

## Throne away? The histories of replica Aegean Bronze Age objects in the British Museum collection

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Sir Arthur Evans began his excavations at the Palace of Knossos in 1900, almost immediately discovering the 'Throne of Minos' still *in situ* in the room he termed the 'Throne Room'<sup>1</sup>. Over the subsequent years of excavation he uncovered a large labyrinthine building he called 'The Palace of Minos' and surrounding buildings<sup>2</sup>. Almost immediately Evans began to donate objects from Knossos to the British Museum. The first of these was a plaster cast of the Throne of Minos, donated in 1903. Its details are recorded in the Greek and Roman Department Register of Antiquities<sup>3</sup>. Evans donated further plaster casts and replicas to the Museum in subsequent years. A large donation in 1906 included both plaster replicas and a large number of original artefacts from Knossos, including pottery vessels and fragments of (ancient) painted plaster. Many of these archaeological objects are currently on display in the British Museum in Room 12 (Greece: Minoans and Mycenaeans) in a showcase dedicated to Knossos. The plaster replicas donated by Evans, however, are not on display, and the whereabouts of the throne are unknown. The only replicas associated with Knossos in the gallery are two reproductions of painted frescoes purchased in the 1920s from the Gilliérons, who were employed by Evans as restorers and ran a successful business supplying casts and replicas<sup>4</sup>.

This paper will explore the history of acquisition of the British Museum's collection of Aegean Bronze Age casts and replicas before examining their history of display. Many such objects were to be found on display at the British Museum in the first half of the twentieth century but fell out of favour in the post-war redesign of the Museum galleries. It is difficult to provide definitive answers about the reason for this shift. One trend is the move from art historical to archaeological displays, which has tended to promote original objects over replicas. Another trend is the rise in exhibition design which emphasises the visual impact of displays in contrast to the pre-war tendency to put as much of the collection on display as possible for the purposes of both browsing and study. A final reason comes from the difficulty in classifying replicas, which sometimes challenge notions of 'original' versus 'copy', 'authentic' versus 'fake'. A distinction can be drawn within the category of replica between plaster casts, which are moulded directly from the original object, and other reproductions based only on close observation of the original. It should also be noted that Aegean Bronze Age objects were sometimes heavily restored, blurring the distinction between 'original' and 'replica'. Although semiotically interesting as a result, curators have not always known what to do with these slippery objects.

### History of acquisition

The British Museum acquired Aegean Bronze Age replicas both through donation and purchase. Following his donation of the throne in 1903, Sir Arthur Evans gave the Museum a further eight plaster replicas in 1904<sup>5</sup>. Most of these were copies of fragments of relief wall paintings found in the North Entrance Passage at the Palace of Knossos, but two were of vessels: a three-handled jar can no longer be found, but the lion's head rhyton does still exist in the collection (**Fig. 1**). One of the relief fragments is signed 'W.H. Young', an employee of the Ashmolean Museum who was responsible for casts and replicas at this time<sup>6</sup>. These replicas appear to have caused some confusion when they arrived, since Evans subsequently wrote to confirm that they were intended as a gift and "was glad that you can find a corner for them".<sup>7</sup> A further group of plaster replicas of carved stone objects arrived in 1906 as part of a much larger donation of archaeological material from Knossos, again donated by Evans.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to tell whether these were cast from the objects themselves, and are described as 'models' in the register: many, including a lampstand, indicate the areas of plaster restoration on the original (**Fig. 2**). These illustrate the difficulty in drawing a clear boundary between replica and original because the 'original' in this case is itself a composite of archaeological fragment and plaster restoration. Between 1903 and 1906 Evans donated 18 plaster replicas of objects from Knossos to the British Museum, even as excavations were continuing.

