

# Foodstuffs imports and diet change in Cyprus, 1881–1946/7\*

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Using information from the import statistics found in the Cyprus *Blue Books*, this paper aims to examine the trends of diet change in Cyprus, in the period 1881–1948. Data on imported foodstuffs as reported in the Blue Books published in the Census Years (1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1946) is collected; the special focus is on (a) “new” foodstuff categories (e.g. “fine cheeses”, imported liquor, beer) and (b) on the bulk import of foodstuffs either not produced at all in Cyprus, or produced in quantities not sufficient for the needs of the population. Some of these are sugar, flour, pasta, rice et al. Quantitative data is processed to produce a per capita consumption in the census years. The result will indicate the general trend in diet change, as “new” food categories were made available and incorporated in the local diet. Information from sources such as advertisements as well as information on new manufacturing plants (e.g. pasta factories and breweries) will be used to complement and partially validate the trends on diet change in the years of colonial rule in Cyprus.

Main Sources: *Cyprus Census*, *Cyprus Blue Books*, Newspapers, literary sources.

This paper is part of a wider, ongoing project that examines aspects of the economic development of Cyprus during British rule and the interplay of politics and economics in the colony. It should be borne in mind that it is still a “work in progress”. It is probably the first time we are attempting to show some of the results of our research for almost the whole of the period of British rule in Cyprus, spanning several decades of the period.

We used as the backbone of our presentation data from the Blue Books of the Colony of Cyprus,<sup>1</sup> for the Census Years, seven altogether,<sup>2</sup> covering most of the

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<sup>1</sup> [Government of Cyprus], *Cyprus Blue Book*, Nicosia, Government Printing Office, 1880–1946.

<sup>2</sup> There were seven censuses in Cyprus between 1878 and 1960: 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1946. No census of population was conducted after 1946 and until 1960.

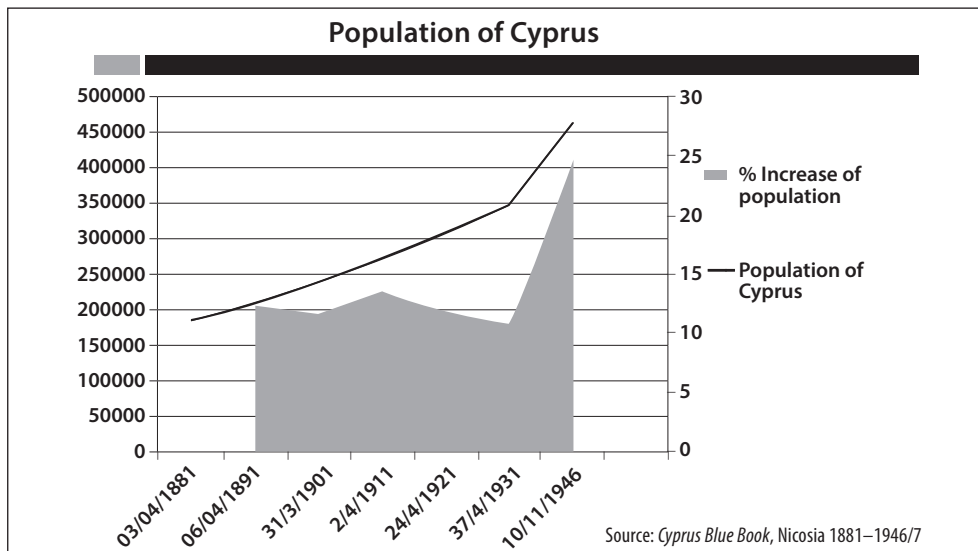
period of British rule in Cyprus; this relatively long period (focussing on the census years to compare both population growth and food imports data), allows us to locate changes in the patterns of food imports and (to a degree) consumption.

However, since consumption, particularly in the case of an island, depends heavily on other factors other than market availability (e.g. availability of adequate port facilities, availability and capacity of shipping, existence or introduction of direct or indirect links with other countries, available income etc.) we tried to factor these into our research, at least at the level of interpretation.

