application

a. Enabling Technologies

The Java programming language was utilised for educational smartphone application development, enabling the application's proper functionality. In a word, Java is an object-oriented high-level programming language that enables different programs to be executed in many operating systems (e.g., Android, IOS), regardless of the existing hardware (Belford and Tucker, n.d.). It is easy to learn as it uses words closer to English than machine language. Furthermore, Java entails security mechanisms that control the execution of the developed programs to prevent any malicious code, as well as appropriate tools through which automatic memory release is made from unused code segments.

Finally, Java's most important feature is portability, which makes its programs run on different operating systems and computers. This is essential for a mobile application as it must be compatible with every

possible device a user may own. Thus, most of the existing Android applications utilize Java due to the advantages above.

In addition, since the developed application was decided to run on Android-powered mobile devices, Android Studio was then utilised, an integrated programming environment developed by Google ('Meet android studio; Android developers', n.d.). Android Studio has an appropriate editor that provides the basic classes and layouts for an application, an application emulator, and debugging features. Nally, Android Studio offers suggestions that may help the programmer to improve the application's functionality, thus, making it one of the most appropriate tools for application development.

b. Digital Application User Interface (UI) Design

Considering that the proposed application is developed for educational purposes, it is crucial to consider that every piece of information will be provided legibly. To be more explicit is vital to use proper fonts that will appear less crowded and, thus, facilitate every user even with reading difficulties, e.g., dyslexic people. By following appropriate style guides, such as the "Dyslexia friendly style guide", the developed application utilizes the "Comic Sans" font, which is more recommended for people with learning disabilities due to its larger line spacing (Association, 2022).

Furthermore, to facilitate the legibility of the provided information, the application's background needs to be carefully chosen as it can easily distract the user. According to the Information Services Division of UCL, using single-colour backgrounds and avoiding background patterns or pictures is advantageous for mobile applications (Information Services Division, 2022). For this reason, the appropriate parameterizations of the code were made, defining the application's background as one colour and dynamic depending on the user preferences regarding the colour shade of the smartphone's operating system (Light or Dark mode). Accordingly, the font colour is dynamic (white or black) to make every text legible. The two modes mentioned above affect work efficiency, visual performance, and eye health (The Hub, by Appfire, 2022).

The Light mode is more aesthetically appealing, natural, and legible and can convey information more clearly and graphically, while the reader feels more awake when reading.

On the other hand, the Dark mode has its strengths (Barros, 2021). Unlike the Light mode, where smartphone screens generate much brightness, causing eye strain, in Dark Mode, the brightness radiating from the screen diminishes because a significant area of the screen is "off". In addition, a Harvard study shows that blue light released by white screens disrupts the secretion of melatonin, a hormone essential for sleep (Harvard Health, 2012). At the same time, using this mode on OLED screens

may significantly improve smartphone battery life. However, it most importantly increases the user's capacity to focus on smartphone and computer tasks. According to Nilli Lavie, Professor of Psychology and specialist in Attention and Cognitive Control at UCL, a dark background removes the presence of flickering (light pulses) and hence this source of subconscious static (Clarke, 2019).

Thus, the ReTraPath application has been appropriately modified to provide the optimal environment for every user for information assimilation. It should also be noted that all photos used in the application have either been licensed or are publicly available online.

c. Digital Application Content

The developed game consists of four thematic sections and can be downloaded to any Android device. Each thematic section presents the relevant content using different gamification techniques (e.g., travel stories, cultural maps, and quizzes). These thematic sections are the following:

1. The Section *"What did they write?"* includes content from textual and visual sources presented in the material of the research project concerning the themes:
   (a) Salt and Salt Lakes: importance, trade, impact on water and air quality in the region.
   (b) Commerce and Consulates: who, who were consuls, location.

   (c) Communities: Christians, Muslims, foreign merchants, Catholic monks.
   (d) Saint Lazarus: tradition, church building, tomb.
   (e) Things Worth Mentioning: description of landscape, city, aqueducts, archaeological sites.
   (f) Travel information: hotels, inns, entertainment, ship itineraries, planes.
2. The Section *"I Beg Your Pardon?"* contains names and terminology appearing in the texts whose origin/meaning is not widely known. Some uncommon words mentioned in travelling texts about Larnaca are found in this section. It aims to familiarize users with these terms through a short quiz.
3. In the *"Interactive timeline Coming to Cyprus"* section, the user can find what travellers wrote about Larnaca over the centuries. In their books, they sometimes mentioned the starting point of their journey – a village, a city, or a country – and the places they arrived in Cyprus. In most cases, they also explained why they visited Cyprus either as their final destination or as a stopover.
4. In the Section *"Postcards: Make Your Own"*, the users can make their postcards from Larnaca.

d. Digital Application Architecture

When the users launch the application, they are taken to the home screen, which includes the application's title at the top of the screen and an "Enter" button which takes them to the main menu [Figure 2],

where four (4) buttons appear. Each of these buttons corresponds to one of the four thematic sections mentioned above.

Six (6) scattered buttons appear on the screen, each referring to one of Larnaca's social-demographic factors changing over the centuries, starting from the 15th century and ending in the 20th. By selecting one section button, the users can choose through a drop-down list the century for which they want to read the relevant information. Clicking on each century brings up a pop-up window presenting relevant reports written by scholars (e.g., geographers, marine surveyors, travel authors, and diplomats, among others) of that era. There is an additional option in each category beyond the centuries called *"Let's Find Out | Let's Think"*, which contains critical questions about the six factors.

By selecting the second button labelled *"I beg your Pardon?"* the users go to the screen shown by following the blue arrow in Figure 2. This thematic section presents a short quiz of seven (7) questions with four (4) answer options. However, only one option is correct. After users answer all the questions, they can see their score, and by pressing the *"Restart Quiz"* button, they can restart the quiz. It should be noted that the questions appear in random order as this helps users to learn the terms and not just memorize them.

The third button (i.e., Interactive Timeline Coming to Cyprus) leads to a collection of interactive culture maps in which some traveller's stories from the 15th

to the 20th century are presented more intuitively. Pressing the specific button makes an intro screen where information about the specific thematic section is mentioned. Entering it (i.e., pressing the OK button), the user sees a timeline of centuries - to each one corresponds a world map on which several 'dots' appear. Each dot corresponds to one traveller. By clicking the dot, a window pops up, which includes:

1. A human figure dressed according to the corresponding half of the century (first 50 years – last 50 years).
2. The traveller's name.
3. The purpose of their travel.

However, in the relevant travel literature examined, there were cases where the above information was not available. There have been cases of travellers for whom we did not know when their journey took place, where they left, or where they arrived in Cyprus.

During the implementation of this thematic unit, some difficulties appeared. The most important was the limited computational power of Android devices, which impacted the user's smooth interaction with the culture map. For this reason, the maps were implemented using uMap ('UMAP', n.d.). It is an open-source web application that allows users to create maps with OpenStreetMap layers in a short time and integrate them into their applications. However, an internet connection is required to display the maps in the application.

Finally, by selecting the fourth button, as shown by the green arrow in Figure 2, the user goes to the last section, *"Post Cards: Make Your Own"*. In it, users can create their postcard of Larnaka by choosing among a multitude of templates that have been categorized based on the century to which they are referred (early 19th century, late 19th century, or 20th century). Having chosen the template, users can paint on it while at the same time they can add themselves or something they want by taking a photo. The taken photo can be placed at any desired point and size (zoom in - zoom out). They also have the option to save the postcard and delete what they have drawn if they do not like it. There is also an additional button, *"Find in Map"*, where the students can see the rough location of each template used in this section for the three centuries, depending on which one they have chosen.

Conclusions

Digital media and technologies have become an integral part of people's daily lives, facilitating their lives in work, communication, education, information, and entertainment. The way we perceive the world has completely changed, as digital technologies offer unimaginable services to the user. With the help of the internet, the world has become more "accessible" than ever.

Cultural content applications have developed both in terms of technology and subject matter and are becoming more and more attractive to the public. The

organization of events, educational programs, and exhibitions, based on modern digital media, achieve an increase in traffic and an active attitude of the public on important issues (e.g., socio-political), awakening young and old alike. The use of technological means for the maintenance, recording, and rescue of the cultural stock of our society is also noteworthy, as with 3D model and printer technologies, we can reproduce any document that needs immediate protection and rescue.

Finally, cultural institutions like the ones involved in the project ReTraPath, digitize, model, and save in digital form many of the documents they possess. This way, many historical documents can be entered into open databases, where objects from remote repositories will be accessible to users worldwide.

In the ReTraPath application, the collected data will reveal valuable information while offering the opportunity for youth to educate themselves and others. Cultural maps and quizzes are intended to enhance important cultural and geographic data online that must be protected for future generations. Considering the above, the mobile application developed within the research project motivates learners and facilitates learning travel literature.

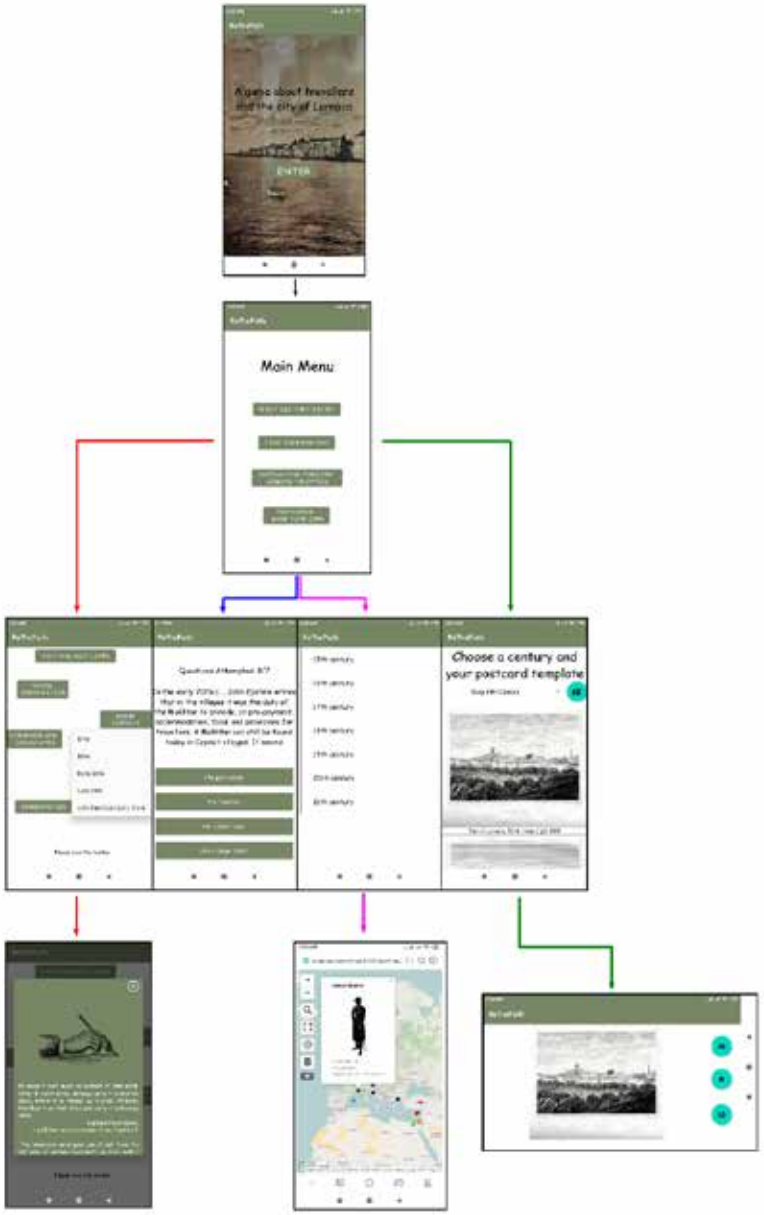

Fig. 2 Sequence of actions in the proposed application

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Worlds apart: from travel guidebooks on Cyprus to travel blogs, vlogs, and YouTube videos

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Abstract

The early 19th century saw the emergence of travel guidebooks on Cyprus – in the sense of books that offered potential travelers valuable information on the country and its people, as well as practical travel tips and advice. However, interest in Cyprus – at least until the end of the century – is scarce, save for its archaeological wealth. The portrayal of Cyprus in Murray's *Handbook for Travellers* is a good example of the evolution of the genre in the 19th century.