The other major donation of Aegean Bronze Age plaster replicas was made in 1921 by another archaeologist working on Crete, Richard Berry Seager. Like Evans, he gave a group of objects to the Museum which included both archaeological objects and replicas. The archaeological objects came

from a number of different sites he had excavated in East Crete but the replicas, made by the Gilliérons, were of stone vessels found in the Early Minoan tombs at Mochlos<sup>9</sup>. They were registered as a group, with the 22 plaster replicas listed before the remaining 29 objects, a mix of ceramic and stone objects of different periods.<sup>10</sup> A number of these archaeological objects, as noted in the register, were either repaired or partly restored using painted plaster. A stone bowl, for instance (**Fig. 3**) is half stone and half plaster: the plaster is painted, but no attempt was made to reproduce the appearance of the stone. It was normal at that time for the Museum's restorers to turn fragments into whole vessels for display, as they did for some of the Evans material, but here Seager had gone to the trouble of having pieces restored before they arrived at the Museum. Clearly it was important for Seager to donate complete objects to the Museum, even if some were wholly or partly made of plaster.

In 1905 the Greek Government presented the Museum with plaster casts of parts of the columns and capitals from the Treasury of Atreus, an elaborate Bronze Age tomb at Mycenae.<sup>11</sup> In the same year parts of the original columns were donated to the Museum by the Marquis of Sligo, whose ancestor had removed them to Ireland early in the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Knowing this donation was on its way, the newly appointed Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department, Cecil Harcourt Smith, paid a visit to Greece in 1905 in order to take measurements of the tomb. His intention was to use the measurements in order to set up the columns accurately and also to work through fragments of the Parthenon sculptures not represented by either originals or casts in the British Museum collection<sup>13</sup>. In both tasks he was aided by Robert Carr Bosanquet, in his role as the Director of the British School at Athens. The product of this visit was two sets of casts: the fragments of the Treasury of Atreus in the Athens National Museum and fragments from the Parthenon, both facilitated by the Ephor-General of Antiquities in Athens, P. Cavvadias<sup>14</sup>. Further casts were subsequently acquired of Treasury of Atreus fragments in Berlin, Munich and Karlsruhe. These were incorporated, along with two further original fragments already in the Museum collection, in a full-size reconstruction of the two columns<sup>15</sup>.

Both Smith and Bosanquet also donated replicas to the Museum. Although Bosanquet had excavated at Palaikastro, the replicas he donated in 1910 were of famous objects from elsewhere on Crete: the Chieftain Cup, the Boxer Rhyton and the Phaistos Disc<sup>16</sup>. Smith donated a cast of the Harvester Vase and a steatite sphinx from Ayia Triada<sup>17</sup>. The source of these Cretan replicas is unclear, because both men could have bought them in either Athens or Heraklion. Two possibilities are Emmanuel Saloustros, who worked at the Heraklion Museum (**Athanasaki, this volume**) or the Gilliérons, who were based in Athens and working for Arthur Evans at Knossos. The Gilliérons listed the Chieftain Cup, but not the other replicas, in their catalogue of electrotypes (see below). When the British Museum decided to purchase more replicas of Minoan objects in 1912, it appears that they first contacted the Gilliérons but bought the replicas from Saloustros instead, at a cheaper price.<sup>18</sup> The Minoan replicas purchased from Saloustros were a set of objects from the Temple Repositories at Knossos, including the well-known 'Snake Goddesses', the bull's head rhyton from the Little Palace at Knossos, the terracotta group of dancers from Palaikastro and two stone lamps<sup>19</sup>. The original Snake Goddesses and bull's head rhyton on which these were modelled were themselves heavily restored, further blurring the boundary between 'original' and 'replica' **in these cases**.

