#### From Exploration to Exploitation

Giovanni Mariti, Domenico Sestini, Antonio Mondaini, and the Early History of Cypriote Archaeology
Luca Bombardieri

# **Appendix**

The appendix contains the English translation of the full text of the two short works referred to in the previous pages:

- Mariti, G. (1787). Dissertazione istorico-critica sull'antica città di Citium nell'isola di Cipro e sulla vera topografia della medesima. Livorno.
- Mondaini, A. (1786). Lettera di un viaggiator toscano scritta da Cipro a un accademico etrusco. Livorno.

In addition, this Appendix provides the reader with a short Anthology of selected texts from G. Mariti, *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro e per la Soria e Palestina fatti da Giovanni Mariti accademico fiorentino dall'anno MDCCLX al MDCCLXVIII*, Tomo I, Firenze 1769. Specifically, extracts from Chapter III, dedicated to ancient *Citium* and from Chapter XVII, in which Mariti covers the itinerary marked by the Mondaini *Lettera* are included in the Appendix.

The original footnotes of Mariti's *Dissertazione* and Mondaini's *Lettera* appear followed by (\*) in italics in the text, in order to distinguish them from my comments. Selected passages of Greek authors quoted in the original texts by Mariti have been normalised to current editions; identified typographical errors and/or authorial eventual misunderstandings have been emended. The original Greek pas-

sages have been reported here in footnote as appear in the original text by Mariti for the sake of information. Abbreviated references after Oxford Classical Dictionary (2012), 4th edition (https://www. oxfordreference.com/).

Original Italian editions of the mentioned works by Giovanni Mariti are available in open access from several online sources, including Google Books. A copy of the Lettera by Antonio Mondaini is kept in the Biblioteca Universitaria, Università di Genova (inv. coll. misc. A.7.11).

## Giovanni Mariti.

# Dissertazione on the Ancient City of Citium on the Island of Cyprus and Its True Topography

Livorno, Appresso Carlo Giorgi, with Approval, 1787

To the most erudite and learned man, Signor Lodovico Coltellini<sup>1</sup> in the noble science of Antiquarian profound and illustrious. This booklet as a token of friendship and esteem To his friend Giovanni Mariti

When in Volume I Chapter III of my Viaggi, I described the ancient city of Citium, which I placed near the present city of Larnica or Arnaca, which, indeed, occupies part of the foundations of its ancient walls, as much as on the observations made by Sir Niebuhr, one of those travellers who had been sent to Arabia by Frederick V, King of Denmark, and with whom, during his stay in Cyprus in 1766, I had been there more than once to examine the matter more closely, for I had been looking at the ruins for five years.<sup>2</sup> I also added that my opinion was not new, since I had come across an exact Manuscript containing the description of the things of Cyprus by Ascanio Savorniano, a Venetian gentleman, from which it was clear that he also placed the ancient Citium there.<sup>3</sup> To corroborate my opinion, I wrote that Strabo, and Ptolemy placed Citium between the city of Amathus, now Old Limassol, and the Dades promontory, now called cape Pila.4

- 1 The erudite Lodovico Coltellini is key to the initial antiquarian interests for Etruscan Civilisation, especially in Cortona and Bolsena region. An intense exchange with Mariti is attested by the 30 years long correspondence (565 letters ranging from 1778 to 1808) by Coltellini still survived in the Fondo Mariti in Bologna. The special relation with Coltellini undoubtedly influenced the donation process of Cypriot coins to the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona by Mariti in 1776. A common close relations circle may be also evidenced by the coincidence in the publication of this Dissertazione by Mariti and the Lettera al Sig. Abate Domenico Sestini, with a comment over an Etruscan bas relief, published by Coltellini the same year 1787 (Coltellini 1787).
- Carsten Niebuhr visited Cyprus during the Danish expedition to Egypt and Arabia. The plan of the ancient city of Kition which he prepared during his stay on the island was published by Giovanni Mariti as an offset illustration in the Dissertazione. Mariti personally met Niebuhr during his visit to Larnaca in July 1766. Another schematic plan of ancient Citium appears on the frontispiece of the Viaggi (Mariti 1769).
- 3 Mariti is here referring to the manuscript Descrittione delle cose di Cipro by Ascanio Savorgnano, who was sent to Cyprus by the Venetian Senate in 1562 to write a report on the political and social condition in Cyprus. See below in a greater detail.
- 4 Ptol. Geog. 5.13.2, l. 12. Further references by Mariti are detailed below. An updated overview on historical sources about Limassol in Nicolaou-Konnari, Schabel 2015; the location of Dades promontory corresponding to cape Pila appears confirmed by the survey of historical cartography available, e.g. Graves, Stokes 1878. For detailed reference see Navari 2003.

This opinion of the true situation of Citium, after eighteen years I have written it, has now awakened in me the criticism of a friend of mine, a man of merit, and whom I esteem, and who has also sojourned for several years in Cyprus. He tells me from Aix en Provence<sup>5</sup> that it seemed strange to him that after so many other Geographers. Historians and Travellers. I should take away from the village of Citti the inveterate idea that the ancient city of Citium was placed there. I might doubt that his predilection for the said village (a delightful and vague holiday resort of some wealthy Greek families, and a place of recreation also for the European inhabitants of Larnica) arose from those pleasant and delightful entertainments he often passed there between the Conqueror of India and the Goddess of the Island.

He endeavoured to attack me more with sarcasm than reason, concluding that I should rectify my error, that I should not adapt myself to the sentiment of Cavalier Niebuhr, and moreover that I should not undertake to support him. I myself, who have made it a rule never to be heated or spoil my blood by literary disputes, return as a gift to my opponent all that he has written to me, and even thank him for having given me the opportunity to spend a few hours among the scholarly papers, reducing to a Historical dissertazione the reply that I should make to him, with which I will even try to validate what I have already written about Citium. Therefore, I will take up the fuller narrative here, and then establish that the situation of that city was precisely where it was said to be, i.e. near the present city of Larnica.

<sup>5</sup> Antonio Mondaini moved from Cyprus to Aix-en-Provence between 1776 and 1777 and here establishes a fortunate business in the household owned by his wife's family at Manon (Pasta 2021, 22). Manon en Provence is the place mentioned in the manuscript he composed under the pseudonym Namindiù in 1785 (Severis 2007). See above for additional information.

<sup>6</sup> This explicit reference to Greek God Dionysus is based upon literary episodes set in India. According to this widely diffused and variated evidence, Dionysus invaded India long before Alexander the Great was born, he conquered the lands, founded cities, and established laws. Dionysus' relation to India increased in significance after Alexander the Great's visit in 327 BCE to a city which the Greeks called Nysa, located between the Cophenii River and the Indus River (Strabo Geography 15.1), According to Arrian of Nicomedia (Arr. Anab. 5.2) the Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but part of those who came with Dionysus to India. Nysa is known as Dionysus' birthplace; Zeus saved his son by sewing him up in his thigh and keeping him there until he reached maturity. Hence, it is said that he was born twice after which he was entrusted to the care of certain nymphs on Mount Nysa. Nonnus of Panopolis (Nonnus Dion. 13) also refers that Dionysus is ordered by Zeus to prepare for war against the impious natives of India. In an expedition against the Indians, Dionysus is said to have tampered with enemies by giving them wine so as to divert their thoughts from war preparations to dancing. These, and other Bacchic orgies were employed in the system of warfare, and thus India and various parts of the world were 'conquered' by Dionysus. On this largely explored topic see Daniélou 1982, Sindha 2018-19; Stoneman 2019.

This clear reference to Aphrodite, the Goddess of love may be mirrored by the previous one to Dionysos, the God of wine to describe a pleasant place where Mondaini might have spent his time.

What Cavalier Niebuhr said or what is about to say about this concern is not known to me. But let us come to our subject.

CITIUM is believed to be in the number of the most ancient Cities known in the History. It seems that this city was the first inhabited place on the island of Cyprus, and that from the island it took its name, just as the island itself had taken its name of Chetima, or Cetima from Cetim, one of the four sons of Yavan (Javan), formerly the son of Yafet (Japheth), and consequently, the great-grandson of Noah. Truly, the four sons of Yavan, as we also have learned from the Holy Bible, divided among them the Islands and the Sea Shores of the Mediterranean Sea; thus, the Interpreters explain what we read in Genesis.

Filii autem Yavan: Elisa, et Tharsis, Cethim, et Dodanim, Ab his divisae sunt Insulae gentium in regioni bus suis, unusquisque secundum linguam suam, et familias suas in nationibus suis.8

And these were Javan's sons, Elisa, Tharsis, Cetthim and Dodanim; 5 who divided up the islands of the Gentiles, region by region. Each of these became separate nations, distinct in speech and in blood.9

Cetim was the one who probably landed first on the island of Cyprus, since it is presumable that it derived from him its original name of Cetima, or Chetima. Taken from its name the Hebrews then called the other islands Chetim, and many maritime places too. 10 The city was later called Citium by the Greeks, remaining close to the name Chetim, but note what we read about in Flavius Iosephus.

Χέθιμος δὲ Χέθιμα τὴν νῆσον ἔσχε, Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλατταν Χέθη ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται· μάρτυς δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ μία τῶν ἐν Κύπρω πόλεων ἰσχύσασα τὴν προσηγορίαν φυλάξαι: Κίτιον γὰρ ύπὸ τῶν ἐξελληνισάντων αὐτὴν καλεῖται μηδ' οὕτως διαφυγοῦσα τοῦ Χεθίμου τὸ ὄνομα.

Chetimus vero, Chetima Insulam tenuit. Cyrpus ea nunc vocatur. Et a bea omnes Insulae, ac maritima loca plura, ab Ebraeis Chetim dicuntur. Eius vero, quod dico, testis mihi una urbium, quae in Cypro,

<sup>8</sup> Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Cap X. ver. 4 et 5".

**<sup>9</sup>** Gen. 10,4-5. Transl. by Knox Bible (1949).

<sup>10</sup> Phoenician records name Kittim as Kt, or Kty, who settled on island of Cyprus (Steele 2013, 173; Scolnic, Davis 2015). Biblical reference to ships from Kittim may be also recorded by Balaam "But ships shall come from Kittim and shall afflict Asshur and Eber; and he also shall perish forever" (Num 24,24). Isaiah also mentions ships coming to Tyre from Kittim, which is translated Cyprus (Is 23,1-12). Jeremiah and Ezekiel also refer to the coasts of Kittim, also translated Cyprus (Jer 2,10; Ezek 27,6).

ac tueri nomen potuit: Citium enim vocatur, ab his, qui in linguam Graecam transtulerunt: nec sic quidem Chetimi nomen refugiens.<sup>11</sup>

Cethimus possessed the island Cethima: it is now called Cyprus; and from that it is that all islands, and the greatest part of the seacoasts, are named Cethim by the Hebrews: and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination; it has been called Citius by those who use the language of the Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dialect, escaped the name of Cethim.<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly, if we were to believe that Cetim himself, son of Yavan, was the builder of the city of Citium, it would be difficult to argue for such an opinion, but it has been held; at the most, we may agree that he was the first to establish a foundation there, which then seems to have been renewed by a colony of Phoenicians. <sup>13</sup>

Citiensis, ex Cypri urbe Graecanica, quam Phoenices incolebant.14

[Zeno] was a native of Citium in Cyprus, a Greek city which had received Phoenician settlers. 15

and Cicero.

Scis enim Citieos, clientes tuos, e Phoenica profectos. 16

For you are aware that your clients of Citium originally came from Phoenicia.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Original text in the 1787 edition is: "Χετιμος δὲ Χετιμα τὴν νῆσον ἔσχε. Κύπρος αὕτη νυν καλεῖταὶ καὶ ἄπ ἀυτῆς νῆσοὶ τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θαλασσαν Χετίμ υπὸ Ε΄βραίων ὀνομάζεταὶ μάρτυς δέμου τοῦ λόγου, μία τόν ἐν Κύπρω πολεων, ἰσχυσασα τὴν προσηγορίαν φυλάξαὶ. Κὶτιον γὰρ υπὸ τοῦ εξελληνισὰντων αυτην καλεῖται μηδ' οὕπφ διαφυγοῦσα τοῦ Χετὶμου τὸ ὄνομα". Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Joseph. Antiqu. Jud. Lib. I. Chap. ΧΙ".

<sup>12</sup> Joseph. AJ 1.128. Transl. by A.M. William Whiston 1895.