The explosion of mass tourism in the latter half of the 20th century - a result of the economic prosperity that the western world enjoyed after WWII, as well as the technological advances in both means of transportation and infrastructures - resulted in an unprecedented boom in travel guidebooks worldwide. Whether full-length country (and later city) guidebooks or their condensed pocket versions, travel guidebooks became a staple for tourists traveling the world - Cyprus included. Although travel guidebooks are still popular today among travelers-to-be, they tend all the more to be replaced by contemporary multimedia forms

of travel writing that include travel blogs, vlogs, and YouTube videos. What accounts for their popularity among people of all ages - especially younger ones? Would they probably be seen as the successors of 'hard copy' travel guidebooks?

Introduction

Travel writing is a hybrid, fluid, and "highly adaptable form" (Thompson, 2016, 196); as such researchers have found it difficult to provide a full and accurate definition. "Although it is hard to define the exact boundaries of the genre", von Martels (1994, xi) comments, "it is generally understood what it contains". Scholars come up with diverse lists of genres that could qualify as travel writing (Borm, 2004, 13-26; Calzati, 2015, 154-155; Chirico, 2008, 40-41; Edwards and Graulund, 2012, 7; von Martels, 1994, xi). The umbrella term 'travel writing', apart from travel books as such, may include travel magazines, travel brochures, journal entries, travelogues, travel reviews, coffee table photo books, memoirs, letters (published or unpublished), biographies/ autobiographies, poems, novels, travel documentaries and television travel shows – and of course travel guidebooks.

The travel guidebook is a specialized genre of travel writing; it presents information on a place and its people in a systematic way, aiming to help potential travellers make the best of a destination. The earliest forms of travel guidebooks are encountered in 18th century Britain, at a time when pilgrimages and the

Grand Tour give gradually way to travelling for leisure (Sobocinska and White, 2019, 568). Travelling until that time was associated with education, learning, and personal development. The travel books, which were usually both descriptive and reflective, as they were not intended to be read necessarily by travelers, but by educated people in general who would enjoy a good read. Only occasionally did the writers make recommendations to the readers and, when they did, these did not exactly look like information on travel essentials, or travel tips and advice, as we understand them today. The emergence of tourists[1] in the 19th century resulted in "the emergence of guidebooks in a recognisably modern form" (Thompson, 2019, 119). Buzard (2002, 48) describes 19th-century guidebooks as "a new authority" for the travellers, aiming "to maximise the utility of their shortened itineraries and concentrate the greatest touristic value into the least time at the lowest cost". The guidebooks address a different readership: they offer potential travelers practical information on accommodation, transportation, etiquette, and local attractions. As such, they are clearly structured, easy to navigate, and provide a dry, but more objective portrayal of places. The "focus on useful information rather than

[1] The old and frequently commented on dichotomy between travellers and tourists dates back to the 19th century but is still on the table (see Kinsley 2016, 237-245; Thomson 2016, 206; Brisson, 2009, 6; Holland and Huggan, 1998, viii, 2-3; Youngs, 2013, 150), but scholars are now skeptical if it has any validity at all at the age of the "post-tourist" – the tourist who's aware "that he has arrived too late" (Kinsley, 2016, 243).

the writer's experiences would come to distinguish a guidebook from other travel writing. The author's personality was curbed in favour of objectivity, convenience, clarity, reliability, and systematization" (Sobocinska and White, 2019, 568).

John Murray's 19th century Handbooks for Travellers

British publisher John Murray was one of the pioneers in guidebook publishing.[2] The site-specific series he produced "set the stage for guidebooks as map-centric publications facilitating autonomous middle-class tourism in Europe" (Dym 2019, 433; see also Thompson, 2019, 119-120, and Carr, 2002, 70). The opening of the plan of the work section of the revised Murray's *Handbook for Travellers* in Northern Italy in 1858 (Murray, 1858, ix) elaborates the publication's intentions:

"This new edition of this Handbook has been revised with a view of making it a guide to the most remarkable places of Northern Italy, and drawing the attention of the traveller to the objects best worthy of being noticed. Reflections not contributing to this end have been excluded: those who desire remarks upon Italy can find books containing them in plenty, from Forsyth down to the latest modern tourist."

[2] German Karl Baedeker and French Adolphe-Laurent Joanne were also 19th-century pioneers in guidebook publishing in Continental Europe.

Murray's publications shaped to a large degree the form and content of the guidebooks as we know them today – despite their distinctive differences with modern-day travel guidebooks.

Modern-day guidebooks come in medium or pocket size and they focus on one country, area, or city at a time. Murray's travel guidebooks were often several hundred pages long and they included destinations in various countries. They were also significantly different in terms of aesthetics, language, and format. Unlike contemporary travel guidebooks, neatly arranged into easily readable, subheaded units that make them easier to navigate, the 19th-century guidebooks were written in full-length text, often without subheadings. In terms of content, they contained information on travel essentials – that was certainly an innovation back in the 19th century – such as passport, local currency, expected expenses, dragomans [language interpreters], accommodation, means of transportation, tables of weights, measures. They also contained a limited (by today's standards) number of maps, charts, and illustrations, that they usually advertized on their cover page. Unlike most modern-day guidebooks, they still contained in analogy a lot of information on the history, geography, climate, and architecture of a place. The evolution from the travel book to the travel guidebook is steady but slow.

Murray's guidebooks gradually become more and more traveler focused. A good example of this evolution is the portrayal of Cyprus in two of his

guidebooks, published forty years apart one from the other: the *Hand-book for Travelers In The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople*, published in 1840 (Murray, 1840), and the *Handbook to the Mediterranean: its Cities, Coasts, and Islands for the Use of General Travellers and Yachtsmen*, forty-one years later, in 1881 (Playfair, 1881). In the 1840 guidebook, the writer dedicates a scarce five pages to Cyprus (Murray, 1840, 314-319), in which he describes the country in rather general terms: its local produce (cotton, wine, wool, carob, leather), Mount Olympus, some examples of distances between cities, the scarcity of water, the mines and minerals – while at the same time including of course a short historical background. Then there are a few quick references to *Larneca, Famagusta, Limassol*, and *Baffa*, or *Papho*. No references to transportation, or accommodation - overall, nothing that one would expect to see in a modern-day guidebook.

In 1881, Murray includes in his *Handbook to the Mediterranean, its Cities, Coasts, and Islands for the Use of General Travellers and Yachtsmen* various countries across the eastern Mediterranean, such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Malta, Albania – and Cyprus. The content on Cyprus is expanded to 18 pages (Playfair, 1881, 152-170).[3] The presentation of the country is now more systematic: whatever existed in the 1840 guidebook

[3] Of course, this is not unrelated to the fact that by 1881, Cyprus was part of the British Empire, thus Cyprus needed to be advertised to the British public.

is now expanded, the volume also contains a map of Cyprus, there are headings and subheadings, there is information on antiquities, churches, hotels, villages, and means of transportation. Apart from the background information on the island, which is still there, much emphasis is now placed on practical information related to travelling to Cyprus or across it.

In 1931 the *Guide to the Island of Cyprus* (Giles and Maiden, 1931) is published in Nicosia, probably the first travel guidebook exclusively dedicated to Cyprus. In this 66-page long book published in English, the literature on Cypriot history and geology is scarce – bringing it closer as ever to modern-day travel guidebooks. It provides lots of practical information on various aspects of travelling, such as hotel accommodation, passports, luggage, motor cars, travelling distances, banks, postal information, currency, weight, and measures, to name but a few. It also presents towns and villages of Cyprus, sights, monuments and antiquities. What seems to be rather new is the abundance of information on the various alternative routes to Cyprus by train and boat, as well as its focus on entertainment – sports clubs, social clubs, winter sports, hunting. Leisure and pleasure seem also to be essential components of travelling; the older view that travelling is all about learning and educating oneself was left too far behind. In the remaining years of Colonial Cyprus, a number of guidebooks were published mainly addressing a British readership (for the evolution of the travel guidebooks in Colonial Cyprus, see Demetriou and

Ruiz, 2010). In their majority, their orientation was to promote the beauties of the island to the British public.

Travel guidebooks at the turn of the twenty first century

The closing decades of the 20th century mark a revolution in travel guidebook publishing that is directly related to the major changes in travelling that occurred at that time. In no other period in human history has travel and travelling habits changed so dramatically in such a short period, as within the last five or six decades. "Since World War II, the world economy has enjoyed a remarkable era of prosperity that has spread quite broadly but not universally, across the globe" (Mussa, 2001, 22). Along with prosperity, the need to travel and explore – what remained to be explored – returned. The technological advances in the means of transportation and the continuously improved infrastructures reduced travelling time significantly and made travelling not only faster but also safer and more comfortable. The low-cost airlines that started to operate at the turn of the century "have indisputably contributed to changing how people travel, the geography of air services and competition between airlines and between cities or regions" (Dobruszkes, 2013, 75). Towns and cities previously unknown to the wider public turned almost overnight into tourist destinations. Travelling, even for a short city break – a luxury and indulgence earlier reserved for the privileged few – became "more and more of

a commodity" (Franke, 2004, 15), resulting in herds of tourists overwhelming sights, beaches, and city squares.

The greater degree of mobility than ever before partly accounts for the current boom in travel writing (Holland and Huggan, 1998, 2). During the closing decades of the twentieth century, there was an explosion of interest in travel writing, bookstores including "sections devoted to personal, avowedly imaginative accounts of travels" (Duncan and Gregory, 1998, 3). At the same time, travel guidebooks had their glory days, having become a staple for travelers of all ages; we should bear in mind that for decades the travel guidebooks were the independent travellers' only source of information on accommodation, transportation, food and drink, sights, and attractions.