We have used the volume of imports reported in the sources as our main indicator, to calculate *per capita* yearly consumption of a range of foodstuffs. A more complete study would need data for both local produce and imports; however, as the amount of locally produced food (for own consumption or smaller scale trade that evade the statistics) is impossible to calculate, we have focussed on foodstuffs either wholly or partially produced in Cyprus, i.e. items that were wholly or partially imported. We should also state that in our data for alcoholic beverages consumption, there is a (smaller or larger, but impossible to calculate) slant: by social convention in Cypriot society during the period examined, little or no alcohol was supposed to be consumed by minors and a limited amount by women in Cyprus; given the composition and habits of Cyprus' muslim minority, this may also have an effect on our calculations.

Why end the presentation in 1946/7? The last census for colonial Cyprus was that of 1946 (the next is in 1960). However, the Cyprus Blue Book for 1946 does not have complete records for imports and exports for 1946, so we used the next year's records (which are complete); hence the 1946/7 in the title of the presentation.

Fig. 1: the increase of the population of Cyprus between 1881 and 1946

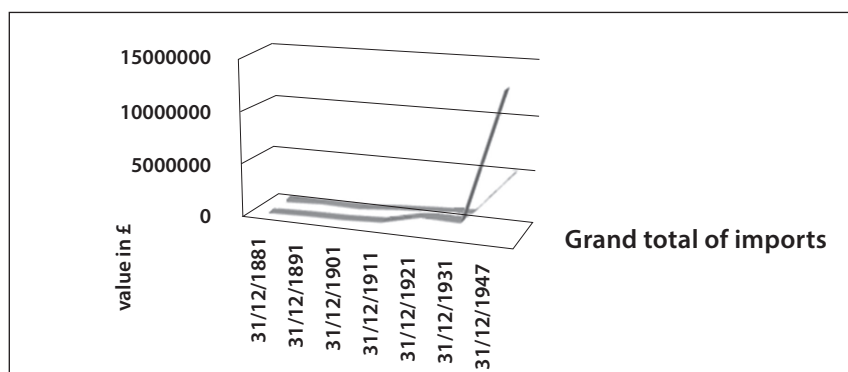


Source: [Cyprus Government], *Cyprus Census of Population*, Nicosia, iss. 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1946.

There are also other problems with the data: though we do have a complete set of records for the whole period, both the periods and categories in which they fall change over time. This means that certain items are classified differently over time, making the complete homogenisation of results difficult.

As seen in Fig. 1, the population of Cyprus rose from 186,173 persons in 1881, to 462,536 persons in 1946. The rate of increase between censuses ranges from 10.7% in 1931 to 24.77% in 1946 (the latter calculated for a 15 year period). In 1960, the population of Cyprus was 577,615 persons, registering an increase of 19.92%.

Fig. 2: Imports and Exports into and from the island of Cyprus, 1881–1947



Source: *Cyprus Blue Books, 1881–1946*.

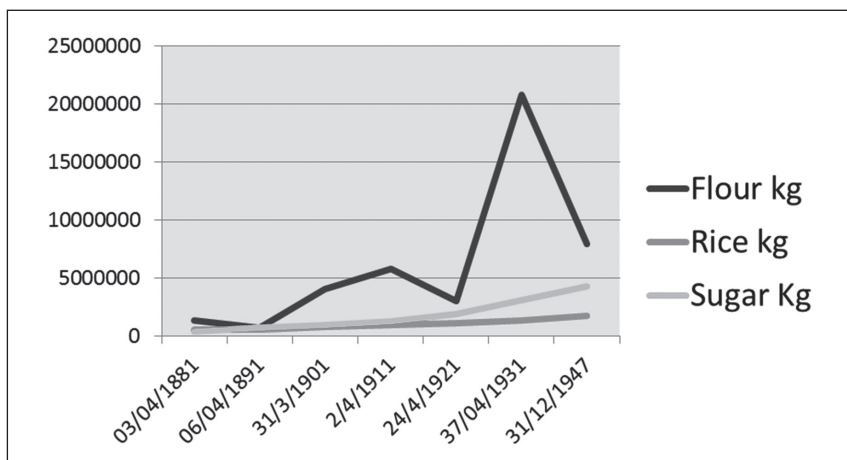
First a general comment: for the first 30 years or so of British rule, between 1881 and 1911, the value of imports and exports are almost in balance, leaving neither a significant surplus nor a substantial deficit in trade. All this seems to confirm that Cyprus (like other societies in the Levant and elsewhere) was a society oriented towards self-sufficiency.

