

BRITAIN AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CYPRUS

I. THE LONG 19th CENTURY *

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This paper is the first of a planned two part survey of British contributions to the archaeology of Cyprus from the 18th century down to the present day. But what do we mean by “British” in this context? At first the question might appear self-evident or at least rhetorical. People and institutions of British origin or affiliation have played a leading role in the collection, excavation, study and display of the island’s material past for over two hundred years. Beginning in the “mythical age” (as Myres described it)¹ of amateur excavation and collection in the 18th and earlier 19th centuries, and developing through more scientific (or at least systematic) excavations in the late 1800s, the intensity of British involvement in Cypriot archaeology is reflected in the wealth of Cypriot antiquities found in museums, large and small, throughout the United Kingdom. The study of the most important of these collections, especially those in London and Oxford, helped to lay the foundations of the modern discipline of Cypriot archaeology by the end of the 19th century, especially through the work of John Myres, “father of Cypriot archaeology”. On Cyprus itself, the period of British rule between 1878 and 1960 also witnessed key developments such as the evolution of legislative, administrative and institutional frameworks, as well as the emergence of recognisably modern standards of excavation, publication and the conservation of sites and monuments.

The first wave of truly scientific excavations, although initiated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1927, also included major contributions from key figures with British connections such as James Stewart (Cambridge-educated and working under the auspices of British School at Athens), and Joan Taylor with her close links to Institute of Archaeology in London.² Likewise, if the modernisation of local archaeological

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1. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. viii.

2. Megaw 1988, p. 283-284; R. Merrillees, “Professor James R. Stewart: A biographical lecture”, in A. Hope, K. Zimmer (eds.), *Catalogue of ancient Middle Eastern pottery from Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt in the Faculty of Art Gallery RMIT June 1983 and essays in Australian contributions to the archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Melbourne, 1983, p. 33-51; N. Hirschfeld, “Joan du Plat Taylor”, in M. Joukowsky, B. Lesko (eds.), *Breaking ground: Women in old world archaeology*, 2004 (http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground).

practices during this period was very much due to the pioneering work of Cypriots such as Menelaos Markides and Porphyrios Dikaïos (working alongside the resident British expatriate George Jeffrey), the establishment of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus in 1935 and other reforms were spurred by pressure from British scholars, politicians and the general public, while subsequent developments also took place within the political atmosphere of colonial rule.³ Despite the political conflicts of the 1950s, archaeological links between Britain and Cyprus have remained strong and indeed have flourished since Independence in 1960.⁴ No better illustration of this connection is the long career of the late Hector Catling which formed a bridge between the last phase of “colonial” archaeology on Cyprus and the current generation of fieldworkers and scholars (see this volume, Karageorghis, p. 9, and Merrillees, p. 11). His seminal work in field-survey, metallurgical and ceramic studies, and general historical syntheses continue to influence to a seminal degree through his own fieldwork and research or that of his colleagues, students and mentees, and helped to foster and sustain a rich and influential tradition of ancient Cypriot studies in British universities and associated institutions.

At the same time, the specific contribution made by Britain to Cypriot archaeology must also be viewed in terms of wider developments throughout the Mediterranean world during this time period, including non-archaeological influences such as politics, economics and broader intellectual trends.⁵ First, the terms “British” and Britons have to be defined broadly. Eire was a core part of the United Kingdom until 1922, and as a political unit the British Isles were the centre of a world empire during the 18th and 19th centuries whose overseas citizens – from merchants to colonial officials – formed part of a complex network spanning the globe. British interest in the island’s ancient past during the 19th century also formed part of a broader and evolving “Western” engagement with Classical and Near Eastern antiquities. Changes in perceptions of Cypriot antiquity in the light of new discoveries, and the emergence of Hellenism as the dominant scholarly tradition within classical archaeology during the later 19th century, also operated within a shared social and intellectual environment that often crossed national boundaries.⁶ Furthermore, if competition for antiquities between the various Western powers during the 19th century clearly had national(istic) overtones, and sometimes reflected the particular intellectual

3. P. Dikaïos, *A guide to the Cyprus Museum*, Nicosia, 1953, p. ix-xii; V. Karageorghis, “The Cyprus Department of Antiquities, 1935-1985”, in Karageorghis 1985, p. 1-10; C. Roueché, “The prehistory of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities”, in J. Herrin *et al.* (eds), *Mosaic. Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, London, 1996, p. 155-166; D. Pilides, *George Jeffrey. His diaries and the ancient monuments of Cyprus*, Nicosia, 2009.

4. Megaw 1988, p. 285.

5. For a similar problem of definition in the context of Palestine in the same period, see R. Chapman, “British-Holy Land archaeology: Nineteenth-Century sources”, in M. David and Y. Ben-Arieh (eds), *With eyes towards Zion III. Western societies and the Holy Land*, New York, 1991, p. 208-226.

6. Morris 2000, p. 41-62.

cultures, political ideologies and institutional habits of specific countries, this was often accompanied by significant collaborations between individual excavators, collectors and scholars that crossed national boundaries. The members of the foreign consular corps that dominated Cypriot archaeology between the 1850s and 1870s may well have acted in a spirit of “friendly rivalry” (to use Cobham’s phrase)⁷ on behalf of their home nations; but they also collaborated with each other and with friends and colleagues in Western Europe and America, forging personal and intellectual connections regardless of national affiliation. Others meanwhile commonly pursued antiquities for a variety of personal motivations, separate from their sense of duty (if any) to their respective governments.⁸

British individuals, including colonial officials, continued to play a major role in this area during the early years of British rule, often for their own benefit rather than their home country.⁹ Yet one of the dominant figures in the early years of British administration was the German journalist-turned-archaeologist Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (1850-1917) who excavated for a variety of European institutions, including the British Museum, but also on behalf of private clients and for his own benefit in the 1880s and 1890s.¹⁰ His prolific career highlights the complex and deeply ambiguous attitude of the local British authorities to antiquities; but it also demonstrates the difficulty (or indeed impossibility) of defining archaeology on Cyprus purely as a reflection of British national or imperial interests and policies, even if British citizens and museums clearly benefitted most from excavations down to the end of the 19th century. Likewise, the first large-scale systematic excavations on Cyprus were organised by a private academic syndicate (the Cyprus Exploration Fund, 1888-1894) or funded by a private donor (the British Museum Turner Bequest, 1893-1896) even if both were intended to further British academic and political interests. By contrast, during the 20th century, international collaboration became widespread from the time of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1927-31) onwards and has been wholly characteristic of the discipline in the fifty or so years since Independence in 1960. This is due in particular to the enlightened policies of the Department of Antiquities, especially of its Director between 1963 and 1989, Professor Vassos Karageorghis.¹¹ Cypriot archaeology as practised in Britain today reflects the international nature of scholarship in general, but also the fact that the fieldwork and research of British scholars and institutions in recent times have rarely if even been conducted in isolation.

7. Hutchinson, Cobham 1907, p. 52.

8. M. Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire. Conquest and collecting in the East. 1750-1850*, London, 2005.

9. See Kiely, Merrillees, this volume.

10. H.-G. Buchholz, “Max Ohnefalsch-Richter als Archäologue auf Zypern”, *CCEC* 11-12, 1989, p. 1-27; H. Matthäus, “Max Ohnefalsch-Richter und die Anfänge wissenschaftlicher Archäologie der Insel Zypern”, in Rogge 2009, p. 115-151.

11. R. Merrillees, “Twenty-five years of Cypriote archaeology: The Stone Age and Early and Middle Bronze Ages”, in Karageorghis 1985, p. 11-19 (see p. 11); V. Karageorghis, *A lifetime in the archaeology of Cyprus. The memoirs of Vassos Karageorghis*, Stockholm, p. 77-100, 138-140.

With these comments in mind, this survey focuses on the contribution of British collectors, excavators, institutions and scholars that concerned themselves with Cypriot archaeology, from the first glimmerings of interest in Cypriot antiquities by “Britons” in the 18th century down to the present day. Less emphasis will be given to internal developments on the island, except where these directly impact, or illuminate, the activities of the main subjects of the paper.¹² These are of course quite difficult to disentangle in reality, given the complex dynamics between British-based institutions, academics and politicians (especially after 1878) and local developments, especially when large-scale excavations were initiated towards the end of the century. Many of the main events, characters, collections and excavations will be familiar to students of the subject, thanks to the work of the numerous scholars on whose work we have relied substantially (many published in the *Cahier*); many details however can be added to what continues to be an evolving narrative that still lacks a comprehensive account. Consequently, we have also included some less well-known or under-studied individuals, institutions and phenomena, if only to draw attention to the need for further study in these areas. These include the dynamic role of private collectors and “*amateur*” scholars, the growth of smaller or regional museums’ collections of ancient Cypriot material around the United Kingdom within their institutional contexts, and the broader political influences on the emergence of the modern discipline of archaeology on the island that stemmed from British sources.

Given the scale of the topic, the paper has been divided into two parts. The first part, presented here, surveys the “long” 19th century down to 1914. This is a convenient and indeed apposite pause for two reasons. The annexation of Cyprus by Britain following the outbreak of war with the Ottoman Empire ended *de facto* Turkish sovereignty over the island. Although the consequences were delayed by the hostilities, and then by administrative inertia, the change in the island’s political status had a major impact on archaeological developments. The same year also saw the publication of John Myres’ seminal *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, the culmination of a practical and intellectual revolution – a genuine watershed in fact – in Cypriot archaeology that had begun ten years earlier with his excavations and work on the collections of the Cyprus Museum.

Early travellers and antiquarian collecting

In common with other western European travellers, Cyprus was rarely visited by British “Grand Tourists” during the 17th and 18th centuries. This was due in part to the practical difficulties of getting to the island but also because of the lack of impressive ancient structures surviving above ground to attract visitors. Accounts of Cyprus by the relatively few early British travellers to the island typically generally combined relatively

12. On which see in particular: H.-G. Buchholz, “Falkland Warren”, in Tatton-Brown 2001a, p. 207-215; Given 2001; Stanley-Price 2001; Merrillees 2005; R. Merrillees, *The first Cyprus Museum in Victoria Street, Nicosia*, Nicosia 2005; Kiely, Merrillees (this volume); Fourrier, Kiely (this volume).

accurate observations of archaeological sites and antiquities with a range of interpretations of what they saw. These explanations were based on classical, biblical or mediaeval sources, or often simply on speculation and hearsay. Richard Pococke (1704-1769), visiting the island in 1738, repeated the myth that Richard the Lionheart had captured his rival Issac Comnenus in 1191 at Amathus, and erroneously identified the remains of its ancient city wall with the famous Temple of “Venus and Adonis”.¹³ At the same time, he fairly accurately summarised the main historical facts then known about Kition from ancient written sources, identified the ancient harbour (and speculated on the original shoreline), and included in his published account a plate of what were correctly surmised to be Phoenician inscriptions.¹⁴ The British Consul at Aleppo, Alexander Drummond (before 1709-1769) who visited in 1745 and 1750, also commented on the history and ruins of Kition and repeated the error about Amathus during the Crusades.¹⁵ Speculating on the ancient geography of the island, he erroneously located Palaepaphos at the site of the modern town of Paphos, but correctly placed Soloi near Lefka. Edward Clarke (1769-1822) described the island in 1801 as a desolate backwater, but noted that Cyprus “*amply gratified our curiosity by its most interesting antiquities*”.¹⁶ He mentions alphabetic Greek inscriptions from Paphos collected by the flamboyant naval officer Sydney Smith,¹⁷ Iron Age terracotta figurines and sarcophagi from Larnaka, and numerous inscribed gems of various types that already formed part of a lively antiquity trade with visitors.¹⁸ He also speculated on the historical topography of the island, noting the “*antient geography of Cyprus is involved in greater uncertainty that seems consistent with its former celebrity among enlightened nations*”.¹⁹ Clarke also commented on the extent and importance of ancient Kition, and perceptively used a report of the excavation of some Severan-period objects at Larnaka around 1767 to correctly deduce the continued existence of the ancient city of Kition in Roman times.²⁰

13. Pococke in Cobham 1908, p. 252-3; see M. Amadasi, V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition III. Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia, 1977, pl. 1; E. Baigent, “Pococke, Richard (1704-1765)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [online edition, article 22432].

14. Pococke in Cobham 1908, p. 253-4.

15. Drummond in Cobham 1908, p. 271-305 *passim*; see P. Aupert in P. Aupert (ed.), *Guide d'Amathonte*, Paris, p. 66-67. For his life see, K. Turner, “Drummond, Alexander (d. 1769)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [online edition, article 8062].

16. Clarke in Cobham 1908, p. 381; A. McConnell, “Clarke, Edward Daniel (1769–1822)”, in Cobham 1908, p. 381; A. McConnell, “Clarke, Edward Daniel (1769–1822)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [online edition, article 5494].

17. T. Pocock, *A thirst for glory: The life of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith*, London, 1998.

18. Clarke in Cobham 1908, esp. p. 381-383, 389.

19. Clarke in Cobham 1908, p. 382.

20. Clarke in Cobham 1908, p. 383.

Overall, British visitors, much like those of other nations, left the island with confused impressions that accorded little with their expectations. These were generally based on their understanding of classical and biblical literature and mediaeval sources, or merely on hearsay or local informants.²¹ However, they also carried away more tangible evidence for its past in the form of portable antiquities, particularly coins. These found their way first of all into private collections – and later into museums – helping to lay the foundations for a distinct field of Cypriot archaeology. Clarke for example describes receiving a number of coins from the British Consul, Antonio Vondiziano, including a late sixth or fifth century BC issue of Salamis which he correctly suggested was pre-Macedonian in date.²² Their ultimate destination and current whereabouts are unknown, though Vondiziano also passed on antiquities to the British ambassador to the Porte. Coins minted on Cyprus (but of unknown provenance) entered the collection of the British Museum as early as 1814. In this year a bronze coin of Septimius Severus showing the famous Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos came with the Townley Collection of antiquities formed in the late 18th century.²³ Other examples recorded in the catalogue of coins in the British Museum prepared by Taylor Combe the same year suggest that other Cypriot issues existed in the collection by this time.²⁴ A substantial group of Cypriot coins, including issues of the various city-kingdoms with syllabic inscriptions that had not yet been identified as being from the island, were bequeathed to the British Museum in 1824 by the well-known collector and antiquarian Richard Payne Knight,²⁵ while the following year King George IV donated several Hellenistic coins struck on Cyprus from his father's collection.²⁶

Apart from some Hellenistic and Roman examples, few of the coins from the island were identified as being of Cypriot origin, underlining how limited knowledge of the subject was at this time. This changed as collector-scholars in particular began to expand (or indeed create) the discipline of Cypriot numismatics. The Smyrna-based merchant and antiquity dealer Henry Borrell (1795-1851)²⁷ sold several thousand coins, including a few items struck on Cyprus, to the British Museum in the early 1830s.²⁸ He was also a scholar however, publishing in 1836 the first truly modern studies of Cypriot coinage

21. See P. Edbury, "Cyprus in the 19th Century: perception and politics", in Tatton-Brown 2001a, p. 13-20.

22. Clarke in Cobham 1908, p. 390.

23. CM G.2708 (G. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Cyprus*, London, 1904, p. 86 no. 55); on his life and collection, see B. Cook, *The Townley Marbles*, London, 1985.

24. Wilson 2002, esp. p. 60 and *passim*.

25. Tatton-Brown 1998, p. 113; see M. Clarke, N. Penny (eds), *The arrogant connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight, 1751-1824*, Manchester, 1992.

26. CM G3 GIG 19, 24, 44.

27. [Anon.] (rev. Joanne Potier), "Borrell, Henry Perigal (1795–1851)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [online edition, article/2916].