In the last two decades of the 20th century numerous travel guidebooks on Cyprus were either published by local publishing houses or local Tourism boards (see e.g. *Cyprus Travelers Handbook: Everything you Need to Know about your Stay in Cyprus*, Cyprus Tourism Organization, 1999; *Cyprus Pocket Guide, Discover the Island!*, 2005), or were published internationally by well renowned multinational publishers that, since the 1990s, had incorporated Cyprus in their destinations. The *Lonely Planet guidebook on Cyprus* (Quintero and Staff, 2018) is now in its 7th edition; the *Rough Guide to Cyprus* (Butler & Simon, 2022) is in its 4th edition, the *DK Eyewitness Cyprus* (DK Eyewitness Cyprus, 2016) in its 5th edition, and its pocket, more popular and regularly updated version *Top Ten Guide,*

Cyprus (Top Ten Cyprus, 2021) in its 9th edition since 2004. All publications have their distinct house style, character, philosophy and structure their readership is familiar with. Although their format, layout, and narrative modes may vary, travel guidebooks are generally speaking strictly divided into smaller units and their structure is usually area-based. Thus, they have separate sections for Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, Paphos and they may have sections on smaller towns and villages, walking trails, wine routes, churches and monasteries, beaches, food and drink, bars and clubs. They contain maps and photos – their number and quality increasing as we move to the turn of the century. The writers are invisible; their names are most of the time not even mentioned in the publications, and even when they exist they are hard to find inside the book.

The 21st century changes drastically travelling and travel writing as we know them – the internet undoubtedly acting as a catalyst. The more the internet developed, the more the users could discover new destinations, check ticket prices, book fares and hotels, read and write reviews, and read travel books online. Along with the travel texts available online, although designed to be read in print, the internet has allowed for previously unknown types of "'born digital' materials" (Berry, 2012, 4), to appear in "natively digital mediums" (Cardell and Douglas, 2016, 300). The prevalence of digital mediums has considerably affected the format and the content of travel writing, the intentions of the writers, and the audience it targets. Photography emerges as the most

essential component of travel writing in the digital era, and as such it has attracted scholarly attention (Cardell and Douglas, 2018; Liu, 2016; Mostafanezhad and Norum, 2018; Paul I Agusti, 2018; Taylor, 2020). The advances in digital and mobile photography and the endless possibilities they have opened up in image and video processing (use of filters, zoom, timelapse, slow motion, panoramic photos, etc.), as well as the ability to instantly send or upload them online, have made it easy for everyone to experiment with photography, and subsequently share photos with wider audiences - also providing some kind of "guarantee for the traveller/ tourist of having 'been there'" (Topping, 2016, 81).

The travel guidebooks have for the first time very strong competitors: for a start, the travel e-guidebooks[4] (often written by independent travellers), that can either be instantly downloaded for free or at a small fee from online shops and book depositories. We also have the travel blogs that contain most of the time suggestions for places and attractions, to-do lists, practical tips, and advice. What they usually offer their readers, is "largely constituted by objective notations and/ or by tourist advice" (Calzati, 2015, 164); thus, in terms of content, the travel blogs often seem like the evolution of guidebooks. The travel blogs have been very popular among travelers of all ages - especially the younger ones - over the past 15 years or so, and

[4] For travel e-guidebooks on Cyprus, see Bailes, 2016; Deese, 2021; van Flimen, 2018; Moxon, 2004.

their popularity has resulted in a serious decline in the sales of guidebooks.

One of the reasons that account for the blogs' popularity at the expense of hard copy guidebooks, is that the authors are now visible; the bloggers have a name (usually first name only), a face, travel preferences and a distinct voice – so the readers can identify with them. They therefore offer an alternative to what Sobocinska and White (2019, 568) define as the "fully-fledged guidebook stereotype, commanding, bland, anonymous, prescriptive, packed with detailed directions", that contemporary readers seem to appreciate. The bloggers' writing style is more informal and relaxed, and as such pleasant to read. Since it is rather difficult for a writer to attract attention at a time when there are few unspoilt places in the world yet to be discovered, the blogger usually seeks to make his writing memorable by finding a distinctive personal style – "the more familiar the destination, the more the narrator relies on humour, personality and idiosyncrasy to distinguish himself or herself from previous travellers" (Youngs, 2013, 153).

On top of the above, the travel blogs are instantly and easily accessible from literally everywhere across the globe – provided there is an internet connection; the reader is spoilt for choice as there are countless different sources to compare and choose from; they allow for keyword search so that the reader finds instantly exactly what he is looking for; they target specific audiences (i.e. budget travelers, families with children, adventure seekers, solo travelers, travelers

on weekend breaks, etc). The blog posts may be very regularly updated, allowing a blogger to provide "access to the latest and most current information about a location" (Cardell and Douglas, 2016, 300). Even more important, the reader for the first time in history can communicate instantly with the travel blog writer and communicate with the other readers as well, creating thus a sense of community the traditional travel guidebooks could have never even dreamt of. And last but not least, they are entirely free.

The list of travel blog posts on Cyprus is endless. Sometimes they look like mini travel guides listing information on sights, accommodation, places to eat and drink, beaches of course – in a particular area, or across the country (see e.g. A Guide to Independent Travel in Cyprus, 2017; Binny, 2018; Brock and Betty, 2020; Kinga, 2017; O' Malley, 2017; Steph, 2018; Taylor, 2018; Yaya & Lloyd, 2021). In some cases, they may address specific target audiences, like families with children, motorists, or backpackers (see e.g. Backpacking Cyprus Travel Guide, no date; Ingrid, 2020; Kirsty, 2018; Price, 2021; The Best Things to Do in Cyprus with Kids, no date), or they focus on certain aspects of the island, like beaches, villages, food and drink - or even instagrammable places[5] (see e.g. "Cypriot Food: what to eat in Cyprus", no date; Hung, 2019; Ingrid, 2020; Jenkins, 2020). They consistently include lots of photos, few of them however claim

[5] This is not something new; travel guidebooks for specialized interests have been existing since the 19th century (see Sobocinska and White, 2019, 572).

artistic merit. Despite their short length, they are informative – although the views they present are often not well documented or partial. After all, by default, they lack the authority and the reliability that a serious publishing house usually guarantees.

Two more digital forms of travel writing - which however rely on the power of the moving image rather than the written text - are the travel videos and the travel vlogs. They are both very popular among younger generations, people who would prefer to watch a video and see what a place looks like, rather than read texts. The difference between travel videos and travel vlogs is that in the former more deliberate choices are made as to the content of the videos that is being edited before it is uploaded. In the case of the travel vlogs, the vloggers record as they go, their recordings are more spontaneous and, since no editing is involved, they may be instantly uploaded or even live-streamed. Another difference is that the video creators may make their videos personal or impersonal, they may be dominating the story or they may be completely absent. In the case of the travel vlogs, however, the vloggers are part of the story, they are there throughout – thus often having very devout followers and thousands of likes, even for very poor quality content. Among the two, the travel videos – often clearly divided into smaller units – recall travel guidebooks in terms of content; it is the medium that differs.

There is again a very wide variety of travel videos on Cyprus that differ in terms of length, content,

angle, voice, tone and style, aesthetics, and level of professionalism. As guidebooks do (although more systematically), video creators and travel vloggers present their favourite parts of the island and provide tips and advice to travelers (see Buch, 2017; Discovering Nature by Marius, 2019; elikolb, 2020; EyeInTheSky Productions, 2016; Gabriel Traveler, no date; Holiday Extras Travel Guides, no date; Lady SkyBird, 2021; Laukaitis, J., 2021; Monica's Travels, 2020; Stuart's travel videos, no date).

Could travel blogs and videos replace old, 'hard copy' travel guidebooks? No one can tell for sure, as in recent years there seems to have been a reversal of trends. Travel blogs and videos are very popular, although their lack of reliability and objectivity is sometimes felt. They also lack professionalism; although this might seem at first glance an advantage, the easiness (sometimes the sloppiness even) with which bloggers, vloggers, or video creators prepare their content put off certain readers or viewers who would like to trust their sources more – and edited travel guidebooks seem like a good alternative. Finally, there has been an oversaturation of travel blogs, even vlogs and videos in recent years; again, although this seems to be giving lots of choices to the readers/ viewers, they might end up feeling lost in large amounts of information. So, investing in a reliable travel guidebook sometimes saves travellers a lot of time searching blogs and videos online and checking their validity.

For the time being the travel guidebooks are not in danger of extinction; we are not even close to that

point yet, despite the hard competition with the digital forms. 'Hard copy' guidebooks are still widely popular not only among older people, but among younger generations, as well. However, in a world that is constantly changing, making long-term predictions is far from prudent. At the moment of writing, the world seems to have partly only recovered from the global shock of the COVID –19 pandemic that dramatically affected, among others, travelling and travel writing. The world now is holding its breath, trying to figure out what the impact of the Russian invasion in Ukraine will be for the rest of the world in the coming months. Given the rapid technological advances as well, no one could easily predict with accuracy what our journeys will be looking like in the near future, nor which sources of information we will be trusting before embarking. What is certain is that the evolution of the travel guidebooks in the 21st century, unlike in the 19th century, is going to be steady – but not slow.

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Johannes Oliva, “Isola de Chipre“, 1638 © BoCCF, C-037.

Wandering around the religious monuments of the chart of Cyprus by Johannes Oliva (1638) from the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Map Collection

Εκκλησιαστικά μνημεία στον χάρτη της Κύπρου του Johannes Oliva (1638) από τη Χαρτογραφική Συλλογή του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος Τραπέζης Κύπρου

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Abstract

A manuscript map on vellum, hand coloured, heightened with gold and silver (515x703 mm, dated 1638). This type of chart, to which the portolan chart of Cyprus belongs, has only one wind rose in the centre; within the atlas, these charts form an isolario with the islands of the Mediterranean. They have a less clearly defined coastline but contain more information about the island’s interior. The cartographer was the same for both portolans, maritime and non-maritime, but the sources were different. The map of Cyprus is rich in information:

it includes 290 place names that don't appear on the map of Cyprus of either Jacomo Franco (1570) or Ortelius (1573). There is a tendency for place names to be written in the local dialect, and their spelling seems to imply that the original information was gleaned from seamen or locals. Particular emphasis is given to places of religious interest. This map of Cyprus is a valuable source of information regarding the sacred names of villages and ecclesiastical monuments of the time, of which today some are preserved, and others have been destroyed. The depiction of churches and monasteries with figurative elements seems to mimic the earlier map of Leonida Attar (1542). Oliva paints the monuments and accompanies them with name references. Cyprus is presented as a whole and is not divided into provinces on the map. As far as I know, it is the most complete map of Cyprus during the Ottoman period in ecclesiastical monuments, and for this reason, it is equally important. The map is part of the BoCCF's Cyprus Map Collection.