What are the Cypriot exports? Throughout the period examined they are mainly agricultural products (ranging from 73%–51% of the total value of exports); however, a few years before WWII (1935) and after the war (the year 1947 is a case in point), the main Cypriot export becomes mineral products, which form 43% of the value of exports as opposed to 41% for the agricultural exports (data for 1947). We shall return to this aspect at the end of this paper.

The imports on the other hand are manufactured products, which comprise between 41–62% of the total value of the imports (incl. foodstuffs). Foodstuffs are counted separately from 1901 onwards (under the rubric Live animals, Articles of food and drink and narcotics) and make up 24–29% of the total value of imports in the island. To decide on the main import items we have tried to locate the products with the greatest import volume for the period examined. Our target was to find product with a share as close as possible to 50% of the total. However, the multitude and variety of imports coming to Cyprus makes it difficult to find a small group of products that make up the above percentage, or as close as possible to this.

The three foodstuffs that form the largest import by volume imported into Cyprus are flour, rice and sugar. Wheat (and flour) are produced in Cyprus, therefore the imports are complementing the local produce; rice and sugar are not locally produced.

Fig. 3: Main foodstuffs imported, by volume, 1881–1947



Throughout the period under examination, (some of) the main imported food products to Cyprus (in volume) are flour, rice, sugar. The rise and fall in import volume over time are attributed to both local produce levels, price, local stocks, war (when shipping shortages may limit the availability of assorted foodstuffs in an island) and other factors. For example as time goes by, the consumers expect more quality from the flour available. A newspaper advert from 1903, states that flour imported from Russia is “Clean, unadulterated and pure (ἀδολον), does not cause psammiasis, kidney problems, feeling of weight in [the] stomach, ... tasty, clean, with no foreign substance and more economical than the usual bread. For somebody who needed three loafs a day, now two are enough. And this because it has mass without having too much weight”. The advert notes that bread made from imported Russian flour is even recommended by doctors.<sup>3</sup> It appears that in consumption, quality was gaining over whatever price advantage local produce had.

A group of products 8 categories, 44 subcategories, 96 products in all, consistently make up 24%–29% of total imports.<sup>4</sup> The breakdown shows the impact of new technologies in preserving food and includes quite a surprising array of products. The 8 categories are:

1. Meat & Fish. Meat includes bortago, bacon and ham; fish includes black caviar and red tarama and dried, salted, pickled, fresh, frozen and tinned fish;

<sup>3</sup> *Alitheia*, 5 March 1903, “Το αληθινό ψωμί”.

<sup>4</sup> Data from *Blue Books*.

2. Dairy, includes butter and margarine, milk (preserved, powdered, condensed), cheese (common, fine, "Gruyère", Dutch, Cheddar, "Kachkaval", "Toulou") as well as rennet powder;
3. Alcoholic beverages include wine and spirits, beer, cider, spirits of all sorts, spirituous compounds, liqueurs, and cordials (brandy, rum, gin, whiskey etc.), wine (common and sparkling);
4. Sweeteners, coffee, and teas that include emblematic British products such as tea, chocolate, cocoa, chicory, jams, jellies, marmalades, sweets and chocolate biscuits, coffee (raw, roasted or ground), sugar, glucose (including molasses), saccharine, but also oriental goods (locoum or Turkish delight, baklava and other pastry goods), confectionery, gum mastic;
5. Cereals, pasta etc., a group that includes wheat/ barley/ vetches/ maize/ bran/ oat/ rye, flour (wheaten or other), baking powder, semolina, starches (edible, including corn flour), bread (in bulk or in tins), macaroni and vermicelli, rice, sesame, yeast;
6. Fruit, vegetables, oil comprises, beans (haricot or not) and peas (roasted or otherwise), olives (bottled, in tins, fresh, salted), fruit (fresh, bottled, tinned, preserved, juices, crystallised etc.), nuts, oil (olive oil, oil bean, coconut and similar vegetable oils, oils cotton seed, ground nut oils, sesame oil, palm and palm kernel oils), tomato paste and sauce, vegetables;
7. Salt and spices, including salt (for table, for packing and rock), spices (aniseed, cassia lignea, cloves, ginger, whole, pepper, whole, pimento whole etc.);
8. Water (ice, mineral and aerated waters).