<sup>13</sup> While no kingdom of Kition is securely attested before the V century BC, it has been hypothesised that Kition might be identified with the kingdom of Qarthadasht ('New City' in Phoenician) listed on the prism of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (Yon 1997, 11; 2004, 19-22). Since the beginning of the VIII century BC, the material culture of Kition appears profoundly influenced by a "Phoenicisation" process (Satraki 2012; Iacovou 2018).

<sup>14</sup> Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "D. Laer. In vita Zenonis Citiensis. Lib. VII".

<sup>15</sup> Diog. Laert. Vitae Philosophorum VII.1. Transl. by R.D. Hicks (1972)

<sup>16</sup> Original text in the 1787 edition is: "Citiaeos, clientes tuos, e Phoenicia profectos". Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "De Fin. Lib. IV".

<sup>17</sup> Cic. Fin. IV.20. Transl. by H. Harris Rackham (1931).

We may presume that the Phoenicians moved there when the king of Tyre Belus built that city, and Lapithos, 18 as we know from Alexander Ephesius.19

The city of Citium, according to Strabo, was home to the philosopher Zeno, Prince, or Head of the Stoics, Thucydides also mentions this evidence.

Κίτιον: Κίτιον πόλις Κύπρου, ὅθεν ἦν Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς, φιλόσοφος. Citium urbs Cypri: e aua erat Zenon Citiensis Philosophus.<sup>20</sup>

Kition, city of Cyprus, where Zeno the philosopher came from. 21

A further Zeno from Citium is known, but this one was a Rhetorician. and perhaps also a Poet. Apollodorus from Citium is also referred to by Pliny as a physician.

Et contra viscum quoque dari Apollodori duo iubent: sed Citeus, semen ex aqua tritum; Tarantinus, succum.<sup>22</sup>

Both the physicians with the name of Apollodorus prescribe radishes to be given for mistletoe poisoning; but Apollodorus of Citium recommends the pounded seed in water, he of Tarentum the juice.<sup>23</sup>

From this same city also came Apollonius Physician, mentioned by Strabo as such when he described Citium.

έντεῦθέν έστι Ζήνων τε ὁ τῆς στωικῆς αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγέτης καὶ Άπολλώνιος ἰατρός.

<sup>18</sup> Belus appears as a legendary king of Tyre said by Virgil to have been the father of Dido of Carthage, Pygmalion of Tyre (Verg. Aen. 1.729). The name appears corresponding to a standard late rendering of the Akkadian Bel and Northwest Semitic Ba'al (both meaning 'Lord') as a theonym, personal name, or title. The possible original name may have been MTN-B'L (Matan-Ba'al, 'Gift of the Lord'), then transformed into Belus as a hypocorism. As to the reference to a Phoenician foundation, it may be likely derived from Nonnus of Panopolis (Nonnus, Dion. 13.432-3). Lapethos is called a Phoenician city by [Skylax] 103 (Müller 1855, 78). It has been suggested that Lapethos derives from a pre-Greek TN, given its divergent representation in Greek and Phoenician; but the correspondence of Gk.  $\theta$ /Phoen.  $\check{s}$  is now known to be normal (Lipiński 2004, 62).

<sup>19 \*</sup> According to others, Lapithus was built by the Spartans, and Strabo. A Loconibus condita, et Praxandro Lib. XIV. But Scilace himself says it was a Phoenician coloην, Ληπιθος Φοινικων.

<sup>20</sup> Original text in the 1787 edition is: "Κίτιον, πολις Κύπρου ὅθεν ἦν Ζηνων ὁ Κιτιεὸς. ο φιλοσοφος". Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Schol. Thucydides. Lib. I".

<sup>21</sup> Scholia in Thucydidem (scholia vetera et recentiora). 1.112 (3).

<sup>22</sup> Original reference in the 1787 edition is erroneous: "Lib. XX. Chap. IV".

<sup>23</sup> Plin. HN 20.13.25. Transl. by W.H.S Jones (1951).

Inde est Zeno Stoicae Sectea Princeps, et Apollonius Medicus.<sup>24</sup>

and here were born both Zeno, the original founder of the Stoic sect, and Apollonius, a physician.25

Cyril mentions Isigonus of Citium.<sup>26</sup>

Isigonus Cittiensis in Rhodo Insula Taurum dicit sermonis nostri non fuisse expertem.27

Isigonus from Citium argues that the bull on the Island of Rhodes was not an expert of our language.28

This one authored more books than the incredible Απίζων, referred to by Sotion.

Fons est Potniis iuxta Thebas, e quo postquam equi biberint in furorem aguntur: ut tradit Isogonus libro secundo Incredibilium.<sup>29</sup>

There is a spring in Potniai around Thebes whose waters cause horses that drink from it to go mad, as Isigonos records in the second book of Unbelievable Things.30

Perseus was born in Citium too, as he is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius in the life of Zeno, as he was one of his most brilliant students.

<sup>24</sup> Original text in the 1787 edition is: "Εντεδθέν ἰστι Ζηνων τε ὁ τῆς στωικῆς αἰρέσεως Α'ρχηγέτης καὶ Απολλώνιος, ιατρος". Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Lib. XIV".

Strabo Geography 14.6.3. Transl. by H.C. Hamilton, W. Falconer (1903).

<sup>26</sup> The mention of Isogonus of Citium along with both the following references to Cyril and Sotion is most probably derived from the Glossarium Greco-Barbaricum collected by the Dutch erudite Johannes van Meurs, whose complete works were made available by Giovanni Lami and published in Florence (van Meurs 1744). Lami appears among the Marit's correspondents in the Fondo Mariti in Bologna and Mariti himself makes an explicit reference to the Florentine edition of van Meurs' book in the Dissertazione (see below). Both the passages quoted appear identically listed in the third volume of van Meurs (1744, 675-6).

<sup>27</sup> Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Contra Iulianum Lib. III".

<sup>28</sup> Cyril. Adv. Iul. 3.22. Original Greek translated into Latin by van Meurs is: "Kai μὴν καὶ Ἰσίγονος ὁ Κιττιεὺς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τῆ νήσῳ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ταῦρόν φησιν οὐκ ἀμοιρῆσαι λόγου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς".

<sup>29</sup> Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Lib. De Flum".

<sup>30</sup> Original Greek translated into Latin by van Meurs is: "Κρήνη ἐν Ποτνίαις περὶ Θήβας, ἐξ ἦς οἱ ἵπποι πίνοντες μαίνονται, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἰσίγονος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπίστων". Transl. by R.J. Greene (1959).

Zenonis vero Discipuli, multi quidem. Sed clari, Persaeus, Demetri filius. Cittiensis.<sup>31</sup>

Of the many disciples of Zeno the following are the most famous: Persaeus, son of Demetrius, of Citium.<sup>32</sup>

Athenaeus also recalls it.

Quamvis Persaeo Cittiensi in commentariis convivialibus clamante, ac dicente, de rebus Venereis inter epulas mentionem facendam.<sup>33</sup>

although Persaeus of Citium, in his Recollections of Banquets, says loudly It is a very consistent subject of conversation at drinking-parties for men to talk of amatory matters.<sup>34</sup>

As for the history of the city of Citium, once the capital of the island of Cyprus, it is certain that it had to suffer all those to which the island itself was subjected to. One of the most significant events is the conquest by Amasi King of Egypt, who reigned in the Eighteenth Dynasty;<sup>35</sup> Amasi took it from the Assyrians and then destroyed it.

It is recounted by various ancient sources, but even if we ponder the ancient accounts better, one might perhaps conjecture that when Amasis took Citium and subjugated the island of Cyprus, the Cypriots were a free and independent people, and that they governed themselves.

Aprie King of Egypt,<sup>36</sup> called otherwise by Jeremiah Vafre, as attested by Diodorus<sup>37</sup> that he had defeated in naval combat both the Cypriots and the Phoenicians; probably they were confederates, but he does not remember under what rule they were then. And Aprie, satisfied in having defeated them, returned to Egypt.<sup>38</sup>

- 31 Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Lib. VII".
- 32 Diog. Laert. Vitae Philosophorum VII.1.36. Transl. by R.D. Hicks (1972).
- 33 Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Lib. XIII".
- 34 Ath. Deipn. 13.86. Transl. by C.D. Yonge (1854).
- 35 Amasi here might correspond to Ahmose II, who reigned in the Twenty Sixth Dinasty (570-26 BC), rather than to Ahmose I, Pharaon and founder of the Eighteenth Dinasty (mid-XVI Cent. BC). Most of our information about Ahmose II is derived from Hdt. 2.161, with scarce archaeological evidence about his reign.
- **36** Apries (Ancient Greek: Άπρίης) is the name by which Hdt. 2.161, Diodorus Siculus (1.68) and Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 13.10.23) designate Wahibre Haaibre of Egypt, the fourth pharaoh (counting from Psamtik I) of the Twenty Sixth Dynasty (589 BC-570 BC), predecessor of Ahomse II mentioned above.
- 37 Diodorus Siculus (1.68). Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Lib. I. Art 21".
- \* Aprie King of Egypt reigned twenty-five years. He began his reign in 595 B.C.

The usurper Amasi then ascended the throne of Egypt and subjugated the island of Cyprus and Citium suffered the same fate: and Amasi performed great sacrifices to the Gods<sup>39</sup> without there being any mention of whom that island was subject to, and without any presence of the Assyrians on that island, so that one may be confirmed in believing that the Cypriots were not then subject to the empire of any monarch.

We seem to be confirmed in this hypothesis by Herodotus, 40 who argues that Amasis was the first who subjected the Cypriots and made them tributaries. He also says that, as Amasis made them suffer a tyrannical government, they voluntarily submitted to the Persians at the time of Cambyses, son of Cyrus. Thus, it cannot be said that after the death of Amasis they were subject to the Assyrians since their monarchy was ended by Cyrus himself. So, it appears that Citium was taken from the Cypriots when their government was free and independent and not subject to the Assyrians.41

Cimon the Athenian son of Miltiades in the year III of Olympiad LXXXII, i.e. in 450 B.C. defeated the Persians in Cyprus with a mighty fleet and took away their maritime empire. In the following year he purchased most of Cyprus, conquered Citium, and died there.

Post negue ita multo in Cyprum cum ducentis navibus imperator missus, cum eius maiorem patrem insulae devicisset, in morbum implicitus, in oppido Citio est mortuus.42

<sup>\*</sup>Amasi King of Egypt reigned for forty-four years. He began to reign in 570 B.C.

Hdt. 2.161. Original reference in the 1787 edition is erroneous: "Lib. III".

<sup>41</sup> The complex dossier of relations between ancient Kition and the Assyria must include the key evidence of the Royal Stele erected in this city by the Assyrian king Sargon II in 707 BC. This basalt stone bears the royal portrait of Sargon II and a long cuneiform Akkadian inscription with the mention of the Cypriote vassal cities. According to Robert Merrillees (2016), the stele was found out in 1844 to the south-western section of the circuit city wall, and it was originally erected close to one of city gates. This is the westernmost Assyrian royal Stele and we may presume that it was originally intended to mark the extreme edge of the existing world in Assyrian terms. When the stele was erected, Phoenician still dominated Cyprus, although the Assyrians were now showing more interest in the island (Radner 2010). Gradually, the role of Tyre diminished, Assyrians began to establish direct contacts and the Cypriote élites increasingly began to incorporate Assyrian elements, in the figurative art and eventually in the social behaviours. These may also include ways of preparing and consuming food (Bombardieri 2017a). The widespread diffusion of exclusive objects can reveal an interesting phenomenon of adoption and assimilation of Assyrian elements in peripheral and foreign elites, such as the Cypriote élite.

Original text in the 1787 edition is: "Post neque ita multo in Cyprum cum ducentes navibus imperator missus, cum ejus majorem patrem Insulae devicisset, in morbum implicitus, in oppido Citio est mortuus". Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Corn. Nep. in Cimone".

Afterwards, but not much later, being sent as commander-in-chief to Cyprus with two hundred ships, after conquering the greater part of the island he was taken ill and died in the town of Citium. 43

Diodorus also clearly tells us about the expulsion of Citium by Cimon.

Cimon vero, cum in Cyprum appulisset, maris potens, Citium quidem expugnavit.44

Cimon, when he arrived in Cyprus and was master of the sea, reduced by siege Citium.45

Plutarch argues that Cimon died of illness in the siege or, as others would state, from a wound received while fighting there.

Decessit in obsidione Citii, ut pleriaue referunt, ex morbo, alii volunt ex vulnere, quod confligens cum Barbaris accepit.46

He died while besieging Citium, of sickness, as most say. But some say it was of a wound which he got while fighting the Barbarians. 47

The last king of Citium presented his sword to Alexander the Great and with it he defeated Darius, and Plutarch says that it was of admirable temper and lightness.48

Cyprus was once divided into nine kingdoms.