Εισαγωγή

Οι παλαιοί χάρτες της Κύπρου, καθώς και το σύνολο της χαρτογραφίας πριν από τις τεχνολογικές εξελίξεις του 19ου αιώνα, αποτελούν γνωστικά βοηθήματα, πρακτικά εργαλεία, επιστημονικά διαγράμματα και αισθητικά καλλιτεχνήματα. Όπως έχει λεχθεί, οι παλαιοί χάρτες γίνονται τράπεζες συλλογικής μνήμης, όπου εναποτίθεται κάθε λογής υλικό - εμπειρικό, γνωστικό, ακόμα συμβολι-

κό ή φανταστικό. Οι χάρτες περιλαμβάνουν συχνά ένα πλήθος πληροφοριών, όπως λ.χ. τοπωνύμια, αναπαραστάσεις πόλεων και μνημείων, εμβλήματα που υπαινίσσονται τον πολιτισμό και το θρήσκευμα (Τόλιας, 2003, 25). Ακόμα και στα χρόνια της τουρκοκρατίας (1571-1878, κυρίως κατά τον 17ο και 18ο αιώνα, που μας ενδιαφέρει στην παρούσα μελέτη) οι Δυτικοί χαρτογράφοι δείχνουν ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για την Κύπρο, παρόλο που ο χάρτης της νήσου δεν ανανεώνεται, καθώς αναπαράγονται οι βενετικοί χάρτες του 16ου αιώνα. Έχει ακόμη παρατηρηθεί ότι ένα μεγάλο ποσοστό των χαρτών για τη Μεγαλόνησο αποτελούν ιστορικά έργα για την αρχαία και ιερή ιστορία με την οποία συνδεόταν (Τόλιας, 2003, 26). Αναμφίβολα οι χάρτες αποτελούσαν πολύτιμα βοηθήματα για τους ναυτιλομένους, ώστε να έχουν πληροφορίες για την πλεύση και ασφαλή αγκυροβόλια, καθώς και για τους κάθε λογής εμπόρους, στρατιωτικούς, ταξιδιώτες, προσκυνητές. Στους χάρτες σημειώνονται ακόμη σημεία ενδιαφέροντος, τόσο στην ακτογραμμή, όσο και στην ενδοχώρα. Ως εκ τούτου οι παλαιοί χάρτες δίνουν πολύτιμες πληροφορίες, τόσο για την εποχή τους όσο και για εμάς σήμερα. Ο χάρτης σε συνάρτηση με τα ταξιδιωτικά κείμενα αποτελεί συχνά απαραίτητο συμπλήρωμα και παρέχει εικονιστική ενημέρωση για τον ταξιδιώτη και τον ξένο περιηγητή. Είναι για αυτό τον λόγο που έχουν δημιουργηθεί χαρτογραφικές συλλογές από ιδιώτες και ιδρύματα, μεταξύ αυτών και το Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Τραπέζης Κύπρου, το οποίο κατέχει τη μεγαλύτερη συλλογή χαρτών της Κύπρου στο

νησί, προσελκύοντας έτσι το ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον ειδικών σε διάφορους τομείς (Navari, 2003).

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό εντάσσεται ένας σπάνιος πορτολάνος χάρτης της Κύπρου από τη χαρτογραφική συλλογή του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος Τράπεζας Κύπρου, ο οποίος αποδόθηκε στον χαρτογράφο Johannes Oliva και χρονολογήθηκε γύρω στο 1638. Είναι χειρόγραφος, σε περγαμηνή, χρωματισμένος και διακοσμημένος με χρυσό και ασημένιο χρώμα. Έχει διαστάσεις 515Χ703 χιλ. (Παπανικόλα-Μπακιρτζή και Ιακώβου, 1997, 310-311· Navari, 2003, 168-169).

Πορτολάνοι Χάρτες

Ο πορτολάνος χάρτης, ή πορτουλάνος, ή πορτολάνα (από την ιταλική portolano και portolan) ή στα ελληνικά λιμενοδείκτης, είναι ένα ναυτιλιακό βοήθημα πλοηγικού χαρακτήρα, το οποίο περιέχει συνοπτικά λεπτομερείς ναυτικούς χάρτες όρμων, λιμένων, διαύλων κλπ με ιδιαίτερες οδηγίες που ενδιαφέρουν τους ναυτιλλομένους (Harvey, n.d.). Με τον χρόνο όμως οι πορτολάνοι περιορίστηκαν, και σήμερα ονομάζονται έτσι οι ειδικοί ναυτικοί χάρτες μεγάλης κλίμακας, που περιλαμβάνουν αποτύπωση λιμανιών, ή μίας και μόνης παραλίας ή όρμου.

Οι πορτολάνοι εμφανίσθηκαν στα μέσα του 13ου αιώνα από τους Βενετούς και από τους Γενουάτες θαλασσοπόρους, ως εξαιρετικά αναγκαίο ναυτιλιακό βοήθημα (Harvey, n.d.). Οι χάρτες αυτοί ήταν «επίπεδης προβολής με πολλές υπομνηματικές

σημειώσεις και συμβολικά σκαριφήματα των ανωμαλιών του βυθού, με κακότεχνες ζωγραφικές παραστάσεις, για τις προσγειαλώσεις, αλλά και με κάποια αστρονομικά στοιχεία προσανατολισμού, καθώς και σημειώσεις για θαλάσσια ρεύματα» («Λιμενοδείκτης», 2022). Κατά την εποχή αυτή η εκμετάλλευση του ανέμου ως κινητήρια δύναμη κίνησης των πλοίων με τη ναυπήγηση ιστιοφόρων και την επέκταση της ναυσιπλοΐας, οδήγησε στη ρεαλιστική εκπόνηση χαρτών ιδιαίτερων περιοχών, όπως λ.χ. της Μεσογείου. Αρχικά οι χάρτες αυτοί περιείχαν γραπτές οδηγίες ναυσιπλοΐας, χωρίς χαρτογραφική εικονογράφηση. Στη συνέχεια τα χρηστικά αυτά αντικείμενα απαραίτητα για κάθε καπετάνιο άρχισαν να περιέχουν σχέδια θαλάσσιων χαρτών, των ακτών, των θαλασσίων ρευμάτων, των λιμανιών. Από τον 13ο αιώνα οι χάρτες αυτοί εξελίχθηκαν με βάση την παρατήρηση, σε πλήρη διάσταση με τους χάρτες της ξηράς, απόρροια θρησκευτικών πεποιθήσεων και προκαταλήψεων. Ο μεσαιωνικός πορτολάνος είναι ο διάδοχος του ελληνικού περίπλου της αρχαιότητας και ο πρόγονος των ναυτικών έντυπων χαρτών, οι οποίοι άρχισαν να τους αντικαθιστούν στις τελευταίες δεκαετίες του 16ου αιώνα. Μέσα στο πνεύμα εμπειρικής παρατήρησης εμφανίστηκαν τα isolaria (νησολόγια). Παρόλα αυτά μέχρι και το 1569 οι πορτολάνοι-χάρτες συνέχισαν να είναι χειρόγραφοι και σε δέρμα με ανθεκτικότητα στη θάλασσα σε σχέση με τους έντυπους και κάποιοι από αυτούς να περιλαμβάνουν και την Κύπρο.

Ο παλαιότερος γνωστός πορτολάνος, με την ευρύτερη έννοια του όρου, είναι ο λεγόμενος «Χάρτα Πιζάνα» του 1290, που απεικονίζει τη Μεσόγειο με τους κυριότερους τότε γνωστούς λιμένες στην εποχή των Σταυροφοριών (Harvey, n.d.). Ακολουθούν ο πορτολάνος χάρτης του Ναπολιτάνου χαρτογράφου Angelino Dulcert ή Dalorto του 1296 σε πληρέστερη απεικόνιση των ακτών, λιμένων και νήσων της Μεσογείου, ο Γενουάτικος πορτολάνος του ιερέα Τζιοβάνι ντε Γκαρινιάνο, ο ενετικός πορτολάνος του γεωγράφου και χαρτογράφου Πιέτρο Βισκόντε (Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη Παρισίων) και του ιππότη και εικονογράφου Μαρίνου Σανούδου του 1320, που φέρουν τον τίτλο «*Liber secretorum fidelium cruces*» (Το Βιβλίο των Μυστικών των Πιστών του Σταυρού), καθώς και ο επίσης ενετικός του Λορετζιάνο Καντίνο (1351) («Λιμενοδείκτης», 2022).

Η επανάκαμψη της *Γεωγραφίας* του Πτολεμαίου τον 15ο αιώνα και η ανακάλυψη της μαγνητικής πυξίδας και του διοπτρικού κανόνα αποτέλεσαν σταθμούς για την ακριβή υποτύπωση των γεωγραφικών τόπων (Harvey, n.d.) Οι πορτολάνοι που κατασκευάστηκαν στη συνέχεια υποδεικνύουν τον μαγνητικό Βορρά πλαισιωμένο με το ανεμολόγιο των αρχαίων Ελλήνων, με επιπλέον 8 ενδιάμεσους, δηλαδή με 16 ανεμορόμβους που εκτείνονταν σε ευθείες γραμμές και παρουσίαζαν ένα τεράστιο πλέγμα ανεμορομβικών κατευθύνσεων. Οι πορτολάνοι ήταν συχνά διακοσμημένοι στο περιθώριο με εικόνες αγίων, στη θάλασσα με ιστιοφόρα και τέρατα, ενώ στην ξηρά με φρούρια και φανταστικά φυτά. Αριστούργημα της εποχής υπήρξε ο κα-

ταλανικός Άτλας του 1375 που υποτυπώθηκε ως παγκόσμιος χάρτης του 14ου αιώνα (με βασική υποτύπωση τη λεκάνη της Μεσογείου), από τον Εβραίο χαρτογράφο Abraham Cresques της Σχολής Μαγιόρκα της Πάλμας. Σπουδαίος ακόμη υπήρξε ο ενετικός πορτολάνος του Αντρέα Μπιάνκο το 1435.

Κατά την εποχή των εξερευνήσεων πορτολάνους άρχισαν να εκπονούν και άλλοι χαρτογράφοι υπό την αιγίδα των ηγεμόνων όπως λ.χ. Ισπανοί, Ολλανδοί, Πορτογάλοι, Άγγλοι και Γερμανοί. Οι χαρτογράφοι αυτοί κάλυπταν περιοχές των εξερευνήσεων, σύμφωνα με τις πληροφορίες που συγκέντρωναν οι θαλασσοπόροι. Οι πορτολάνοι της εποχής εκείνης εκπονούνταν με απόλυτη μυστικότητα και χρησιμοποιούνταν μόνο από τους θαλασσοπόρους και τους ναύαρχους της εποχής. Παρόλα αυτά όλοι οι πορτολάνοι που είχαν εκπονηθεί μέχρι και τις αρχές του 16ου αιώνα παρουσίαζαν τα ίδια βασικά προβλήματα όπως λ.χ. στρεβλώσεις και παραμορφώσεις ακτών και νησιών, λόγω του ότι προέρχονταν κυρίως από την επίπεδη υποτύπωση, παραβλέποντας την καμπυλότητα της γήινης επιφάνειας. Φαίνεται ότι οι ανεμορομβικές ευθείες βοηθούσαν ως ένα σημείο στην κατεύθυνση - πορεία των ιστιοφόρων που ήθελαν να ακολουθήσουν, όμως αδυνατούσαν να μετρήσουν σωστά τις αποστάσεις, γιατί δεν μπορούσαν να καθορίσουν ένα γεωγραφικό σημείο αναφοράς. Τη λύση του σημαντικού αυτού προβλήματος έφερε η ανάκαμψη της *Γεωγραφίας* του Πτολεμαίου (Harvey, n.d.). Η *Γεωγραφία* ως σημείο αναφοράς φέρει τον ένα και μοναδικό μεσημβρινό της Αλεξάνδρειας,

ο οποίος χώριζε τον κόσμο σε ανατολικό και δυτικό. Ο Φλαμανδός μαθηματικός και χαρτογράφος *Gerardus Mercator* (1512-1594) αφού μελέτησε τη *Γεωγραφία* και με δεδομένη τη σφαιρικότητα της Γης συνέλαβε την ιδέα της διαίρεσης της επιφάνειας της σε 360 μεσημβρινούς. Με την ανακάλυψη αυτή καθόρισε τις γεωγραφικές συντεταγμένες και εξέδωσε το 1569 έναν σπουδαίο παγκόσμιο χάρτη του. Αποτέλεσμα οι πορτολάνοι που εκδόθηκαν στη συνέχεια να είναι περισσότερο ακριβείς. Από τα μέσα του 19ου αιώνα η εκπόνηση πορτολάνων άρχισε να μειώνεται δραματικά αφού την εκπόνηση των ναυτικών χαρτών ανέλαβαν ναυαρχεία και κρατικές υπηρεσίες των ναυτικών χωρών. Οι πορτολάνοι παρουσιάζουν ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον ως προς την τεχνική, τη χρήση και τη σπανιότητα τους με αποτέλεσμα η μελέτη τους να καθίσταται σημαντική από κάθε ερευνητή πορτολάνων χαρτών («Λιμενοδείκτης», 2022). Η παραγωγή των πορτολάνων χαρτών γινόταν από δύο μεγάλες σχολές, την Ιταλική (Γένοβα, Βενετία) και την Καταλανική. Στη δεύτερη κατηγορία ανήκει και ο χάρτης της συλλογής του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος, ένας από τους τρεις-τέσσερις γνωστούς.[1] Οι χάρτες αυτοί διασχίζονται από λοξοδρομίες, δηλαδή τις γραμμές σταθερής πλεύσης, και στα σημεία που τέμνονται σχηματίζουν τα ρόδα των ανέμων, τους ανεμόρομβους.