The following table shows the products with the largest per capita consumption, over time, an indication of the popularity of the item.

Table 1

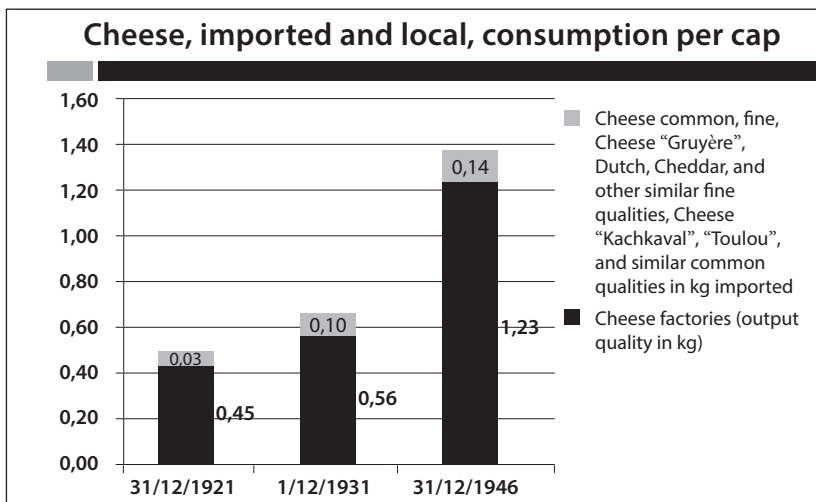
	Article	Per capita consumption, 1881-1946/7, in kg / year
1	Flour	20,176
2	Wheat, barley, vetches and maize, rye, bran, oat etc.	10,722
3	Sugar (crushed, common quality, loaf, other)	5,643
4	Rice	3,429
5	Milk (condensed)	2,003
6	Beans, haricot beans, peas (roasted or otherwise)	1,858
7	Fish (dried, pickled, salted, fresh or frozen, tinned in oil or tomato paste) kg	0,953
8	Coffee (raw, roasted, ground) kg	0,946
9	Beer, ale and other malt liquors	0,648
10	Butter, including butterine, common qualities, fine qualities in tins for table, butter substitutes, margarine kg	0,612

This gives us a rough picture of the diet of the “average” Cypriot, leaving out, however, items in part produced in Cyprus. Cypriots were consumers of flour in a big way (over 20 kg per capita, per year, not including what was produced locally) and cereals, rice and beans (not including own produce for the latter), sugar and milk (for the latter complemented by local produce).

In an agricultural society, the quantity of imported vegetables are, as expected, small; so are cocoa and sweets (luxuries as far as wide consumption was concerned).

As seen in fig. 4, imported cheese, which is only consumed by the very few. Items of wider consumption were *halloumi* (and possibly *anari*), locally produced both at home and in small factories. The existence of home produce of cheese probably distorts the figures to a degree, making the per capita figure for 1946 even higher, at the expense of cheese imports.