28. CM HBM, *passim*. More ancient Cypriot coins were purchased at the 1852 sale (included in the registration sequence, CM 1852.9-3).

in which he identified several city-kingdoms issues for the first time.²⁹ As a dealer, Borrell sold the head of the Chatsworth Apollo – discovered in 1836 by the villagers of Politiko (ancient Tamassos) and broken up for scrap metal soon after – to the Duke of Devonshire a few years later.³⁰ Borrell's own extensive collection of coins and antiquities, including some non-numismatic items from Cyprus, was auctioned in London following his death.³¹ An alphabetic Greek inscription from New Paphos was acquired by the British Museum from the second sale of 1852 through the dealer Henry Cureton. The latter was also the intermediary for the purchase of another alphabetic inscription (apparently from Kition) earlier in that year, though its original owner is unknown. These two items in fact comprise earlier non-numismatic antiquities definitely from Cyprus in the British Museum, and perhaps in any United Kingdom public collection.³²

The “Eastern Question” and archaeology

If the fate of the Chatsworth Apollo reflects the haphazard nature of early collecting on Cyprus, the only surviving account of its discovery also reflects the emergence of modern antiquarian studies that built on earlier traditions of collection and topographical studies in particular. This is represented in particular by the German academic Ludwig Ross's account of his brief journey around the island in 1845 which provided valuable scholarly comments on the historical geography of the ancient city-kingdoms. These were based on actual observations on the ground and evidence gathered from the local population, including the description of the discovery of the Chatsworth Apollo and its subsequent destruction.³³ Ross's references to modern affairs are also important as they reflect the broader economic and political context in which archaeological discoveries were being made at this time. Discussing economic matters, he caustically noted that, despite the relative unimportance of their trade, the British were “*at some pains to exact as much consideration as possible*”.³⁴ The statement, though understandable, is somewhat naïve, as Britain was actively pursuing its political and diplomatic interests in the region at this time, including on Cyprus. This had a direct impact on the development of archaeology

29. H. Borrell, *Notice sur quelques médailles grecques des rois de Chypre*, Paris, 1836; see O. Masson, “Notes de numismatique chypriote, IX. Les monnaies de Chypre avant Borrell (1836) et de Luynes (1852)”, *RN* 33 (6th ser.), 1991, p. 60-65, esp. p. 64.

30. S. Bouquillon *et al.*, “Une nouvelle étude de l'Apollon Chatsworth”, *RA*, 2006, p. 227-261 (see p. 230).

31. Leigh, Sotheby and Wilkinson sale, 12 July 1852 *et seq.* and 28 August 1852 *et seq.* His numismatic library was sold by the same firm on 2 Feb, 1853. The BM bought several hundred coins of many different mints at this sale (CM 1852,8-5.1; 1852,9-2, 1-139; 1852,9-3, *passim*).

32. C. Newton (ed.), *The collection of ancient Greek inscriptions in the British Museum*. Part II, London, 1883, nos. 386 and 390. A Mesopotamian cylinder seal (ME 89315) registered in 1841 is said to be from Cyprus but this provenance is unverifiable and probably wrong.

33. Ross 1910, p. 72-73; see A. Mehl, “Der Archäologe Ludwig Ross 1845 in Zypern auf den Spuren der Antike”, in Rogge 2009, p. 153-187.

34. Ross 1910, p. 107.

throughout the region. Following the Napoleonic wars, Britain maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean in order to safeguard its interests, initially against the possibility of a French resurgence but increasingly in response to threats posed by Russia to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.³⁵ During the earlier part of this period, down to the cooling of relations in the 1870s, Britain's substantial diplomatic and financial support to the Porte facilitated requests for firmans to collect or excavate antiquities throughout the Ottoman territories. This is nowhere more apparent than in the activities of Charles Newton (*Fig. 1*) in Asia Minor in the 1850s whose excavations were assisted by his own diplomatic status but more especially due to the influence of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Stratford Canning, at a time when diplomatic relations between the Britain and Turkey were at their best.³⁶



Figure 1. Charles Newton, drawing by Mary Newton, c. 1860-1865
(source unknown, reproduced in Wilson 2002, pl. 14).

At the same time, the British government provided very limited official support for archaeological activity on Cyprus. When Consul Niven Kerr reported the discovery of the so-called Sargon Stele at Larnaka in 1846 to the Trustees of the British Museum, they

35. Surveyed in R. Holland, *Blue-water Empire. The British in the Mediterranean since 1800*, London, 2012; also R. Ahmann, "Von Malta nach Zypern: zur Entwicklung der britischen Politik in der orientalischen Frage im 19. Jahrhundert", in Rogge 2009, p. 9-32; on Cyprus specifically, see also R. Holland, D. Markides, *Britain and the Hellenes*, London, 2006, chapter 7.

36. Jenkins 1992, chapter 8; D. Challis, *From the Harpy Monument to the wonders of Ephesos*, London, 2006, chapter 3; also W. Shaw 2003, *Possessors and possessed. Museums, archaeology and the visualization of history of the late Ottoman Empire*, Berkeley, in Z. Bahrani et al. (eds.), *Scramble for the past. A story of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, Istanbul, 2011.

were both slow and reluctant to provide adequate funds to secure its purchase, resulting in its loss to the Berlin Museum whose authorities were willing to offer more money.³⁷ Furthermore, when Kerr suggested that the island was a potential source of Christian antiquities and recommended organised exploration of the island, he was informed in no uncertain terms that the “[T]he Trustees have never undertaken any excavations in search of antiquities, and they do not think it expedient to make the attempt in the Island of Cyprus”.³⁸ They nonetheless followed with the request that he should supply them with archaeological information (as well as zoological specimens, as the BM was still a natural history museum at this time). This response can be contrasted with the somewhat more proactive activities of successive French governments in promoting archaeological research throughout the Mediterranean region, including on Cyprus;³⁹ their presence did however spur the British into action on a number of occasions (especially in Lycia and Iraq) when it appeared that British prestige and interests might otherwise suffer.⁴⁰ While Hooch has argued convincingly that the contrast between these two kinds of policies can be overdrawn and – of direct relevance to this paper – stressed the dangers of trying to make simplistic characterisations of “British” versus “French” or “Continental” models of cultural policy (including archaeology),⁴¹ it must be emphasised that Britain organised no official archaeological expedition to Cyprus before the Occupation of 1878 nor indeed in the years immediately following until the British Museum excavations of the 1890s (see below).

Demetrios Pierides

During this time, the British Royal Navy used its long periods of generally peaceful (though sometimes tense) inactivity in the Mediterranean for useful purposes such as mapping, producing the first accurate hydrographic chart of the island under Thomas Spratt of HMS Volage in 1849.⁴² During this year, several members or associates of the expedition took the opportunity to visit the major archaeological sites of the island in the

37. Tatton-Brown 1998, p. 113-114; see R. Merrillees, “Studies on the provenances of the Stele of Sargon II from Larnaca (Kition) and the two so-called Dhali (Idalion) silver bowls in the Louvre”, *RDAC* 2011-2012, forthcoming, where the correspondence is reproduced in full. I am very grateful to Dr Merrillees for providing me with a copy of the text in advance of publication.

38. Quoted in Tatton-Brown 1998, p. 114.

39. E. Gran-Aymerich, *Naissance de l'archéologie moderne 1798–1945*, Paris, 1998, esp. p. 178-202; M. Díaz-Andrieu, *A world history of nineteenth century archaeology. Nationalism, colonialism and the past*, London, 2007, chapter 5; Hermay 2009, p. 104ff; Gunning 2009, p. 139ff; Bonato 2010, p. 113.

40. Jenkins 1992, p. 140-143; Hooch 2010, p. 205-273.

41. Hooch 2010, esp. p. 15-20, 207-218 and 446, note 4 who characterises the British situation as kind of public-private collaboration rather than an entirely complacent *laissez-faire* policy.

42. Shirley 2001, p. 13-14 and figs 4-5; see Hooch 2010, p. 245.

company of the local antiquarian Demetrios Pierides (1811-1895).⁴³ Commander Edmund Leycester (1810-after 1866) recorded numerous inscriptions, mostly alphabetic Greek but also several in the as yet undeciphered Cypro-Syllabic script.⁴⁴ Pierides also copied some inscriptions while accompanying Spratt, perhaps at the same time as Leycester's visit, and later wrote to Charles Newton on the subject who arranged to publish his communication in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*.⁴⁵



Figure 2. Henry Christy, watercolour (c. 1845)
(BM PE Eu2006,Drg.1) © British Museum.

These event hints at the likely contribution made by Pierides in the antiquarian activities of other early visitors to Cyprus, especially those with British connections, and would repay further research. Pierides had spent part of his youth in London as a refugee from the anti-Christian reprisals of 1821 and had served as tutor to several British aristocratic families before his return to Cyprus.⁴⁶ He became a highly respected employee of the British Consulate in Larnaka between the 1840s and 1860s, first as Chancellor and

43. Α. Κουδουνάρης, *Βιογραφικόν Λεξικόν Κυπρίων* (4th ed.), Nicosia, 2001, p. 496; also Α. Κουδουνάρης, "An historical outline of the Pierides family", in V. Karageorghis, *Ancient Cypriote art in the Pierides Foundation Museum*, Larnaka, 1985, p. 19-21.

44. J. Hogg, "On some inscriptions from Cyprus copied by Commander Leycester, R.N.", *TRSL* 7 (2nd ser.), 1863, p. 376-393.

45. W. Vaux, "Extracts from letters addressed to C.T. Newton, Esq., by M. Demetrius Pierides and F. Calvert", *TRSL* 7 (2nd ser.), 1863, p. 394-398.

46. BM *Original Papers*, Newton to Principal Librarian of the BM, 21 June 1855; Kiely 2010, p. 238-239.

then Dragoman. In 1849, Niven Kerr nominated Pierides as his replacement as British Vice Consul on the island, though the appointment was annulled due to political intrigue of some sort. In his protest to the Foreign Office at this decision, Niven Kerr described Pierides as by far the most qualified and reliable Cypriot on the island to represent British interests “without intrigue”.⁴⁷ Despite this slight, Pierides remained a loyal employee of the British consulate and, as such, he must have met numerous British visitors to Cyprus. As such, it is likely that he acted as a source of knowledge and advice for those interested in visiting archaeological sites and collecting antiquities on the island.

One of these may have been the Manchester banker, textile manufacturer, antiquarian and ethnographer Henry Christy (1810-1865) (*Fig. 2*) who acquired numerous antiquities during his visit to Cyprus in 1850. He probably encountered Pierides during his travels and may have acquired his collection of Cypriot antiquities through his guidance, or even directly as Pierides also dealt in antiquities (see below).⁴⁸ The provenance of a group of limestone and terracotta figures donated by Christy to the British Museum in 1852 is unclear. When first presented, the items were said to come “the ancient Paphos”, but in a letter of 1853 Christy said that all of the items were purchased at Larnaka, surmising that they probably came from close by, apart from a single Greek alphabetic inscription which did come from Paphos (though Old or New is unclear).⁴⁹ However, the limestone statuettes given by Christy’s executors to the Ashmolean Museum in 1874 came from Dali according to the attached labels. This site may well be the actual source of the objects now in London, as they are both similar in style and from a probable votive context.⁵⁰ The Dali area was of course a well-known source of antiquities during the 1840s and 1850s, including the famous Idalion bronze.⁵¹ A few years later in 1855, Pierides himself donated to the British Museum a series of limestone figures “exhibiting Assyrian influence” (actually of later Cypro-Achaic to Hellenistic date) that were also said to come from Dali, suggesting that he excavated here or else was in close contact with local sources of antiquities.⁵²

Virtually nothing is known about Christy’s visit to Cyprus or his immediate motivations for collecting antiquities there. However, apart from the fact that this was

47. British National Archives, FO 195/287, 19 Dec. 1849, Kerr to Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston.

48. W.J. Harrison (rev. A. Bowdoin Van Riper), “Christy, Henry (1810–1865)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [online edition, article/5375]; King 1997, p. 137-144.

49. GR 1852,6-9.1–88; BM Archives, Book of Presents, 12 June 1852; BM ME archives, *Correspondence 1826-1860*, vol. 3, CA-CL, no. 1040, 31 March 1853. The inscription is GR 1852,6-9.1 (Inscription 388), see M. Yon (ed.), *Kition dans les Textes. Testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et corpus des inscriptions*, Paris, 2010, no. 2020.

50. Ulbrich 2012, p. 190.

51. Ulbrich 2012, p. 190-192 (with further refs.).

52. GR 1855,11-1.1–29; BM *Original Papers*, Newton to Principal Librarian of the BM, 21 June 1855.

an increasingly fashionable pursuit for wealthy travellers – even for an individual such as Christy who did not come from a classically-educated or aristocratic background⁵³ – it is possible to suggest that collecting antiquities also reflected nascent interests in ethnography and prehistory for which he is better known. These interests were spurred in particular by the Great Exhibition of All Nations in London in 1851 (see below) and dominated his later travels and acquisitions, resulting in a large ethnographic and prehistoric collection from around the world.⁵⁴ This introduces an important observation that, while the contemporary collection of Cypriot antiquities was heavily influenced by contemporary interests in the origins of Greek civilisation, and the relationship between the historic cultures of the Mediterranean and Near East (the “Great Chain of Art”),⁵⁵ other intellectual and social factors played a role in this phenomenon. These included the rising sciences of anthropology and prehistory but also, as we will see, the pragmatic needs of art and design in the United Kingdom that were encouraged in particular through museums displays and temporary exhibitions (see below).

Consular collectors and excavators

Pierides’ donation of a group of limestone sculpture to the British Museum in 1855 mentioned above illustrates another important channel by which Cypriot antiquities came to the United Kingdom, namely from diplomatic officials, family members and associates of the small expatriate community connected with Britain. His gift, recommended to the Trustees by Charles Newton – then Vice-Consul at Mytilene (which, like Cyprus, was under the jurisdiction of Rhodes at the time) – is an early example of this phenomenon. The pattern became fully established from the early 1860s when Newton returned to the British Museum as Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities.⁵⁶ The role played by foreign consular staff in the collection and excavation of objects throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East for their countries’ museums in the 19th century is well documented and does not need to be repeated here in detail.⁵⁷ On Cyprus, a succession of British

53. I am grateful to Dr Jill Cook, Department of Prehistory and Europe for this insight.

54. King 1997, p. 138-139.

55. Hermary 1990, p. 9-10; Kiely 2010, p. 235. The editorial in *The Times* for 10 June 1879 (p. 11) nicely captures the educated public’s perception of the island which is described as “*the land in which the youthful art of Greece fed itself with the inspiration of Egypt and the East*”.

56. Gunning 2009, p. 186-188; Hoock 2010, p. 213-215; see BM archives, *Officers Reports*, vol. 68, GR 23 July 1862.

57. Gunning 2009, chapter 4; Y. Galanakis, “On Her Majesty’s Service: C.L.W. Merlin and the sourcing of Greek antiquities for the British Museum”, *Center For Hellenic Studies (Harvard) – Research Bulletin* 1:1, 2012 (<http://wp.chs.harvard.edu/chs-fellows/2012/11/30/on-her-majestys-service-c-l-w-merlin-and-the-sourcing-of-greek-antiquities-for-the-british-museum>), vol. 68, GR 23 July 1862.

consuls and their associates were among the small, but energetic group of expatriates that dominated the early archaeological exploration of the island in the 1860s and 1870s.⁵⁸

The key figures are well known to historiographers of Cypriot archaeology: Robert Lang, resident on Cyprus from 1861 and manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Larnaka between 1863 and 1872, but also acting Vice-Consul on three occasions between 1861 and 1870, and in his own right between 1871 and 1872 (*Fig. 3*); Dominic Colnaghi, Newton's former travelling companion and secretary during his Aegean consular days and Consul between 1864 and 1865;⁵⁹ Thomas Sandwith, Vice-Consul between 1865 and 1870 (*Fig. 4*).⁶⁰ Lesser known figures should also be mentioned: Horace White (Consul, 1861-1864) supplied coins to the British Museum, but also arranged for the transportation of some of Pierides' antiquities to London when the latter wished to sell them to the British Museum.⁶¹



Figure 3. Robert and Margaret Lang (c. 1877-1878). Figure 4. Thomas Sandwith (c. 1868)
(courtesy of Rosemary Richards/Sheila Clark). (after Williams 1996, pl. 26A).

In 1873, W. Riddell (Consul 1872-1876) unsuccessfully attempted to acquire the colossal "Bes of Amathus" through Pietro Loizo, the British Vice-Consul of Limassol.

58. See in particular O. Masson, "Diplomates et amateurs d'antiquités à Chypre vers 1866-1878", *Journal des Savants*, 1992, p. 123-154; Merrillees 2001; Kiely 2010, p. 238-241.

59. Dennis Farr, "Colnaghi family (per. c.1785-1911)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; also Higgs, Kiely 2009, p. 407-408.