[1] Ο ένας από τους άλλους δύο γνωστούς πορτολάνους χάρτες της Κύπρου, συμπεριλαμβάνεται σε πορτολάνο άτλαντα της Βιβλιοθήκης του Βρετανικού Μουσείου, έργο του καταλανού υδρογράφου Joannes Oliva (Λιβόρνο 1638).

Ο χάρτης της Κύπρου του J. Oliva

Ο εξεταζόμενος πορτολάνος χάρτης της Κύπρου του J. Oliva έχει μόνο ένα ανεμόρομβο στο κέντρο και σχηματίζει, μέσα στον άτλαντα, ιζολάριο με τα νησιά της Μεσογείου (Για ναυτικούς χάρτες βλ. Σκούταρι, 2003, IV/174-191). Το σχέδιο των ακτών στους χάρτες αυτούς διαγράφεται λιγότερο καθαρά, ενώ διαθέτουν πιο πολλές πληροφορίες για την ενδοχώρα. Ο χάρτης της Κύπρου περιέχει 290 τοπωνύμια που δεν υπάρχουν στον χάρτη της Κύπρου του Jacomo Franco (1570) και του Ortelius (1573). Τα τοπωνύμια γράφονται στην τοπική διάλεκτο και ο τρόπος που είναι γραμμένα οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι οι αρχικές πληροφορίες βασίστηκαν σε επιτόπια έρευνα. Ιδιαίτερη έμφαση δόθηκε σε τόπους με θρησκευτικό ενδιαφέρον.

Το ενδιαφέρον είναι ότι σε σχέση με άλλους χάρτες της Κύπρου που εκδίδονται μεταξύ των ετών 1618 και 1698, οι οποίοι χαρτογραφούν μόνο τα νότια παράλια του νησιού, τα βόρεια είναι μια μονοκοντυλιά (Marangou, 2002, σποράδην). Τα πλοία για ασφάλεια παραπλέουν μόνο τις νότιες ακτές και παρόλο που η Κύπρος λειτουργεί ως ένας σταθμός των Χριστιανών στο ταξίδι προς τους Αγίους Τόπους, με ελάχιστες σημειώσεις για θρησκευτικά μνημεία, ο χάρτης του Oliva απεικονίζει πλήθος μνημείων.

Τα μοναστήρια και οι ναοί παρουσιάζονται με εικονιστικά σύμβολα, συχνά ως ξυλόστεγοι ιδωμένοι από τη ΝΑ πλευρά και με σταυρό στη ανατολική

άκρη της δίρρυχτης κεραμοσκεπούς στέγης του. Στην ανατολική πλευρά του κτηρίου δεν δηλώνεται η αψίδα του ιερού. Κάποιες εκκλησίες, παρόλο που συνοδεύονται από επιγραφές δεν φέρουν σταυρό, ενώ σπανίως έχουν κωδωνοστάσιο (Παπαγεωργίου, 1975, 361-556). Κάποιες φορές μοναστήρια παρουσιάζονται με οχυρώσεις, στοιχείο που οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι αυτά κτίζονταν σε στρατηγικά σημεία (Σκούταρι 2003, σποράδην· Cavazzana-Romanelli and Grivaud 2006, 134).

Πάνω από την Κύπρο και στο μέσο οθωμανικό οικόσημο γράφεται ο τίτλος του χάρτη, για να δείξει ότι η Κύπρος βρισκόταν κάτω από την κυριαρχία των Οθωμανών Τούρκων. Γύρω από το νησί, στη θάλασσα, παριστάνονται τρία ιστιοφόρα να ταξιδεύουν, εκ των οποίων δύο έχουν σημαία με σταυρό. Εικονίζονται ακόμη δύο θαλάσσια κήτη (Σκούταρι, 2003, I/54-55). Τα ιστιοφόρα και τα κήτη αποτελούν συνήθη διακοσμητικά στοιχεία των χαρτών.

Ο εξεταζόμενος χάρτης αποτελεί μια πολύτιμη πηγή πληροφοριών για τα αγιώνυμα χωριά και τα εκκλησιαστικά μνημεία της εποχής, όχι μόνο στα παράλια, από τα οποία σήμερα άλλα σώζονται και άλλα όχι. Ο Oliva ζωγραφίζει τα μνημεία και τα συνοδεύει ενίοτε με ονομαστικές αναφορές. Λόγω της μη γνώσης της τοπογραφίας, παρατηρούνται διάφορα λάθη, όπως λ.χ. η τοποθέτηση της οροσειράς του Πενταδάκτυλου κοντά στη Λάρνακα (για τη σωστή τοποθέτηση, βλ. Σκούταρι, 2003, V/224) ή χωριών και ναών σε λανθασμένη θέση, δημιουργώντας έτσι προβλήματα στην έρευνα. Από ό,τι

γνωρίζω είναι ο πληρέστερος σε εκκλησιαστικά μνημεία χάρτης της Κύπρου των χρόνων της Τουρκοκρατίας και για τον λόγο αυτό είναι εξίσου σημαντικός με άλλους που έχουν λιγότερα μνημεία. Ως προς την απεικόνιση των ναών και των μονών με εικονιστικά στοιχεία φαίνεται ότι μιμείται τον προγενέστερο χάρτη του Leonida Attar (1542) (Cavazzana-Romanelli Fr. and Grivaud, 2006, 134).

Στο κέντρο του χάρτη του Oliva δεσπόζει ο κυπριακός Όλυμπος, το Τρόοδος, το οποίο αποδόθηκε ως ψηλό όρος (Σκούταρι, 2003, V/209, 216). Στην κορυφή του όρους είναι κτισμένος ξυλόστεγος ναός με κωδωνοστάσιο χωρίς όμως να σημειώνεται σε ποιόν άγιο είναι αφιερωμένος. Ο εντυπωσιακός αυτός ναός ήταν αφιερωμένος στον αρχάγγελο Μιχαήλ και τα ερείπια του υπήρχαν μέχρι τα πρώτα χρόνια της Αγγλοκρατίας. Εκκλησιαστικά υπαγόταν στην Ιερά Μητρόπολη Κηρυνείας και συγκεκριμένα στη δικαιοδοσία του χωριού Πρόδρομος. Στη συνέχεια οι Βρετανοί κατέστρεψαν τον ναό και εγκατέστησαν ραντάρ. Ας σημειωθεί ότι είναι ίσως η μοναδική απεικόνιση του ναού που έχει σωθεί.

Από τα ανατολικά προς τα δυτικά του νησιού, τα μνημεία παρουσιάζονται ως εξής:

Στην περιοχή Αμμοχώστου - Κοκκινοχωρίων παρατηρείται συγκέντρωση εκκλησιαστικών μνημείων: Άγιος Νικόλαος, ίσως το ομώνυμο χωριό και στη συνέχεια η ομώνυμη ενορία των Βαρωσίων (Χατζηχριστοδούλου, 2009, 47-48)· santa panagia, που ταυτίζεται με την ομώνυμη εκκλησία στον Πρωταρά, γνωστή και ως Παναγιώτισσα· ο ναός san elia είναι

ο Άγιος Ηλίας στην κορυφή βράχου που δεσπόζει του Πρωταρά· με την ονομασία santa nappa, αναγράφεται η μεσαιωνική μονή της Αγίας Νάπας, στην ομώνυμη πόλη (Παπαγεωργίου, 1989, 188-190, Navari, 2003, 267)·η Αγία Θέκλα, κτισμένη στη θέση παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής πλησίον μικρού λιμένος της αρχαίας πόλης Θρόνοι (Ιωάννου και Χατζηχριστοδούλου, 2002, 68-71). Ο ναός με την ονομασία san cendia ταυτίζεται με τη μονή του Αγίου Κενδέα στην Αυγόρου (Χριστοδούλου και Παπαντωνίου, 2021, 27-34). Επίσης ο ναός Άγιος Μάμμας θα πρέπει να αναφέρεται στο κεντρικό ναό του χαμένου χωριού Συλίτζιν. Ερείπια του ναού υπάρχουν μέχρι σήμερα στον δρόμο Περγάμου – Πραστειού (Κουσιάππας, 2004, 66-68). Ο ναός που αναφέρεται ως San Giorgio Diades είναι ο Άγιος Γεώργιος στο ακρωτήριο Δάδες, μνημείο που απεικονίζεται συχνά σε χάρτες (Navari, 2003, 255).

Βόρεια της πόλης της Αμμοχώστου σημειώνεται το προσκύνημα της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, γνωστή ως Φυλακή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης κοντά στην αρχαία Σαλαμίνα. Μικρή νήσος στο λιμάνι της Αμμοχώστου φέρει την ονομασία Αγία Αικατερίνη και κατά τον Μεσαίωνα πίστευαν ότι εκεί ο Χριστός έδωσε το δακτυλίδι στην Αγία (Παυλίδης, 1984, 272-273· Παυλίδης, 1984, 275).

Με τη μορφή τεσσάρων πυργοειδών κατασκευών σημειώνεται στην ενδοχώρα η μονή του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα ως andrea (Μυριανθεύς, 2020, 108-119). Γνωρίζουμε ότι η μονή ήταν τειχισμένη και σε αυτή κατέφυγε στα τέλη του 12ου αιώνα κυνηγημένος ο Ισαάκιος Κομνηνός. Σημειώνεται ακόμη το

μονύδριο της S. eleusa (Παναγίας Ελεούσας), του 14ου/15ου αιώνα, αρχικά μετόχι του Σινά, το οποίο στη συνέχεια αγοράστηκε από τη μονή του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα Καρπασίας (Papageorghiou, 2010, 369-370).