Fig. 4: Cheese, local vs. imported



## Beer

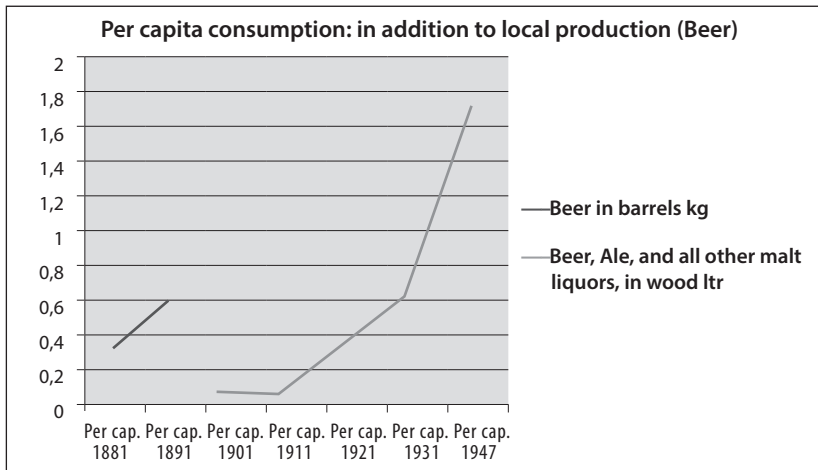
The data about beer is quite interesting. The introduction and early presence of beer in the statistics (1881, 1891) in Cyprus, may probably be attributed to the consumption by the British officials and military personnel, that gradually begin to influence the local population. But local consumption soon begins and indeed local breweries soon begin to cater for the needs of the indigenous population also. Consumption that begins with small volumes in 1901, really takes off from 1921 and then increases in leaps and bounds all the way to 1947.<sup>5</sup> Newspaper advertisements give us a picture of the market for beer: as early as 1917, consumers could find Japanese (!) *Asahi* beer,<sup>6</sup> while ten years later, a bilingual advert describes the virtues of the Munich *Loewenbrau*

<sup>5</sup> Though some of the consumption of the 1940s may be attributed to the transient military population in Cyprus during World War II.

<sup>6</sup> See *Alitheia*, 17 February 1917.

beer.<sup>7</sup> From December 1920 locally produced *Leon* beer makes its appearance; *KEO*, one of the most famous Cypriot beers still in production, begins production in 1951.

Fig. 5: Beer



## ΜΠΥΡΑ “ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ,”

**Η ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΥ ΦΗΜΗΣ ΜΠΥΡΑ ΤΟΥ «ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ»** εξαίρετος εις γεύσιν, αποκλειστικώς κατασκευασμένη από Κριθήν, Βουβώνια, μαγιάν της μύρας και νερό. Είναι διαρκώς διανεστάτη και διατηρείται δι' άπεριόριστον χρόνον.

Πίνετε διαρκώς την Μύραν του «Λεόντος» εάν θέλετε να διατηρήσετε καλά τὸ στομάχι σας.

Ἀποφεύγετε τὰς εὐθηνὰς Μύρας χάριν οικονομίας μόνον 20 παράδων τὴ φιάλη, διότι τὸ στομάχι σας ἀξίζει πολὺ περισσότερα.

Μὴ βάζετε στὸ στομάχι σας θολὰ ξυλισμένα ἀποβράσματα ρυζιῶ τὰ ὅποια μόνον τὸ ὄνομα μύρας ἔχουν, διότι δὲν θὰ ἀργήσετε νὰ συμβουλευθῆτε τὸν ἰατρόν σας.

Ἄπαιτεῖτε ἀπὸ τοὺς Πανοπώλας σας, τὰ καφενεῖα, τὰς Λέσχας νὰ σᾶς σερβίρουν πάντοτε Μύραν τοῦ «ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ» ἢ διαφορὰ εἶναι μόνον 20 παράδες ἐκάστη φιάλη.

**Π. Μ. ΤΣΕΡΙΩΤΗΣ**  
Λευκωσία  
Γενικὸς Ἀντιπρόσωπος Κύπρου

**MUNICH. LOWENBRAU.** Standard Brand enjoying world renown. A beer excellent in taste absolutely pure made exclusively of Barley Malt, Hops, Yeast and water without any addition of chemicals or the use of rice.

Keeps faultless for a very long time.

Drink a bottle of one of those cheap beers and you won't feel particularly well some time afterwards. When however making the same test of our absolutely pure beer you will experience none of those disagreeable after effects.

Ask always for Munich Lowenbrau.

**P. M. TSERIOTI**  
Nicosia  
General Agent for Cyprus

*Alitheia*, 18/11/1927

<sup>7</sup> See *Alitheia*, 18 November 1927.

## “New” food imports

New products also begin to figure in the islands imported foodstuffs. The following table lists them with the year of first importation next to them.