The source of the replicas in the Museum collection from Mycenaean Greece is clearer. These were produced by the Gilliérons, who, in addition to their work at Knossos, were involved in the manufacture of electrotypes of metal objects from Mycenae and other sites (**Scheiffele, this volume**). These were on sale in London through D. Brucciani & Co., who also produced casts of British Museum objects under licence<sup>20</sup>. The Museum's undated (early twentieth century) copy of the Gilliérons' catalogue of "Electrotype Reproductions of Cretan Treasures in the Candia Museum and Mycenaean Treasures in the Greek National Museum at Athens" includes an additional Brucciani price list<sup>21</sup>. Aided by a donation from Miss Caroline Hutton in 1908, the Museum purchased a number of pieces from Brucciani, including replicas of the Vapheio Cups and objects from the Mycenae Shaft Graves.<sup>22</sup> To give an example of the cost, one Vapheio Cup was £3-15s-0d, which is about £400 in today's prices. A further group of electrotypes of objects from Mycenae, including the Cup of Nestor and also some Minoan jewellery, was bought from the same source in 1913<sup>23</sup>. One of the reasons given for this purchase in the Museum's archives was "the past difficulty of finding room for larger casts"<sup>24</sup>. It appears that a certain amount of money had been authorised for the purchase of casts, but Aegean Bronze Age replicas were being favoured, if nothing else, for their small size.

The Gilliérons continued to supply the Museum with casts and replicas in the 1920s with both Bronze Age and also later replicas, such as a set of Archaic ivory reliefs from the British excavations at Sparta<sup>25</sup>. Following this acquisition, the Gilliérons immediately offered replicas of Bronze Age ivories from Spata and Mycenae, which the Museum also bought<sup>26</sup>. Soon after, the Museum purchased some larger-scale

reproductions of Bronze Age frescoes, three in watercolour and two painted plaster replicas showing the original versus the restoration<sup>27</sup>. The latter were copies of the Grandstand Fresco from the Palace at Knossos and one of the blue monkeys from the nearby House of the Frescoes. These frescoes had been restored by the Gilliérons themselves and so to some extent were in the same hand as the original. In the same purchase as the watercolours the Museum also bought 14 copies of clay documents from Knossos, mostly Linear B tablets<sup>28</sup>. Surprisingly, given that the Gilliérons were based in Athens, these were faithful copies of objects in the collections of UK museums: the Ashmolean Museum, Fitzwilliam Museum and two Linear B tablets from the British Museum itself, which had been donated by Evans in 1910<sup>29</sup>. It is possible that these had all been made while the tablets were in Evans's possession, but they stand out because they are not like the other replicas of art objects and are detailed enough to be read, although Linear B had not been deciphered at this time.

One of the most significant Minoan objects in the British Museum collection is a bronze figure of a worshipper. This was probably acquired in the nineteenth century, but was only recognised as ancient when a similar figure was found in Crete<sup>30</sup>. It is perhaps for this reason that Evans gave his own bronze cast of a similar figure from Athens to the Museum in 1930<sup>31</sup>. Another plaster cast of a Minoan bronze worshipper, a female figure in Berlin had arrived in 1907 as part of the Walter Copland Perry collection, of which more below<sup>32</sup>. These casts provided useful parallels for the ancient bronze figure which had previously been regarded as suspect. The most well-known Minoan bronze figure in the collection is the bronze group of a man jumping over a bull, acquired in 1966 from the estate of Captain Spencer-Churchill<sup>33</sup>. When Spencer-Churchill acquired it, he brought it to the British Museum where it was restored and a plaster cast made of the complete group (**Fig. 4**).<sup>34</sup> The cast preserves the restored legs of the leaper and the hind legs of the bull: these were removed after the Museum acquired it in 1966, returning it to the state that Evans illustrated in his publication of the group<sup>35</sup>. The cast is a replica of this object at a particular moment in time. When the British Museum lent the Minoan bull and leaper to an exhibition in Japan in 2015, the cast (labelled as such) took its place. No one commented on this switch and so it is difficult to know whether anyone was disappointed, or indeed whether anyone noticed. Here the cast was a useful temporary replacement, but casts and replicas have formed a more significant part of permanent displays in the past.