Δυτικότερα σημειώνεται η Καντάρα ως candela (Θεοχαρίδης, 2021, 60). Εδώ πρόκειται για το μοναστήρι της Παναγίας Κανταριώτισσας, γνωστό ήδη από τον 13ο αιώνα για το μαρτύριο των 13 μοναχών του από τους Λατίνους. Χαμηλότερα απεικονίζεται ο ναός της Παναγίας Κανακαριάς στη Λυθράγκωμη (Papageorghiou, 2010, 241-257· Θεοχαρίδης, 2021, 60).

Η μονή της Παναγίας Μελανδρύνας του 15ου αιώνα βρίσκεται στα ΒΔ του χωριού Καλογραία. Το καθολικό ανήκει στον τύπο του μονόχωρου καμαροσκέπαστου με τρίπλευρη αψίδα. Στην πρώτη οθωμανική απογραφή της Κύπρου (1572) η μονή συνεχίζει να υφίσταται (Papageorghiou, 2010, 96-101· Θεοχαρίδης, 2021, 70).

Η παραθαλάσσια μονή της Παναγίας Αχειροποιήτου είναι κτισμένη στο ΒΔ άκρο της αρχαίας Λαπήθου που σήμερα είναι γνωστή ως Λάμπουσα. Η μονή είναι κτισμένη στα ερείπια παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής, της οποίας η αψίδα ενσωματώθηκε στον υφιστάμενο μεσοβυζαντινό ναό. Πληροφορίες για τη μονή στον 15ο αιώνα διασώζει ο Κύπριος χρονογράφος Γεώργιος Βουστρώνιος. Το 1532, εκατόν χρόνια πριν τον χάρτη του Ολίβα, η Αχειροποίητος ήταν μία από τις μεγαλύτερες ορθόδοξες μονές της Κύπρου. Στην πρώτη οθωμανική απο-

γραφή της Κύπρου (1572) η μονή της Αχειροποίητου συνεχίζει να υφίσταται (Papageorghiou, 2010, 109-116· Θεοχαρίδης, 2021, 70).

Στην ενδοχώρα, βόρεια της Λευκωσίας, η οποία φέρει δηλωτικό χρυσό σταυρό, σημειώνονται τα εξής: ναός με το όνομα mvzvento για τον Κουτσοβέντη, προφανώς η μονή του Αγίου Ιωάννη Χρυσοστόμου (Τσικνόπουλλου, 1959, σποράδην), τα Ψιττία, με το σύμβολο του κάστρου για τη μονή της Παναγίας των Αψινθίων στη νότια πλευρά του Πενταδάκτυλου, μετόχι της προαναφερθείσας μονής (Papageorghiou, 2010, 395-405) και δεξιότερα ο άγνωστος από αλλού ναός του Αγίου Ιππολύτου.

Ανατολικά της πρωτεύουσας Λευκωσίας, στην πεδιάδα της Μεσαορίας απεικονίζονται οι ναοί της Σάντα Μαρίας, του Αγίου Γεωργίου και του Αγίου Ανδρονίκου. Ο ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου, της ομώνυμης κώμης, σημειώνεται σωστά στον χάρτη - δηλαδή στα ΝΔ του Τρικώμου - και είναι γνωστός ως Άγιος Γεώργιος του Σπαθαρικού ή Άγιος Γεώργιος της Αμμοχώστου (Καρούζης, 1984, 94). Ανατολικότερα σημειώνεται ο ναός του Αγίου Ανδρονίκου Τρικώμου, χωριό που εξισλαμίστηκε κατά την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας (1571-1878) (Καρούζης, 1984, 90). Ανατολικότερα ο ναός με την ονομασία Άγιος Θεόδωρος είναι του ομώνυμου χωριού της Καρπασίας (Καρούζης, 1984, 100-101). Στην ενδοχώρα, μεταξύ των αναγραφόμενων χωριών Άσκεια και Έξω Μετόχι, απεικονίζεται ο άγνωστος από αλλού Άγιος Ιωάννης ο Αλαμάνος. Πρόκειται για λάθος αναγραφή του ονόματος του ναού του τοπικού αγίου Ιωνά στο Πέργαμος (Μακαρίου, 1997, 34·

Κουσιάππας, 2004, 52-53). Με το προσωνύμιο Αλαμάνοι είναι γνωστή ομάδα αγίων, οι οποίοι στα βυζαντινά χρόνια κατέφυγαν στο νησί από τη Συροπαλαιστίνη, όπως λ.χ. οι Γεώργιος, Κωνσταντίνος, Κενδέας, Αυξέντιος (Μακαρίου, 1997, 15, 21, 37, 35).

Στη νότια ακτογραμμή ο βυζαντινός ναός του Αγίου Λαζάρου στη Λάρνακα απεικονίζεται πλησίον των Αλυκών (Χοτζάκογλου, 2004, σποράδην).

Η περίφημη μονή του Σταυροβουνίου ή του Μεγάλου Σταυρού, η οποία δεσπόζει στην κορυφή του ομώνυμου όρου αναγράφεται ως la croce ma.Giore σε αντιδιαστολή με τον πλησιόχωρο ναό του Seconda croce, ο οποίος μπορεί να ταυτιστεί με εκείνο της Τόχνης ή των Λευκάρων (Παυλίδης, 1990, 306-311· Παπαϊωακείμ et al., 2019, 68 κ.ε.).

Γύρω από το όρος Όλυμπος παριστάνονται διάφορα εκκλησιαστικά μνημεία. Εντυπωσιάζει ως προς την αναγραφή του ονόματος ο ναός s. nicolo di schechia, ο οποίος δεν είναι άλλος από τον βυζαντινό ναό του Αγίου Νικολάου της Στέγης, του 11ου αιώνα πλησίον της Κακοπετριάς (Παπαγεωργίου, 1989, 247-249).

Στην άλλη πλευρά του όρους εικονίζεται ο ναός του Αγίου Ονουφρίου, ενός αγίου ιδιαίτερα τιμώμενου στη μεσαιωνική Κύπρο. Ίσως να πρόκειται για τον ναό του ομώνυμου χωριού στα βουνά του Μαχαιρά, ο οποίος σώζεται και είναι μετόχι της βασιλικής και σταυροπηγιακής μονής της Παναγίας Μαχαιριώτισσας («Ονούφριος Άγιος, Μαχαιράς», χ.η.) Δεξιότερα απεικονίζονται δύο άλλα μνημεία, το ένα αναγράφεται ως schille, πιθανώς ο Άγιος Σίλας

στο χωριό Ύψωνας, ενώ το άλλο φέρει την ονομασία mesopotamos, όπως είναι και σήμερα γνωστή η μονή του Μέσα Ποταμού, αφιερωμένη στον Τίμιο Πρόδρομο (Παπαγεωργίου, 1989, 20-21). Ο ναός του Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου, ταυτίζεται με τον ναό της ομώνυμης κοινότητας (Καρούζης, 1984, 107-108), ενώ το santa Maria, υποδηλώνει σχετικό προσκύνημα της περιοχής, αταύτιστο προς το παρόν.

Στο ακρωτήρι Λεμεσού στην περιοχή της αλυκής σημειώνεται η μεσαιωνική μονή του Αγίου Νικολάου των Γάτων (Παπαγεωργίου,1989, 249-252) και ο ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου. Ο ναός τώρα, πάνω αριστερά με την επιγραφή s. andrea είναι το καθολικό της ομώνυμης μονής κοντά στο χωριό Πολύστυπος (Παυλίδης, 1985, 177). Το monastero naba, θα μπορούσε να ταυτιστεί με τον βυζαντινό ναό της Αγίας Νάπας, στο χωριό Καντού (Παπαγεωργίου, 1989, 187-188).

Ο ναός s. Giorgio Periolto δεν μπορεί να ταυτιστεί επακριβώς (ίσως Άγιος Γεώργιος Περιβολιάτης Κάτω Πάφου).

Στην περιοχή της Πάφου η αναγραφή santa vivioni πρέπει να ταυτιστεί με το μεσαιωνικό προσκύνημα της Αγίας Βρυώνης κοντά στο χωριό Μανδριά (Αγία Βρυαίνη, χ.η.). Στη ΒΔ Κύπρο εικονίζεται ο παλαιός ναός του Αγίου Επιφανίου που βρίσκεται 2 χιλιόμετρα από το ομώνυμο ακρωτήρι στον Ακάμα (Παπαγεωργίου 1989, 157· Θεοδοσίου και Φιούρη, 2010, 53).

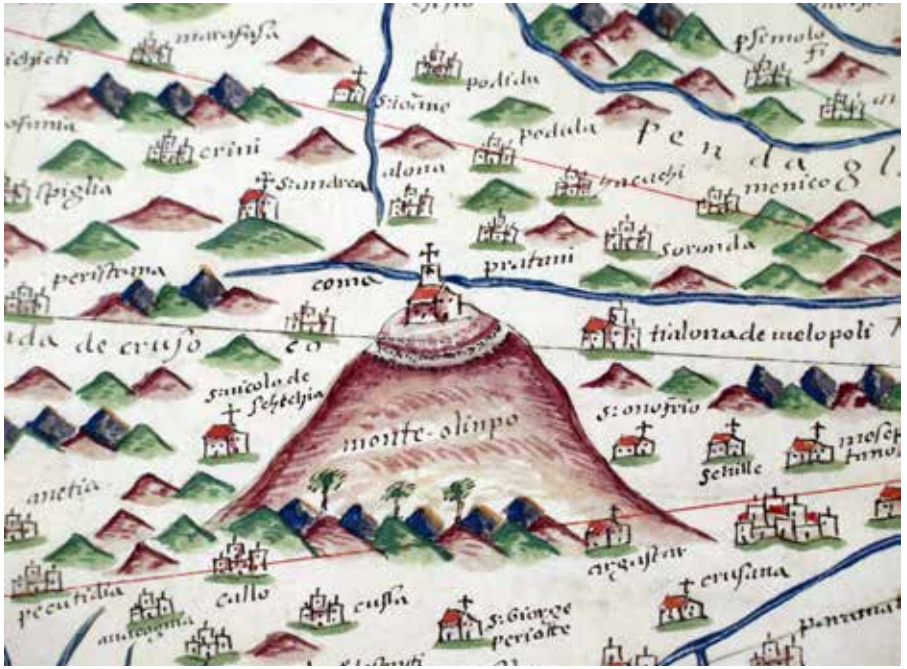
Ανατολικότερα εικονίζεται ο ναός της Αγίας Ελένης στο ομώνυμο χωριό, όπου και το ομώνυμο επί-

σης ακρωτήριο, το οποίο στη συνέχεια εξισλαμίστηκε - τα γνωστά Κόκκινα (Καρούζης, 1984, 74). Δεξιότερα αναγράφεται στην περιοχή της Πεντάγυιας ο Άγιος Κωνσταντίνος (αδημοσίευτο), πιθανότατα το άγνωστο στους πολλούς μοναστικό κέντρο πλησίον των αρχαίων Σόλων.

Τέλος στην ενδοχώρα της Πάφου, εικονίζονται τρεις ναοί αγιώνυμων χωριών: san sidoro, san Antonio, san dimitriano. Το πρώτο ήταν μεικτό χωριό, που το όνομά του παραμορφώθηκε σε Άης Σίδερος και ο ναός του Αγίου Ισιδώρου καταστράφηκε στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας. Για τον Άγιο Αντώνιο δεν έχουμε πληροφορίες, ενώ για τον Άγιο Δημητριανό, ναός και χωριό υπάρχουν μέχρι σήμερα (Καρούζης 1984, 96, 105).