Table 2: “New” items imported and year of first importation

Product	Year of first importation
Coffee, roasted or ground	1918
Milk preserved	1920
Coconut and similar vegetable oils	1923
Sesame oil	1928
Oil bean	1928
Butter substitutes (such as margarine and other vegetable and animal fat substitutes)	1932
Baking powder	1934

Of course quantities and consumption are very small at first, (only butter substitutes has a per capita consumption of just over 1.3 kg, a figure that indicates a lack of other fats which this item fills). Similarly, the figures for other items such as fine quality cheeses (Gruyère, Cheddar), sparkling wine are so negligible (close or under 0,001 kg per year) that clearly indicate luxury goods, consumed by very few of the most affluent upper class inhabitants of the colony.

A new batch of new products are added to the island’s menu in the 1940s.

Fig. 6: “New” products, the 1940s

New products in 1940s			
	Articles	Year imported	Per cap. consumption
1	(Oils) Coconut kg	1944	3,35522
2	Milk, condensed kg	1943	2,003598
3	(Oils) Cotton seed kg	1946	1,472439
4	Fish Tinned, in oil or tomato paste kg	1947	1,439817
5	Confectionery, such as caramels, toffee fondants, sugared almonds and sweets kg	1947	0,692835
6	Glucose, including molasses kg	1945	0,391777
7	Locoum or Turkish delight kg	1946	0,226806

What is most remarkable in the above table is the relatively high figure for coconut oil and condensed milk. The first indicates again a deficiency in fats; the second may probably be explained by the Second World War and the subsequent changes in diet,



with the introduction of condensed milk in Cypriot diet. It was a trend that had begun in the 1920s and 1930s (as attested by evidence from newspaper adverts).<sup>8</sup>

### **“New” food imports: the minor league**

The next table shows a different picture. It comprises the new items imported from 1940 to 1947. It is an interesting list, which shows items that were less successful in Cyprus.

Fig. 7: The 1940s: the “minor league”

New products in 1940s (cont.)			
	Articles	Year imported	Per cap. consumption
8	Starches, edible, including corn flour kg	1947	0,156842
9	Milk powder kg	1940	0,11269
10	Tomato paste and sauce kg	1946	0,112249
11	Semolina kg	1947	0,093688
12	(Oils) Palm and palm kernel kg	1947	0,050742
13	Cider ltr	1947	0,004295
14	Baklava and other pastry goods kg	1943	0,000768
15	Saccharine kg	1944	0,000445

“Emergency use” new products (such as milk powder — first introduced to Cyprus in 1940, probably a war-related import), were slower to be accepted in Cypriot diet. The same applies for tomato paste and sauce (probably a substitute for fresh products when not in season), corn flour and semolina. The minuscule amounts of the last three items indicate their limited popularity.

### **Conclusions: new products and diet change in a changing world**

Empirical research shows that changes in diet in Cyprus were far reaching. We believe that this phase in the introduction of part of new foods can be explained by factors such as the developments in ship technology (foodstuffs could reach Cyprus faster and with lower costs than in the past). There is also a marked increase in income in the 1940s and the increase in population (as seen in the 1946 census). There is lastly a discernible change in the character of the population, which now ceases to be rural. Moving to the cities the former peasants come into contact with “city habits” (including dietary such) and this begins to introduce new types of food into Cypriot society.

We have seen that dietary changes are backed by advertising; it is true that literacy is not yet universal and that new “fashions” in diet need time before they take roots.

<sup>8</sup> See *Alitheia* 27 August 1921, advert for Swiss condensed milk “Berna”; this is described among others as “very nutritious”. See also *Alitheia* 12 February 1932, advert for “Voskos” (Shepherd) milk, “the only guarantee for the health of your children” “full-cream” and “guaranteed”.

Over time Cypriot diet incorporates food and drink that are not local, such as pasta, beer, “fine cheeses” (such as Cheddar), but also biscuits, cocoa and chocolate and items that were not produced in Cyprus but were almost certainly imported, perhaps long before 1878, such as sugar and rice.

An indication of what were seen as luxury goods in 1899, is provided by the following poetical rendering of the contents of a “delicatessen” store in Limassol. In 1899, this could be described as an image of a “half-way house”, between the traditional diet and the modern, nutritional habits.