Quondam IX Regnorum fedem.49

In former times it was the seat of nine kingdoms. 50

- 43 Nep. Cim. 3.4. Transl. by J.C. Rolfe (1929).
- 44 Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Lib. XII".
- 45 Diod. Sic. Library of History 12.3.3. Transl. by C.H. Oldfather (1954).
- 46 Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "In vita Cim".
- 47 Plut. Cim. 19.1. Transl. by B. Perrin (1914).
- Plut. Alex. 32.9, where is mentioned: "He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Citieans". Transl. by B. Perrin (1914). Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Plut. In vit. Alex".
- Original reference in 1787 edition is erroneous: "Plin. Lib. V. Ch. 31".
- 50 Plin. HN 5.35. Transl. by K.F.T. Mayhoff (1906).

The city of Citium was the capital of one of them. This is sufficient for our purpose since there is no need to go back over those nine kingdoms on an island that can barely form one.51

As for its total and final destruction, it must not have happened before the year 210 AD, as can be seen from some medals found in its ruins. I can also add a number of them found later belonging to Septimius, Antoninus Caracalla, and Julia Domna with the Greek inscription, and on the reverse side the Temple of Paphos with the legend KOINON KY $\Pi$ P $\Omega$ N.<sup>52</sup> other coins with the head of Caracalla on one side, and that of Geta on the other. In addition to these, earlier medals were also found, belonging to Claudius Caesar Augustus with the Latin inscription, and on the reverse a laurel wreath, in the middle of which one can similarly read KOINON KY $\Pi$ P $\Omega$ N.

A head representing Antoninus Caracalla was also found there during excavations in 1767, and I was present when it was unearthed. Next to it were also found many of the above-mentioned medals. which together with the head passed into the hands of Mr. Timothy Turner, British Consul in Cyprus, who then sent this same head to England.53

He generously distributed the medals among his friends in Cyprus, and not a few he favoured myself, so that on my return to Tuscany I also made a new distribution, and especially to the Museum of the famous Etruscan Academy in Cortona.54

- 51 The reference to ancient sources transfers to Mariti's argument the memory of a peculiar fragmentation of Iron Age Cyprus polities. Records of Cypriot city kingdoms are elusive and mutable. Seven on the stele of Sargon (707 BC), Cypriot kings were ten to be listed on the prism of Esarhaddon (673-72 BC). Within a generation, with three new kingdoms appeared over the political scenario in a few years. Among the listed kingdoms by Esarhaddon, six are easily identifiable (Idalion, Chytroi, Paphos, Kourion, Tamassos and Ledra); two are probable (Soloi and Salamis), two remains uncertain (Qarthadasht and Nuria) (Fourrier 2021, 109).
- Koinon Kyprion constitutes the reference for the circulation of bronze coins on the island under the Roman rule, from the emperor Claudius. In the period of the Flavian dynasty and the Severan dynasty, the reference to this federation is associated with the depiction of Zeus of Salamis or alternatively with the representation of the temple of Aphrodite in Paphos, with the central betyl depicting the aniconic figure of the Goddess (Parks 2004; Amandry 2015).
- 53 Mariti met the English consul Timothy Turner, to whom he had been recommended by his friend Antonio Mondaini in Larnaca. Turner represented not only Great Britain in Cyprus, but also Tuscany and Holland, and he appointed Mariti vice-consul of the Tuscan consulate. All the 13 letters received from Timoty Turner kept in the Fondo Mariti in Bologna are dated back to 1766, a year before the discovery reported here. It is worth to mention that similar episodes may have frequently happened, as attested by the visit of Carsten Niebuhr in July 1766 and confirmed by Mariti at the beginning of the Dissertazione ("I had been looking at the ruins for five years").
- The actual donation of antiquities to the Accademia Etrusca at Cortona was finalised in August 1776 and consisted of three roman coins of Caracalla, Geta and Julia Domna. See above for its contextualised reconstruction.

But let us now turn to the true situation of the ancient city of Citium. Ptolemy thus situates Citium on the littoral of the island of Cyprus.

Κίτιον πόλις, Λᾶδες ἄκρα, Θρόνοι πόλις καὶ ἄκρα.

Citium, Urbs, Dades, Promontorium, Throni, Urbs, et Promontorium, 55

Kition, city. Dades, promontory. Throni, city and promontory.

Strabo also places Citium ahead of the Dades promontory.<sup>56</sup> Having found, with the help of these two ancient Geographers, that the ancient city of Citium must have remained to the West of the Dades promontory, we shall now proceed to figure out its more precise location. First, we need to find out which is the promontory named Dades, as they now bear different names from those they were called by the ancient Geographers.

My friend says that ancient Dades corresponds to the promontory, which is now called cape Citti. We established it at the other, more easterly cape, which is now called cape Pila. He excludes that the present cape Pila was the ancient Dades promontory, saying

che in tal quisa resterebbe senza alcuna antica denominazione il Capo Citti,

that this way the cape Citti would remain without any denomination,

and concluding that he may read in ancient maps the indication Dades promontory, where today is located cape Citti, and that therefore the city of Citium should be placed towards the west of it.

On the other hand, I do not lack examples of maps of equal merit, which mark the Dades promontory, where cape Pila is now. Worthy of mention is a nautical map drawn in the year 1358 in Menorca, where the Dades promontory is precisely noted where cape Pila can be now found. Additionally, Camozio, <sup>57</sup> and Porcacchi <sup>58</sup> similarly

<sup>55</sup> Ptol. Geog. 5.14.2. Original text in the 1787 edition is: Κιτίον, πόλις, Δάδες ἄκρα. Θρόνοι, πολις, καὶ ακρα.

Strabo Geography 14.6.3.

<sup>57</sup> Camozio, corresponds to Giovan Francesco Camocio who was active in Venice in the second half of sixteenth century; he authored 88 small geograpical maps then collected in a single volume known as Il Camocio and titled Isole famose, porti, fortezze, e terre marittime sottoposte alla Ser.ma Sig.ria di Venetia, ad altri Principi Christiani, et al Sig.or Turco, novamente poste in luce, in Venezia. While the maps included may be only partially attributed to Camocio, it is likely that Mariti is here referring to this album, which does not bear the year of publication. See Beans 1933.

<sup>58</sup> Porcacchi 1572.

mark the location of Dades. And Stephen Lusignan in his Chrografia of Cyprus, where he speaks of the island and its borders, describes these promontories in the following order:

Il Capo Chitti, la ponta delle Saline, il capo de dades, ouer il Capo Pila, il Capo Pedalio, ouer della Grea.<sup>59</sup>

cape Chitti, the cape delle Saline, cape Dades, or cape Pila, cape Pedalio, or the Greca.

It would seem, however, from this description that Lusignan failed to mention Throni, both the city and the promontory mentioned by Ptolemy; but it may be noted that Lusignan himself<sup>50</sup> does not fail to mention the city of Throni, even though there was no memory remained in his time, and says that

Troni era città anticamente; la quale era tra il Casale Pila, & Santa Napa,<sup>61</sup>

Throni was an ancient city, it was between the Casale Pila and Ayia Napa,

i.e. between cape Pila, or the Dades promontory, and the cape Greco, or the promontory Pedalium, or rather Idalium, since Santa Napa is located after cape Pila before reaching cape Greco; This way the description of this section of the coastline does not differ from that described by Ptolemy and Strabo. Camozio nothing differs from the Lusignan, and only marks, besides the city, also the promontory Throni in the same place between the Dades promontory, and the Pedalium promontory.

I referred to these two authors, as they are the ones, I have found to have best marked the coastlines of the Island of Cyprus; and much faith we can especially lend to the mentioned Lusignan, since besides being a Cypriot, he was also very familiar with the geography and landscape of that kingdom, and did not lack knowledge of the History, and of the Doctrine too. He was a Lector of the Dominican Order and boasted his descent from the Royal Family of Lusignan.

Among various Geographical maps my adversary proposes to me, he makes specific reference to that published by our celebrated Dot-

<sup>59</sup> Original text in Lusignan 1573, 4. Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "p. 3. a ter.".

<sup>60</sup> Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "p. 10. a ter.".

<sup>61</sup> Original text in Lusignan 1573, 4.

tor Giovanni Lami in the works by Meursio. My friend regards as having been established on the traces of the Geography of Ptolemy and Strabo, in which he finds the Dades promontory situated at cape Citti. But during the time that he finds himself favoured by that map with respect to the situation of the mentioned promontory, he does not notice the difference, which he then makes with respect to the situation of Citium, which is situated there between the Dades promontory and the Throni promontory, thus remaining to the east of the Dades promontory, when according to Ptolemy and Strabo, Citium should have remained situated to the west. Thus, he needs to give up for a moment considering that he finds in that map a great deal of accuracy.

But here is how I describe this stretch of coastline for the sake of clarity, and in order to be able to see at a glance how the city of Citium stood in relation to the above-mentioned promontories.

I, cape Citti. II, CITIUM. III, Dades promontory, today cape Pila. IV, City, and promontory Throni, V, Pedalium promontory, or rather Idalium, today cape Greco.

To the eventual problematic issue that cape Citti would be left without any denomination by describing the coastline this way, I will reply that I do not see why it is claimed that this *cape* should have any other denomination above the present one, and that it should go back as far as the most ancient geographers. For a moment Ptolemy omitted it; what could be easier than to see it omitted even by his ancient followers? That perhaps there are still now on the island other promontories, capes, and locations not mentioned by that Geographer? But this minute examination has no place here. Everyone can satisfy himself on the remaining discussion. We have, however, the very name of cape Citti, and we do not know the time when it originated, and if it is mentioned in the old maps and by some of the old geographers. Why, then, can this not be its ancient name, without claiming another from more remote antiquity, and from Ptolemy himself?

Having thus established concerning this part of the littoral, it will then be observed that we can admittedly move to assert that Citium was, and should also be in rigour of Geography, where its ruins can be observed today by all of us, i.e. between Borgo delle Saline and the City of Larnica or, more exactly, on the border of the city of Larnica, since Larnica presently partly covers ancient Citium.

My friend argues that Porcacchi in his *Isolario*, <sup>63</sup> after having placed the Dades promontory where now we are placing it, and the other geographers placed it,

si contraddice poi mettendo Citium ove è il presente Villaggio di Citti.

Contradicts himself by placing Citium where the present village of Citti is.

But with good grace of my friend, he swaps, while Porcacchi always places it in this way west of Dades, where Ptolemy and Strabo had placed it, only prolongs its situation too far to the west, since in his time a more exact observation had not been made that Citium should remain further to the east of the village of Citti about six and a half miles, to the west of the Dades promontory.

He regrets very much that I have strayed from his sentiment, and that of many other modern authors, who wanted to attribute to the present village of Citti what belongs to the ancient city of Citium, convinced that famous and ancient city was located where now extends that village.

We will certainly not take into consideration what Porcacchi concluded about it, nor what Lusignan himself said about the village of Citti, much less what Dapper, <sup>64</sup> Cavalier Janua, and Drummond wrote about it, and others who were misled by the name of the village. <sup>65</sup>

This village of Citti had been a Casale at the time when the Lusignan ruled Cyprus, and it was a fief of one of their family, and as Stefano Lusignano says in his *Chorografia* 

Fu feudo di Chiarone, ovver Gariù Lusignano, del quale fu privato dall'ultimo Re Bastardo, e di poi fu venduto dalla Signoria di Venezia alli Podochatari. 66

it was a fief of Chiarone, or Gariù Lusignano, of which it was deprived by the last Bastard King and was then sold by the Venetian lordship to the Podochatari.

The similarity of the name, or rather the very name of Citti, which is somewhat approximate to that of Citium, has certainly persuaded modern travellers, and the inhabitants of the island, to believe that the ancient Citium is to be found in this village, resting their belief

- 63 Porcacchi 1572.
- 64 Dapper 1688.
- 65 Drummond 1754, 143-5.
- 66 Lusignan 1573, 10.

more on the name of Citti, which is originated by the cape which is near this village, but this false belief will cease, when it is observed, that the cape did not take its name from the village, but the village took it from the cape itself, and this was presumably due to the increasing the fertility of land surrounding the cape Citti.