Καταληκτικά, οι απεικονίσεις εκκλησιαστικών μνημείων στον χάρτη Κύπρου του Oliva εμπλουτίζουν τις γνώσεις μας για την ιεροτοπία, τα ενδιαφέροντα των δυτικών στο πλαίσιο ταξιδιών και ιεραποδημιών κατά την εποχή της Τουρκοκρατίας και την ενημέρωση των ναυτιλομένων για τη γεωγραφία του τόπου. Ο Oliva ζωγραφίζει τα μνημεία και τα συνοδεύει με ονομαστικές αναφορές, ενίοτε σε λανθασμένη θέση. Η παραφθορά κάποιων ονομάτων πιθανώς να οφείλεται στο ότι αντιγράφηκαν από άλλες πηγές ή από την ντοπιολαλιά. Ο εξεταζόμενος χάρτης αποτελεί μια πολύτιμη πηγή πληροφοριών για τα αγιώνυμα χωριά και τα εκκλησιαστικά μνημεία, όχι μόνο στα παράλια αλλά και στην ενδοχώρα, από τα οποία σήμερα άλλα σώζονται και άλλα όχι. Η Χαρτογραφική Συλλογή του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος Τραπέζης Κύπρου πε-

ριλαμβάνει σχεδόν όλους τους σημαντικούς έντυπους χάρτες της Κύπρου και μόνο δύο χειρόγραφους, ο ένας εκ των οποίων είναι ο εξεταζόμενος χάρτης της Κύπρου του Oliva. Το Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα διαφυλάσσει την πολύτιμη αυτή εθνική παρακαταθήκη ως κόρην οφθαλμού, αφού στους χάρτες αυτούς μαρτυρείται η ελληνικότητα της Κύπρου και η χριστιανική της ταυτότητα.



Johannes Oliva, "Isola de Chipre, 1638 © BoCCF, C-037 [detail].

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Cyprus through the lens of British travellers: the construction of Cyprus' tourism imagery at the dawn of British rule and up to the 1950s

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Abstract

Following the acquisition of Cyprus by the British Empire in 1878, a number of British travellers arrived on the island eager to get acquainted with this relatively unknown part of the Eastern Mediterranean. A few of these travellers published their travelogues and diaries upon their return to their homeland to share their experiences with their compatriots, urging them to visit this charming island themselves. Photography was frequently used by the authors to visually articulate their writings in support of their efforts to document and present Cyprus' worthiest attractions. These photographs, captured by the travellers or professional photographers who escorted them on their journey, shared thematic similarities.

Representations of the island's Western European heritage, the Ottoman monuments, and the peculiar - to them - customs and manners of the locals

dominated their iconography. Indicative examples are evident in the travel writing of John Thomson, the professional Scottish photographer assigned by the British government to document photographically the new acquisition in 1878, but also in the travelogues of amateur photographers, such as Lady Brassey, Basil Steward, and Sir Henry Rider Haggard travelling to the island during the early years of British rule and up to the 1950s. On the contrary, the island's Greco-Roman antiquities and Byzantine heritage did not receive the same attention. Interestingly, the travellers' photographs shared thematic and aesthetic similarities with those created by postcard producers who were active on the island at the time, such as John P. Foscolo, Theodoulos Toufexis, and Leopold Glaszner, as they seem to have targeted the same audience.

This aims to shed light on this particular aspect of the island's history of photography and to show how the work of these professional and amateur photographers travelling to Cyprus during the early years of British rule and up to the 1950s, contributed to the construction of the island's tourism imagery. Moreover, it investigates how their photography, accompanied by words, projected selective documentation of the island's history and cultural heritage in support of the colonial project, becoming an instrument for asserting ideologies and shaping perceptions of cultural identity.

Introduction

When Cyprus passed under British administration in 1878 there was a dispute back in London about this relatively unknown island of the Eastern Mediterranean and its value to the Empire. In the minds of the Victorians, Cyprus was wrapped up in a mythical veil due to its connection to the mythical Aphrodite. However, this idea of Cyprus being a mythical paradise was soon demolished by the reports from civil servants and correspondents travelling to the island to document the new colony. In line with the British government's imperial aspirations, they reported witnessing an island in decay - due to Ottoman mismanagement - and in need of superior colonial governing (Demetriou and Ruiz Mas, 2004, 3; Demetriou, 1997, 4; Pourgouris, 2019, 5).

The two British weekly newspapers *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* were the first to offer to the British public images of the new colony accompanied by texts, whose authors focused on reassuring the public and justifying the acquisition (Edbury, 2001, 19; Severis, 2006, 381). These lithographs were dominated by representations of the island's magnificent remains of Western European heritage, presented as monuments of chief interest that needed protection and restoration (Anonymous, 1878c, 23; Anonymous, 1878b, 456). A distant view of the Latin Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Famagusta ended up on the cover page of one of the issues of *The Illustrated London News* published on July 20th, 1878 (Anonymous, 1878, 1, 52). The mudbrick houses,

the palm trees in the background, and the presence of the Gothic Cathedral gave the impression of land in the Eastern Mediterranean that was once touched by Western European culture. The same issue was illustrated with sketches produced by the artist Hendry Harper, depicting the shore of Larnaca, a romantic view of Kantara Castle, and the Gothic Bellapais Abbey, probably selected among the island's most worthy attractions in line with British perceptions. Representations of the island's Byzantine heritage did not receive the same attention while images of Cypriot antiquities were used by the authors for promoting their value as trophies to the Empire (ibid).

This selective documentation and representation of the island's history and architectural legacy bring to mind Benedict Anderson's claim on how colonial regimes attached themselves to antiquity and more specifically how *'…Monumental Archaeology increasingly linked to tourism, allowed the state to appear as the guardian of a generalized but also local tradition… The old sacred sites were to be incorporated into the map of the colony and their ancient prestige'* (Andreson, 2006, 181–82).

This curated image of Cyprus was meant to serve the colonial project and to justify the island's acquisition by presenting the British Empire as the benevolent civilizing West that would rescue Cyprus from decay (Given, 1998, 4). John Thomson's photographic exploration of Cyprus in the Autumn of 1878 was meant to serve this cause and to present the island's most interesting attractions to the British public. The island's Western European heritage, the exotic

landscapes, and Ottoman buildings, as well as the peculiar customs and manners of the locals, dominated his photography. Thomson invited his compatriots back in England to travel to the island and experience its wonders themselves (Hajimichael, 2006, 61–78; Papaioannou, 2014, 13–27; Philippou, 2013, 111–31). On the contrary, the island's ancient sites and Byzantine heritage did not receive the same attention.

This selective representation of Cyprus is also evident in the published travelogues and diaries of British travellers, who followed Thomson's footsteps and photographic techniques while visiting the island at the dawn of British rule and throughout the first half of the 20th century. This constructed image of Cyprus, which was meant to serve British perceptions of Cyprus, was adopted locally by postcard producers active on the island at the time who were eager to satisfy the same audience, namely, the curious Victorian explorers travelling to the East. Their photography set the basis for shaping Cyprus's tourism imagery and the invention of its tourist attractions. This article aims to shed light on this particular aspect of the island's history of photography and to show how photography in the hands of the British was used as a medium for the production of a selective image of the island's history and cultural heritage, as well as for asserting ideologies and shaping perceptions of cultural identity in line with colonial aspirations.

Capturing the island's most valuable tourist attractions

Hired by the Queen to document the new acquisition and to present it to the British public, the professional Scottish photographer John Thomson arrived on the island in the Autumn of 1878. His two-volume album which was published in London in 1879 was meant to direct the British public on how to experience and perceive Cyprus. According to Hercules Papaioannou, Thomson acted as an imperial agent who played a significant role in the construction of selective imagery of Cyprus in line with the government's colonial aspirations. Thomson's work in Cyprus bounces between the touristic and the utilitarian. His albums could work both as travel guides and colonial handbooks for Cyprus meant for potential tourists and investors (Papaioannou, 2014, 20). An indicative example is evident in his documentation of the island's principal attractions that he identified as the Western European monuments that, however - as he declared - needed colonial guardianship and restoration (Thomson, 1985, 14, 47 - 49).

More specifically, his documentation of the island's cultural heritage is dominated by views of the Latin Cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta, the Gothic Bellapais Abbey, as well as the island's medieval fortifications and castles. On the contrary, the island's Byzantine churches and monasteries were less frequently represented and praised - not for their architectural and historical value, but for their capacity to host guests, appropriated as samples of

the local ecclesiastical and vernacular architecture (Thomson, 1985, 28). In his description of the Greek or Latin monasteries, Thomson made sure to comment that" in the absence of inns, these pleasant resorts are the recognized rest-houses of the island and a warm welcome awaits the wayfarer who enters within their gates" (ibid).

His representation of Cypriot peasants and their everyday life, interpreted as primitive and exotic, aimed to stimulate the ethnographic and anthropological interests of potential Victorian travellers to the island. In his description of the 'natives' as he addressed the locals he focused on the attire of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots he encountered while touring the main cities of the island, as well as the physique and manners of mountaineers and villagers; he commented on their strength and robust features potentially identified as an appropriate workforce to support the colonial vision. (Papaioannou, 2014, 16 – 18).

In September 1878 another British traveller arrived on the island, the British painter Tristram Ellis who, even though he did not receive an official assignment for his expedition to Cyprus, seems to have been driven by the same calling. In the introduction of the album that he published in London a year later he commented that he desired his sketches to give an Englishman an idea of Cyprus that"…would be at once correct and representative" (Ellis, 1878, xiii). The album entitled 'Principal Views and Places of Interest', Cyprus reflects the artist's intention to portray only those aspects

of the island's landscape, history, cultural heritage, and everyday life that would potentially interest the British public. Sharing an almost identical palette of themes with Thomson, he visualized Cyprus and its cultural heritage by applying a selective imperial gaze. One may notice his recreation of an atmospheric almost stage-like atmosphere in both Thomson's and Elli's representations of the medieval monuments of Famagusta surrounded by palm trees and rising minarets.

Representations of a similar romantic mythical scenery dominated by Western European monuments and rising minarets illustrate Lady Annie Brassey's travelogue as well which was published in London in 1881. Her book entitled 'Sunshine and Storm in the East' was written following her visit to the island in the autumn of 1878 during a holiday trip with her family around the Mediterranean Sea. The woodcuts presented in the book were reproduced from photographs she took herself and drawings by the artist Hon . A. Y. Bingham Bingham. Features of the island's Anatolian landscape blend perfectly with representations of Cyprus's medieval castles, Gothic monuments, and Orthodox churches and monasteries as perceived by a Victorian traveller to the island at the end of the 19th century (Brassey, 1881, 261, 291, 293, 310, 317).

Interestingly, there seems to be a repetitive pattern in regard to British travellers' documentation of the island's most valuable monuments at the end of the 19th century. In the handwritten diary of Mary Eleanor

Caldwell, sister of Sir Henry Bulwer, who served as High Commissioner in Cyprus from 1886 to 1892, one notices that Caldwell chose to photograph only those monuments that she regarded as the island's worthiest attractions, while highlighting in red lettering their names in her diary (Caldwell, 1887). Caldwell wrote this diary during her trip to Cyprus in 1887, from January to April, while visiting her brother. Once more the Gothic Bellapais Abbey, the Lusignan cathedral of St. Sophia, Nicosia, and the medieval monuments of Famagusta drew the interest of the British traveller.