**ΓΙΑ ΦΑΓΩΣΙΜΑ ΚΑΙΝΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΕΙΔΟΠΟΙΗΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΣ ΧΑΡΟΥΝΕ ΤΑ ΣΤΟΜΑΧΙΑ ΚΓ' ΟΙ ΚΟΙΛΙΕΣ ΧΑΡΑΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ.**

—

Ἐρτασαν ἀπ' τὴν Ἀγγλίαν, ἀπὸ μίση στὸ Λονδίνον  
Εἰς τὸ «Μπαρ» τ' Ἀγαθαγγέλου, κρᾶμμα πρῶτιστον καὶ φίνον.  
Γαλατα καὶ γουρμύρια, βούτυρον λαμπρὸν καὶ τσαϊ.  
Τσοκκολάτες καὶ πιακίττα, ποὺ θαυμάζει ὅποιος φάει.  
Ἦρθε κι' ἀπὸ τὴν Γαλλίαν πρᾶγμα φρέσκον γαλλικὸν  
Καὶ πολὺ θρεκτικόν.

X

Σὲ κουτιά λαμπρὰ τῆς Νάντης σαρδελλίτες μυρωδάτες  
Πικλὲς, στρείδια καὶ γαρίδες καὶ μπαζίλλια γὰρ σαλάτας  
Ἄστακοὺς, σαλμοὺς ωραίους καὶ λουκανικ' ἀκουσμένα  
Ὅλα σὲ κουτιά βαλμένα.

X

Ἦλθε καὶ λαμπρὸν γαβιὰρι ἀπὸ μεσ' ἀπ' τὴ Ρωσσίαν  
Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γῆς τῶν Κήπων, τὴν ἑσπέρην Ἰταλίαν  
Περὶβοητὰ σαλαμίνα, παρμεζάνα καὶ γουρμύρια  
Ποὺ στὴ Λεμεσὸν ἀκόμα τέτιον πρᾶγμα δὲν ἔβραν.  
Σὲ κούτια ἀτραλισμένην μυρωδάτην ἀρσάτε//α  
Ὅπου ἔταν τρωγῆς, λέγετε «Βίβα Ἰταλία μπέλλα!».

Ἐγὼ καὶ λαμπρὲς καρπούσιες καὶ πολὺ βασταερεῖς  
Εἶνε πρᾶγμα τοῦ Βιέννης κ' εἶνε ὅσον φοβερὲς  
Ὅπου πρὶν νὰ σημαδεύεις, τὸ κυνήγι πέφτει κάτω  
Καὶ κατοπιν μετ' τῆ βούρκαν καὶ . . . τὴν οὐχτα μισὸ τὸ πιάτο!

Advert for new foodstuffs new once again,  
And let the stomachs and bellies greatly rejoice

There have arrived from England, from London itself,  
In Agathangelos' Bar, fine first class merchandise,  
Milk and Ham, splendid butter and tea  
Chocolates and biscuits admired by anybody who eats them,  
And from France there has arrived, fresh merchandise, French,  
And very nutritional.

In splendid boxes from Nantes, lovely smelling sardines,  
Pickles, oysters and prawns and peas for salads,  
Lovely Lobsters, Salmon, and renowned sausages,  
All packed in boxes.

Brilliant caviar has arrived from Russia itself,  
And from the garden of the earth, the beautiful Italy,  
World known salami, parmesan and Gruyère  
Such merchandise has not been brought to Limassol before  
Nice smelling mortadella in boxes  
Which when you eat, you will cry out 'Viva Italia Bellla!'

There are also hunting cartridges, which are very strong  
They are made in Belgium and they are so terrible  
That before you aim [the rifle] the game falls down  
And you put it in your bag and ... in the evening in the plate!<sup>9</sup>

(transl. G. Kazamias)

In the 50+ years between 1899, when this advertisement in verse was published, and the 1940s, the changes were noticeable. Exotic foods (within or without quotation marks) have entered the Cyprus market and local diet was enriched by them over time. But how popular did they become? Could the wider population afford them? Per capita consumption tells us part of the story. The natural progression is obviously from staple goods (that complement local products) to the more luxury goods (for the smaller or larger part of the population that can afford them). Per capita consumption

ΜΑΚΑΡΟΝΟΠΟΙΕΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΣΤΕΜΜΑ  
—  
ΟΧΙ ΠΑΕΘΝ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ  
ΖΥΜΑΡΙΚΩΝ.