60. Goring 1988, p. 13-15; Williams 1996; Merrillees 2001.

61. The coins are CM 1866.10-15.1-15.

Loizo claimed to have owned the statue and may have tried to acquire it on behalf of his superiors, another example of (albeit unsuccessful) consular collecting.⁶²

These individuals contributed substantially to the Cypriot collections of the British Museum, as well as other those of other museums in the United Kingdom (see below), but they also advanced the discipline of Cypriot archaeology in various ways through the study and publication of their finds. In both areas they were encouraged by Newton and his colleagues, especially Samuel Birch, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities and long-standing correspondent of Luigi and Alessandro Palma di Cesnola.⁶³ Lang advised Newton about archaeological developments as early as his first period as acting Vice-Consul (1861-2), though perhaps significantly he attributed his initial interest in archaeology to Pierides who became his colleague at the Imperial Ottoman Bank in the mid-1860s.⁶⁴ Lang also informed Newton immediately about the discovery of a major cache of limestone statuary made by his men at Dali in 1869. Apart from urging him to keep the collection together, Newton also asked Lang to record the plan of the structure in which they were found along with the findspots of the most important discoveries. The result was creation of what can fairly be described as the first Cypriot archaeological site report, written in conjunction with the numismatist Stuart Poole who inspected Lang's collections on behalf of the British Museum soon after the discovery of the Dali shrine.⁶⁵ Lang also authored several important studies on his numismatic finds and on the decipherment of the bilingual inscriptions from Dali,⁶⁶ as well as a short but (as Merrillees comments) "remarkable" paper on the development of Cypriot pottery in 1874.⁶⁷ He was also in contact with Augustus Franks, Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum, from whom some of the latter's Cypriot collection (subsequently bequeathed to the British Museum) seems to have been obtained. Franks, who used his considerable private wealth to expand the collections of

62. Tatton-Brown 1998, p. 114-115.

63. Masson 1984, p. 3-4; O. Masson, "Les frères Palma di Cesnola et leur correspondance", in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*, London, 1989, p. 84-89.

64. Lang 1905, p. 622.

65. Lang, Poole 1878; see O. Masson, "Le Sanctuaire d'Apollon à Idalion (Fouilles 1868-1869)", *BCH* 92, 1968, p. 386-402. Note however that Lang's statement (1905, p. 602) that the sanctuary was excavated over the course of two years is an error, much repeated in modern literature, presumably due to his faulty memory in later life. Contemporary accounts (Lang 1878, p. 333 as well as the French edition of 1879; G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre, de Syrie et d'Égypte*, Paris, 1882 [but written in 1869 or 1870], p. 29) and his letters to Newton, make it clear that the discovery and excavation took place in 1869 (see esp. GR archives, *Original Letters 1869-1872*, Lang to Newton, 27 April 1869). The date of 1868 given in Lang and Poole 1878, p. 31 must therefore be a typographical error.

66. R. Lang, "On coins discovered during recent excavations in the island of Cyprus", *NC* XI, 1871, p. 1-18; R. Lang, "On the discovery of some Cypriote inscriptions", *TSBA* 1/1, 1872, p. 116-128.

67. Merrillees 2001, p. 229-230; text reproduced on p. 237-238.

his own Department, was interested in Cypriot material from the perspective of European prehistory and ethnography, and the first to submit Cypriot copper and bronze artefacts to scientific examination in 1874.⁶⁸

Lang's negotiations with the British Museum over the purchase of his collection also reveals the complex and at indeed contradictory nature of archaeological developments at this time.⁶⁹ The importance of the collection as a group of contextually-excavated objects illustrating the various stages of Cypriot art and its Mediterranean influences was widely recognised. Yet Newton's highly calculated assessment of the commercial value of the sculpture (which included their condition, the number of duplicates and their commercial value) indicates the strong influence of the antiquities market on British Museum acquisition policies.⁷⁰ Lang was prepared to accept half the original asking price (£800 instead of £1600) to ensure that his collection went to a British museum, underlying the patriotic motivations of early collectors and excavators. Unlike his consular friends, he did not rely on good services to the British Museum to facilitate promotion in his career (see below). At the same time, Lang enjoyed excellent relations with the representatives of other nations, especially Tiburce and Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi and (in public at least) Luigi Palma di Cesnola, and sold or donated antiquities to museums in France and Germany.⁷¹ Much of this consular collecting appears to have been carried on in a spirit of "friendly rivalry".⁷²

At the same time, the British government and British Museum provided no money to facilitate what had become something of an official consular duty (see above). Diplomatic staff were expected to excavate or collect antiquities with their own resources, though they were able to sell items that they obtained to the British Museum. This contrasts strongly with the two expeditions to Cyprus in 1862 and 1865 led by de Vogüé, Waddington and Duthoit which enriched the Louvre⁷³ (at the same time, the French Consul Tiburce Colonna-Ceccaldi had no compunction in offering antiquities for sale to the British

68. A. Franks, "Sur la composition des instrument en métal trouvés dans l'île de Chypre, et sur autres trouvailles d'intruments en cuivre", *Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques. Compte rendu de la 7^e Session*, Stockholm, 1876, p. 346-351 (see p. 348); J. Balthazar, *Copper and bronze working in Early through Middle Bronze Age Cyprus*, Jonsered, 1990, p. 4; Merrillees 2001, p. 224. On Franks' career and activities, see M. Caygill, "Franks and the British Museum – the Cuckoo in the Nest", in Caygill, Cherry 1997, p. 51-114; Wilson 2002, p. 119-120 and *passim*.

69. See Kiely 2010, p. 240-241. Tatton-Brown 2001b, p. 173 lists the relevant archival material, an edition of which is currently being prepared by one of the present authors (TK).

70. Kiely in preparation.

71. Peltenburg, Karageorghis 1976, p. 84-91; A. Caubet, "La collection R. Hamilton Lang au Musée de Louvre", *RDAC* 1976, p. 168-177; Merrillees 2001, p. 229-230.

72. Hutchinson, Cobham 1907, p. 52 (also Goring 1988, p. 3 citing the 1909 edition).

73. Hermay 2009, esp. p. 104-108; Bonato 2010, p. 113; Caubet 2001, p. 141-148.

Museum).⁷⁴ Colnaghi donated a large group of objects to the British Museum, mainly from the Sanctuary of Artemis Paralia near Larnaka which he excavated in collaboration with the French Consul Maricourt and Pierides in 1865,⁷⁵ but complained to Newton that he would be unable to continue his work without financial support, especially as he was not allowed to engage in trade while in post.⁷⁶ It is less clear if Sandwith organised any excavations himself, but he certainly assembled a large collection of antiquities, part of which he sold to the British Museum in 1869, while donating further items in 1870.⁷⁷ He later supplied Newton with material from Crete,⁷⁸ and also sold ethnographic items to the South Kensington Museum.⁷⁹ Franks also acquired some items from him for his private collection, later bequeathed to the British Museum.⁸⁰ Both consuls however benefitted in their careers by such services: Colnaghi, by securing a much desired transfer to Italy in 1865, and Sandwith through his promotion to a full Consulship on Crete as a result of Newton's lobbying.⁸¹ Colnaghi published nothing on the archaeology or monuments of Cyprus (in contrast to several illustrated papers on the antiquities of the Aegean that appeared in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* during this period).⁸² Sandwith however is well known for this seminal paper on the development of Cypriot pottery, written with Newton's encouragement, though this was his only scholarly publication.⁸³ Finally, Birch and Newton helped to disseminate knowledge of Luigi Palma di Cesnola's discoveries in England, even if they failed to secure the purchase of either of his two main collections in 1872 and 1876 respectively;⁸⁴ they

74. Merrillees 2001, p. 229.

75. Kiely 2010, p. 239; Bonato 2010, p. 114-117; also Hermay 2009, p. 107.

76. Higgs, Kiely 2009, p. 408 and note 19; see Merrillees 2001, p. 225. Successive British Consuls complained that they were paid much less than their French counterparts, so the interdict on trading was especially burdensome for Colnaghi.

77. As noted by Merrillees 2001, p. 226; GR 1869,6-4.1-52 (T. Kiely, M. Perna, "Four Unpublished Inscriptions in Cypriot Syllabic Script in the British Museum", *Kadmos* 49, 2010, p. 93-168, see p. 106-107); GR 1870,10-10.1-25.

78. Williams 1996, p. 100-101.

79. Merrillees 2001, p. 231; see Papademetriou 2000 (though not specifically mentioned in text).

80. GR 1868.8-10.18 (a bronze vase with chain); GR 1917,5-1, *passim*. See Williams 1996, p. 101.

81. Williams 1996, p. 100; see Gunning 2009, chapter 4.

82. See, for example, his account of a tour in Acarnania in *TRSL* VII (2nd ser.), 1863, p. 219-246. The original drafts of these reports are preserved in the British Library (see Add. MSS 59502-59505 *passim*).

83. T. Sandwith, "On the different styles of pottery found in ancient tombs in the island of Cyprus", *Archaeologia* 45, 1880, p. 127-142.

84. Kiely 2010, p. 236. The relationship between Cesnola and the British Museum remains to be fully explored and would repay a more detailed study (see Tatton-Brown 2001b, p. 176 for a list of major archival sources in the British Museum).

may also have prompted him to publish his popular 1877 account, *Cyprus: Its ancient cities, tombs and temples, tombs*.⁸⁵ The volume, which contained contributions by several British academics (C.W. King of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Alexander Murray of the British Museum), was received with great interest and appreciation in the British press. This reflection of British middle class interest in Cypriot archaeology formed part of a broader enthusiasm for archaeological discoveries (especially Schliemann's) in the Mediterranean and Near East at this time.⁸⁶

The development of regional collections

These individuals also helped to furnish a number of emerging regional museums across the United Kingdom with some of the earliest Cypriot antiquities in public collections outside of London. In 1870, Lang lent a large and important group of material to his home city of Glasgow whose authorities that year brought together the diverse civic collections (comprising fine art, industrial design, archaeology and natural history) into a new home at Kelvingrove. This loan, which may have been related to this reorganisation, was formalised as a gift much later in 1903.⁸⁷ Lang may also have been the source of the Cypriot sculpture donated to the Liverpool Public Museums in 1872 by Captain Fothergill of the S.S. Thessalia. These items – long assumed to have been acquired from Cesnola based on a suggestion of Droop in 1931⁸⁸ – very possibly originated with Lang since it was on board this ship that the latter transported part of his collection to the British Museum in the same year. The Liverpool Public Museums, a leading zoological collection since 1851, had recently been transformed into a fine art museum through the donation in 1867 of Joseph Mayer's collection of antiquities, ceramics, and manuscripts.⁸⁹ As such, the Cypriot acquisition would have been among its earliest additions to the founding collection, during a period when, as noted above, interest in Cypriot archaeology was growing in the United Kingdom.

Parts of Sandwith's collection were displayed in the Fine Arts section of the Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in Leeds in 1875. The official catalogue explained

85. Cesnola 1877.

86. J.L. Fitton, *The discovery of the Greek Bronze Age*, London, 1995; Kiely 2010, p. 236. Examples of media exposure include, [Anon.] "Antiquities from Cyprus", *The Times*, 14 December 1872, p. 4 [First Cesnola Collection]; C. Newton, "Recent discoveries in Cyprus", *Saturday Review*, 7 December 1872, p. 729-730; [Anon.], "Cypriote antiquities", *The Times*, 8 Nov. 1876 ["Curium Treasure"]. This is a subject that would repay further study, including in regional papers and journals.

87. Goring 1988, p. 9; Peltenburg, Karageorghis 1976, p. 84-91. I am grateful to Dr Ellen McAdam for her advice on this collection which remained substantially unpublished.

88. J. Droop, *Handbook and guide to the collection of Cypriote sculptures on exhibition in the Public Museums, Liverpool*, Liverpool, 1931, p. 7-8.

89. W. Ford, "Notes on the earlier history of the City of Liverpool Public Museums", *Liverpool Bulletin* 5, 1955, p. 1-15; M. Gibson, S. Wright, "Joseph Meyer of Liverpool, 1803-1886", *Society of Antiquaries Occasional Papers* 11, Manchester, 1989.

that the display of ancient and modern art was intended to mark “*the gradual progression from the rude and savage conditions of our forefathers to our present high state of civilisation*”.⁹⁰ The prosperous business community sponsoring the exhibition hoped that such ventures would help to improve both manufacturing and the morals of the working classes, but also no doubt raise cultural status and civic prestige of their rapidly growing town. In the absence of a civic museum at this time (and indeed until 1921, see below), the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society served as focal point for the display of material culture. In pursuit of this function, the Society purchased a portion of Sandwith’s collection following the exhibition.⁹¹ Smaller museums also benefitted through these connections. In 1884, Sandwith’s brother Henry donated Cypriot items to the Cawthorne Village Museum outside of Barnsley in South Yorkshire, a much smaller institution also established to educate and entertain the local population. In addition, objects were acquired by the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art (now part of the National Museum of Scotland).⁹²

Cypriot antiquities and the improvement of Arts and Manufactures

Newton’s acquisitions made the British Museum the main focal point for the display and study of Cypriot antiquities in the United Kingdom. His contribution to Cypriot archaeology has already been treated (though not comprehensively) by one of the authors (Kiely).⁹³ As noted earlier, it is necessary to stress how they were displayed and valued – initially at least – because they evidence for the links in the “Great Chain of Art” underpinning the emergence of early Greek culture. This was the dominant strand in British classical archaeology at this time, itself substantially the creation of Newton and his associates through their displays at the British Museum before the subject became established in universities and heavily subordinated to classical philology.⁹⁴

This was not however the only influence on the emergence of museums – both in the metropolitan centres or the regions – during this period;⁹⁵ nor indeed was it the sole reason why the many new museums appearing up at this time acquired Cypriot antiquities as they became more available. The Great Exhibition of All Nations in London in 1851, although generally intended to promote British manufacturing and trade through the exhibiting of new designs, materials and technologies, also introduced visitors to – as Mack has

90. [Anon.], *Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures. Official Catalogue*, Leeds, 1875, p. 5-6; see Reeve, “Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures”, in Reeve 2013.

91. Goring 1988, p. 14; E. Kitson Clark, *The history of 100 years of life of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, Leeds, 1924.

92. Goring 1988, p. 14.

93. Kiely 2010.

94. S. Dyson, *In pursuit of ancient pasts. A history of classical archaeology*, London-New Haven, 2006, p. 138-140; Morris 2000, esp. p. 52-54.

95. McGregor 1997; K. Hill, *Culture and class in English public museums, 1850-1914*, 2005, esp. chapter 3.

termed it – the “spectacle of foreign lands” on an unparalleled scale and contributed to the rapidly growing interest in museums throughout the country.⁹⁶ The Great Exhibition gave rise to the South Kensington Museum (SKM) (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) as a permanent showcase of art and design, part of a broader government policy to improve the skills and tastes of artisans and designers.⁹⁷ This policy was centred on the idea of permanent displays as well as temporary exhibitions, aided by a loan programme from the SKM to regional centres, and was a key influence on the creation and development of museums throughout the United Kingdom.⁹⁸

Material from Cyprus, increasingly available from the 1850s and 1860s, played a modest role in this process. Even before the island became a British possession, it was well known as a good source of ancient decorative arts. The SKM began to collect antiquities from the island perhaps as early as 1871⁹⁹ and certainly by 1876.¹⁰⁰ In the latter year it acquired at least 92 items of pottery from Luigi Palma di Cesnola, part of a larger group of 300 objects left on deposit in Bloomsbury after his departure for New York with the bulk of his second main collection.¹⁰¹ Between 1874 and 1884, the SKM also displayed the extensive collection of Augustus Lane Fox (later Pitt Rivers) which contained numerous Cypriot antiquities (see below). Later, in 1880, by which time Cyprus had become a British protectorate, the SKM was approached by Lt Herbert Kitchener of the Survey of Cyprus asking if it would be interested in supporting archaeological investigations on the island he proposed to organise.¹⁰² Kitchener hoped to undertake this work on behalf of Charles Newton and the British Museum but the latter found it impossible to raise the funds from his Trustees or the government.¹⁰³ The surviving accounts of these excavations, supervised by a British colonial official George Hake, have been fully treated by Don Bailey and do not need to be described in detail here.¹⁰⁴ It is worth noting however that

96. J. Mack, “Antiquities and the public: the expanding museum”, in Caygill, Cherry 1997, p. 34–50 (quote p. 35).

97. McGregor 1997, p. 23–6; H. Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition. Art, science and productive industry*, London, 2002; A. Burton, *Vision and accident. The story of the V&A*, London, 1999; see J. Siegel, *The emergence of the modern museum. An anthology of Nineteenth-Century sources*, Oxford, 2008, p. 244–276, esp. 263ff.