### History of display

The plaster casts of the throne and relief frescoes from Knossos were rapidly put on display in the Archaic Room. The 1908 guidebook noted that the sculptures in this room "will be found to illustrate the various characteristics of an early stage of art"<sup>36</sup>. Evans's casts were described as follows: "They include a remarkably vigorous head of a bull and portions of the nude human form. Near them is a cast of the throne from the principal chamber in the Palace of Cnossos"<sup>37</sup>. Nearby were the Treasury of Atreus columns from Mycenae, which were reconstructed using a combination of casts and original fragments and erected in 1906<sup>38</sup>. The Archaic Room displayed early Greek sculpture in the British Museum collection, with casts, such as the pediment figures from the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, used to fill in gaps in the narrative of progress where necessary. This room was one of a suite of ground floor galleries, laid out in the mid-nineteenth century, which told the story of the development of art, culminating in the sculptures of the Parthenon<sup>39</sup>. The Knossos casts were slotted into this existing layout to illustrate the beginnings of this triumphal sequence.

The throne did not stay in the Archaic Room for long, because soon after its installation a separate Cast Gallery was established at the British Museum. This was a result of a decision taken to reduce the number of casts on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum, meaning that the large Copland Perry collection of casts was transferred to the British Museum<sup>40</sup>. The Cast Gallery, in a newly built annex at the front of the Museum, opened in 1909. A guidebook to the contents indicates that the throne was placed with some of the other Evans replicas, including the lion's head rhyton<sup>41</sup>. Also listed in the guidebook is a plaster cast of the Lion Gate at Mycenae, which probably came as part of the Copland Perry collection, but which no longer survives. A plaster cast of the spiral frieze from Orchomenos, which came from the same source, remains in the collection.<sup>42</sup> The Cast Gallery was closed in 1930 to make room for Cypriot sculpture, reasserting the priority of original objects in Museum displays<sup>43</sup>. At that point, the casts were dispersed: some were sent on loan to University College London and others were put into storage, but one can speculate that this was the moment when some were also disposed of. Like the throne, the casts from Aegina, for example, can no longer be found. There is an apocryphal story that some of the casts were broken up and used as fill for the Front Court and if this is true it is possible that fragments of the throne lie buried in front of the Museum, mixed with those of the Lion Gate.

The Cast Gallery guidebook also states that “Other reproductions and a collection of original objects illustrative of the art of prehistoric Greece are shown in the First Vase Room”<sup>44</sup>. Despite its name, The First Vase Room actually contained both ceramics and other types of Aegean Bronze Age material culture. Many of the replicas described above are listed as being in this room in the various editions of the *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, which almost apologetically states that “The finest examples of Cretan art have been retained in Crete, and can only be illustrated by casts and reproductions”<sup>45</sup>. The 1928 guidebook gives a flavour of the mix of casts and originals: “Three masterpieces of Minoan sculpture are the black steatite cups, casts from the original found in the Palace of Hagia Triada, in Standard-Case A: the Boxer Vases [sic.], the Harvester Vase, and the Chieftain Cup (L.M.I.) [Late Minoan I]. In the same case are bronze figures of a praying man (original), a woman votary (cast), and a man leaping over the horns of a charging bull (cast)”<sup>46</sup>. Like the sculpture galleries downstairs, there was still an emphasis here on artistic development, with casts used to fill the gaps where there were no suitable originals in the British Museum collection.