As for this cape, it must have acquired such a name, since the city of Citium was the closest city found going from this cape towards the east. Not far from the sea, it was the closest city where there was a port, whose vestiges are still visible in my time; this was mentioned by Strabo, saying that it could be closed.<sup>67</sup>

εἶτα κολπώδης καὶ τραχὺς παράπλους ὁ πλείων εἰς Κίτιον... ἔχει δὲ λιμένα κλειστόν.<sup>68</sup>

Then comes the coasting-voyage to Citium, which for the most part is sinuous and rough. Citium has a harbour that can be closed.<sup>69</sup>

On the top of it there was probably a lighthouse, or an ancient tower that watched over it; in the same place a few years ago, there was an old windmill, which I hear that has now been demolished. Furthermore, there is no evidence of a city in the village of Citti, whose few remaining buildings belong to Christian times.

As far as Citium itself is concerned, where and how it appears to us, the foundations of many old structures have been found out and, during all the years I stayed in Cyprus, they continued to be unravelled, most of them being large squared dressed stones, then used for the foundations of other buildings currently being constructed across nearby Larnica.

Also, the antiquities found make it certain that a city was placed there. Moreover, having returned in 1783 from his journeys before continuing to travel abroad, Signor Abbot Sestini, my cousin, who also visited Cyprus, assured me that new ancient evidence had been traced back, and especially some Roman inscriptions, which he is go-

<sup>67</sup> The canal illustrated which connected the basin of the ancient port to the sea on the first plan by Mariti (1769) no longer reaches the coast in the offset plan of Citium in the Dissertazione. Travellers since the beginning of nineteenth century still saw this port basin, as attested by Mas-Latrie in 1847, reported by Yon 2011, 38: "le bassin que j'ai vu combler pendant mon séjour à Larnaca, mais dont on trouve le dessin dans Mariti et Drumond, était certainement le port fermé (κλειστὸς λιμήν) dont il est question dans Strabon".

<sup>68</sup> Original text in the 1787 edition is: "Κίτιον, εχει λιμένα κλειστόν. Citium, habet portum, qui claudi potest". Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Lib. XIV".

<sup>69</sup> Strabo Geography 14.6.3. Transl. by H.C. Hamilton, W. Falconer (1903).

ing to publish in his book. He is also of the constant feeling that the ruins of Citium should be sought there and not elsewhere. 70

Additional evidence should be presented to persuade me to place Citium, where is now located the village of Citti. Thus, it has been reminded to me that salterns are mentioned by old writers as being near Citium; and I do not contradict this; here is what Pliny argues about.

In Bactris duo lacus vasti, alter ad Scythas versus, alter ad Arios sale aestuant: sicut ad Citium in Cypro.<sup>71</sup>

In Bactriana there are two vast lakes; one of them situate on the side of Scythia, the other on that of Ariana, both of which throw up vast quantities of salt. So, too, at Citium, in Cyprus.<sup>72</sup>

And further on in the same place.

Marinorum maxume laudatur Cyprius a Salamine, de stagnis Tarentinus ac Phrygius, qui Tattaeus vocatur. Hi duo oculis utiles. E Cappadocia qui in laterculis adfertur cutis nitorem dicitur facere. Magis tamen extendit is quem Citium appellavimus. Itaque a partu ventre meo cum melanthio inlinunt.<sup>73</sup>

Of the sea salt the most in favour comes from Salamis in Cyprus, of pool salt that from Tarentum and that from Phrygia which is called Tattaean. The last two are useful for the eyes. The salt imported from Cappadocia in little bricks is said to impart a gloss to the skin. But the salt I have said comes from Citium smooths the skin better, and so after childbirth it is applied with melantium to the abdomen.<sup>74</sup>

Although Pliny's description keeps us in doubt as to whether these salterns lie to the west or east of Citium, even if they now lie between the village of Citti and Larnica, near which are the ruins of the ancient Citium, as they are closer to this city than to the village, it does not seem to me that my friend can find all the reasons for this too.

- 70 Sestini 1788, 142-3. See above in detail.
- 71 Original reference in 1787 edition is: "Lib XXXI. Chap. 7".
- 72 Plin. HN 31.39. Transl. by K.F.T. Mayhoff (1906).
- 73 Original text in the 1787 edition is here summed-up by Mariti as follows: "Marinorum maxime laudatior (sal) Cyprius, in Salamine. Magni tamen extendit is, qui Citeum appellavimus".
- 74 Plin. HN 31.41. Transl. by W.H.S. Jones (1963).

Conversely, I may corroborate my sentiment by examining the distance of two hundred stadia, which Diodorus Siculus assigns between the city of Salamis and that of Citium.

καὶ παρέπλευσεν εἰς Κίτιον, τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἀπέχον σταδίους διακοσίους.

Et appulit Citium, quod Salamine distat ducenta stadia.<sup>75</sup>

and coasted along to Citium, which was distant from Salamis two hundred stades.<sup>76</sup>

As is known, two hundred stadia correspond to twenty-five miles. Several times I made that journey, especially from Famagusta to Larnica, which was the ancient Citium, and I could measure the following distances.

I. From the ruins of Salamis to Famagusta. M. 6 II. From Famagusta to Larnica. M. 25 Total distance M. 31

That is 48 stadia more than those noted by Diodorus.<sup>77</sup> However, it is true that the actual roads do not have the appearance of being those which they might have been in antiquity, as they run too far towards the north; and it might be evaluated at a glance that if we took a more straight line of direction, we might save the above-mentioned six miles (48 stadia) or at least a good part of them, and then we would agree in the account with Diodorus, and thus find Citium in its very place where we place it. And conversely, if we were to extend as far as the village of Citti, we would find a distance from Salamis of almost 300 stadia. Which would be definitively too far from what Diodorus stated.

After all the above debated objections raised up by my friend, he goes on with the idea of confirming and reinforcing his hypothesis, through an examination of the present city of Larnica, in which he finds no ancient memory before Christian times, and only may trace back in its name that of <code>Sepulchre</code>, which corresponds to the Greek word  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\nu\alpha\xi$ . He argues that from this denomination the other sim-

<sup>75</sup> Original text in the 1787 edition is: "Καὶ κατέπλουσεν εἴς Κἴτιον, τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἀπίχον σταδὶους διακοσίους". Original reference in the 1787 edition to: "Lib. XX".

<sup>76</sup> Diod. Sic. Library of History 20.49.2. Transl. by C.H. Oldfather (1954).

<sup>77</sup> Diod. Sic. Library of History 20.49.2. Transl. by C.H. Oldfather (1954).

ilar ones of Arnaca, Arnaco, and especially the present one of Larnica, or Larnaca, were originated.<sup>78</sup>

But before following him across his conjecture, which is not far from the truth in this particular respect, I will say here that Larnica seems to have been a land, which then grew because of the convenience of the navy and trade, and that the close ruins of Citium must have been convenient for the increase and enlargement of its buildings, as they are at present, so that it can now be corrected as a city. Currently, the major branches of foreign trade may be found in Larnaca, here all the European Houses of Commerce are gathered and have their sieges and the Consuls of the Christian Princes their residences. We may add what Lusignan says about when describes the commerce in his times:

E per rispetto a questo meza lega dalla Marina è un Casale Grande, che veramente è una terra grossa per rispetto delli mercadanti, e delle mercanzie, e però mandano un Capitano Veneziano Gentilhuomo, il quale ogni due anni si muta. Et già la Signoria determinò di dare un altro Casale al Sincritico, e questo farla Terra libera, e nobilitarla.<sup>79</sup>

in respect to this, half a league from the Marina is a large Casale Grande, which is truly a Terra Grossa in respect to the Mercadanti, and of the Merchandise, and therefore they send a Venetian Captain Gentiluomo, who changes every two years. Already the Seignory has determined to give another Casale to the Syncritic, and this will make it a free Land. and ennoble it.

Let us now go back to our friend, who, after reminding us of the name of Larnica as originating from the Greek word for *Sepulchre*, moves on elaborating his argument that the ruins where we place Citium rather belong

a un quartiere, o a un subborgo dell'antica città di Citium.

to a district or a suburb of the ancient city of Citium.

<sup>78</sup> The etymology here argued both by Mariti and then re-proposed by Mondaini in his *Lettera* is particularly fortunate and widely reported (e.g. Clarke 1812, 808). Still recently, Yon (2011, 24): "On le met en rapport avec les nombreux sarcophages de pierre qu'on n'a cessé d'y découvrir; il serait peut-être, plus précisément, lié à la découverte à la fin du ixe siècle du sarcophage présumé de saint Lazare, 'l'ami du Christ' ressuscité par lui, et premier évêque de Kition".

<sup>79</sup> Lusignan 1573, 10.

It is someway curious that he should suppose this to be a suburb, or quarter of the ancient city, whereas, locating Citium, where is now the village Citti, would give to that city so great an extent, that it would include even the *Saline*, about six miles and a half far. But we leave this argument as absurd. He keeps on considering the original meaning of *Sepulchre* attributed to Larnica and says that the aforementioned Larnica

era il luogo ove si dava sepoltura agli abitanti di Citium, come lo dimostrano i vari Sepolcri, che si trovano dentro Larnica presente, o poco distanti da essa

was the place where the inhabitants of Citium were buried, as shown by the various Sepulchres, which are found within the present Larnica, or not far from it.

If one looks at Citium where he would like it to be, i.e. where Citti is now, it will be easy to persuade oneself that the burial ground of its inhabitants should not be so far away as this one is about six and a half miles, since we do not admit that Citium, or a district of it, or a suburb of it, extended from the village of Citti to the place where our real Citium is situated. Such a distance may be excluded, but one may agree that Larnica was the burial ground of Citium.

In the time of my stay in Cyprus, and more precisely in 1766, many Sarcophagi were found to the north of Larnica, and in an elevated place. These were of a kind of very soft marble, and capable of containing a lying corpse, but without inscriptions, and in some there were several heads with small terracotta pots filled with tiny bones, which looked like birds. The land where these were discovered belonged to Signor Zambelli, a Venetian shopkeeper, and the bricklayers came across it when they were laying the foundations of a house, which the said Signor Zambelli had built there.<sup>80</sup>

The Turks claimed that he had disturbed the repose of the dead Muslims, but once it was shown that the human bodies were not arranged there according to their ritual, and that they belonged to very ancient times, everything was calmed down with a few gifts. Two other repositories, or rather burial chambers, can still be observed outside the enclosure of the ancient wall and moat of Citium. Each one is formed of large, huge stones joined together, which must have been transported there from some hills about ten miles away.

<sup>80</sup> The mentioned Zambelli may be tentatively identified with Giovanni Antonio Zambelli, who also served as Venetian pro-consul in Larnaca in 1769-70 (Constantini 2009, 174; Merrillees 2023, 26). In the offset map of Larnaca published in the *Dissertazione* [fig. 3] the Residence of the Ventian Consul and the House of Zambelli appear located in the same spot (no. 4).

The same friend of mine, in order to confirm that Larnica was a burial ground, says that he came down to see many such tombs, among which he esteems remarkable.

one found under the house of a certain Yianni the watchmaker Cypriot, consisting of a large vaulted chamber supported by two arches. in which were two deposits with a few bones inside, some of which exceeded the ordinary stature of the largest men of our times.

He adds that in the garden of the House of the Three Cypresses:

four sepulchral chambers of various sizes had been discovered at the time when the French shopkeeper Monsieur Hermitte lived there, built on the same model as the above-mentioned ones, and others had been found in those surroundings.

Mr. Dapper, who travelled to Cyprus in the early years of this century, described Larnica once as a very beautiful and well-populated city, as evidenced by the monuments and ruins that can be seen near the seashore, where he says that coins and many tombs were being found out during digging works.81

Larnica, could not show any evidence of its past grandeur or beauty at the beginning of this century, and the ancient monuments of which Dapper speaks about were the ruins of the ancient Citium. These, along with the sepulchres and caves, now still lie under the ground and after the removal of many stones the land is now cultivated.

From this evidence, we may easily conclude that Larnica was indeed a burial ground and that this burial ground belonged to the city of Citium, not far from it, as was the ancient custom, and as is still practised by the Easterners, who have their burial grounds on the main roads not far from the cities, and not at a distance of six and a half miles, or a little more, or a little less from Citium, as my friend suggests.

Having thus demonstrated that the actual Citium was extending where we place it, we will move on to make a further argument, which will equally confirm us in our sentiment.

If we accept that Cetim, Noah's great-grandson, was the first to settle the island of Cyprus (we must face this fact, whatever it may be), therefore, it is certain that on crossing the sea and landing in Cyprus, he must have known the Gulf and the coast very suitable for disembarking and consequently he must have fixed here his abode point.