98. McGregor 1997, p. 21–22; Wilson 2002, p. 122–123.

99. This was the year of two large-scale sales of Cypriot antiquities by Luigi Palma di Cesnola (see below) after which items circulated widely through dealers.

100. Most of this collection was transferred to the BM in the early 1980s. The original accession numbers on these objects suggest that the objects were acquired in 1876, though some items may have arrived before this time.

101. McFadden 1971, p. 170–174; Masson 1996, p. 9–10, 12.

102. Bailey 1965, p. 5; Shirley 2001.

103. Kiely 2010, p. 243–244.

104. Bailey 1965, p. 7–13; see also T. Kiely, “History of the collection” and “Guide to the collection II”, in Kiely 2011.

practice of supporting excavations was unusual for the SKM. Perhaps because of this, and given their aims and priorities, its Trustees insisted that Kitchener and Hake should “collect from an aesthetic and decorative and not the archaeological point of view” with the result that tomb groups were not kept together and the scholarly value of the excavations were consequently very limited.¹⁰⁵



Figure 5. Vase
BM MN 1993,10-10.1

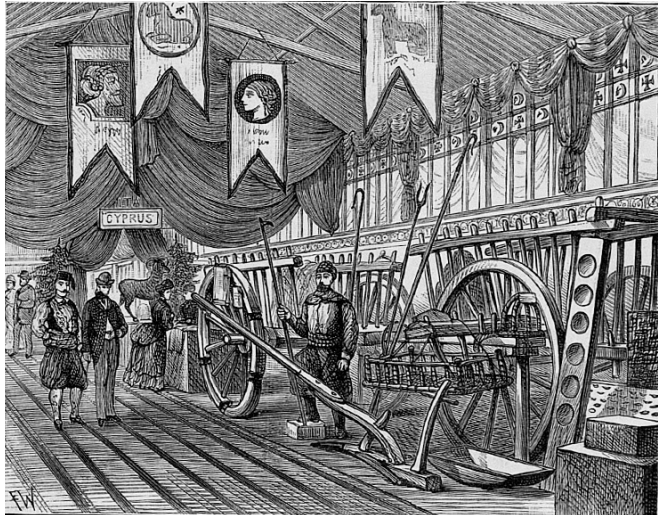


Figure 6. Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886, Cyprus court (after Lang 1886b, between p. 8 and 9)

It was also decided by the South Kensington Museum that groups of objects would also be sent to the recently established Museums of Science and Art and Edinburgh which had the same aims as the London institution, though in the case of the Dublin museum the Cypriot material appears never to have been put on display.¹⁰⁶ This is perhaps unsurprising because, apart from Souyoudzoglou-Haywood’s observation that the museum in Dublin (renamed the National Museum of Ireland in 1877) had no specialist interest in this material, most of the surviving material that can now be identified – mainly the SKM holdings transferred to the BM in the early 1980s, and a small number of items in Dublin – definitely falls into the “archaeological” category with a few exceptions and would scarcely have fulfilled the purpose of artistic or technical inspiration.

Cypriot antiquities in the regions

In addition to the collections Dublin and Edinburgh, during this period the South Kensington Museum frequently loaned or donated material to regional museums throughout the United Kingdom. This was part of their broader mission to encourage

105. Cited in Bailey 1965, p. 5.

106. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 2004, p. 1.

arts and manufacturing in the leading economic and commercial towns and cities of the United Kingdom. Increasingly, some regional museums and galleries broadened their original practical, scientific or didactic remit and developed into more general museums of art and culture, facilitating the acquisition of archaeological material from the classical Mediterranean, Egypt and the Near East, including Cyprus. This topic remains under-explored and deserves greater scholarly attention, in particularly a comprehensive project to document the collections themselves, but also a study of how Cypriot antiquities were displayed, interpreted and consumed within specific institutions.

A few examples however will serve to illustrate what was clearly a growing interest in, or at least exposure to, Cypriot artefacts by smaller public museums and collections across the United Kingdom. Nottingham Castle Museum, an early municipal museum, acquired a number of Cypriot artefacts from the prolific traveller, collector, and dealer Greville Chester (1831-1892) in 1879¹⁰⁷ just a few years after its establishment. Later in 1885, the South Kensington Museum transferred a substantial number of vases bequeathed by the Stoke-on-Trent pottery-maker and philanthropist Colin Minton Campbell (1827-1885).¹⁰⁸ The same bequest also provided Birmingham Museum, another recently-established institution reflecting the growing economic strength and cultural ambitions of a major regional centre, with a range of Cypriot ceramics that formed the core of its archaeological collection.¹⁰⁹ Appropriately, most of the original Cypriot holdings in the Potteries Museum, Stoke-on-Trent (another little known regional collection of Cypriot pottery) also came from Campbell and another leading pottery manufacturer W.H. Goss (1833-1906).¹¹⁰

It is unclear how prominent these items were in their respective museums, but an interest in ancient Cypriot ceramics from the perspective of contemporary design can be deduced from at least one imitation: in 1879, the highly successful Doulton pottery factory in Lambeth, London produced a small range of “Cyprus Ware” vases and bowls in their “Lambeth Faïence” range. Few examples are known but one vase now in the British

107. Seidmann 2006a-b.

108. *Annual Report of the Castle Museum Committee, for the year ending 25th March 1886* (Castle Museum Committee Annual Reports, 1878-1888, NCMG Archives Ref. no. 636). I am grateful to Anne Inscker and Andrew King for this information and for providing images of all the Cypriot pottery acquired this year and later in 1895. The source of these items is unclear. The accession numbers of the items preserved in the Nottingham Museum follow the system of the SKM. They may in fact have been registered at the latter institution in the year, in which case they may have been acquired at the same time.

109. On the origins and development of the Birmingham Museum, see S. Davies, *By the gains of industry. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1885-1985*, Birmingham, 1985. He observes however that archaeology was not of great importance in the early years of its existence; early Cypriot acquisitions are included in E. Peltenburg, *Cypriot antiquities in Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery*, Birmingham, 1981.

110. I am grateful to Miranda Goodby, Collections Officer at the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery for this information [e-mail of 9/11/2010].

Museum is based on a well-known Group V (Cypro-Archaic II) shape and accompanying motifs found on vases of that date (*Fig. 5*).¹¹¹

On show: the role of temporary exhibitions

We have already mentioned that Cypriot antiquities were displayed at the Yorkshire Exhibition in 1875. The much larger and grander Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886 featured a dedicated Cyprus Court (complete with a group of silk weavers brought from the island for the exhibition) that included an extensive collection of antiquities¹¹² (*Fig. 6*). Some were loaned by the Cyprus Museum but most came from a number of private collectors with close connections to the island, namely the Chief Secretary Col. Falkland Warren, the former High Commissioner Robert Biddulph, a Col. Thynne, Robert Hamilton Lang, and Frederick Templer (President of the District Court of Kyrenia).¹¹³

Many of the banners lining the long sides of the court illustrated the long history and successive rulers of the island were decorated with historical motifs derived from ancient and mediaeval coins and other sources, a sign of the influence of Cypriot artefacts on contemporary perceptions of the island, especially as they underlined the long-term history of foreign contacts and rulers (most recently of course Great Britain).¹¹⁴ The antiquities on display were noted as being among the many items that gave the gallery a highly distinctive appearance, providing “a strange fascination for the thoughtful observer” as the magazine *The Queen* observed.¹¹⁵ Overall, the gallery represented Cyprus as exotic and oriental, and the display of the antiquities, most non-classical in appearance and many still regarded as Phoenician by scholars, no doubt helped to collapse the distance between present and past typical of colonial exhibits of this kind.

Some of the private loan items at the exhibition ended up in the British Museum. Templer sold a fine early Roman marble head of Drusus the Younger in 1886,¹¹⁶ while portions of Warren’s extensive collection, including some prehistoric (especially Red

111. BM MN 1993.10-10.1 The exact source of inspiration of this vessel is unknown. Rudoe, who published the BM example (see J. Rudoe, *Decorative Arts 1850-1950. A Catalogue of the British Museum Collection*, London, 1994, no. 383; see also D. Eyles (rev. L. Irvine), *Doulton Lambeth Wares*, London, 2002, p. 180), compared it to BM GR 1876.9-9.66 that was acquired from Cesnola in 1876.

112. Lang 1886a; 1886b, see fig. between p. 8 and 9; on the display of people in 19th century exhibitions, including the Cypriots in 1886, see Qureshi 2011, p. 238-248.

113. Lang 1886a, p. 36-39.

114. Lang 1886b, between p. 2 and 3. The series began with Aphrodite and ended with Queen Victoria and the seal of the High Commissioner. These were designed and executed by the wife of Gordon Hake who was one of the assistant commissioners of the exhibition working under Lang (Lang 1886b, p. 2).

115. Quoted in Lang 1886b, p. 25.

116. GR 1886.11-13.1.

Polished ware) pottery from Nicosia, were donated in 1888.¹¹⁷ Several of his Cypro-Syllabic and Phoenician bilingual inscription from Tamassos were later purchased through Rollin and Feuardent in 1892,¹¹⁸ while other items remained on long-term loan at Bloomsbury until they were eventually bought from his executors in 1910.¹¹⁹ Examples of contemporary Cypriot lace donated by Demetrios Pierides, which were highly regarded by visitors to the exhibition (among them Queen Victoria), were acquired by the South Kensington Museum at the same time,¹²⁰ while the private collector Pitt Rivers also acquired contemporary Cypriot objects for his collection (see below).

Public Sales, Private Collections: Ancient Cyprus in the Market Place

The sale of items following the close of exhibitions introduces another important aspect of Cypriot archaeology in later 19th century Britain: the large-scale commercialisation of antiquities and their consumption by private collectors as well as museums throughout this period.¹²¹ Before the rise of academic specialisation and at a time when the movement for publically-funded museums was still developing, this private sphere of activity was a crucially important influence on value, reception and understanding of Cypriot antiquities. The widespread coverage given to Cypriot archaeology in the press no doubt encouraged the formation of personal collections of Cypriot antiquities.

Auction houses such as Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge in London commonly sold Cypriot antiquities – including two large batches sold by Luigi Palma di Cesnola in 1871 – which were acquired by museums (such as the BM and the SKM) and private collectors (see below).¹²² On a far larger scale were the four sales of the more than 14,000 items excavated or collected by his brother Alessandro in collaboration with his future father-in-law Edwin Lawrence between 1876 and 1878.¹²³ Having failed to persuade the British Museum and South Kensington Museum to purchase the collection in bulk – and the case

117. GR 1880.9-27.1-34. This will be published in a future chapter of the *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum Online Research Catalogue*.

118. ME 1892.12-13.11-12. They were purchased along with various Egyptian and Mesopotamian items by what was then the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities.

119. Respectively: GR 1888.9-27.1-34; GR 1910.6-20.1-23.

120. Lang 1886b, p. 36; Papademetriou 2000, p. 84.

121. It was very common for collectors and museums to obtain items from exhibitions. See P. Rivière, "Sources of Pitt Rivers' collections", in Petch 2013, Article B 2.2.

122. Dated 9 January and 1 May 1871 respectively: see Masson 1996, p. 6ff. The sales fetched over £1440 pounds, well over £100,000 in modern values (based on prices recorded in the annotated copy of the catalogues preserved in the British Library).

123. Hetherington 1999 provides a detailed study of this collection; also Masson 1996, p. 18-27.

of the former institution even to temporarily exhibit it¹²⁴ – it was sold in four lots between 1883 and 1892, the final sale taking place after Lawrence's death.¹²⁵

Lawrence, in his preface to the lavish photographic album produced in 1880 (with a second edition in 1881), stated that the collection had been assembled in the hope it would be acquired by a public body for historical or artistic benefit.¹²⁶ This claim was supported by quotations from various individuals on the public benefits of the collection. The pre-Raphaelite artist J.R. Herbert (1810-1890) for example expressed the wish that:

“... your collection may not be dispersed but kept intact...where they may be easily available to everyone who can see in the numerous examples wrought in metal, glass, or terracotta, the very mirror and aspect of the time when they were produced.”¹²⁷

It was also clearly stressed in the introduction to *Salaminia*, Cesnola's popular account of 1882, that the collection was assembled not for “*the sake of realising its monetary value*” but for “*securing these works of antiquity to the public use*”, specifically an institution such as a museum.¹²⁸ The same aim is repeated in the prefaces of the sales catalogues themselves. Having failed to find a public home for them, the owners felt however that it was too large a collection for a private individual and that “*to retain it would not be making a proper Antiquarian or Artistic use of it*”. Selling it would benefit “*Museum, Antiquaries, Artists, Collectors*” but also “*direct public attention to the desirability of further exploration in Cyprus*”.¹²⁹

Yet it is difficult to believe that the purpose of the photographic album itself, but also of *Salaminia*, was not related to the need to raise the profile (and therefore the commercial value) of what was a fairly disparate group of antiquities of very mixed archaeological importance. The latter consideration was one of the reasons why both the BM and the SKM declined them in the first place. It is also difficult to disentangle Alessandro's ethics and methods from those of his brother Luigi whose lead he attempted to follow, though with less success. Whatever the motivations of both collector and patron, the story of the Lawrence-Cesnola collection illustrates the ambiguous relationship between the private and public use and appreciation of antiquities, including Cypriot examples, during this period.

The sale of the Lawrence-Cesnola collection between 1883 and 1892 is noteworthy in a number of other respects. The collection fetched only around £2500 (or £175,000

124. Cesnola complained that the South Kensington Museum could only find “six small cases in a room near the Water Colour Department” (Cesnola 1882, p. xxviii). Newton advised the Trustees that there was neither space nor money for what he regarded as a heterogeneous collection and suggested that instead a small selection of the best items should be purchased (BM archives, *Trustees Minutes*, 25 June 1881) which is what subsequently happened.

125. Hetherington 2000, p. 366-368, p. 374-375.

126. Cesnola, Lawrence 1880/1881.

127. Cesnola, Lawrence 1880/1881, opposite pl. 51.

128. Cesnola 1882, p. xxvii-iii.

129. Preface to the Second Sale of 15 May, 1884, p. iv.

in modern terms) for 14,000 items.¹³⁰ While a considerable sum of money in itself, it does not compare with the £10,000 offered by the BM for the second Cesnola collection in 1876, much less the £48,000 paid for the Duc de Blacas's antiquities in 1867, or the £28,500 for portions of the Castellani collection during the same period.¹³¹ Furthermore, the receipts of the Lawrence-Cesnola sales represent the price of almost 14,000 items. Especially striking is the extremely low prices paid for the majority of the objects, at a time when the archaeology of Cyprus was still very popular among public institutions and the educated public alike. For example, Roman lamps went for as little as 4 shillings, heads of terracotta statues for half that amount (with groups of intact examples selling for 8 or 9s) and what appear to be White Slip bowls (whose greater antiquity was by then recognised) for 7s or 8s. Glass vessels were rather more expensive (though again sold in groups) and even gold jewellery seems not have achieved more than a few shillings apiece with the occasional gold ring at times reaching as much as a pound. Contemporary historical and aesthetic interest in Cypriot antiquities did not translate into high market values.¹³²

Some Private Collections

At the same time, the names of the purchasers recorded in the annotated copies of the catalogues, where their names can be identified, provide a cross section of major dealers and private collectors active at this a time.¹³³ This at least supports Lawrence's claim that the sale would interest a wide audience. Chief among the latter is the famous Lieutenant General Pitt Rivers who purchased a total of 693 items.¹³⁴ Pitt Rivers had been collecting Cypriot antiquities through dealers since at least 1871, when he acquired items at Luigi Palma di Cesnola's sales mentioned above, some of which were exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries the same year and again in 1873.¹³⁵ Some of his purchases from the earlier Lawrence-Cesnola sales were sent to the South Kensington Museum where his "First" collection was exhibited prior to being transferred in 1884 to the newly established Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.¹³⁶ Many more items from these sales entered his "Second"

130. Hetherington 2000, p. 367.

131. McFadden 1971, p. 137; Kiely 2010, p. 237. This figure also represents a small fraction of Lawrence's wealth which was valued at more than £190,000 when he died in 1891 (Hetherington 2000, p. 367 note 24).