The British Museum galleries were evacuated during the Second World War, which provided the opportunity for a post-war rearrangement of the galleries. A major innovation was the introduction of other types of material culture to the sculpture galleries downstairs, resulting in a shift of emphasis to culture history and chronology over artistic development in a single medium. A different aesthetic of tiled surfaces and metal and glass showcases hinted at a more scientific approach. The new Greek Bronze Age galleries were finished in around 1968 and contained far fewer objects than the old upstairs galleries, with no sign of any replicas either. The only modern object displayed alongside archaeological objects was a sculpture by Henry Moore, inspired by the Cycladic collection it was placed alongside. The redesign also resulted in the Treasury of Atreus columns being placed either side of a grand entrance to the new suite of Greek galleries, which evoked the façade of the tomb from which they came (**Fig. 5**). As can be seen from the photo, these columns are a mix of original sculpture and plaster reconstruction and the overall effect is of a life-size replica of the tomb entrance. It was only in this context that a replica was permitted, as part of a theatrical design concept, in keeping with the desire to change the look and feel of the galleries. The galleries were refurbished in 2000, at which point two of the Gilliéron fresco reproductions were reintroduced. These serve to some extent as graphics. The remainder of the replicas remain in the reserve collections, and are popular with student groups. One was borrowed recently by another museum as a substitute for an original object and others were included, as examples of replicas, in the exhibition *Fake? The Art of Deception*<sup>47</sup>.

## Discussion

A number of different types of replicas have entered the British Museum since Evans donated the plaster cast of the Throne of Minos in 1903. In the semiotic terms used by Peirce to describe sign-object relations, the replica of the throne stands in both an iconic relation to the original object, because it resembles it, and an indexical relationship, **based on physical connection**<sup>48</sup>. Other replicas, such as the Linear B tablets, cannot have been based on squeezes of the fragile originals and so have only an iconic relationship with them. Some replicas made by the Gilliérons, such as the Lion Hunt dagger, stand in an iconic relationship not to the museum object but to the putative original: the catalogue boasts that the electrotypes “are not in the bent, crushed, or broken condition in which they were found, but have been reset in their original forms so far as these could be ascertained with certainty”<sup>49</sup>. Some of the objects Seager donated to the Museum incorporate original parts of the object and recreate its form, but not necessarily its original appearance, so are indexical but not iconic. **Sonesson**<sup>50</sup> distinguishes between factoral indexes, which are based on part-whole relationships and contiguous indexes: here the replica is factoral as well as contiguous, because it incorporates a part of the original object. Some of the Evans replicas are of objects from Knossos restored with plaster: here the replica is in iconic (and indexical, if a cast) relation to the restored object rather than original. The plaster cast of the bull and leaper does not distinguish the areas of restoration. This cast is in indexical relationship to the restored object, itself meant to resemble the original, but no longer resembles the object in the museum showcase. The closer one looks at replicas the more complex they appear: as Eco<sup>51</sup> noted in his semiotic exploration of the terms ‘fake’ and ‘forgery’, the meaning of ‘original’ is soon called into question. This is certainly the case for the Treasury of Atreus façade, which exists in at least three places: Mycenae, the Athens National Archaeological Museum, where two restored columns also flank a door, and the British Museum. Are all three original to some extent?

The intentions of the donors and curators can be described in similar terms. For the curators of the British Museum in the early twentieth century the intention was fairly clear: to illustrate the various stages of Greek art. Replicas were useful because of their iconicity. For Evans and Seager too replicas acted as a complement to publication, allowing them to disseminate three-dimensional copies of the objects

they had found at Knossos and Mochlos, as well as illustrating them with photographs or coloured plates in their publications. Such publications would have been accessible only to scholars, whereas the replicas gave them wider circulation. Replicas helped to establish a canon of Aegean Bronze Age objects with memorable names, such as 'the Mask of Agamemnon', 'the Harvester Vase' and 'the Snake Goddesses'. This canon has gained a place in art history, representatives of Bronze Age art whose archaeological context is less important than their stylistic features. When Sir John Forsdyke published an article about the Chieftain Cup, he illustrated it with photos of the replica he was familiar with as a British Museum curator, showing that in art historical terms the original and replica were interchangeable<sup>52</sup>. But as the British Museum displays have shifted from an art historical to an archaeological narrative, replicas have fallen out of favour.