<sup>81</sup> Olfert Dapper never travelled to the island (nor to any other locations he wrote about), information and illustrations published relied on secondary sources (Tsampika Lampitsi 2023; Arkan 2021)

His successors did not have to depart from a location that appeared the most useful for international trading. Since the Cypriots were famous at sea in the next periods, and were friends of the Phoenicians, they must have only considered maritime place favourable for their trade, and the recovering and placement of their fleets. For that reason, it does not appear that they could have rather chosen the alternative location of Citti Village, where there is neither good coastline nor favourable harbour.

After having argued that the famous city of Citium was placed where we have indicated it, it is certainly true that, in consideration of the steady upheaval and the destruction of the buildings' foundations occurred, its actual location will soon be lost. By good fate, Mr. Niebuhr himself made a certain remedy for this. After several trips and visits to the area where this city once stood, with the aim at perpetuating its memory, he decided to draw the exact plan that I reproduce here, of the same size and measure, which was sketched by the aforementioned Cavaliere. In this plan the layout of Larnica will also be observed, in relation to itself and to Citium. The lines that appear crossing on the mentioned plan, correspond to the practicable and walkable roads, as they were traced in my time, and intersecting the ruins of ancient Citium to some extent.

This is the reply I should have addressed to my friend in Aix, with whom we have always been on good terms, and we are too, but as I am with Marcus Valerius Martialis who

Aurum, et opes, et rura frequens donabit Amicus Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus erit.

Many a friend will give gold and riches and land, but one prepared to yield in talent will be found but seldom.<sup>83</sup>

**<sup>82</sup>** Mariti met Carsten Niebuhr during his visit to Cyprus in July 1766. Most likely, the map that illustrates Larnaka in the *Dissertazione* could be also based on the on-site observations they made together in the area where traces of ancient Kition were emerging.

<sup>83</sup> Mart. Epigrammata 8.18.1. Transl. by D.R. Shackleton Bailey (1993).

# Letter from a Tuscan Traveller Written from Cyprus to an Etruscan Academic

In Livorno, at Carlo Giorgi, With Approval 1786 Fratelli Martini Typography, Price I, Tosc. I

## The publisher

This Letter that now comes to light recently came from Cyprus to a Friend of mine, who graciously gave it to me.

It is written in a natural, easy, and vague style; and being scattered with History, Philosophy, Poetry, and pleasantness, I have decided to make it known and publish sure that the public should be grateful to me, as I have provided them at little expense with an instructive and entertaining book.

### Dearest Friend,

You travelled across this Country a few years ago and already described its history. Not satisfied enough with that, now you are coming to me and seek further news about. But what would I have to add to what you have already described?

Nonetheless, my recent journey to the region of Limassol convinced me to give you a report of this little excursion, which I conducted for my own pleasure last Spring. Then, you will use the way you prefer this little *Odeporicon*, which I make a gift to you.<sup>84</sup>

I do know that nothing will probably benefit your erudite ideas from reading it, I am sorry, but I no longer feel inclined to peruse large volumes to be considered a scholar.

It is true that if I find out an old monument on my way, I stop examining it, and if this monument is worthy of admiration, then I admire it. If I come across an ancient inscription, I am pleased to read it, nor do I despise numismatics, but I little care for the waste of my time in studying fragmented marbles and worn bronzes, or at most in unravelling certain enigmas. I am happy to wander alone without running the risk that my interpretations might produce more and more ignorance, as it often happens while one would like to instruct.

<sup>84</sup> Odeporicon connotates the narration of a journey, including motivations and processes of the travel, the overall information gathered and its interpretation. Hodoeporics is a standard of late eighteenth century literary production and an established literary genre, widely diffused and consumed in Western Europe. For a general reference to travel literature see Monga 1996; Cachey Jr. 1996.

But this letter will make you realise that I am not at all melancholic in nature, although my temperament is inclined to seriousness, but since a certain age I have tried to correct it, to such an extent that if I want to be a philosopher now and then, I can only sustain it for a short time.

You will remember how ingenious I was in take the troubled thoughts away from me; and this has now made my soul cheerful. Try to despise boring things if you want to live contentedly. Fate has often played a trick on me, but my method has led me healthy and well to a happy age. You yourselves once had little regard, and genius; if continued this way of life, you would live above others.

Now we are between us separated since long time. A flattery brought you back to Europe, and a different idea from yours still keeps me in Asia. Our hearts, however, will be indivisible, our correspondence will continue to approach each other, and the thick news of our existence will console us. But let us come to our purpose.

You firmly know the physical constitution of this Country; it is in substance the same as when the laughing Graces and the tenderest Amori settled there. But the time, steady destroyer, has forgiven nothing to this blessed island, so called *Macaria* by the ancient writers. Therefore, one can no longer observe anything but what Nature has bestowed upon her, but what is sufficient to satisfy the wanderer and the curious traveller.<sup>85</sup>

The splendour and beauty which arts, industry, tranquillity, riches, and good humour are wont to give to famous cities and kingdoms is lacking here; nor can we expect it here, where oppression reigns, and where a despotic government, by reducing these peoples to its system, has rendered them inert, without strength, without genius, and without will. And one may hardly detect good sentiments still surviving among some of them, and a shadow of that vivacity, which was typical of the Greek peoples; so difficult is it to change the inclinations of people without changing their climate and physical influence. By forcing the Natural, one makes monsters of them.

Nemosia, formerly called the New City of Limassòl, from where I just came back. 86 This new City 87 was built by Guido De Lusignani in great art, splendour, and magnificence. When the Turks made themselves masters of the island over the Venetians, after having sacked

<sup>85</sup> A long-standing reference to the epithet Macaria can be detected in the description of the island, e.g. Knolles 1603.

**<sup>86</sup>** This section corresponds to the beginning of the fourth Letter by Namindio manuscripted by the author in 1785 and then edited by Rita Severis (Namindio 2007).

<sup>87</sup> On the origin and possible multi-etymologies of Nemosia/Nemesos see Hatzioannou 1983; Severis 2007, no. 140; Nicolaou-Konnari, Schabel 2015.

it, they abandoned it to the flames. From that time on, under such despotic and destructive rule, it has never been able to rise again.

The convenience of its harbour and coastline has always kept a way open for trade, although it is now a low settled place and the people who remain are housed in small, uncomfortable houses.

Since the inhabitants do not have any authority who may represent them to the government, they do not count on any effective protection from the ongoing harassments they suffer from the Turks. On the other hand, there are a few old lineage and wealthy families there.

The traffic is even more active in summer, when the calmness of the sea allows small vessels to navigate in steady connection with Syria for wheat, barley, acquavite, cheese, salt and other products that pass through the province. There is a Lake at a short distance from the city, which forms Salt, but it is not of a large extension.

On the evening of my arrival, I was invited to a wedding, which was about to take place there. I was told that it was one of the most important alliances in the city. My inner curiosity advised me to join the event. I went to the house of the bride, where, according to custom, the ceremonial should take place.<sup>88</sup>

I was greeted by the relatives with demonstrations of joy, and respect, as it is an honour for the inhabitants of the island to have Europeans at such a solemn family occasion.

Introduced into a room, I found the city's clergy summoned, which was reduced to six persons, in addition to all the relatives and guests. The back of the room was filled with females, who formed a semicircle with double ranks. In the middle sat the *Niffi*, that is the Bride, having on one side, and on the other the *Paraniffi*, who are the two ladies destined to her service during the wedding.

This was a young girl of 18 years old, well-formed, tall and with a handsome face. Her name was Sofia.

Stava con gli occhi bassi, e di modestia
L'immagine direste ch'essa fosse;
Ond'in mirarla, amor mi fe molestia.
Purpurea rosa, ch'il suo brio produsse
Fra i gigli sul mattin; tale il bel volto
L'ammirabil rossor in se ridusse.
Dentro la bella bocca stea raccolto
Sigaleonte il taciturno Dio,
Ch'impediva al bel labbro d'esser sciolto;
Ond'era un simulacro al parer mio
Eretto sull'altar dell'illusione

**<sup>88</sup>** The entire episode of the wedding provides us with a set of relevant information concerning marriage custom and fashion in eighteenth century Cyprus. See references by Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 1996 in a greater detail.

Per dimorarci immobile, e restio. All'aspetto, alla forma, e proporzione Appagar si potea l'uman desio, Ma la Vener parea di Pigmalione.<sup>89</sup>

He stood with his eyes downcast, and you would say it was the image of Modesty; whereupon in gazing at her, Love made me uneasy. Purpure rose, which her joy produced among the morning lilies. The admirable redness made her face that splendid. Inside the beautiful mouth is gathered Sigaleon the taciturn God, who prevented the beautiful lip from being loose. Whereupon it was a simulacrum in my mind erected on the altar of Illusion to dwell resting and unwilling. To her appearance, form, and proportion, human desire could be satisfied. But Venus seemed to belong to Pygmalion.

Thus, all Greek brides demonstrate such a truthfulness on their wedding day that let them appear, motionless, deaf, and mute.

I looked at her for a while in that invariable pose. She was richly dressed, and her head was adorned with handkerchiefs of the finest veil embroidered with gold. On the left-hand side, she was artfully and symmetrically arranged with flowers, their freshness alluded to the fresh rose on her face. A large handkerchief, more shining than the others, from the back of her head rested on her shoulders. A gold necklace enriched with pearls adorned her neck. A shirt of the finest and most transparent silk discreetly covered her chest with the graces it concealed. Her round, snow-white arms were adorned with rich jewels, and her hands held close together were covered with a white veil embroidered with gold, and with bixin-like coloured silk. 90

In my deepest examination, when my imagination was feeding on delight, a person approached me, shook me, and offered me a candle; I accepted it, and afterwards others were dispensed to the assistants. At that moment all the candles were lit up, and the ceremony began.

Four musicians, or singers, who shouted like crazy then began their song with a cheerful, festive tone.

Era d'inverno, e mi sembrava il Maggio, Quando i Rosignuoli a lunghe orecchie Co i lor canti ad Amor rendono omaggio.

<sup>89</sup> This specific section is structured in *terza rima* or *terzina*, a stanzaic form, used most notably by Dante Alighieri in *Commedia*. Despite the hendecasyllabic verse was already in use in the Italian lyrics, the *terzina* and the *ottava* were still popular in late eighteenth century, especially for descriptive sections in verses. See Beniscelli, Tatti 2016 with references.

<sup>90</sup> On the dressing style of traditional Cypriote wedding in eighteenth century see Pιζοπούλου-Ηγουμενίδου 1996 and Hadjikyriakos 2009, with references.

It was winter, but I felt like it was May, when the long-eared warblers with their songs pay homage to Love.

The entire assembly gathered in the hall, so that the crowd of people became excessive for such a small space.<sup>91</sup>

The Priest with his assistants stood in the middle among the bride and groom, and the Paraniffi. They were followed by the godfather and godmother, and by the father and mother, along with the closest relatives. All together formed a circle in the midst of the hall. The musicians fell silent, and the *Papàs* dressed in sacred robes began their chanting, which I found sweet and regular.

At this time the priest placed the *Stefani*<sup>92</sup> on the heads of the bride and groom, and they held hands. *Sophia's* was truly white, and well-made.

Viddesi allora quella bianca mano

Delle grazie formata sul modello, E si viddero spandere pian piano Rose novelle sul suo volto bello. Intatte rose, a cui labro profano Non osò approssimar l'ardor gemello, Ed unite dei gigli al bel candore Facean corona al verginal pudore.<sup>93</sup>

Then we saw that white hand shaped on the model of Graces, we saw slowly spread-out new roses on his beautiful face. Intact roses, to which profane lip dared not approach the twin ardour, and together with lilies to the beautiful whiteness, they crowned the shameful modesty.

Thus, the beautiful *Sophia* stood with her bridegroom, and at the same time the priest gave the nuptial blessing. Afterwords, they both received the Holy Communion, with bread and wine according to the rite of the Eastern Church. It took some time to perform this ceremonial, after that the function of Church was completed. However, this ceremony was followed by another specific ritual established by a Cypriot custom, which is practised at all weddings on the island.

<sup>91</sup> Improvised verses in the form of a dialogue between two singers (*tsiatistà*) were traditionally performed during wedding festivals. Severis reports that they have typically produced challenging confrontations among the participants to the party, if one of bride's ex-suitors appeared on stage and sang (Severis 2007, no. 146).

<sup>\*</sup> Stefani means crown, or garland of flowers.

<sup>93</sup> The section structured in quartine appears vaguely inspired by the Epithalamion, a genre particularly fortunate in the tradition of Italian Arcadian Academy (Riccardo Donati, pers. comm.).

The whole circle of participant to the ceremony set in motion to make a tour of the hall itself. During this performance, the relatives and friends threw up wheat into the air so that the wheat descended fell on the bride and groom, and in the meantime, 94 they keep on singing stanzas with the following meaning:

Deh concedi ai fidi Sposi Giusto Ciel con larga mano Beni, e figli virtuosi. Ed in copia equal al grano.