132. Kiely 2010, p. 237.

133. The originals are in the Department of Greece and Rome (First Sale) and the British Library (Second to Fourth Sales). See now A. Petch, "Cesnola and Lawrence-Cesnola collections 1883-1892" (article D. 4.15) in Petch 2013 for a comprehensive summary (with biographical details of the purchasers where known, though many remain to be identified and researched).

134. Petch, D. 4.15 (above).

135. P. Rivière, "Sources of Pitt-Rivers' collection" (article B. 2.2) in Petch 2013; De Alarcón, Coote in Karageorghis *et al.* 2009, p. 17-18.

136. De Alarcón, Coote in Karageorghis *et al.* 2009, p. 15-18; Petch 2013 *passim*.

collection kept in his private museum or his country residence in Farnham, Dorset, where it remained until its regrettable dispersal in the 1960s and 1970s.¹³⁷ Pitt Rivers' interest in Cypriot archaeology stemmed not from the usual motivations of classical collectors. Instead they served the anthropological purpose of illustrating the daily lives and customs of the ancient islanders, and of assessing their place within the cultural evolutionary schemes popular at the time.¹³⁸ Significantly in this regard, Pitt Rivers also collected ethnographic material from the island, acquiring objects from Cyprus from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886.¹³⁹ Furthermore, he intended his museum – and the pursuit of archaeology and anthropology in general – to serve broad didactic purposes in line with contemporary public institutions. In this respect, it is important to stress that, even before the creation of the museum bearing his name in Oxford, his “First Collection” – including some 200 Cypriot items – had been on prominent public display, first at the Bethnal Green Museum (1874-1878) and later at South Kensington (1878-1884).

The immediate destination of many more of the objects sold by Lawrence is unknown. A significant proportion no doubt continued to circulate within the antiquities market, many presumably entering private collections (though rarely on the scale of Pitt Rivers). Some of the more easily recognisable examples – such as those identified by Masson¹⁴⁰ – were subsequently purchased by museums and university collections, but their provenance is not always obvious if the relevant documentation has not been preserved. To give a single but little-known example, several of the Cypriot items in the collection of Arthur E. Hastings Croft of Bradford, formed between 1906 and 1909, can be traced to the Lawrence-Cesnola sale of 1888. His antiquities, and those of his brother W. Hasting Croft, was purchased by Hull Museum between 1925 and 1936, a Cypriot collection that deserves greater recognition among the archaeological community.¹⁴¹

As Kiely and Merrillees (this volume) observe, a significant number of collections formed on Cyprus by British officials and members of the expatriate community – either for profit or for intellectual or social reasons – that have vanished with barely a trace. Objects excavated or collected for sale by the various commercial syndicates operating

137. A. Petch, “Introduction to the Second Collection” (article group D) in Petch 2013.

138. “His regard for everyday objects... anticipated the importance acknowledged today of such subjects” (A. Petch, “‘Man as he was and Man as he is.’ General Pitt River’s Collection”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 10/1, 1998, p. 75-85); “The General was appreciative of ethnographic art long before it had acquired the collector’s value it has today”, M. Thompson, C. Renfrew, “The catalogues of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham, Dorset”, *Antiquity* 73 (no. 280), 1999, p. 377-392 (quote on p. 388).

139. A. Petch, “Purchasing from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition” (article D. 4.13) in Petch 2013; see also Petch 2013, articles section B. 2, “Collections and collecting”, *passim*.

140. Masson 1996, p. 7ff.

141. I am grateful to Paula Gentil, Curator of Archaeology at the Hull and East Riding Museum, for providing me with this information. The collection is accessible via the museum’s online catalogue (<http://www.hullcc.gov.uk/museumcollections/collections>).

under official license on Cyprus between 1883 and 1886, especially those organised by J.W. Williamson (*Fig. 7*), Charles and Percy Christian (*Fig. 8*) and Charles Watkins, presumably ended up in the hands of dealers or collectors after their export from the island.¹⁴²



Figure 7. J.W. Williamson (c. 1907)
(courtesy Alitheia Lockie).



Figure 8. Percy Christian (c. 1890s)
(courtesy Nigel Christian).

Most of these private collections were dispersed without any record of their provenance following the departure of their owners from the island or by their heirs. One notable exception is Claude Cobham's collection which was donated in 1918 by his nephew to the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter because of Cobham's connections with the area.¹⁴³ Lady Brassey's collection of antiquities, including numerous items from Cyprus acquired through Col. Falkland Warren, was also exhibited for public benefit in various locations from 1881 onwards and opened as a formal – though short-lived – museum in her memory in 1887.¹⁴⁴ The dispersal of her collection that began the following year is another illustration of the random fate of Cypriot antiquities. Although Brassey was keen to use her collection for educational purposes, Taylor speculates that she may not have been particularly interested in the Cypriot items in themselves and, like other "social" collectors of this period, was influenced by current fashions for antiquities as much as

142. See Kiely forthcoming, on the activities of these individuals during the 1880s.

143. Part of this collection was recently redisplayed in the Ancient Worlds Gallery and will be subject of a digitisation programme in the near future. We are grateful to Thomas Cadbury and Jenny Durant for this information (see also: <http://www.rammuseum.org.uk/visiting-us/what-youll-find/ancient-worlds>).

144. Taylor 2001.

their historical importance.¹⁴⁵ Their transfer to Hastings Corporation – along with the museum building itself – and to the Wolverhampton Museum in the 1920s provides another example of the increasing trend for private collections to be institutionalised within the public sphere.¹⁴⁶

A final example of the numerous private collections formed as a result of this easy availability of Cypriot antiquities is that of the London-based tea merchant Frederick Horniman (1835-1906).¹⁴⁷ As with Pitt Rivers, he used his great wealth to accumulate a vast collection of natural history, ethnography, decorative arts, and Egyptian and Classical antiquities. This included over 200 items (mainly pottery, but some glass) from Cyprus, though their source is unknown.¹⁴⁸ His collection first opened to the public in 1890 and – in parallel with Pitt Rivers, but contrasting with Brassey – is another striking example of a private collection that evolved into a major public resource for education and edification very much in the spirit of the period.

The beginning of systematic excavations by British institutions in Cyprus, 1887-1913

It can be seen from the preceding sections that progressive exposure to Cypriot antiquities through museum displays, temporary exhibitions, public sales of antiquities and popular accounts such as those by the Cesnola brothers, as well as in the press, all helped to create a widespread interest in ancient Cyprus by the last quarter of the 19th century. When Britain occupied the island in 1878, the antiquities of the island were commonly mentioned in contemporary books and pamphlets on the island: unsurprisingly there were calls for organised fieldwork to explore what was recognised as the only part of the classical Greek world under direct British control.¹⁴⁹ The new governor Garnet Wolsey banned all private excavations in 1878 and some at least assumed that the island would (or should) become an archaeological fief of the British Museum.¹⁵⁰ Yet as noted above in the context of Kitchener and the South Kensington Museum, Charles Newton was unable to raise funds to support Kitchener's initiative, or indeed any official fieldwork on Cyprus during the remainder of his Keepership down to 1886. Laissez-faire policies averse to public investment in areas such as culture, together with growing demands on the imperial budget during a period of rapid expansion (and repeated international crises during the scramble for empire by European powers), meant that neither the imperial government in London nor the local administration on Cyprus was willing to fund

145. Taylor 2001, p. 245-6.

146. Taylor 2001, p. 244; D. Symons, *Cypriote antiquities in Wilverhampton Art Gallery and Museums. Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities* 10 (SIMA XX:10), Göteborg, 1984, p. 2-3.

147. M. Horniman, "Horniman, Frederick John (1835–1906)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [online edition, article 33994].

148. I am grateful to curator Fiona Kerlogue of the Horniman Museum for this information.

149. See editorials in *The Times*, 11 June 1879, p. 11 and 18 Nov. 1879, p. 9.

150. See Perrot 1878, p. 510-511; Perrot 1879, p. 604; Stanley-Price 2001, p. 269; Kiely 2009b, note 95; Kiely 2010, p. 241-242.

archaeological activity. Newton had to rely on funds from private individuals such as the artist and BM Trustees Frederick Leighton to conduct small-scale excavations.¹⁵¹ These were conducted between 1880 and 1883 by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter under the general supervision of the Claude Cobham, the District Commissioner of Larnaka. Despite his leading role in advancing antiquarian studies on the island, at times Cobham seemed to do more on Newton's behalf (as well as later in the 1890s when the BM were digging on the island) than to help local efforts to excavate and preserve antiquities.¹⁵²

The local administration meanwhile was forced to adopt a more drastic method to build up the collection of the Cyprus Museum, founded in 1882 after representations to the High Commissioner from Cypriots and resident expatriates.¹⁵³ This was to revive the operation of Ottoman Law of Antiquities (1874) permitting private excavations in return for a one-third share of the finds for the government.¹⁵⁴ In principle the Cyprus Museum had the right to conduct its own fieldwork – thereby securing all the finds for itself – or at least to purchase at first refusal any important finds that fell to private excavators and landowners who respectively received one-third each. In practice however, it lacked the financial resources to make much of an impact and, apart from a handful of excavations carried out by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, most of the excavations between 1883 and 1887 were organised by private citizens and most of the finds were eventually exported and sold on the antiquities market, including the several thousand items found at Paris that were auctioned in Paris in 1886 mentioned above.¹⁵⁵

The great chronicler of archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean during his period, Salomon Reinach, condemned a situation which “*on ne manquerait pas d'appeler scandaleux si la Porte était encore la maîtresse de Chypre*”, aiming his criticism in particular at the parsimony of the British government.¹⁵⁶ Complaints about the operation of the law during the mid-1880s, but also disquiet at the scale of private excavations (especially those at Marion) which provided minimal benefit to the Cyprus Museum, persuaded the newly-appointed High Commissioner Sir Henry Bulwer to henceforth restrict digging permits to scientific bodies such as museums and universities.¹⁵⁷ This

151. L. Fivel [= O. Masson], “Lettre de Ohnefalsch-Richter à A.H. Smith, 1912”, *CCEC* 21, 1994, p. 23-27; Kiely 2010, p. 244-245.

152. This is clear from a startling comment he made in a letter to Newton in 1886 where he states that “the local museum is as much a failure as we might have expected or wished” (GR archives, *Original Letters 1886-1887*, 19 Oct 1886).

153. Stanley-Price 2001, p. 270-271.

154. Stanley-Price 2001, p. 267-269.

155. See the list of excavations in Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 1-12; Kiely and Merrillees (this volume); Kiely forthcoming; also Given 2001.

156. Reinach 1891, p. 369. Writing a few years earlier in 1885 he complained that “[l]es études archéologiques ne sont pas en honneur en Angleterre...” (1891, p. 168-169).

157. Goring 1988, p. 21-22; Executive Council Minutes. 18 June 1887.

reform, initially opposed by the Colonial Office in London for a variety of reasons,¹⁵⁸ was a watershed in the archaeology of the island. It resulted in a series of large-scale excavations carried out by professional archaeologists and scholars, especially the Cyprus Exploration Fund (1887-1890 and again in 1894) and the British Museum (1893-1899). While British institutions dominated the field, fairly large-scale excavations supervised by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter were also carried out for the Royal Berlin Museum at Tamassos in 1889 and Idalion in 1894.¹⁵⁹ A planned series of excavations by the French School at Athens were less successful because of personal and administrative problems.¹⁶⁰

These projects sponsored by non-British institutions reflected Bulwer's insistence that permits should be granted without regard to nationality and for scientific purposes.¹⁶¹ Yet despite this enlightened stance, some representatives of the CEF and the BM, supported by the Colonial Office, argued that British archaeologists and the CM should be given a monopoly on excavations, or certainly be offered first refusal on all archaeological sites. Alexander Murray, Newton's successor as Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, lobbied against the granting of a permit to the Germans to dig at Idalion in 1889. In his communications on this subject with the Colonial Secretary, Bulwer confirmed the general principal that British organisations or the CM should have first preference on any site; but he also attempted to resist what he saw as a dog-in-the-manger attitude of the British Museum, noting that they had no funds and therefore no prospects for excavation.¹⁶² While it was impossible to refuse outright to grant permits to German excavators, the authorities in London nonetheless decreed that foreign archaeologists should henceforth apply for permission to the Foreign Office through their embassies, not direct from the Cypriot authorities.¹⁶³ This illustrates the increased politicisation of archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean at this time, as competition and indeed tensions between the major powers continue to find their outlet in non-military ways.¹⁶⁴ As we

158. The relevant files are CO 67/48, Despatch 198 (1 Aug. 1887) and 50 (Despatches, 6 and 29 Dec. 1887).

159. Masson, Hermery 1988, esp. p. 3; H. Matthäus, "The Royal Tombs of Tamassos", *CCEC* 37, 2007, p. 211-230 (esp. p. 212); H.-G. Buchholz, "Bemerkungen zu M. Ohnefalsch-Richters Ausgrabungen 1889 in Tamassos", *CCEC* 37, 2007, p. 231-250; Buchholz 2010, *passim*.

160. O. Masson, "Archéologues français à Chypre en 1896", *BCH* 101, 1977, p. 313-328; Goring 1988, p. 30-31.

161. See Ohnefalsch-Richter's comments in *The Times*, 7 Nov. 1894 (cited in Masson, Hermery 1988, p. 3).

162. BM archives, *Trustees Minutes*, 13 April 1889; BM archives, *Original Papers* 1889, p. 167ff (Despatch of Bulwer to Colonial secretary Lord Knutford, 19 March 1889).

163. BM archives, *Original Papers* 1889, p. 189.

164. On the broader situation in the Near East, see D. Silberman, *Digging for God and Country. Exploration in the Holy Land, 1799-1917*, New York, 1990 [1982]; S. Marchand, *Down from Olympus. Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, 1996, esp. chapter 6; also Entwistle 2003, p. 233-234.

will see, both of the major British excavations on Cyprus of the late 19th century were influenced by these political considerations.

The Cyprus Exploration Fund (CEF)

The CEF was founded in the late autumn of 1887 in direct response to Bulwer's reforms. In its manifesto, it was stated that "[i]t has long been felt by students that systematic archaeological researches ought to be undertaken in Cyprus and it has often been made a subject of reproach against this country by foreign scholars that no such researches have been attempted since the island came under English government".¹⁶⁵ This echoed public, or at least educated middle class sentiment. An editorial in *The Times* commenting on the CEF stressed both the intellectual and political importance of such work and urged against leaving the field to Austria, France and Germany.¹⁶⁶ Major funding was initially provided by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (£150), the British School at Athens (£150), and the University of Cambridge (who supported M.R. James to participate with a grant of £150). Donations ranging between £100 and £5 came from private individuals, including several wealthy philanthropists, churchmen and academics in Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁶⁷ The leading public schools – Charterhouse, Clifton, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, and Winchester – also subscribed over the course of the CEF's existence.¹⁶⁸ Typical of Victorian excavations funds, the subscribers were assigned shares of the finds from the excavations according to their contributions. The BM however did not provide any funding initially and only made a modest donation in 1891 to continue the work at Marion. Nonetheless, it was represented on the founding committee by the Principal Librarian (Director), Robert Mond, and no less than three of its Keepers, Sidney Colvin, Alexander Murray (*Fig. 9*) and Edward Thompson. It was also understood from the outset that it would receive the first choice of the finds as the national museum.¹⁶⁹

To supervise their excavations, the CEF appointed scholars from associated institutions who were admitted as students to the British School at Athens for the duration of the campaigns.¹⁷⁰ Following a trial excavation at Leondari-Vouno in the Aglantzia forest

165. Dunelm and Colvin 1887, p. 1; also Hogarth in Gardner *et al.* 1888, p. 149-151; Megaw 1988, p. 281; Gill 2011, p. 157-161 provides a modern overview of the background.

166. *The Times*, 3 March 1888, p. 11 (cited in Gill 2011, p. 159-160).