The set of connections between archaeologists, the objects they excavated and the objects they donated to the Museum can be described in terms of indexicality. When Evans sat for a portrait by Sir William Blake Richmond in 1907, he was surrounded by replicas of objects from Knossos<sup>53</sup>. In the foreground stands another replica lampstand of the type that Evans had donated to the British Museum the year before. The mixed donations of archaeological objects and replicas by both Evans and Seager can be seen as a way of their establishing a connection with the British Museum, which in turn showed the significance of their finds. Since they had only been able to remove a limited number of objects from Crete, replicas enabled them to give the 'same' object to a number of museums, alongside less spectacular archaeological objects. The British Museum did not distinguish replica and archaeological objects in the register: each object counted as a donation. But now only the archaeological objects donated by Evans and Seager are displayed in the galleries, their role as donors noted in the small print of the label. In the redesigned Ashmolean Museum Aegean galleries, replicas and archival material were used, in order to make apparent the connection between Sir Arthur Evans and the collection; a replica of the throne room stands in the centre<sup>54</sup>. Visitors to the site of Knossos also come into contact with a Bronze Age 'palace' in reinforced concrete, inseparable from the vision of Sir Arthur Evans whose bust stands near the entrance<sup>55</sup>. In contrast the British Museum has sought to purify its objects from Knossos, highlighting their identity as Bronze Age artefacts by placing them in a gallery with objects from other sites in Bronze Age Greece. Here they sit as authentic traces of the past, their indexical relation to Arthur Evans acknowledged but not allowed to disrupt the essentially archaeological narrative.

## Conclusion

This paper has charted the rise and fall in the acquisition and display of Aegean Bronze Age replicas at the British Museum. In the first half of the twentieth century replicas were an important component of displays at the Museum, with casts from sculpture of later periods also featuring prominently in some Museum galleries. The Throne of Minos was the first Aegean Bronze Age replica to enter the Museum's collection and was rapidly put on display, first in the Archaic Room and then the new Cast Gallery. Smaller replicas, many of them donated by Minoan archaeologists, notably Sir Arthur Evans and Richard Seager, were placed alongside Bronze Age objects in the First Vase Room. During the period in which the Cast Gallery was open, 1909–1930, the Museum actively purchased replicas, from both Emmanuel Saloustros and the Gilliérons, and included them in displays of an art historical nature. The post-war redesign of the galleries resulted, for the Aegean Bronze Age at least, in a more minimalist and archaeological display of original objects in which there was no room for replicas. Some even appear to have been destroyed. Those that survive are increasingly interesting as artefacts in their own right rather than illustrations of masterpieces of Aegean Bronze Age art. As has been suggested, replica is a semiotically complex category, describing objects with a variety of relationships to an original Bronze Age object. The replicas donated by Evans and Seager in particular played an important role in establishing a set of connections between these archaeologists, their discoveries and the British Museum.

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<sup>1</sup> Evans 1899/1900:35–42