In his book entitled *My experiences of the island of Cyprus* published in 1906, Basil Steward follows a similar approach in documenting aspects of the island's history and cultural heritage. Photographs of the island's medieval castles and fortifications, Ottoman buildings, Lusignan architecture, and scenes of everyday life taking place out in the countryside, captured by the author himself, illustrate the pages of his travelogue. Steward travelled to the island twice: one engaged in railway work and later on a trip to the Eastern Mediterranean to visit chief monuments of interest (Steward, 1908, v-vii).

A similar iconography is also evident in Sir Henry Rider Haggard's illustrated travelogue, published in London in 1908 following his trip to Cyprus in 1900. Haggard, an English writer, and explorer identified and photographed in Cyprus what he found as the most interesting attractions (Haggard, 1904, viii, 55, 155, 178). Similarly, to Thomson's techniques, both Steward and Haggard occasionally included in

their photography of the island's Western European monuments representations of human figures - mainly Cypriot peasants. In other cases, these were replaced by Victorian travellers posing in the foreground of the image, such as in Haggard's photograph of the Kolossi Tower in Limassol, attesting to their capacity to identify and portray the island's most worthy attractions for prospective British travellers to visit (Steward, 57–152; Haggard, 66).

The invention of Cyprus as a tourist destination

Promoting the island as a tourist destination has been on the British government's agenda since the early days of British rule in Cyprus. Representatives of The Society for Protection of Ancient buildings (S.P.A.B.) commented in a report published in 1907 that" throughout Europe, the historical buildings of Cyprus are justly celebrated and every year a greater number of visitors bring prosperity to the Island because of them" referring to the island's Western European monuments (Emerick, 2014, 138). It was the island's Western European monuments already in the ownership of the state that were the first medieval structures to be added to the schedule of sites in Cyprus that received the first preservation moves (Emerick, 2014, 85).

The government's vision for inventing Cyprus as a tourist destination in line with the British perceptions was supported by early postcard producers active

on the island at the time. Among them was the professional Franco-Levantine photographer John P. Foscolo, who moved to Cyprus a few years after the arrival of the British and became well-established in Limassol. He soon earned the trust of the British government which appointed him as the official photographer of the British forces. His extensive travelling all around the island following the British troops allowed him to create an extensive collection of photographs depicting landscapes, monuments, the island's main cities, and villages, scenes of everyday life, and archaeological sites (Malecos, 1992, Introduction; Lazarides, 1987, 64–70). Foscolo was a pioneer in the production and circulation of postcards in Cyprus between 1902 – 1923 paving the path for other photographers, such as Theodoulos Toufexis and Leopold Glaszner (Loizou Hadjigavriel, 2016, 156-57).

The study of Foscolo's photography and postcard production shed light on thematic similarities to Thomson's photography of Cyprus and Elli's etchings as it seems they were meant to satisfy the same audience; namely, the adventurous Victorian explorers travelling to the East (Lazarides, 1987, 209-29). Images of the island's Latin cathedrals, the Gothic Bellapais Abbey, and the medieval fortification works and castles dominated the iconography of his postcard series, along with representations of Cypriot landscapes and scenes of everyday life taking place in the exotic countryside. Representations of the island's Western European monuments dominate his postcard series, while the island's Byzantine and Greco-Roman

antiquities did not receive the same attention. On the contrary, he frequently turned his lens to photograph the exotic countryside and the life of Cypriot peasants (Loizou Hadjigavriel, 2016, 253).

His studio portraits of a man and a woman dressed in the male and female Greek Cypriot traditional costumes, which were included in one of his postcard series, were used by Steward in his book on Cyprus published in 1908 showcasing how available postcards in Cyprus at the time found their way into the hands of British travellers who were eager to obtain a souvenir from Cyprus (Steward, 1908, 121). Postcards in Cyprus at the time could influence the work of amateur travelling photographers by guiding their selection of themes and the staging of their compositions. It seems that Steward was among them.

Theodoulos Toufexis who circulated his first postcard series in 1903, and remained active up to 1910/12, adopted the same palette of themes probably due to Foscolo's great success (Lazarides, 2004, 250-70). The same iconography was also adopted by Leopold Glaszner in the 1930s for the illustration of his postcard series, which is indicative of how this constructed iconography prevailed and shaped Cyprus's imagery as a tourist destination, as well as the imagery of its chief attractions (Lazarides, 1987, 258; Marangou, 1996).

Human figures were included in postcard designs framing the island's most valuable attractions throughout the first half of the 20th century. Foscolo's postcards framing the Kolossi castle in the 1920s

(Foscolo, J. P. [postcard], no date) included in the foreground a couple of Western European travellers while visiting the medieval castle in Limassol (Lazarides, 1987, 147). Similarly, in Famagusta, Glaszner (Glaszner studio [postcard], no date) photographed a group of people visiting St Peters's church in the 1930s. Their Western European clothes attest to their origins and create an inviting image for other Western European travellers to visit the medieval church (Lazarides, 1987, 258). Toufexis, however, in one of his postcard designs that portrayed the Kolossi castle in the 1900s, included in the foreground of the image a group of Cypriot peasants gazing at the camera dressed in their everyday attire (Lazarides, 2004, 251). By adding a representation of the "primitive" Cypriot peasants in his portrayal of the medieval castle, Toufexis aimed to stimulate the ethnographic and anthropological interests of potential Western European travellers to Cyprus and to add to the value of the monument to serve as a tourist attraction (Lazarides, 2004, 251). Thomson used a similar approach in his photography of the island's Western European monuments as he did not neglect to include Cypriot peasants in his photography of the Gothic Bellapais Abbey in Kyrenia and the Venetian Famagusta Gate in Nicosia (Thomson, 1985, 11, 26.).

The island's Greco-Roman antiquities did not receive the same attention from postcard producers, with British officials commenting on their bad state and incapacity to serve as tourist attractions throughout the first half of the 20th century. In 1934, Charles Peers in his report on the current state of the ancient and

historical monuments of Cyprus commented that the ancient sites of Vouni, Salamis, Kouklia, Amathus, Idalium, Kitium, Tamassos, and Soli laid in waste unable to receive visitors (Peers, 1934, 643). However, this did not stop Thomson from photographing *The Ruins of Neo Paphos in line with colonial perceptions* (Thomson, 1985, 40). The representation of the veiled woman in the foreground of the image having her back turned to the camera, invites potential Victorian travellers to experience the ancient Greco-Roman site in its contemporary oriental context.

A similar orientation is evident in Foscolo's postcard design published in the 1920s which showcases the ruins of Salamis (Foscolo, *Ruins of Salamis* [postcard], no date). Cypriot peasants were photographed among the ruins gazing at the camera. One of them was sitting on one of the collapsed columns, while the other was standing on a different column at the back. Following the same colonial reading of the island's Greco-Roman antiquities, Glazner circulated in the 1930s a postcard design that depicts a western explorer, possibly British, standing on top of one of the collapsed columns of the Roman forum of Salamis with his hands resting on his waist as a sign of domination over the remains (Lazarides, 1987, 259-60). The man appears as a conqueror stepping into new lands, proud of his acquisition, while Salamis was represented as a trophy offered to the Empire. Even though not frequently selected in postcard designs, the ancient site of Salamis was used in these representations in support of colonial uses of the island's past and cultural heritage. The documentation

of the local population through postcard production followed the same approach. Local priests and monasteries were presented in the sphere of folklore.

Cyprus' official tourism imagery in the hands of the British

Cyprus' imagery as a tourist destination took a more official substance in the 1930s -40s when the British government designed and printed posters and leaflets to promote the island as a tourist destination. The title 'Cyprus: The Garden of the Near East' that was given to a leaflet issued in 1927 by the office of the Commissioner in London, is reflective of the British perceptions of Cyprus as an exotic island of the Eastern Mediterranean that kept magnificent remains of Western European heritage and its capacity to serve as an ideal tourist destination for the British (Cyprus the Garden of the Near East, 1927, SAI/1123/1927). An image of the façade of the Lusignan Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Famagusta was used as a cover page for the leaflet.

Early travel guides published with the support of the government, such as the one edited and published by the Mangoian Brothers in 1947, follow the same orientation. The illustration of the section entitled 'Places of Interest' with photographs produced by the Mangoian brothers, is dominated by views of the island's medieval castles, Gothic monuments, and mosques (Mangoian and Mangoian, 1947, 30–84). Moreover, the exotic countryside was once again

treated as a tourist attraction in the related section in the guide entitled 'Village life and Agriculture' (Mangoian and Mangoian, 1947, 133–41). The everyday life of Cypriot peasants, their customs, and traditions were exhibited as part of the island's oriental character, as the editors aimed to stimulate the ethnographic interests of potential Western European travellers to Cyprus. Interestingly, the guide included a chapter on the island's Byzantine heritage in line with the overall interest in Byzantine art and architecture that prevailed in Europe from the 1930s and onwards among academics and tourists (Emerick, 143, Mangoian and Mangoian, 133-41). However, the island's Greco-Roman sites remained underrepresented, with British officials still addressing the site's incapacity to receive visitors.

The established iconography was challenged in 1960, when Cyprus became an independent state that needed to reinvent its national identity and imagery to reflect its bi-communal nature. Within this framework, colonial uses of the island's past and cultural heritage were abandoned, giving way to new readings and interpretations of the island's most valuable attractions. This change is easily detectable in travel guides that were published following Cyprus's independence, such as Achilleas Lymbourides' 'Cyprus, the Island of Aphrodite', published in 1963. The island's Greco-Roman antiquities and Byzantine heritage were equally represented along with aspects of the island's Western European and Ottoman heritage, projected as evidence of the island's diverse

cultural heritage and identity (Lympourides, 1963, 17–21, 32–36, 44–51).

Conclusion

British travellers to Cyprus at the dawn of British rule on the island laid the basis for constructing and promoting the island's image as a tourist destination. Among these travellers, there were artists as well as professional and amateur photographers whose work has been influential for their compatriots back home on how to perceive and experience Cyprus. The island's Western European remains were presented as the island's most valuable attractions along with aspects of the island's Ottoman heritage, the primitive lifestyle of the Cypriot peasants, and the Anatolian features of the Cypriot landscape; these were promoted as spectacles to potential Victorian tourists eager to experience this exotic island. John Thomson's photography of Cyprus is an indicative example of an influential work that shaped, not only the way British travellers experienced the island after him, but also the work of postcards producers that were active on the island throughout the first half of the 20th century.

Photography contributed to the dissemination of a constructed imagining of Cyprus that promoted the island as an exotic tourist destination in support of the British government's colonial agenda. The Western European monuments were identified and promoted as the island's most valuable attractions. Photographers in Cyprus at the time enriched their

postcard collections with views of the medieval monuments blended with the island's Anatolian characteristics. According to John Tagg (1982, 121-122), ''…this democratised form of imperialism known as tourism is capable of colonising new experiences and directing what should be gazed at and what not''. This paper shed light on this particular aspect of the island's history of photography, and how the work of these professional and amateur photographers contributed to the construction of the island's tourism imagery, in support of the colonial project that applied guided readings and reception of the island's monuments and antiquities during the British period.

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