167. Dunelm and Colvin 1887, p. 4.

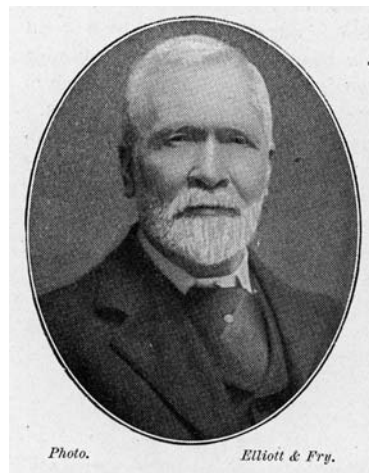
168. On the CEF and a full list of subscribers see David Gill at <http://bsahistory.blogspot.co.uk/2008/03/cyprus-exploration-fund.html>; also Gill 2011, p. 157-164.

169. Dunelm, Colvin 1887. The second season at Polis was funded through a donation of £75 from the BM (GR archives, *Original Letters 1890*, letters of Munro to Murray, 5 May and 2 June 1890). When requesting the money in the first letter, Munro reminded Murray that "the Museum always gets the best finds". He also warned that Ohnefalsch-Richter "tried just too late to get hold of the site for his German patrons", perhaps an attempt to force Murray into defensive action.

170. "Lists of directors, honorary students, students and associates", *ABSA* 11, 1904/5, p. 331-337; Megaw 1988, p. 281.

south-east of Nicosia “*in order to learn the Cypriot methods of working*”,¹⁷¹ the CEF began work on at Kouklia (ancient Palaepaphos), the site of the famous temple of Cypriot Aphrodite at the beginning of 1888. The excavations were supervised by the Director of the School at Athens E.A. Gardner with the assistance of the Oxford scholar D.G. Hogarth, the Cambridge scholar M. R. James, and the architect R. Elsey Smith of King’s College, London.¹⁷² At Kouklia, the remains of the sanctuary were partly explored, a large number of inscriptions, partly rebuilt into modern walls, was discovered and recorded, and tombs dating from the Bronze Age to the Roman period were excavated from February to the end of April.¹⁷³ Attention then moved to Amargetti-Petrasanthropos, where limestone and terracotta figurines as well as dedicatory inscriptions to “*Opaon Melanthios*” were found, identifying it as a Hellenistic and Roman sanctuary.¹⁷⁴ The preliminary excavation report of the whole season from January to the end of May summarily lists and describes the evidence from Leondari-Vouno and Amargetti, but the discoveries at Palaepaphos were presented in more detail, and discussed and interpreted within the context of ancient literary traditions about the site and the cult of Aphrodite.

Figure 9. Alexander Murray
(Elliot & Fry, Man 4 (1904), p. 56).



The CEF also contributed to the knowledge of the broader archaeological topography of the island. Following the end of the first season of excavations in May 1888, Hogarth travelled the island in order to identify further sites for future archaeological exploration, particularly in “*those districts of Cyprus which had been less frequently or less systematically examined by archaeologists – to wit, the Papho district and the*

171. Gardner *et al.* 1888, p. 152.

172. The preliminary report, never followed by a full publication, was jointly authored by these individuals was published in the *JHS* for 1888 (Gardner *et al.* 1888).

173. Hogarth in Gardner *et al.* 1888, p. 159-170; see Maier, Karageorghis 1984 for a modern account.

174. Hogarth in Gardner *et al.* 1888, p. 171-174; see Ulbrich 2008, p. 411-412.

Carpas”. His travelogue, *Devia Cypria*, was published in 1889, perhaps with a view to raising awareness of the work of the CEF among the public.¹⁷⁵ Hogarth’s account records inscriptions, elements of ancient architecture, re-used in modern houses or churches, and antiquities finds, made by local residents as well as previous excavators. Cesnola, who had travelled the island extensively to build up his own collection, is most often referred to. Hogarth drew on ancient literary sources and other historical records as well as travel accounts to put his discoveries into context. Of the ancient sites he mentions in his Karpas chapter (which included the north-eastern Mesaoria around Famagusta), only Salamis was further explored by the CEF in 1890.

In 1889, the CEF asked Gardner, and the Oxford scholars J.A.R. Munro and H.A. Tubbs to excavate tombs in the extensive necropoleis of ancient Marion and Arsinoe near the village of Polis tis Chrysochous.¹⁷⁶ The CEF bought out the now unusable excavation rights of the private syndicate that explored the site in 1886-1887, and indeed one of the latter, J.W. Williamson, assisted the expedition with practical assistance and his local knowledge and connections.¹⁷⁷ Between mid-January and mid-April, the team excavated 154 tombs in various areas south and southeast of the village Polis (called sites A, B, K [Karpaga], H.-D. [Hagios Demetrios], M, T and Oven), uncovering tombs of the Cypro-Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods in particular.¹⁷⁸ A substantial amount of imported Attic pottery was noted and some examples described and published in greater detail, together with tomb plans and Cypro-Syllabic and Greek alphabetic funerary inscriptions, in their *JHS* report, while the categories of other finds, such as terracotta figurines, larger tomb-terracottas, jewellery and metal-objects were only summarily treated. On the way to Polis from Karavostasi, the team had come across a site called Limniti which showed signs of ancient occupation, so after their work at Polis was finished, they excavated there, uncovering the remains of a *temenos* and *favissa* with up to lifesize terracotta-figures of males and females.¹⁷⁹

During the CEF’s third season, starting in January 1890, Munro and Tubbs (with the help of Warwick Wroth) conducted extensive excavations at the ancient city of Salamis.¹⁸⁰ The area around Salamis, particularly the necropoleis, had partly been explored by both Cesnola brothers as well as by Ohnefalsch-Richter (on behalf of Newton) in 1881, while

175. Hogarth 1889. Chapter 1 (p. 1-52) is dedicated to the Paphos district, chapter 2 (p. 53-104) to the Carpass including Salamis and the north-eastern Mesaoria, and chapter 3 (p. 105-115) records miscellanea from the better explored central districts of the island.

176. The preliminary report of this first season is Munro and Tubbs 1890; see also J. Smith, “Histories of Archaeology at Polis Chrysochous”, in W. Childs ed., *City of Gold. The Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*, Princeton, 2012, p. 26-44.

177. Munro, Tubbs 1890, p. 2-3.

178. Munro, Tubbs 1890, pl. X.

179. Munro, Tubbs 1890, p. 82-99.

180. Munro, Tubbs 1891; see Wilson 1980 for a modern survey of the discoveries and the finds preserved in the British Museum.

Hogarth had visited and summarised the extent remains of the city site the previous year.¹⁸¹ The CEF excavations focused on the largely unexplored urban area, in part to elucidate the topography and history of ancient Salamis.¹⁸² Among the most important finds were the “*column site*” (Site B) interpreted as a *temenos* of Zeus (but actually the main gymnasium of the city later excavated by the Department of Antiquities);¹⁸³ the temple of Zeus and its ceremonial esplanade (“*Agora*”) at Site C; the so-called Cistern (Site D) containing many fragments from the later Cypro-Archaic period down to Roman times;¹⁸⁴ the *Campanopetra* site, where the later French expedition revealed a Late Antique basilica;¹⁸⁵ and an important sanctuary deposit at *Toumba* to the south of the city (Site G). Munro and Tubbs also investigated the site of the Basilica of *Ayios Epiphanius* (Sites A and H), later explored by Jeffrey, as well as tombs to the west of the city (Site J).¹⁸⁶ In June of 1890, Munro – now working alone – began a short second season at Marion, during which another 80 tombs were opened in the eastern and western burial grounds of the ancient site. The report, published in the same volume as the account of the Salamis excavations, was as schematic as the earlier one, providing only brief summaries of the contents of each tomb and with a considerable emphasis on the Greek pottery, classical-style sculpture and inscriptions.¹⁸⁷

In 1894, the Oxford scholar J.L. Myres (1869-1954) (*Fig. 10-11*), a student of the BSA who had been asked to conclude the BM excavations at Amathus early in 1894 (see below), was subsequently entrusted with the remaining CEF funds to conduct further research at other sites on the island.¹⁸⁸ Their “*principal object*” was to “*test certain theories current in Cypriot archaeology; though some new ground was broken incidentally*”, as Myres remarks on the first page of his report in the *JHS*.¹⁸⁹ Myres excavated tombs in the Middle to Late Bronze Age necropolis of *Ayia Paraskevi* near Nicosia,¹⁹⁰ a Middle Cypriot site with tombs at *Kalopsida-Tsaoudhi Chiftlik*,¹⁹¹ and in various areas in and near Larnaka:

181. Munro, Tubbs 1891, p. 59; Hogarth 1889, p. 60-62.

182. See Cesnola’s comments on the difficulties and expense of excavating the site (1877, p. 201-202). The areas excavated are shown on pl. V of Munro and Tubbs 1891; cf. fig. 1 in Yon 1993, p. 140 for the modern archaeological topography.

183. V. Karageorghis, *Excavating at Salamis in Cyprus 1952-1974*, Athens, 1999, p. 22-77.

184. Wilson 1980, p. 62-65.

185. Roux in Yon 1993, p. 198-204.

186. Munro and Tubbs 1891, p. 103-106.

187. J. Munro, “Excavations in Cyprus. Third’s season’s work: Polis tes Chrysochou”, *JHS* 12, 1890, p 298-333. See note 167 above on the funding for this season from the BM.

188. Gill 2011, p. 368-370.

189. Myres 1897, p. 134-173.

190. Myres 1897, p. 134-138; see G. Georgiou, “The necropolis of *Ayia Paraskevi* revisited”, *RDAC*, 2002, p. 49-65 (with refs).

191. Myres 1897, p. 138-147; see P. Åström, *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus*, Lund, 1966.

the Late Cypriot necropolis at Laxia-tou-Riou south-west of the town;¹⁹² Cypro-Archaic to Hellenistic tombs at Tourabi-*Tekke* to the northwest of it;¹⁹³ a deposit of Cypro-Archaic votive figurines in a sanctuary at *Kamelarga* at the inside of the ancient city-walls of ancient Kition;¹⁹⁴ and another sanctuary site at the salt-lake, called Batsalos.¹⁹⁵ He also acquired inscriptions around Larnaka and explored the site of Maroni-*Tsaroukkas*.¹⁹⁶

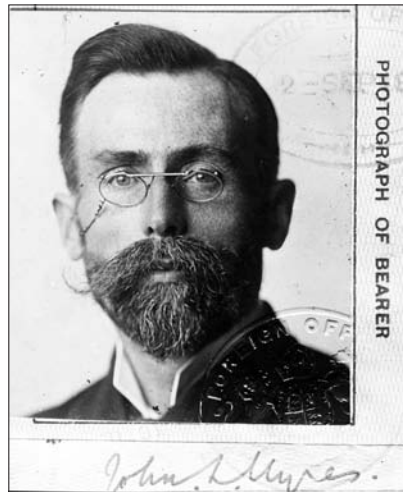


Figure 10. John Myres : Passport, 1921 (© Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

If the excavations were undertaken very quickly, Myres took more time than his predecessors for his report, studying the finds in their allocated institutions, focussing on the Cyprus Museum and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. He listed and described the finds by tomb, occasionally accompanied by a tomb plan and a photograph of a tomb-assemblage at the Cyprus Museum or the Ashmolean. These finds, together with the results from his reorganisation and classification of the Cyprus Museum in the same year, formed the beginning of a chronological and typological classification system for Cypriot antiquities, particularly of the Bronze Age but also of the succeeding Iron Age as well (see below).

The development of university collections in Oxford and Cambridge

The CEF excavations, especially those of Myres in 1894, greatly enriched the Cypriot collections of the Ashmolean Museum and laid the foundations for its long tradition of Cypriot archaeology that continues to this day. In contrast to the British Museum, whose

192. Myres 1897, p. 147-152.

193. Myres 1897, p. 152-164; Nicolaou 1976, p. 163, 189-199.

194. Myres 1897, p. 164-169; see Nicolaou 1976, p. 113, no. 6; Ulbrich 2008, p. 348, KI 3.

195. Myres 1897, p. 170-171; see Nicolaou 1976, p. 111-113, no. 5; Ulbrich 2008, p. 353, KI 8.

196. Myres 1897, p. 171-183; see Johnson 1980, p. 7 and 35-36.

Cypriot collection amounted to several thousand items even before the establishment of the CEF, the Ashmolean only began to acquire Cypriot material in 1873 with the purchase of 20 pieces of unprovenanced gold jewellery.¹⁹⁷ The following year, the Christy Trustees donated the collection of limestone sculpture from Dali discussed above. John Ruskin, then Slade Professor of Art at Oxford, also gave two sculpted grave stelai to the Ashmolean Museum in the same period.¹⁹⁸ He had received them from Cesnola in return for his financial support of the latter's excavations.¹⁹⁹ By 1887, the Ashmolean possessed still only around 200 objects, including jewellery, pottery and figurines. These were acquired through isolated purchases on the art-market and donations, particularly from the well-known antiquarian and dealer Rev. Greville Chester (who was a notable benefactor of the Ashmolean collections),²⁰⁰ and from the newly founded Natural History Museum in Oxford which transferred unwanted archaeological material. Through the CEF excavations, however, the Ashmolean received about 1200 provenanced objects, while around 240 more were presented by the Trustees of the British Museum in recognition of Myres' contribution to the BM excavations at Amathus.²⁰¹ They laid the foundation of the museum's present collection of Cypriot antiquities with some 6800 registered objects, more than seventy per cent of which are securely provenanced, making it the second largest collection in Britain after the BM (see below).²⁰²

The Cypriot collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge also expanded as a result of the CEF after a similarly slow beginning. In 1876, a selection of thirty nine glass vessels, some from Amathus, were purchased from the group of antiquities left on deposit by Luigi Palma di Cesnola in the British Museum (see above).²⁰³ To these were added various items purchased at the Lawrence-Cesnola sales in the following decade.²⁰⁴ More significant was the gift in 1888 by Francis Guillemard (1852-1933), Reader in Geography at the University, of items collected during his visit to Cyprus the previous year that influenced the foundation of the CEF. Finally, between 1892 and 1907, Sir Henry Bulwer, himself a Cambridge alumnus, donated an important collection of objects

197. Ulbrich 2012, p. 26.

198. Brown, Catling 1986, p. 67 and pl. XXX.

199. Additional items from Ruskin's collection, which remained at his country home at Brantwood, Cumbria for many years, were donated to the Ashmolean in 1938 by R.G. Collingwood. On Ruskin's involvement with Cesnola, details of which are obscure, and several items from his collection now in the British Museum, see R. Barnett, "The Amathus shield-boss rediscovered and the Amathus bowl reconsidered", *RDAC* 1977, p. 157-169; also Masson 1996, p. 11-12.

200. Seidmann 2006.

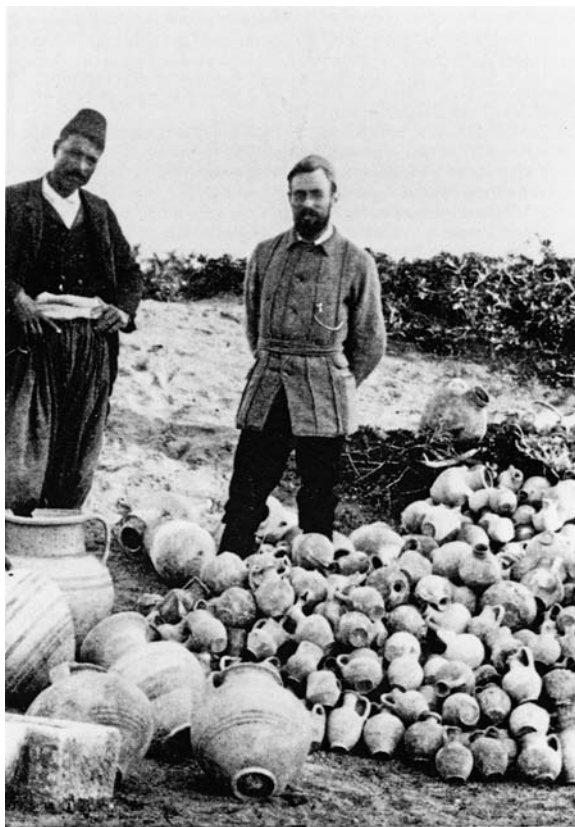
201. Based on a survey of antiquities accession books of the Ashmolean Museum by Ulbrich.