Give to the faithful bride and groom abundant Heaven, goods, and virtuous children, and equally give them the wheat.

An old woman, who was all moved by the tenderness that such a solemnity inspired in her, also turned round, and instead of singing. went weeping. She was standing behind the priest, and being pushed by the crowd, she set fire to his thick and scattered hair without realising it. You know that Greek priests have a large head of hair scattered over their shoulders.

The fire spread off in a moment. The priest with his head on fire gave piercing screams, as the fire stuck there with unusual stubbornness did not want to extinguish.

Suddenly, the confusion and disorder became extraordinary. All people around, penetrated by grief for the good priest, tumultuously struck him on the head with their hands, trying to extinguish the flames, others took the decision of throwing water they found there on him, but all without discretion or consideration, to such an extent that poor Papa began to cry out: "Stop! It's enough! I feel like drowning, my poor head has suffered more under the fury of your hands than the disaster of the two elements".

In the end, the fire was extinguished with great harm of the poor priest, who also had his eyelashes burnt and - and this is even worse - in addition to his hair, he also found himself with half of his beard burnt off.

I lack sufficiently vivid colours to paint a picture of the singular aspect he had after he suffered the fire. The compassion on him was truly universal, but I do not know for what bizarre reason few of the by standers could hold back laughter as they gazed at that priest, who did not leave the hall. The wittiest imagination would be lost in painting the picture, be content enough to know

<sup>94</sup> This performance corresponds to the standard of the so-called dance of Isaiah in the Orthodox liturgy. At the final stage of the dance, relatives and friends used to throw over the bride and groom corn, rice and pomegranate seeds, recalling prosperity and fertility (cf. e.g. Riak 2019).

che la pietosa, e venerabil scena Si converse in grandissima risata. Tantoché ognun potea parlare appena. La faccia del *Papàs* arsa, e strinata Ridotta nerra a guisa di un carbone Era da fare orror a una brigata. Con mezza barba, e i cigli in combustione, Con la testa percossa, ed abbruciata Il Ritratto parea del gran Plutone.

that the pitiful, venerable scene converted into great laughter, so loud that everyone could barely speak. Papa's face burnt and wrinkled, turned into the guise of coal, horrified the whole brigade. With half of his beard, and burning eyelashes, with his head beaten and scorched, he appeared as the portrait of the great Pluto.

In such a strange, curious, and unexpected event, which finally lead everyone to laughter, the beautiful Sophia also lost the serious attitude, under which her liveliness was hidden, and appeared serene and laughing, like everyone else around.

Oual Stella che traspar fra un'Atmosfera Carca di nebbia, e pregna di vapori, La brillante sua luce offusca, e annera Tutta eclissata dai terrestri umori. Risplende poi qual Astro di Citera Se Borea sorte fier di grembo a Dori, Così Sofia ridendo, il serio velo Ruppe, fugò le Nubi, e mostrò il Cielo. 95

Like a star shining through a fog-laden atmosphere full in vapours, her brilliant light, eclipsed by earthly moods, dims, and blackens. Then shines as the Star of Kythera, if Borean fate get proud of Dorians' lap; thus, Sofia laughs and broke the serious veil, dispelled the clouds, and showed the Sky.

This way the wedding came to an end, and as the hour was late, I moved away from the others and left for my quarters.

The following morning. I was sent a present on behalf of the bride and groom consisting of a silk shirt and a set of similar pants, along with a white veil belt richly embroidered at both ends. This is evidence of esteem, which the Cypriotes demonstrate to the most distinguished persons among the guests. I received it with sentiments

of gratitude, and I demonstrated my gratitude in the most task-like manner possible. I stayed the whole day in the house bound by a continuous rain, and the next morning, as the weather was clearing up. I mounted my horse and left Limassol.

Moving towards the East, 96 I found out the promontory known today as Capo delle Gatte. In explaining the name's origin, Tradition mentions that the island became depopulated and deserted, after having suffered several years of drought during the reign of Constantine the Great. The Greeks who returned to settle the island after this disaster, found in this area such a quantity of snakes that the access was hardly possible.

After trying every possible solution to free the area from the snakes, they figured the best expedient was to have cats hunt them down. The Calogeri or Greek monks who lived in the vicinity gathered many them, which they kept and fed in the monastery, which still exists and is called Akrotiri. 97 This way they managed to kill all these reptiles in a short time and made that boundary clean and accessible.98

This Monastery presently gives its name to a village, which later formed there. Its extension is not large, the situation is very pleasant, and it is surrounded by a fertile and pleasant mountain. According to ancient writers, this was the place where the city of Curi was located; one can still see several marble columns belonging to this city scattered around, along with further evidence of its ruins.99

Continuing my journey through an increasingly fertile land, I arrived at a site called Colossus from the name of a still existing for-

<sup>96 [</sup>scil.] the direction should be westward to reach Capo delle Gatte moving from Limassol.

<sup>97 \*</sup> promontory

<sup>98</sup> The episode is reported by numerous sources with no substantial variants (e.g. Beauveau 1615, 90; Dapper 1688, 53); interestingly, Domenico Laffi (1708, 81) about this same context reports that: "[...] adesso poche vestigie si vedono di detto Convento: tuttavia, li Turchi come ho veduto co' propri occhi seguitano questa loro passa usanza di fabbricar case e ospitali per li Gatti, e Cani comprando carne per governarlu, dicendo, che fanno bene a questi animali per l'anime de' loro Defonti". The mentioned monastery is located on a promontory of the Akrotiri peninsula, nowadays part of the British Sovereign Base. As a proof of the long-standing tradition about its foundation, the monastery has today become known as Ayios Nikolaos ton gaton, or Akrotiri Gata.

The evidence of marble columns scattered over the top of the hill at Kourion is analogous of that already reported by Mariti in his Viaggi (see below) and then described by Luigi Palma di Cesnola almost a century later: "La città di Curium sorgeva al sommo di un monte roccioso [...]. A centinaia monticelli di ruderi ammucchiati, indicano il luogo ove sorgevano le case, i templi ed i pubblici edifici. Sovra uno di tali monticelli giacevano mezzo interrate parecchie colonne di granito. Il Cesnola le fece sterrare per assicurarne le dimensioni e le trovò posare sopra un pavimento a musaico che, rimosse le colonne, mise a giorno, quanto era largo, in modo da poter rilevarne la pianta di un tempo" (Giacosa 1898, 161; Bombardieri 2015, 78-80).

tress that the Templars Knights had built there. Their principal Commandery was once established here, and after the extinction of the Order passed into the possession of the Hospitallers Knights, today known as the Knights of Malta. 100

On my way through the countryside, I met a priest who was cultivating his cotoniere, the fields where cotton grows up. His appearance and age made him respectable. The dress he wore was white and tailored according to the common custom of the island's peasants. A black priest's cap, and a violet-coloured belt which he girded himself with, formed the whole of his distinctive dress.

Ouite close to him six small children were laving on the ground. each holding a book in his hand. When he gets close to them while tilling the soil, he taught them how to read, and when he went away from them keeping on his work, he made them all sing together Church's psalms, which he was teaching them.

A small supply of bread, with some olives, and a little wine was their food provision throughout the day. The reverence and respect that these little children showed towards their teacher, the charity and love which the teacher treated his disciples with, and the great skill he practised to put himself on an equal footing with them, formed reciprocal sentiments, fostered by a simple playfulness so close to that placid and innocent life of the first men. They reminded to me those blissful centuries, where under the gentle Laws of Nature, meekness had not yielded to pride, rank did not produce inequality of individuals, simplicity had not degenerated into pomp, law into abuse, religion into systems. All in sum appeared to me at that moment in its first order.

I imagined then to find in him one of those usual country priests who combine the method of their rural life with a spirit equally crude, and material. I began to speak to him with the idea of trying to persuade myself, and soon realised that I was dealing with a person who, without possessing that great complex of vain science, which deludes the senses and enervates the soul, had a spirit so full of the elements of natural virtue and certainty, that seems impossible to reason with such energy of truth as he did. I asked him why he was engaged in such hard labour for his age. He answered me:

"God commanded it to our first Father".

<sup>100</sup> The history and foundation of the fortified building tower in the Kolossi village is already similarly reported by Lusignan (1573, 47), Pococke (1743, 447), Drummond (1754, 250-81) and by Mariti (1769, 219-20). The actual 'Castle' at Kolossi has been rebuilt by Louis de Magnac in 1454 and then passed to the noble venetian family Cornaro till the Ottoman occupation in 1570. See in detail Edbury (1994, 66-7) and Nicolaou-Konnari, Schabel 2015.

"If all Men were content with the inheritance of the Earth, they would be possessors of the just" I told him, "it would be necessary that the order of things should not have varied from its beginning".

"Man" he replied "was governed by Nature, and the order of things changed when he preferred to obey himself. His ambition, his restlessness suggested to him to elevate himself above others, and the whole system of simplicity and independence was overthrown under the law of the strongest".

"It is true" I replied, "but now that the disorder is irremediable, it seems necessary to follow the course of the great torrent which we are swept along".

"I am well aware" he resumed "that when Man is born in the midst of the gulf of the world, it is difficult for the soul to govern him, but a torrent, as immense, vast and swift it may be, always has banks on its sides. Those who fear being kidnapped by the speed of its course. take refuge in it. I am happy to live among a few people, in a kind of solitude, where the simplicity of a country life banishes the illusions of honours and grandeur". 101

"I am a Priest" he continued "but also I am a Man, and the sweat of my brow makes me live, I prevent my neighbour through the example, I am not indiscreet, and I do not live by the price of their labours, I serve the obligations of my vocation, which imposed me to teach and help men, and if the Priesthood were kept within these borders, which are those of its origin, it would be more and more respected by and would rule over their hearts".

"These children are you watching at are the lambs of my little flock, I share with them what Providence gives me; I teach them and show them the way they must practise to become useful to themselves and to their fellow men. In the exercise of such rules all my imagination is satisfied, and my soul seems to be blessed with the pleasure I feel".

I did not know what more to discuss. I moved away from him surprised to consider that the model of virtue is most often found far from the common exchanges among men, neglected among obscurity, and oblivion. This evidence often reminded me in my journey what

<sup>101</sup> The overall background of the episode and the exchange between the priest and Mondaini is generally inspired by the concept of realising the natural self, widely diffused in eighteenth century Europe and specially focused upon the education theories elaborated by Rousseau (see e.g. Scott 2021). The storyline structured by Mondaini recalls that of Rousseau tutoring the student Émile in the countryside. The whole meeting with the Priest country teacher emphasises that whatever is 'natural' is good, while whatever is unnatural is bad, including constructed social paradigms, i.e. "Tout est bien sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme" (Rousseau [1762] 1874, 5).

the Alexander the Great said to Diogenes: "How far man stood from true happiness, seduced by opulence and ambition". 102

All the Greek priests who live in the villages live off their labours. they work hard the land, tend the crops, and bring their products to sell out. The others who live in towns, either live on their own incomes, or thanks to any profession, such as tailor, bookseller, painter, or similar.

About four miles away from Capo delle Gatte, I found the river Lycos, which flows from the slopes of Mount Olympus in Cyprus. 103 This river irrigates with profusion an extended land and fertilises the whole district. There I was presented with a very pleasant countryside, most of it occupied by the cultivation of cotton. I found there many vast plains sown in wheat and barley. On the starboard side the Orini stand up, which are a series of close hills largely extending over a broad area and penetrating as far as the region of Paphos. Their soil is mineral, iron-coloured, covered with stones and pebbles that look like pieces of iron, and on its surface one occasionally may detect Quartz and Rock Crystals. According to what their exterior evidence, these places must be abundant in metals. 104

The Cypriots cultivate across these hills the vineyards of the exquisite Commanderia wine. The Templar Knights, and after them the Hospitallers Knights, established their Commende there, and the precious wine got its name after this epithet. 105

<sup>102</sup> Multiple tradition refers to a brief encounter of Alexander and the philosopher, which is generally said to have taken place in Corinth, where Diogenes lived in his later years. Different versions of the story of the meeting are found in various sources, most notably in Plut. Alex. 14 and Mor. 70d, Diog. Laert. Vitae Philosophorum VI.38, VI.60), and Epictetus Discourses 3.22.92.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Lycos' is the attested ancient name for actual Kouris River, that flows from Troodos massif southward to Episkopi Bay (Rupp et al. 2021); Olympus is the literary ancient name for central Troodos massif, as commonly attested (e.g. Dapper [1688] 1703, 26 "le mont Olympe, apellé par les Grecs d'aujourd'hui Trochodos & Trobodos").