Ἄντι νὰ εἰσάγῃτε ἔξωθεν ζυμαρικά ἐπιβόλου ποιότητος καὶ καθαρότητος, ἀπειθήνεσθε τοῦ λοιποῦ εἰς τὸ ἐνταῦθα γνωστὸν κατὰ κράτος ζυμαρικὸν τοῦ κ. Γεωργίου Α. Θεοδοίου ὁδὸς Ἁγ. Ἀνδρέου ἀρ. 408, ἔπου θέλετε εἶρε ὅλα τὰ εἴδη ζυμαρικῶν φηρότατα καὶ ἀρίστης ποιότητος.

Τιμαὶ. Χονδρικῶς γρ. χ. 4 1)2  
Λιανικῶς » » 5  
Ἐν Λευκωσίᾳ 5

Ἀντιπροσώποι ἐν Λευκωσίᾳ οἱ κ. κ. Φ. καὶ Σ. Νικολαΐδης καὶ ἐν Λαρνακῇ ὁ κ. Πασιγιάτης γ: Θεοδοίου.

ΒΟΥΤΥΡΟΣ ΦΥΤΙΚΟΣ

Τὸ COCOSE—ΚΟΚΟΣ μάρκας χήνας, ὁ φυτικὸς αὐτὸς βούτυρος ὁ τόσο καθαρὸς καὶ συγχρόνως τόσο εὐθηνὸς εἰς τὸν ἀνεπτυγμένον κόσμον εἶναι εἰσηγμένος πρὸ δεκάδων ἐτῶν. Ἐν Κύπρῳ ἤρχησεν νὰ γνωστῇ διότι οἱ αἰώνιοι διαφόροι κερδοσκόποι ἐφερναν τὴν ἀκαθάρτην ποιότητα ἢ ὅποια ἔχει μίαν γέσθιν ἀλλόκοτον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δὲν ἤθελε. Ἡ ἀκαθάρτη ποιότης ἔχει τόσην διαφορὰν ὅσην ἔχει ἡ τριβανία ἀπὸ τὸ κονιάκ. Διὰ νὰ εἰσθε βέβαιοι διὰ ἀγοράσετε τὴν γνησίαν ποιότητα ΚΟΚΟΣ ἐνηεῖτε ὅπως γράφη ἐπὶ ἐκάστου τενεκέ τοῦ ὀνομα COCOSE καὶ τὴν μάρκαν ΧΗΝΑΣ.

Μὴν σὰς ἀπατοῦν οἱ πλεονέκται διὰ τάχα τὸ ΚΟΚΟΣ εἶναι ἀκριβώτερον τῶν ἄλλων μαρκῶν. Εἰμεθα ὑποχρεωμένοι νὰ πωλῶμεν ἐπὶ τῶν τιμῶν τοῦ Ἐξαοσταίου.

Τὸ ΚΟΚΟΣ εἰσάγεται εἰς τενεκέδες τῶν 1, 5, 10, καὶ 25 κιλῶν.

Οἱ Consignateurs τῶν Magnan Frères  
N. Σ. ΔΥΜΠΟΥΡΙΑΔΗΣ & Σία

24—4



Alitheia, 8/7/1899

Alitheia, 3/4/1926

<sup>9</sup> Published in *Alitheia* (Limassol), 2 December 1899.

is also an indicator of popularity for new items of food and drink. However, more work needs to be done on quantifying and explaining these trends, particularly since the 1940s saw a radical reorientation of the Cypriot economy, away from agriculture and towards tourism and services, and a change in the produce of the island. It was a trend that was noted and remarked in 1946 by D. A. Percival, a British official:<sup>10</sup>

[...] The country, though primarily an agricultural one, has ceased to be self-supporting first in grain for human food and more recently in animal fodders also and is now importing more food than it is exporting. It has in fact become dependent on invisible exports, chiefly in the form of military expenditure (occasioned by its strategic position at a time of international unrest) and subsidiarity in the form of remittances from its emigrant population and of profits from the transit and tourist trades.

This was a trend that was to continue; indeed it has been the dominant aspect of the economy of Cyprus, all the way to the March 2013 bank bail-in.

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<sup>10</sup> D. A. Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, 1946, p.V.