202. See Ulbrich 2012.

203. *The Times*, 16 November 1876, 6.

204. Robinson in Karageorghis *et al.* 1999, p. viii and *passim*.

from Ohnefalsch-Richter's excavations at Tamassos,²⁰⁵ but he also presented the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology with examples of traditional Cypriot costumes and other examples of ethnographica.²⁰⁶



The Norfolk Jacket – and with pots and assistant

Figure 11. John Myres (1894) : Larnaca or Amathous (© Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

British Museum excavations on Cyprus, 1893-1899

We have seen how the British Museum was unable to organise any large-scale excavations on Cyprus during the early years of British rule because of lack of funds. This changed in 1892 when a Miss Emma Turner of Oxford left the sum of £2000 (around £150,000 in modern values) to the Trustees for the “*purpose of excavation or survey of sites in Europe, Asia or Africa in furtherance of the study of the antiquities of Greece,*

205. Merrillees 2005, p. 206; Kiely, Merrillees (this volume); Karageorghis *et al.* 1999, *passim*; Buchholz 2010, *passim*. Part of this collection was originally offered to the BM but was not purchased, apparently on Munro's recommendation (GR archives, *Original Letters 1890*, Munro to Murray, 9 Aug. 1890).

206. Papademetriou 2000, p. 108.

Rome or Egypt or of Biblical Antiquities”.²⁰⁷ Cyprus was chosen because of the long-term interest in the island among British Museum personnel, especially given the highly advantageous political conditions for excavation (in contrast to growing restrictions within the Ottoman Empire). Furthermore, while the CEF had been very generous with donations to the British Museum in previous years, it nonetheless had to divide its finds – regarded moreover as disappointing overall – among its numerous supporters. The Turner Bequest, though not a particularly large sum of money, ensured that the British Museum would be able to retain all the finds allocated to it under the law, even if many would subsequently be donated to institutions throughout the United Kingdom, and then further afield (see below).

The British Museum explored seven sites between 1893 and 1899. The first three – at Amathus (1893-1894), Kourion (1895) and Enkomi (1896) respectively – were funded by the Turner Bequest itself. The spectacular results from Enkomi in particular led the museum to reverse their earlier refusal to fund excavations from public funds and to permit the expenditure of up to £500 per annum from the object purchase budget on excavations around Maroni (1897), Hala Sultan Tekke-Vyzakia (1897-1898), Kouklia and Klavdia-Tremithos (both 1899).²⁰⁸ All of the sites chosen were cemeteries, no doubt to increase the chances of finding intact, valuable and display-quality objects for the Museum.²⁰⁹ This priority is perhaps illustrated by the fact that the agents hired to organise the practical aspects of the work – two expatriate businessmen based in Limassol, J.W. Williamson (1856-1932) (*Fig. 7*) and Charles Christian (1855-after 1912), though most of the work was delegated to the latter’s younger brother Percy (1871-c.1953) (*Fig. 8*)²¹⁰ – were explicitly instructed to stop work in the event of discovering buildings and to report to London for further advice.²¹¹ Excavating architectural remains would have slowed down the work and reduce the likelihood of valuable finds. Furthermore, typical of the period, the excavators operated a very selective retention policy and discarded many coarse or plain pottery vessels, decorated vessels (especially of Iron Age date), as well as fragmentary items.²¹² Williamson and Christian had previously engaged in commercial excavations and antiquity trading on Cyprus, most notably in the Marion excavations of 1886, and therefore had considerable knowledge of the island’s archaeology.

207. Probate 3 March 1892; see also Bailey, Hockey 2001, 109.

208. Kiely in preparation.

209. L. Steel, “The British Museum and the invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age”, in Tatton-Brown 2001a, p. 160-167.

210. Kiely forthcoming. Percy Christian in particular was crucial to the success of the BM excavations.

211. BM GR archives (supplementary) [Contract to excavate at Kourion in 1895] (Kiely forthcoming, Appendix 1). The experience of the CEF at Kouklia and Salamis, where a lot of effort was expended on exploring buildings, doubtless influenced this decision.

212. See Kiely 2009b, p. 84, for the treatment of the Kourion material.

The cemeteries of ancient Amathus were chosen for excavation in 1893, partly out of convenience for the agents who were based in Limassol,²¹³ but mainly as the site was a very well-known source of antiquities, especially since the work of Luigi Palma di Cesnola in the 1870s.²¹⁴ Some 320 numbered tombs of Cypro-Geometric to Roman date were recorded during the campaign which lasted from October 1893 to March 1894.²¹⁵ Arthur Smith (1860-1941),²¹⁶ an Assistant (i.e. Curator) at the Department of Greece and Rome supervised until mid-January, replaced by John Myres (seconded from the British School at Athens) early in 1894. While Smith had made a schematic record of the hundred tombs discovered during his period of supervision,²¹⁷ and also took many photographs (virtually all now lost) of the site and tombs groups, including some *in situ*, Myres demonstrated a more meticulous and forward-looking approach to the work because of his previous archaeological training (see *infra*). In his field notes, he recorded virtually all the finds (including fragmentary items, though rarely pottery sherds). In many cases he also provided details of the tomb architecture and burial customs.²¹⁸ Much of this precious information was omitted from Smith's schematic account of the tomb groups allocated to the British Museum that appeared in *Excavations in Cyprus* in 1900²¹⁹ and from the very brief survey of the tomb groups allocated to the Cyprus Museum included by Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter in the *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* of 1899.²²⁰

Crucially for the future of Cypriot archaeology, Myres' notebook also includes a rudimentary attempt to seriate the pottery finds and to establish a relative and absolute chronology of the tombs, illustrating the beginnings of the recording system he used for his own excavations in 1894 and on which he based his broader classification of the holding of the Cyprus Museum and later the Cesnola Collection in New York (see below). Despite this greater methodological and intellectual precision, Myres – like Smith before him – did not keep tomb groups together but routinely discarded or sold large quantities of coarse and plain ceramic vessels, as well as many decorated pots that were regarded as duplicates. It was generally perceived that their aesthetic and archaeological value was

213. Williamson and Christian were paid a commission of ten per cent on the overall expenditure, not a quarter-share of the market value of the finds as they originally requested (see Kiely in preparation).

214. Cesnola 1877, p. 249ff.

215. Smith in Murray *et al.* 1900, p. 88-126. This material will be fully published in a forthcoming chapter of the *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum Online Research Catalogue*.

216. Obituary, *The Times*, 30 Sep. 1941, p. 9; *Who's Who, 1920-2008*, Online edition, accessed 2013.

217. GR archives, A.H. Smith, *Notes at Amathus*, 1893-4.

218. GR archives, J. Myres, *Amathus*. This is the original version of a "fair copy" given to the BM in 1894 but provides a more accurate impression both of the conduct of the excavations and of the development of Myres' classificatory system.

219. Smith in Murray *et al.* 1900, p. 88-126.

220. Myres, Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 175-178.

less than the cost and effort of transporting them to London or even to Nicosia. This is an indication of the relatively modest budget available to the excavators, as well as the lack of an effective infrastructure for the conduct of archaeology on the island, but especially the continued tendency to assess the success of excavation results in terms of the financial value of the finds.²²¹

Excavations around the acropolis of ancient Kourion in 1895 were overseen by H.B. Walters (1867-1944), another Assistant in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.²²² The area was selected for much the same reasons as Amathus and, indeed, some very valuable finds of Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical date in particular were made in the Ayios Ermoyenis cemeteries below the acropolis (Walters's Site B) where Cesnola assembled much of his fictitious "Curium Treasure".²²³ In addition, a small number of Cypro-Geometric tombs were opened in Site A, part of the larger *Kaloriziki* cemetery later explored by Porphyrios Dikaïos and John Daniel in the 1930s.²²⁴ Cypro-Archaic to Roman period tombs were investigated in Site E located above the main road leading west from the village of Episkopi; while the remains of a sanctuary were discovered in Site C (The "Temple Site") near the hippodrome and "Small Basilica". Here an important bi-graphic Cypro-Syllabic and Greek alphabetic dedication to Demeter and Kore was found among Cypro-Archaic to Hellenistic votive offerings.²²⁵

The most important discovery of the campaign however was a series of tombs at Site D (*Bamboula*) located close to the village of Episkopi. The cemetery, explored more scientifically by Daniel in the 1930s and 1940s,²²⁶ contained much imported Mycenaean pottery associated with locally-made Late Bronze Age material.²²⁷ Walters' recording and excavation methods were inferior in many respects to those of Myres' work at Amathus, in part because of the difficulties of excavating irregularly-shaped Bronze Age burial chambers – significantly not a single plan or section of any tomb from this area made, compared to numerous examples from the sites of later date.²²⁸ Moreover, he incorrectly dated the imported Aegean pottery and associated finds to the earlier first millennium

221. Bailey 1975, p. 206; Kiely forthcoming; also Kiely 2009b, p. 84 for the selection processes at Kourion.

222. Death notice, *The Times*, 1 May, 1944, p. 9; *Who's Who Online Edition 1920-2008*, Oxford.

223. Cesnola 1877, p. 293ff; Murray *et al.* 1900, p. 82-84; Bailey, Hockey 2001; see Kiely, Merrillees (this volume). Newton had in fact urged the Trustees to "complete" the excavation of the treasure chamber when its existence was still accepted (Kiely 2010, p. 242).

224. J. Benson, *The Necropolis of Kaloriziki*, Göteborg, 1973.

225. Walters in Murray *et al.* 1900, esp. p. 64, 71 and 84; Higgs, Kiely 2009, p. 415-419; see D. Whittingham, "The small basilica: 'At Meydan'", in H. Swiny (ed.), *An archaeological guide to the ancient Kourion area and the Akrotiri Peninsula*, Nicosia, 1982, p. 80-85.

226. J. Benson, *Kourion at Bamboula. The necropolis and the finds*, Philadelphia, 1972; S. Weinberg, *Bamboula at Kourion: the architecture*, Philadelphia, 1983.

227. Walters in Murray *et al.* 1900, p. 61-62, 72-74, 79-81.

228. Kiely 2009b.

BC, and also failed to recognise the remains of the contemporary settlement that in fact overlay the tombs.²²⁹

Despite these deficiencies, Bamboula nonetheless provided the first significant corpus of Late Bronze Age tomb material recorded *in situ* on Cyprus. The following year a very rich tomb of the same date was discovered during ploughing near Enkomi in eastern Cyprus, leading to the excavation of one hundred Late Bronze Age tombs over the course of six months in 1896.²³⁰ An extraordinary range of imported luxury goods and pottery from the Levant, Egypt and the Aegean were found alongside a much larger and more wide-ranging sample of locally-produced Late Cypriot material, spanning the entire Late Bronze Age, than had been unearthed at Kourion.²³¹ As in previous excavations at Amathus and Kourion, much locally-produced material was routinely discarded, in particular Plain Wheelmade Ware vessels that are otherwise abundant in tombs of this date.²³² Again these choices were influenced both by current archaeological knowledge and financial restraints, but the latter aspect became particularly important in succeeding campaigns when the Museum was spending public funds. Although Murray, like Walters before him, dated the imported Aegean and Aegean-style material much later than was by now standard opinion among scholars such as Evans, Myres and Petrie,²³³ the excavations at Enkomi had a revolutionary effect on knowledge of Cypriot prehistory by firmly linking the Late Bronze Age of the island to contemporary Aegean, Egyptian and Levantine cultures in particular. The BM also refocused their efforts entirely on finding tombs of Late Bronze Age date (especially with Mycenaean material). At the same time, reduced expenditure after 1896 resulted in excavations of shorter duration that was much less sustained in their overall efforts.

The Maroni area was explored in November and December 1897, supervised by Walters. Twenty eight numbered tombs of Late Bronze Age date, many containing wealthy grave goods, were recorded, mostly around *Tsaroukkas* but also several at *Vournes*.²³⁴

229. Fitton 2001. This was despite an early rebuttal of Walters' dating (summarised in *The Times*, 6 Jan. 1896, p. 14) by Myres ("Correspondence: Excavations in Cyprus", *The Academy*, no. 1239, 1 Feb. 1896, p. 102).

230. Murray in Murray *et al.* 1900, p. 1-54; V. Tatton-Brown, "Enkomi: the notebook at the British Museum", *CCEC* 33, 2003, p. 9-66; Crewe 2007; L. Crewe, "Enkomi", in T. Kiely (ed.), *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum. Online Research Catalogue*, 2009.

231. J.-C. Courtois *et al.*, *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre*, Nicosia, 1986.

232. L. Crewe, "Feasting with the dead? Tomb 66 at Enkomi", in Kiely 2009, p. 27-48 (see p. 31 on selection practices); Crewe 2007, p. 64.

233. A. Evans, "Mycenaean Cyprus as illustrated in the British Museum excavations", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* XXX (n.s. III), 1900, p. 199-220.

234. Johnson 1980, esp. p. 7-13; G. Cadogan, "The British Museum's work at Maroni", in G. Ioannides (ed.), *Studies in honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, Nicosia, 1992, p. 123-126; S. Manning, S. Monks, "Late Bronze Age tombs at Maroni-Tsaroukkas", *ABSA*, 1998, p. 296-351; "Maroni", in Kiely 2011.

Additional exploration was done closer to Kalavassos, resulting in the discovery of some Middle Chalcolithic sherds (though identified as Minoan at the time).²³⁵ At both the main Maroni sites, Walters again failed to recognise the contemporary settlement remains revealed by modern excavators in the 1980s and 1990s. A sudden drop in the number of finds after around six weeks resulted in the transfer of operations towards the recently-discovered site of Hala Sultan Tekke-*Vysakia* for a short period in December. Excavations here were resumed for a second campaign lasting just over a week in the spring of 1898.²³⁶ This time the work was supervised by John Crowfoot, a student sent by the British School at Athens.²³⁷

Another British School student, Frances Welch (1876-1950),²³⁸ assisted in the final campaigns of the British Museum on Cyprus the following year. Work began in March 1899 at Kouklia, where it was hoped to discover intact Bronze Age burials that had eluded the CEF in 1888; but apart from one or more tombs containing Proto-White Painted wares, most of preserved finds suggest Cypro-Geometric or later burials.²³⁹ Virtually no records were kept of the campaign which is known through the contents of a handful of letters by Welch and Christian.²⁴⁰ More successful was the two-week long campaign near Klavdia in April where a series of Middle and Late Bronze Age burials were found over a wide area. More of the finds, including numerous imported luxury goods, as well as much local pottery were kept, but again the recording was negligible, even if some attempt was made to number the tombs discovered.²⁴¹ In addition, a few weeks were spent at the mouth of the Pouzis River to the south-west, though virtually nothing is known about what appear to have been a group of rich Late Bronze Age tombs.²⁴² The decision not to renew the excavations may have been influenced by the diminishing number and quality of the finds since 1897 but because of political reasons. Opposition to the exportation of antiquities had begun to accelerate over the previous few years, in part due to the spectacular success of the BM excavations, and had become a highly sensitive political issue by 1899. After much wrangling between the Colonial Office in London, successive

235. GR 1898.12-1.313-318; “Maroni” in Kiely 2011.

236. D. Bailey, “The British Museum excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke in 1897 and 1898: The material in the British Museum”, in P. Åström *et al.*, *Hala Sultan Tekke 1. Excavations 1897-1971*, Göteborg, 1976, p. 1-32; “Hala Sultan Tekke”, in Kiely 2011.

237. Gill 2011, p. 317-318; *BM GR archives, Excavations in Cyprus: Correspondence, passim*.

238. Malmgren 2003, p. 11 and note 22; Gill 2011, p. 403-3.

239. GR 1899.12-29.1-26 and 47.

240. GR archives, *Excavations in Cyprus: Correspondence*, fols. 65 and 66 (Christian to Murray) and fols. 71-73 (Welch to Murray: quoted in full in Malmgren 2003, p. 12-13); see also Maier and Karageorghis 1984, p. 17 and note 12; Megaw 1988, p. 281.

241. GR archives, *Excavations in Cyprus: Correspondence*, fols. 73-74, also quoted in Malmgren 2003, p. 12-13; “Klavdia-Tremithos”, in Kiely 2011.

242. Malmgren 2003, p. 13; T. Kiely, “Klavdia-Tremithos”, in Kiely 2011; see H. Catling, “Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus”, *Op. Ath.* III, 1962, p. 129-169, LC site no 121.