<sup>104</sup> Orini is commonly intended for denoting a hilly landscape, morphologically connected to the mountainous relief of central Troodos (Severis 2007, 124, no. 166). The reference to pebbles "che sembrano pezzi di ferro" ("that look like pieces of iron") might be consistent to the evidence of diabase stones within the Kouris riverbed and in the immediate surrounding, where they may also have appeared scattered on surface of ancient settlement areas (e.g. Swiny 1981; Bombardieri 2017b). Similar observations have been more carefully reported by Domenico Sestini in the same years (Sestini 1788, 143). Most likely, the mention of soils rich in iron and minerals ore deposits can derive from a second-hand knowledge of the richness of Cyprus in copper rather than a specific observation conducted on field.

<sup>105</sup> The historical reconstruction of the Commandaria land in the foothills of Limassol appears in the Viaggi (Mariti 1769, 240-1) and widely described in Del Vino di Cipro (Mariti 1772b, 47-9). Mondaini mentions a "cavatello full of muscatella grapes from Cyprus" sent to Mariti in a letter dated back to July 1777 (Fondo Mariti, Bologna). On the Commandaria see also Papadopolous 2008.

The well-regulated cultivation of vineyards, the colour of soil, and the crystallisations shine upon there forming a varied and delightful picture. As I was moving forward, the beauty of plain increased. Many streams of the clearest waters, which come from the springs of Mount Olympus, meander everywhere and make the plain rich in natural products and vegetation. The fresh, salubrious air, the benign, placid climate, everything around inspired refreshment and heralded the proximity of that famous district that was once the home of Graces and Amori. 106

I walked a mile and a half after leaving the river *Lycus* and still treading a soil covered with the profusion of Nature, I got the village named Piscopia. <sup>107</sup> This is one of the most prosperous and inhabited places all over the island. The trade in cotton, wheat, wool, and many other products make the village rich and remarkable. Its location is high, its climate excellent. The residents are well-built and robust, and the females have a very graceful and attractive appearance. Many small rivers run along its contours and many gardens filled with fruit trees, oranges and lemons form its delightful enclosure. Cedars may be found there in large abundance; their fragrance fills the air with the sweetest odour. All the fruits flourish there in an extraordinary size and, according to their rare qualities, it seems that Pomona has chosen them out of all the others of the earth for her own reserve.

I stayed at Papa's. On the same evening many of the most distinguished girls from the village came to offer me a gift. Their simplicity appeared accompanied by respect, their beauty sustained by pure gifts of Nature, their youth joint to a virtuous imposing boldness; these were the qualities in them I never ceased to admire. All their gifts together would have been sufficient to adorn the richest table.

Chi di Pollastri, e chi di Biscottini, Chi don mi fece dei più rari erbaggi, Chi dei frutti più scelti, e sopraffini.

<sup>\*</sup> Here we mean the city of Paphos, not far from there.

<sup>107</sup> The relevance of the village of Piscopia (modern Episkopi) is undoubtful in Medieval and Modern sources, where it appears generally described for its pleasant surrounding and the proximity to the ancient site of Kourion (e.g. Cotovicus 1619, 95; Baumgarten 1704, 490). The village passed to the possessions of the Venetian family Cornaro since 1374 and later known as 'La Piscopia da Cornaro' or 'Cornaro Piscopia'. Family Cornaro established a large sugar plantation in Episkopi and nearby Kolossi, where slaves of Syrian or Arab origin were employed along with local serfs. The sugar production centres were located at the site Serayia at the southern edge of the village of Episkopi and in the area of the so-called castle at Kolossi, respectively (Solomidou-Ieronymidou 2015). While their memory persisted (Mariti 1769, 192), the sugar cane plantations declined in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to be replaced by cotton plantations, as clearly attested by Mondaini too.

Chi mi portò Ricotte, e chi Formaggi, Chi dei Culuri, 108 e chi dell'uva fresca, Chi Vin di Cipro, e chi vari altri Omaggi. La più bella di lor, non vi rincresca, M'offerse un panierin di Granchi teneri. Ch'era il pregio maggior della sua pesca. Vi ringrazio allor dissi, o belle Veneri, Di tanta cortesia sì rara, e amabile Che mi ricorderò fino alle ceneri. Alla vostra beltà schietta, e ammirabile Una sol grazia ardisco dimandare Che spero troverete irrecusabile. Bramo vedervi innanzi a me ballare Coi savi vostri Giovinetti Amici. Ouesto è il favor, che mi dovete fare. Impiegate vi prego i vostri uffici. Dissi alla Donna del *Papàs*, e fate, Ch'io risenta il favor dei vostri auspici. L'amabil Papadia<sup>109</sup> disse, lasciate Di questo a me la cura, e in pochi istanti Ecco tutte le Figlie radunate. Già son concorsi i Giovani, e gli Amanti Alla fama del ballo inaspettato. Ma lungi dalla Ninfe tutti quanti. V'eran due Lire, ed un strumento a fiato. Che formava l'Orchestra melodiosa. E due Candele accese in un sol lato. Il *Papàs* ne partì per far qualcosa. Credo ch'andasse a leggere l'Ufizio,

Perché dove si balla egli non posa.

Some brought me chickens, some biscuits: some offered to me rare herbs, some others the best selected exquisite fruits; some brought to me ricotta<sup>110</sup> and some others cheese, some others sesame buns and some fresh grapes; others brought to mw wine of Cyprus, or further gifts; the most beautiful among them - you hopefully may not regret it - offered me a small basket full of tender crabs, which was the booty of her fishing. "I thank all of you, beautiful Venuses, for such a courtesy, rare and pleasant" I said "I will remember it till my death. I like to ask you, charming and admirable beau-

<sup>108 \*</sup>Ciambelle.

<sup>\*</sup> Papadia vuol dire moglie del Papàs. ("Papadia means the Papas' wife").

<sup>110</sup> Most likely, the Cypriote version of the ricotta served might have been the local cheese anarì (Severis 2007, 126, no. 171).

ties, for a favour, which I hope you will not reject. I am burning to look at you dance in front of me, along with your young friends. This is the favour I am asking your for". "Please intercede" I said to the Papas' wife "and let this happen". The kind Papadia told me: "leave it to me" and in a few moments I saw all the girls gathered, and already the young men and lovers coming along to attend the unexpected ball. But away from the nymph, everyone. Two lyres were there located and a wind instrument which formed the melodious orchestra. And two candles lit on either side; the Papas moved away to do something, and I think he went to officiate since he is not used to dance.

The dance then began with a contradance called *Roméga*, which is nothing more than a sort of chain, in which the young men and their daughters, holding hand in hand, make repeated rounds, following the cheerful and festive music.<sup>111</sup>

This dance lasted a quarter of an hour. A large mat was then brought in and spread out in the middle of the hall to make another dance and new space has been made in the hall.

Most of the men went out into the street and stood at the door to look inside. The dance about to begin was called the *Agrismèni*, that is the Indignant.<sup>112</sup> It was performed by two people: a young wom-

111 The reference is to a dance pattern widespread in Greece and Cyprus as *syrtos*. Specifically, the name *romèga* appears attested in the eighteenth and nineteenth century sources to describe a so-called *antikrystos* dance performance where dancers are divided into two groups set in lines facing each other. On the available archives for Cypriot Folk dances see Stavrakis et al. 2012.

Most likely, the dance described may derive from the popular folk song Στείλε με μανά στη βρύση / στο νερό (mother send me to fetch water). The main character of the song is a girl who asks her mother to go and fetch water from the well or fountain. When reaches the water source she meets with her pretender who starts pursuing her. The young lover offers his handkerchief as a proof of love, she initially refuses and then accepts to dance (Severis 2007, 130 with references).

"Nina, ti vitti all'acqua chi lavavi / E lu me' cori si linchìu d'amuri:/ Quandu li panni a la sipala ampravi,/ Jeu t'arrobbai lu mègghiu muccaturi./ Tu mi vidisti all'acqua chi lavava, Jeu ti vitti 'nsonnu e mi guardavi./ Se m'arrobbasti 'u mègghiu muccaturi, M'assa-

an, the most well-built of the gathering, entered the large mat dancing. The music air played by the instruments was a pathetic andantino. After she turned once, a young man came in dancing in an eager movement, holding a handkerchief in his hand and trying to approach the young woman. The woman scorned him and ran away with a disdainful appearance. The young man became uneasy, threatened her fate, approached her again, wanted to offer her peace, tried to soften her up, but she pushed him back and insulted him.

Mi pare Alfeo mirar tutto affannato Dietro Aretusa che crudel lo fugge, E correndo lagnarsi del suo fato.

It seems to me that Alphaeus is looking around shaking behind Aretus who cruelly flees him and running around complaining about his fate.<sup>113</sup>

All steps and movements by both the dancers went on in coordinated cadence, and vividly expressed the effects of disdain and love. Finally, the young man, looking at himself so fiercely rejected, trembles and no longer knows which way to turn. The young Lady stares at him with a stern, threatening gaze; he sighs in despair, looks up the sky with contempt, ties the handkerchief round his neck, strongly wrings it and rests.

Corre la bella allora, e lo sostiene;
Morto le sembra, e piange il suo rigore,
Gli slaccia il collo, il chiama, e già sviene.
Ei si sveglia alle voci del dolore,
E vedendosi in braccio alla sua Diva,
La smarrita virtù richiama al core.
Di tutti due la gioja si ravviva,

sti 'nta lu cori 'u mègghiu hjuri" (Nina I saw you at the fountain washing, and my heart filled with love; when I saw you hanging out your clothes in the sun, I stole your most beautiful handkerchief. You saw me at the fountain washing, I saw you in my dream and was watching me/ and if you stole the most beautiful handkerchief from me, you left the most beautiful hours in my heart).

113 The clear reference is the Ovid's version of the myth of Alpheus and Arethusa (Ov. Met. 5.577-641). The nymph Arethusa, while bathing in the Alpheus River in the Peloponnese, was seen and pursued by the river god, and then saved by Artemis, who changed her into a spring that, flowing underground, emerged at Ortygia in Sicily. Variations of this mythological episode are reported. In an earlier variant Artemis is the object of river god's harassment and escaped by smearing her face with mire, so that he failed to recognise her. In a further variant, the river god Alpheus fell in love with Arethusa, who fled to Ortygia, where she was changed into a spring. Alpheus, however, made his way beneath the sea and united his waters with those of the spring. For an overview e.g. Forbes Irving 1990, 305-6; Maddoli, Saladino 1995; Rosati 2009; Bessone 2020.

Si prendon per la man, fanno la pace, E la danza divien lieta, e festiva.

The beautiful Lady comes then and takes him in her arms. She thinks he died and mourns her harshness; she unties his neck. scream his name and almost faints. He wakes up by her cries of pain and finding himself in the arms of his Diva, the lost love appeals to the heart. Happiness fills up both, they hold hands each other and make peace. And the dance becomes joyful and festive.

Thus, the instruments changed their pathetic air into a much more cheerful and lively one, and the dance ended in a *Trescone* performed with the greatest precision. The imagination of Pantomime has always been appreciated by Greeks, and the naturalness and ease of its performance revealed that the genius of this art still is maintained in the spirit of the Nation.

In the meantime, my host had prepared an abundant supper in the house of the Papa. There I made the whole gathering pass. The Papas amid all the men occupied one side of the table, and the Papadia sat on the other, surrounded by the women. They all ate and drank their fill, and then deeply happy departed, and I amused myself among the simple, lovely people, whom I achieved great honour with at very little expense.

But now it is time for me to tell you about Piscopia: this reputable village hints at the site where was erected the ancient city of Curium, or Curias, according to Pliny. 114 This was one out of the nine Royal Cities that flourished in Cyprus; Herodotus mentioned one of its kings named Stasanor, who is supposed to have been the last ruler of the city. 115 It was founded by Cureus, son of King Cyniros. 116 The beach and coastline were very convenient for city's trade and the Cypriot naval fleets. Its surroundings were overshadowed by a forest consecrated to Apollo, where it was located a temple erected in his honour. Pallas was also worshipped in this city. The medals often found there persuade us that she was the protector of the Curium kingdom. 117 They bear on the obverse a woman's head covered with a crested helmet, singularly decorated, and on the reverse two very large birds crossing each other with their long necks; around their

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114 Plin. HN. 5.35.
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<sup>115</sup> Hdt. 5.113.