<sup>2</sup> Evans 1921–35

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- <sup>3</sup> Register number 1903,1118.1. Described in the register as “Plaster cast of throne with base. Ht. 3f 6in.”.
- <sup>4</sup> Lapatin 2002: 120–139
- <sup>5</sup> GR 1904,0709.1–8.
- <sup>6</sup> Petch 2007
- <sup>7</sup> Arthur Evans to Cecil Smith, 18 June 1904. Department of Greece and Rome Letter Book.
- <sup>8</sup> Plaster replicas: GR 1906,1112.79–87
- <sup>9</sup> Seager 1912
- <sup>10</sup> Plaster replicas: 1921,0515.1–22; archaeological objects GR 1921,0515.23–52
- <sup>11</sup> GR 1905,1107.1–3
- <sup>12</sup> GR 1905,1105.1–3
- <sup>13</sup> Report, 7 March 1905. Department of Greece and Rome Reports. The report also states Smith’s intention to visit Crete on the same trip.
- <sup>14</sup> C. Smith 1908; Jenkins 1990: 99–100
- <sup>15</sup> Pryce 1928: 18–24
- <sup>16</sup> Chieftain Cup: GR 1910,1120.1; Phaistos Disc: 1910,1120.2; Boxer Rhyton: GR 1910,0617.1
- <sup>17</sup> Harvester Vase: GR 1905,0715.1; sphinx: GR 1908,1231.1.
- <sup>18</sup> Report on Purchase of Casts, 9 December 1911. Department of Greece and Rome Minutes.
- <sup>19</sup> Temple Repositories objects: GR 1912,0128.1–28; bull’s head rhyton: GR 1912,0128.29; Palaikastro dancers: GR 1912,0128.30; stone lamps from Ayia Triada and Pseira: GR 1912,0128.31–32
- <sup>20</sup> Jenkins 1990: 108–110
- <sup>21</sup> Gilliéron and Gilliéron n.d.
- <sup>22</sup> GR 1908,1230.1–18
- <sup>23</sup> GR 1913,1119.1–27
- <sup>24</sup> Report on Purchases Recommended: Greek and Roman Antiquities (Casts), 8 November 1913. Department of Greece and Rome Minutes.
- <sup>25</sup> GR 1925,0315.1–7; GR 1926,0215.1–21
- <sup>26</sup> GR 1926,0317.1–6. Letter from E. Gilliéron  *fils*  to H.B. Walters, 20 February 1926. Department of Greece and Rome Letter Book.
- <sup>27</sup> Watercolours: Cupbearer from Knossos: GR 1927,1015.1; Cat and Bird fresco from Ayia Triada: GR 1927,1015.1; Flying fish fresco from Phylakopi: GR 1927,1015.1. Painted plaster: Grandstand Fresco: GR 1929, 0423.1; Blue Monkey: GR 1929,0423.2.
- <sup>28</sup> GR 1927,1015.4–18
- <sup>29</sup> GR 1910,0423.1–2
- <sup>30</sup> Pryce 1921; GR 1918,0101.114
- <sup>31</sup> GR 1930,0414.1
- <sup>32</sup> GR 2012,5024.67
- <sup>33</sup> GR 1966,0328.1
- <sup>34</sup> GR 1921,0618.1
- <sup>35</sup> Evans 1921: 247–55
- <sup>36</sup> A. Smith 1908: 2
- <sup>37</sup> A. Smith 1908: 3
- <sup>38</sup> Pryce 1928: 18
- <sup>39</sup> Jenkins 1992: 65–70
- <sup>40</sup> Bilbey and Trusted 2010
- <sup>41</sup> Pryce 1913: 8–9
- <sup>42</sup> GR 2012,5024.59
- <sup>43</sup> Jenkins 1992: 214
- <sup>44</sup> Pryce 1913: 9
- <sup>45</sup> A. Smith 1912: 194
- <sup>46</sup> Walters 1928: 155
- <sup>47</sup> Jones 1990: 46–7. One of the Gilliéron daggers, GR 1913,1119.3, was displayed in the Stonehenge Visitor Centre as part of *Stonehenge: Set in Stone?* in 2013–14.
- <sup>48</sup> Peirce 1998 [1903]; Parmentier 1994
- <sup>49</sup> Wolters n.d.
- <sup>50</sup> 1989: 43–48
- <sup>51</sup> 1990
- <sup>52</sup> Forsdyke 1952
- <sup>53</sup> Galanakis 2013: 29
- <sup>54</sup> Galanakis 2013
- <sup>55</sup> Duke 2007; Gere 2009

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### List of captions

Fig. 1. Plaster replica of limestone lion's head rhyton from Knossos (GR 1904,0709.2). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 2. Plaster replica of a lampstand from Knossos. The restoration of the base of the original is apparent (GR 1906,1112.80). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 3. Minoan Bird's Nest Bowl from Mochlos. Restored using plaster (GR 1921,0515.25). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 4. Plaster cast of a Minoan bronze bull and leaper (GR 1921,0618.1). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 5. The Treasury of Atreus façade at the entrance to the Aegean Bronze Age galleries, c. 1968. © Trustees of the British Museum.