British High Commissioners in Cyprus, and the Elected Members of the Legislative Council, and partly in response to the illegal export of the second Cyprus Treasure, a new antiquity law was passed in 1905. This banned the export of antiquities and reconstituting the Cyprus Museum on a formal legal basis, though it took several years for the effects of these reforms to become effective.²⁴³

The growth of regional and university collections of Cypriot antiquities

Mention has already been made of the various smaller collections in the United Kingdom that acquired Cypriot antiquities at the same time, and sometimes through the same channels, as much larger institutions such as the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum. Apart from enriching the collections in Bloomsbury, the British Museum's excavations made a significant contribution to the spread and use of Cypriot antiquities throughout Britain and Ireland by the donation of duplicate artefacts to a variety of public museums and universities.²⁴⁴ Unlike the beneficiaries of the CEF campaigns, which were restricted to subscribers (all essentially private bodies) as well as the BM, duplicates from the latter's campaigns were more broadly distributed. This reflected a policy of helping public institutions to expand their holdings, including the creation of teaching collections in newly-emerging universities. This was influenced by pressure from an increasingly confident public museum sector (and the newly founded Museums Association) for greater support from the large metropolitan institutions. In particular, they lobbied for changes to the law to allow the British Museum to transfer duplicates to regional collections.²⁴⁵ The following incomplete survey of the diaspora of BM material illustrates the diverse uses and display contexts of these objects within their new homes, though much research needs to be done on this important subject.

In addition to the Ashmolean Museum (see above), the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge²⁴⁶ and Winchester College,²⁴⁷ material from the Amathus excavations was also given to the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin (on behalf of the National Museum, formerly the Museum of Science and Art)²⁴⁸ and to the Museum of Science and Art in Edinburgh.²⁴⁹ The Castle Museum, Nottingham, founded for similar reasons as the Dublin and Edinburgh collections, also received over 80 items of pottery and glass from Amathus

243. Marangou 2000; Kiely forthcoming; Entwistle 2003; Merrillees 2005; Pilides 2012.

244. GR archives, *Excavations in Cyprus: Correspondence*, fols. 25-31 (letters of thanks).

245. G. Lewis, *For Instruction and recreation: A centenary history of the Museums Association*, London, 1989, p. 2.

246. None of this material can be traced in any of the three museums in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the Museum of Classical Archaeology) with Cypriot material.

247. J. Falconer, T. Mannack, CVA GB 19, *Winchester College*, Oxford, 2002, pls. 15.6-16.9.

248. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 2004, p. 3-4; Johnstone 1973, p. 340-506.

249. Goring 1988, p. 28.

in 1895.²⁵⁰ Eton College received a gift of material from Kourion in 1895, specifically on the grounds that it had not benefitted from earlier distributions of finds to public schools.²⁵¹

By contrast, donations to the Yorkshire College in Leeds, the Manchester Museum (then part of Owens College, the core body of the University of Manchester), and the University of Birmingham from BM excavations, reflected the growing interest in archaeology at a university level and the consequent need for teaching collections. The Manchester Museum originated as a natural history collection and initially resisted the acquisition of anthropogenic material, with the exception of prehistoric objects that could be fitted within the geological and evolutionary schemes devised by William Boyd Dawkins to organise and display the collection.²⁵² Cypriot material was originally exhibited in the single room allocated to historical cultures, located at the end of the geological sequence. This was prior to the extension of the original building in 1912 which was intended in particular to house the spectacular Egyptian collection that had been accumulating regularly since 1890 due to Jessie Haworth's support for Flinders Petrie's excavations in Kahun and Gurob.²⁵³ The extension signalled the official transformation of the museum into an archaeological collection in which the Cypriot material, although insignificant compared to the Egyptian antiquities, now assumed a more prominent position than before. Another influence on the change in direction was the fact that from 1908, the University was offering courses in "Classical and Oriental" archaeology.²⁵⁴ This provided greater impetus for the museum to display a wider range of cultural material to support the teaching syllabus, a trend that accelerated between the two World Wars which saw the rapid increase of Near Eastern holdings in particular. Interestingly, while classical Greek material was relatively rare until the 1930s, objects from Cyprus and the Bronze Age Aegean world were displayed together alongside Near Eastern items from a relatively earlier phase of the museum's history.²⁵⁵

A similar picture can be seen in Leeds, where new educational and cultural institutions developed in tandem with the economic strength and civic pride of the city. The donation of Amathus material to the Yorkshire College, Leeds in 1895 was followed seven years later by transfers of material from Enkomi, Klavdia-Tremithos and Paphos.²⁵⁶ This was at the request of Nathan Bodington (1848-1911), Professor of Greek and Principal at the Yorkshire College (and first Vice-Chancellor of its successor the University of Leeds

250. NCM 1895-1 to 85.

251. Bailey 1975, p. 206 note 9. Eton was also Walter's *alma mater*.

252. Alberti 2009, p. 64, 92.

253. Alberti 2009, p. 68-70.

254. Alberti 2009, p. 69.

255. Alberti 2009, p. 97.

256. GR archives, *Original Letters*, Bodington to Murray 15 July 1902; BM archives, Report of Murray to Trustees, 4 July 1902.

from 1904).²⁵⁷ Material from the first donation is no longer identifiable but the second was housed in the museum of the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, of which Bodington was president between 1898 and 1900. As noted above in the context of Sandwith's collection, this museum served throughout much of the 19th century as a major civic collection, but also as a teaching resource for the Yorkshire College (and later the University of Leeds) until the creation of the Leeds City Museum in 1921. The BM donation, comprising a range of Cypriot and Aegean Late Bronze Age items, as well as some Hellenistic material, was displayed alongside an existing collection of Greek pottery.²⁵⁸ Henry Crowther (1848-1937),²⁵⁹ Curator of the museum between 1893 and 1928, played a leading role in the expansion of the collection, but also in making it accessible to a broader public through his public lectures (many aimed at school children) on a diverse range of subjects. These topics included archaeology and they were often illustrated with hand-coloured lantern slides of objects, among them several examples showing Cypriot objects. In a letter to Murray thanking him for the donation in 1902, Crowther stressed the importance of such gifts in furthering the educational programme of the museum as much as any specific cultural or historical narratives.²⁶⁰

The authorities at another recently created higher education centre, the University of Birmingham, also approached Murray asking for duplicate objects for its teaching collection who responded with a selection similar to that transferred to Leeds in the same year.²⁶¹ Then in 1910, the BM donated material from its own excavations, together with some duplicates from the Tamassos material purchased from Warren's executors this year, to the Museum of Ancient History (now the Classical Museum) of University College, Dublin. This was at the request of its then curator, Rev. Professor Henry Browne.²⁶²

257. A. Reeve, "Nathan Bodington, the British Museum and Cyprus" in Reeve 2013. Bodington also formed his own small Cypriot collection which was donated to the museum several years after his death.

258. *Eighty-Third Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, Leeds, 1903, p. 7-8. Kat Baxter, Curator of Archaeology at the Leeds Museums and Galleries, kindly provided a copy.

259. Crowther was also a leading natural historian (see obituary in *the Journal of Conchology* 1, 1938, p. 69-70).

260. GR archives, *Original Letters*, Crowther to Murray, 25 July 1902; see A. Reeve, "Henry Crowther's Lantern Slides", in Reeve 2013.

261. BM archives, *Report of A.S. Murray to Trustees 4 July 1902* (mentioning material from Enkomi, Klavdia, fragments of Mycenaean sherds from Cyprus and some amphora handles from Paphos).

262. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 2004, p. 4-5. Apart from some sherds from Enkomi (on which see J. Crouwel, C. Morris, "Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery from early British excavations at Enkomi in Brussels, Dublin, Oxford and Reading", *RDAC* 1991, p. 141-157), this transfer appears to have included items from Amathus as well, unless some of the items given to the Royal Irish Academy

Browne may also have been behind the donation of in 1911 of “Mycenaean, Cypriote, Greek and Roman Antiquities” to St Finian’s College, a leading Roman Catholic school in Mullingar, Co. Westmeath. According to Haywood, he had a strong belief in the importance of antiquities in the teaching of ancient history as they provided ‘concrete proof’ of the reality of the past.²⁶³ Finally, in 1914, a donation of almost 100 vases and vases from Cyprus added substantially to the core of the teaching museum of another new establishment with a classical and archaeological syllabus, Reading University College.²⁶⁴ The sources of other early acquisitions by this museum nicely illustrate the diverse origins of teaching collections (and indeed of museum collections generally) at this time: Hilda Flinders Petrie and the EEF (from excavations); Percy Ure (Professor of Classics from 1911) through his travels on the continent, especially in Greece; and Mrs Ellen Barry – sister-in-law of the biscuit manufacturer Alfred Palmer, one of the major beneficiaries of the young college – who donated objects collected during her residence on Cyprus with her husband in the 1880s.²⁶⁵

Concluding this section, it must be stressed that the significance of these donations did not reside in their size or archaeological value: in fact, in the majority of cases the tomb numbers (and sometimes the provenance) of the items was not recorded at the time of transfer, either because such information was no longer available, or was not seen as important (even by the Ashmolean Museum). What they do illustrate is the growing presence of Cypriot archaeological collections in British public institutions, including in universities where archaeology as a subject was growing in popularity and importance, but also the key role played by the British Museum in facilitating their diverse aims by supplying examples of material culture from the island for a variety of purposes. This is the case even if the archaeological and intellectual framework for fully understanding their nature and importance remained to be fully developed. We conclude by charting how the “father of Cypriot archaeology”, John Myres, began to impose order on the masses of discoveries of the previous decades and developed the first systematic framework for Cypriot antiquities.

in 1895 were passed on to the University as well as to the National Museum of Ireland. See also Johnstone 1973, p. 409-410, though the findspot of Amathus given for some Bronze Age items is no doubt an error (p. 421-422).

263. This material was transferred to UCD on long-term loan in 2007. C. Haywood, *Questioning... a new collection with a catalogue of the exhibits displayed in the Classical Museum*, Dublin, 2008, esp. p. 3.

264. BM archives, *Trustees Minutes*, 13 July 1914.

265. J. Gardner (rev. A. Smith), “A brief history of the Ure Museum”, www.collectionsgateway.org.uk/collections/48/urehistory.pdf.

John Myres and the first classification system in Cypriot archaeology

When the BM excavations were first mooted in 1892, the reform-minded High Commissioner Walter Sendall expressed the hope that the opportunity could be used to reorganise and catalogue the collection of the Cyprus Museum.²⁶⁶ This collection expanded rapidly as a result of the CEF excavations, and was also expected to make major new acquisitions from the BM seasons, because it received the government share of the finds under the Ottoman antiquity law. However it was poorly housed and managed because of limited funding, poor organisational structures and political apathy.²⁶⁷ Fortuitously, the work of reorganisation was entrusted to John Myres (*Fig. 10-11*) who, following his excavations of 1894, compiled with the help of Max Ohnefalsch-Richter a remarkable catalogue of the museum, published in 1899 which transformed the discipline of Cypriot archaeology. The catalogue contained a valuable chronicle of excavations since the beginning of British rule, but more importantly organised provenanced as well as unprovenanced material within a chronological framework similar to that recently developed for European and Classical archaeology, from the Stone Age to the Hellenistic period. This catalogue represents the first comprehensive archaeological history of the island and of its ancient sites. Within the various periods, the material was presented by material or type (such as pottery, terracotta figurines, stone implements, bronze objects, jewellery, stone sculpture) but also tomb-assemblages and other material with known provenance were discussed together. This reflects the more systematic approach of scientific excavations as evident from, for example, the contemporary CEF reports in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* summarised above. For the first time on Cyprus, the catalogue also included systemised identifications of various pottery wares, based especially on Myres' report on his 1894 CEF excavations.

With the Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, Myres developed the first modern system of classification of Cypriot pottery which, particularly for the Bronze Age, was adopted, revised and expanded, by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition rather than fully replaced. For the Bronze Age, Myres coined the terms Red Polished Ware, Black Slip Ware, and Base-Ring Ware, while his White Ware with Base-Ring is now Base-Ring painted Ware, his White Ware is now White Painted Ware, and his White Polished Ware is now White-Slip Ware.²⁶⁸ The Geometric to Classical Cypriot pottery, called summarily Graeco-Phoenician, contained White Ware (White-Painted), Red Ware (Black-on-Red), Coloured Slip Ware (Red Slip), along with "Hellenising wares" and "Hellenic Wares",²⁶⁹ a classification which has evolved much further with the Swedish Cyprus Expedition as well as later systems of Greek pottery classifications. The sculptures from the various sanctuary-site

266. Letter of Walter Sendall to A.S. Murray, 14 Aug. 1893, GR archives, *Excavations in Cyprus: Correspondence*, fol. 7.

267. See the scathing preface in Myres, Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. v-vi; Pilides 2012, p. 22-23.

268. Myres, Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 36-40.

269. Myres, Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 59-61.

assemblages were already described according to their “influence” or style, including Egyptian and Archaic Greek, and Hellenic, Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman.²⁷⁰ This classification system, as well the archaeological history of Cyprus, was further elaborated and revised by Myres – now Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford (since 1910) – in his *Handbook to the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* of 1914.²⁷¹ Here, the Early Iron Age was introduced between the Bronze Age (whose last phase was now firmly tied to Aegean Late Bronze Age chronology, in contrast to the outdated chronology proposed by Murray and Walters in their presentation of the finds from Kourion and Enkomi)²⁷² and the former Graeco-Phoenician periods which now were replaced by periods defined by contacts with Assyria, Egypt and Persia.²⁷³ The pottery fabrics were described and named in more detailed and assigned to the sub-periods of the Bronze Age and Iron Age, now dated more accurately in absolute terms (for the time). For example, Myres divided Base-Ring Ware into groups comprising (a) simple forms without ornament, (b) painted varieties, and (c) unpainted with ornaments in relief.²⁷⁴ Equally, limestone sculptures were chronologically grouped in sculptures of “oriental style, mainly Assyrian influence, about 700-650 BC”, “oriental style, mainly Egyptian influenced, about 650-600 BC”, “Mixed oriental style, about 650-550 BC”, “Archaic Cypriot Style, with Western influence, about 600-500 BC”, and “Mature Cypriote Style under Greek influence, about 500-450 BC”, followed by “Decadent style under later Greek influence about 400-300 BC”, and “Hellenistic style after 300 BC”.²⁷⁵ He also identified deity image-types such as Herakles, Horus, Aphrodite and Hathor.²⁷⁶ With this classification system, Myres laid the foundations for a scientific and systematic Cypriot archaeology that has persisted, albeit with substantial modifications, until the present day. Furthermore, through his tutelage of Menelaos Markides, both in Oxford and with a series of excavations on Cyprus conducted in 1913, Myres helped to establish a local tradition of professional Cypriot archaeology within the context of the reformed Cyprus Museum.²⁷⁷ Markides’ achievements have been obscured by the lack of adequate publications of his excavations due to poor health. Nonetheless,

270. Myres, Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 27-31.

271. Myres 1914.

272. Fitton 2001 (see above, note 207); N. Leriou, “The hellenisation of Cyprus: Tracing its beginnings (an updated version)”, in S. Müller Celka, J.-C. David, *Patrimoines culturels en Méditerranée orientale: recherche scientifique et enjeux identitaires. 1^{er} atelier (29 novembre 2007): Chypre, une stratigraphie de l’identité*. Rencontres scientifiques en ligne de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, Lyon, 2007.

273. Myres 1914, p. xxvi-xlii.

274. Myres 1914, p. 36-41.

275. Myres 1914, p. 132-139; see Hermay 1990, p. 13-14; also D. Counts, “Prolegomena to the study of Cypriote sculpture”, *CCEC* 31, 2001, p. 129-181, see p. 143-144.

276. Myres 1914, p. 141-250, *passim*.

277. J. Myres, “Excavations in Cyprus 1913”, *ABSA* 41, 1940-45, p. 53-104; Merrillees 2005.

as Åström observed, his methods were “remarkable for the time” and anticipated those of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.²⁷⁸ Both he and Myres therefore represent a pivot connecting the older practices of the 19th century and those of the 20th and later to be discussed in the second part of this paper.

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278. P. Åström, *Katydhata. A Bronze Age site in Cyprus*, SIMA LXXXVI, Göteborg, 1989, p. 7; Pilides 2012.

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