<sup>116</sup> The reconstruction here provided by Mondaini appears directly deriving from Mariti (1769, 193)'s information. See above.

<sup>117</sup> There is no clear evidence of a cult of Athena Pallas at Kourion (see e.g. https:// base-map-polytheisms.huma-num.fr).

necks appear the inscription KURIEWN (KYPIE $\Omega$ N), that means 'belonging to the Curienses'.<sup>118</sup>

If one could conduct diligent focus research with impunity, one would find many rare traces underground that would give a more extensive insight into her merit. The ignorant Turk does not allow, and I must therefore remain here without telling you about it in a greater detail.

The pen seems jaded to linger with you, but my mind takes its place. Believe that you will always have a privileged and permanent place in my mind. And in the meantime, I confirm myself with the usual affection.

Cyprus, March 1st 1786

<sup>118</sup> The description of Kourion coins' details, including the legend, clearly derives from the imagined 'medals' elaborated by Dapper (1688, 288, Pl. IV top) and re-published by Reinhard (1766-68, 201). There is no complementary evidence for this prototype in the Kourion numismatic corpora. See Kagan 1999; Destrooper-Georgiades 2023.

# Giovanni Mariti, Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro e per la Soria e Palestina fatti da Giovanni Mariti accademico fiorentino dall'anno MDCCLX al MDCCLXVIII, Tomo I

Printing House of HRH, Florence 1769

## CHAPTER III

On the Ancient City of Citium Now Destroyed

Departing from the Borgo delle Saline and travelling towards the North to the city of Larnica, one may find out many ruins. From this curiosity arises the desire to know what once existed in this place, as we read in Strabo and Ptolemy that between the ancient city of Amathus, today old Limassol, and the Dades promontory, now called cape Pila, was then located a city named Citium. It seems, therefore, that these ruins belong to that city. 119 I cannot understand how Stephen Lusignan is forgetting these ancient ruins by placing Citium where is now located a Casale, called Citti, where there is no evidence for a city of memorable antiquity; 120 and I guess that he was mistaken, relying on the name of the Casale, which does not derive from the city of Citium, but from the promontory, called cape Citti nowadays too. My opinion, therefore, is that the above-mentioned ruins really belong to the ancient Citium, as they are not far from the description of the ancient geographers. I also have on my side the Cavalier Niebushr, a mathematician to the King of Denmark, who drew the plan which is on the frontispiece of this book. 121 One can also clearly see in this map the harbour, which Strabo locates near the ancient Citium, mentioned about that city.

εἶτα κολπώδης καὶ τραχὺς παράπλους ὁ πλείων εἰς Κίτιον... ἔχει δὲ λιμένα κλειστόν.<sup>122</sup>

Then comes the coasting-voyage to Citium, which for the most part is sinuous and rough. Citium has a harbour that can be closed. 123

- 119 Ptol. Geog. 5.13.2; Strabo Geography 14.6.3.
- **120** Lusignan 1573, 10.
- **121** An updated version of the map illustrating Larnaka and the location of ancient Kition will then appear as an offset illustration in the *Dissertazione* (Mariti 1787b). Admittedly, both the maps were based on Niebuhr's schematic plans. See above.
- 122 Original text in the 1787 edition is: "Κίτιον, εχει λιμένα κλειστόν. Citium, habet portum, qui claudi potest". Original reference in the 1787 edition is: "Lib. XIV".
- 123 Strabo Geography 14.6.3. Transl. by H.C. Hamilton, W. Falconer (1903).

Finally, I fell upon good fortune to read a description of Cyprus, made by Ascanio Savorniano Venetian gentleman, <sup>124</sup> manuscripted by our erudite Signor Domenico Manni, in which he describes the Saline as follows:

et antiquamente vi fu una Città chiamata Citium, le cui vestigie si vedono chiaramente. A questo luogo non vi è alto alcuno, che dia nocumento, anzi giovamento, ove si potrìa fare una Cittadella, che dominaria, et con poca spesa, perché si potria servirsi di parte de i Baloardi della Città (oggi sono distrutti) fin a quell'alto, ove anticamente fu un Castello (oggi è un mulino a vento) si vede un alveo, che dimostra esservi stato un Porto etc. 125

In ancient times there was a city called Citium, whose ruins stand clearly evident. In this place there is no high place, which gives harm, or rather benefit, where one could build a citadel, which would dominate, and with little expense, because one could use part of the city's bastions (today they are destroyed) up to that high place, where in ancient times there was a castle (today it is a windmill) one can see a riverbed, which proves that there was a port etc.

Thus, we need to correct those maps drawn upon the *Chorography* by Lusignan. 126 And it is certain that the city of Citium was of the most renowned on the island, so that one could not diligently identify its true location, as we all learnt from Strabo that it was the birthplace of the prince of the Stoics Zeno, and that of the physician Appollonius. 127

<sup>124</sup> Several copies of the manuscript Descrittione delle cose di Cipro by Ascanio Savorgnano have survived. One of them, transcribed by Francesco Marcaldi, bears the date 20 November 1573 and is currently included in the Collection of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (ПІТК В-197). This manuscript describes the political and social condition in Cyprus before the Turkish attack in 1570. Ascanio Savorgnano was sent to Cyprus in 1562 in order to write a report that has been drafted in accordance with the instructions of the Venetian Senate, and initially kept secret. The Florentine erudite and antiquarian Domenico Manni here mentioned by Mariti, owned a copy of the Savorgnano manuscript, as clearly stated in his Osservazioni Istoriche: "Tra' miei Manoscritti io conservo una Descrizione delle cose di Cipro, fatta pere opera di Ascanio Savorgnano Gentiluomo Veneziano, eletto dalla Repubblica di Venezia per renderla informata innanzi alla guerra di esso Regno" (Manni 1744, 30).

<sup>125</sup> The details reported in brackets correspond to Mariti observations and actualisation of the described contexts by Savorgnano.

**<sup>126</sup>** Lusignan 1573.

**<sup>127</sup>** Strabo *Geography* 14.6.3.

A king of Citium was grateful to Alexander the Great, and gave him his sword, which he esteemed so highly and kept by his side; with that sword he defeated Darius, as noted by Plutarch. 128

Cimon from Athens lost his life in that city, when he fought the Persians there, as Plutarch confirms.

ἀπέθανε δὲ πολιορκῶν Κίτιον, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, νοσήσας: ἔνιοι δέ φασιν έκ τραύματος, δ πρός τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔσχε.

Decessit in obsidione Citii (ut plerique referunt) ex morbo, alii volunt ex vulnere, quod confligens cum Barbariis accepit.

He died while besieging Citium, of sickness, as most say But some say it was of a wound which he got while fighting the Barbarians. 129

Amasis from Egypt, who reigned in the eighteenth Dynasty took Citium from the Assyrians and destroyed it along with several cities on the island, and then he rebuilt it with the others. 130

As I mentioned above, at the present time only the foundations of walls of the ancient city can be detected, and a few additional buildings, as it has become a plain piece of land suitable for cultivation: and as the land is being worked, large stones are being uncovered every day, which are used for the modern constructions of the Borgo delle Saline and Larnica.

I myself, in the year 1767, came upon an excavation that was being carried out for the purpose of extracting stones, among which the workers found a head of white marble, representing Antoninus Caracalla, and many Greek medals of the Roman Empire, Septimius Severus, Antoninus Caracalla, Julia Domna, with a Greek inscription, and on the reverse side the representation of the Temple of Paphos with the legend KOINON KY $\Pi$ P $\Omega$ N; and some others with Caracalla on one side, and Geta on the opposite side: 131 in addition to these. medals of Claudius Caesar Augustus with a Latin inscription, and on the reverse a laurel wreath; in the middle of laurel wreath one may find written KOINON KY $\Pi$ P $\Omega$ N. The mentioned head passed into the hand of Mr. Timothy Turner Consul in Cyprus of H.M. of Great

<sup>128</sup> Plut. Alex. 32.9, where is mentioned: "He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Citieans". Transl. by B. Perrin (1914). Original reference in the 1769 edition is: "In vit. Alex".

Plut. Cim. 19.1. Transl. by B. Perrin (1914). Original reference in the 1769 edition is: "in Vita Cimonis".

<sup>130</sup> Amasi here might correspond to Pharaoh Ahmose II. See above in greater detail.

<sup>131</sup> The reference is here to the small collection of roman coins of the Severan period that was then brought to Italy and partially donated by Mariti to the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona. See above in a greater detail.

Britain, who then sent it to England; while some of the medals remained with me. 132

There is evidence of ancient aqueducts, which show that even in those centuries there was a need to bring water from distant places, as those in the country are not even good for drinking nowadays.

This city was bordered by a wide ditch, which is also cultivated, and traces of the ditch can still be seen today; almost on the edge of the ditch there are two deposits of the same structure as those in the map of Citium illustrated on the frontispiece. <sup>133</sup> Both deposits are built up of three large stones joined together, the stone employed, not being in these surroundings, it seems to have been transported from some hills ten miles away.

In the ancient sources there is no record of the date when this city of Citium was destroyed; however, from the above-mentioned medals found in the foundations, it can be deduced that this destruction did not occur before the year 210 A.D.

#### CHAPTER, XVII

Journey from Limassol to Paphos

Curi City destroyed on the Capo delle Gatte

From the city of Limassol one moves on to Curi, which was an ancient city built on the *Capo delle Gatte*; it is now an entirely destroyed, with only a scanty evidence of antiquity attested, consisting of several marble columns.<sup>134</sup>

### Village of Acrotiri

A church dedicated to St. Nicholas may be found here, and a Monastery of Greek Religious called Acrotiri, which is also gives the name to the village.

Village, and Colossus Castle.

<sup>132</sup> As noted above, Timothy Turner served as English vice-consul in the period 1763-68 (Özkul 2013, Tab. 2), also representing Tuscany and Holland in Cyprus. Mariti had been recommended by his friend Antonio Mondaini and was then officially appointed as vice-consul of the Tuscan consulate in Larnaca.

<sup>133</sup> In the map the canal appears connecting the coast and a basin to the north-east of the city (this canal is also illustrated in the Pococke map). This evidence has been explained by recent years investigations and the discovery at the edge of a "closed basin" of Cypro-Classical neoria, corresponding to the hangars of the war port dated back to the fourth century BC, and following geomorphological analysis of the sea coast modifications (Yon 2011, 38; Yon, Sorisseau 2010).

<sup>134</sup> The evidence of marble columns scattered on the top of the Kourion hill is persistent in the description of the site by Mariti and Mondaini (1786, 27-8).

A mile and a half away from Acrotiri, and about three miles from the sea, it is located a site called *Colosso*, which is a village with a massive castle, built up by the Knights Templar; originally belonged to them, the castle was then owned by the Knights Hospitallers, who are the Knights of Malta.

## River Lycus

Before arriving to Piscopia there is a torrent, which is the ancient river the old Geographers named Lycus, which was one of the major on the Island.

## Village of Piscopia

Six miles away from Capo delle Gatte one gets the village Piscopia, which is on a plain, and where cotton of the best quality in the kingdom is picked up. In the time of the Venetians, these plain lands were cultivated with sugar cane: this cultivation was then abandoned because cotton cultivation was getting more and more profitable. 135 Piscopia is one of the most flourishing villages on the island, also rich in lemons, oranges, olives and other fruit trees, with plenty of running water, and in a pleasant environment. The Venetian noble family Prosapia Cornara Piscopia took its name from this place.

## Piscopìa is the ancient city of Curias.

The beautiful ruins found underground the village of Piscopia confirm what the ancient authors mentioned about the city of Curias. which was a Royal City in the time of the nine kings. It is claimed that Stasanor was the last king, and that he fought along with Alexander the Great. 136

<sup>135</sup> See above about the memory of sugar cane in the area of Kolossi and Episkopi and subsequent changing cultivation.

<sup>136</sup> The information provided by Mariti is confusing here. Stasanor of Kourion appears commanding a large force during the revolt of Onesilos against the Persians at the time of the Ionian Revolt. He fought at first on the Greek side but at the battle in the plain of Salamis (498 BC) he went over to the Persians and his betrayal won them the day. "μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Στησήνωρ τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου προδιδοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν οὐ σμικρήν. οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὖτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἄποικοι" ("While the rest were still fighting, Stesenor the ruler of Curium, allegedly an Argive settlement, played the traitor with great company of men under him") (Hdt. 5.113. Transl. by Godley 1920). Nothing is known of the other kings of Kourion until Pasikrates, probably its last king, who sailed in the Cypriot fleet, which went to the aid of Alexander the Great at the siege of Tyre in 332 BC.